

EUROPEAN REFORMATION AND DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF THE INSTITUTIONAL DESIGN OF THE EARLY PROTESTANT CURRENTS IN THE UKRAINIAN LANDS

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Abstract: *The article analyses the socio-historical background of the European Reformation ideas development and dissemination, which influenced the institutional design of the Evangelical-Protestant communities in Ukrainian lands in the late 16th – early 17th centuries. Social and religious determinants of the Reformation-Protestant theological thought development, as well as the reaction of the Orthodox Church to the Protestant religious and theological system formation are analysed. The authors had outlined the consequences of the Reformation movement for the Ukrainian society.*

Keywords: *European Reformation, Counter-Reformation, Rome Catholic Church, Calvinism, Antitrinitarianism, Kyiv Metropolis*

Rezumat: *Reforma europeană și caracteristicile distinctive ale designului instituțional al curențelor protestante timpurii în teritoriile ucrainene. Articolul analizează contextul socio-istoric al dezvoltării și diseminării ideilor europene de reformă, care au influențat designul instituțional al comunităților evanghelic-protestante din regiunile ucrainene la sfârșitul secolului al XVI-lea – începutul secolului al XVII-lea. Sunt analizați factorii determinanți sociali și religioși ai dezvoltării gândirii teologice reformato-protestante, precum și reacția Bisericii Ortodoxe la formarea sistemului religios și teologic protestant. Autorii au subliniat consecințele mișcării Reformei pentru societatea ucraineană.*

Résumé: *Réforme européenne et caractéristiques distinctives de la design institutionnel des premiers courants protestants dans les terres ukrainiennes. L'article analyse le contexte socio-historique du développement et de la diffusion des idées de la Réforme européenne, qui a influencé la conception institutionnelle des communautés évangélique-protestantes dans les pays ukrainiens à la fin du 16e au début du XVIIe siècle. Les déterminants sociaux et religieux de la Réformation – Protestant développement de la pensée théologique, ainsi que la réaction de l'Église orthodoxe à la formation du système religieux et théologique protestant. Les auteurs ont souligné les conséquences du mouvement de Réforme pour la société ukrainienne.*

INTRODUCTION

The early modern era was a special period in the life of many peoples of Europe, as well as of the people of Ukraine. That was the time of radical changes almost in all spheres of their life, and most importantly – in the socio-political and spiritual-religious spheres. The starting point of new history of Europe was the Reformation as a broad social and church movement, culminating in the split of the Roman Catholic Church, when the independent line called Protestantism, appeared, and which soon dissolved into separate directions that differed ideologically, socially and doctrinally.

Meanwhile, it should be kept in mind that neither the Reformation nor "Protestantism" did not challenge the Ukrainian people in the way, that it challenged Czechs, Germans or French. Reformation and Protestant ideas also did not find support among the Romanian people. Despite a little distribution of early Protestant currents (Lutheranism, Calvinism and Antitrinitarianism in Transylvania), the Romanians remained faithful to Orthodox Church and were least attracted to inter-church polemical discourse.

Emphasizing this, researchers rightly argue that "the Reformation in Ukraine has not turned into open forms. Protestant communities in the Ukrainian lands were in fact a marginal phenomenon."¹ The same situation was in the territory of modern Romania. Then as now both peoples looked at Protestantism as something poor, alien and in a spiritual and liturgical sense, atrophied. The final decline of Protestantism in the Ukrainian lands took place during the times of Petro Mohyla, a true reformer of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Kyiv Metropolis), Metropolitan of Kyiv and Galicia and All Rus. Protestantism could be not established in Romania due to an active social, religious and political position of the spiritual leadership of the Romanian Orthodox Church.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Despite the fact that the process of penetration and institutional framework of Protestantism in the ethnic territories of modern Ukraine and Romania have much in common, in this article the authors consider these controversies in the context of the historical existence of the first nation. The topic of the study is the growth of Protestant influence in the social, religious, spiritual and cultural life of modern Ukrainian society. And it exacerbates the need for broad scientific

¹ *Історія релігії в Україні: у 10-ти т. [History of Religion in Ukraine]. Т. 5. Протестантизм в Україні [за ред. П. Яроцького], Київ, Світ знань, 2002, с. 8.*

discourse on historical roots, especially, the institutional framework, structural and functional nature of Protestantism, which has its own specific forms and manifestations, including Ukraine. Modern transformations that we observe in a church and the religious sphere necessitate a new reading of the Protestant movement history and its perception taking into consideration not only historiography but also religious and theological, ecclesiological content.

Study of the European Reformation specific perception in “Ukrainian” Protestantism and peculiarities of Protestant denomination influence on social processes are important due to the fact that modern Protestantism, despite its structural diversity and ideological fragmentation remains a dynamic mainstream of Christianity not only in Western Europe and America, but in most former communist states. However, Protestantism is a quite heterogeneous phenomenon: as of today, there are 869 Protestant religious organizations in Ukraine, representing 24.3% of the entire religious community². And although this is only the amount of religious communities this situation allows the Protestant associations to successfully compete with traditional Ukrainian churches and have a radical influence on socio-cultural, socio-political and church-religious processes. And they, as a result of the dynamic development of Protestant ideology, undergo significant deformation. This and many other things determine not only the topicality of research but also its praxeological significance.

In this regard, there is a need for historical and religious-theological objectification of the Protestantism institutional design issue off in the Ukrainian lands in its early forms, and hence the nation and state development role of the Protestant denominations of this formation. In this context, the research is relevant and has important theoretical and practical significance.

The main purpose of the study is the comprehensive historiosophical and religious-theological objectification of the European Reformation ideas as the main driving force of the Evangelical-Protestant movement during the early modernism period (the 16th through early 17th century).

The following tasks come through the **study aims**: to interpret the main factors of the European Reformation; to explain the influence of the reformation slogans on the appearance and institutionalization of Protestant religious movements in the Ukrainian lands in the early modern period; to characterize socio-political and socio-religious determinants of the reformation-Protestant

² Докаш В. *Плюралізм, поліконфесійність та розвинута релігійна мережа – фактори попередження міжконфесійних конфліктів (за результатами соціологічних досліджень)* [Pluralism, polyconfessionalism and developed religious network – factors of prevention of inter-confessional conflicts (based on sociological research)] “Релігія та Соціум. Міжнародний часопис”, №3-4 (23-24), Чернівці, Чернівецький нац. ун-т, 2016, с. 135.

theological thought development in Europe and in the Ukrainian lands; to find out the reaction of the Orthodox Church to the formation of the Protestant religious-theological system and the institutional appearance of the Protestant communities; to interpret the consequences of the Reformation in the context of contemporary secularization tendencies and destruction of historical national and church achievements of the Ukrainian people.

The object of the study are ideological and worldview foundations and the socio-political and social and cultural transformations that took place in modern Europe with all positive and negative consequences, and their theological reflection in the context of the Church of Christ historical existence and modern church and religious processes.

Evangelical and Protestant movement in Western Europe and in the Ukrainian lands is the **subject of research**.

The academic novelty of the article is a comprehensive historical and theological analysis of the causes and consequences of the European Reformation in their relationship with the Evangelical and Protestant movement and the institutional design of Protestantism as a separate mainstream of Christianity in Western Europe and in the Ukrainian lands in its early historical forms.

THE STATE OF THE TOPIC DEVELOPMENT

The methodological framework of the study was formed on the basis of many well-known Ukrainian and foreign scholars works and, in particular, Patriarch Filaret (Denysenko)³, E. Winter⁴, M. Hrushevskyi⁵, S. Yelenskyi⁶, V. Yosypenko⁷,

³ Filaret (Denysenko), Patriarch. *Доповідь Святійшого Патріарха Київського і всієї Руси-України Філарета на Всеукраїнській церковно-громадській конференції “Об’єднання Українського Православ’я”* [Report of the Most Holy Patriarch of Kyiv and All-Rus-Ukraine Filaret at the All-Ukrainian Church-Public Conference “Association of Ukrainian Orthodoxy”], in Патріарх Філарет. *Доповіді*, Т. 5, Київ, Вид. відділ Української православної Церкви Київського Патріархату, 2003, с. 429 – 443.

⁴ Вінтер Е. *Візантія та Рим у боротьбі за Україну (955 – 1939 рр.)* [Byzantium and Rome in the struggle for Ukraine (955 - 1939)]. Прага, 1944, 137 с.

⁵ Грушевський М. С. *Історія України-Руси*: В 11-ти т., 12-ти кн. [History of Ukraine-Rus.]. Київ, Наук. думка, 1991; Грушевський М. *З історії релігійної думки на Україні* [From the history of religious thought in Ukraine]. Львів, Друкарня НТШ, 1925, 192 с.

⁶ Єленський В. *Велике повернення: релігія у глобальній політиці та міжнародних відносинах кінця ХХ – початку ХХІ ст.* [Great return: religion in global politics and international relations late 20th - early 21st century.]. Львів, Вид-во Українського католицького університету, 2013, 504 с.

⁷ Йосипенко С. *До витоків української модерності: українська ранньомодерна духовна культура в європейському контексті* [The origins of Ukrainian modernity: духовна культура в європейському контексті]

P. Kraliuk⁸, M. Kostomarov⁹, V. Lypynskiy¹⁰, V. Lytvynov¹¹, V. Liubashchenko¹², N. Petruk¹³, A. Richynskiy¹⁴, Metropolitan Dymytriy (Rudiuk)¹⁵, D. Stepovyk¹⁶, P. Yarotskiy¹⁷, V. Shevchenko¹⁸, M. Shkribliak¹⁹ and others.

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- Ukrainian early modern spiritual culture in the European context]. – Київ, Український центр духовної культури, 2008, 392 с.
- ⁸ Крالیук П. *Мелетій Смотрицький і українське духовно-культурне відродження кінця XVI – початку XVII ст.* [Melety Smotrytsky and Ukrainian spiritual and cultural revival of the late 16th - early 17th century]. Острого, Вид-во Національного університету “Острозька академія”, 2007, 208 с.
- ⁹ Костомаров Н. И. *Исторические произведения: Автобиография* [Historical works: Autobiography]. Київ, Изд-во при Киев. гос. ун-те, 1989, 736 с.
- ¹⁰ Липинський В. К. *Україна на переломі 1657 – 1659 рр. Замітки до історії українського державного будівництва в XVII-ім столітті* [Ukraine at the turn of the 1657 - 1659. Notes on the history of Ukrainian state construction in the 17th century]. Відень – Нью-Йорк, Накладом Видавничої корпорації “Булава”, 1920, 304 с.
- ¹¹ Литвинов В. “Католицька Русь”: *Історико-філософський нарис* [“Catholic Rus”: Historical and philosophical essay]. Київ, Укр. центр дух. к-ри, 2002, 276 с.
- ¹² Любашенко В. *Пошуки альтернативної унії: православні та протестанти у контексті Берестя (Кирило Лукаріс і Україна)* [The search for an alternative union: Orthodox and Protestants in the context of Brest (Kyrylo Lukaris and Ukraine)]. “Берестейська унія (1596) в історії та історіографії: спроба підсумку”, Львів, 2008, с. 277 – 296; Любашенко В. *Історія протестантизму в Україні* [History of Protestantism in Ukraine]. Київ, Поліс, 1996, 350 с.
- ¹³ Петрук Н. *Українська духовна культура XVI – XVII ст.: соціальна організація і формування простору національного буття* [Ukrainian spiritual culture of the 16th – 17th centuries: social organization and formation of the space of national existence], Хмельницький, 2007, 288 с.
- ¹⁴ Річинський А. *Проблеми української релігійної свідомості* [Problems of Ukrainian Religious Consciousness], Тернопіль, [б. в.], 2002, 448 с.
- ¹⁵ Рудюк Дмитрій. *Українське Православ'я і наша національна самоідентичність* [Ukrainian Orthodoxy and our national identity]. access mode: <http://blogs.pravda.com.ua/authors/rudyuk/4a05532004f69/>
- ¹⁶ Степовик Д. *Берестейська унія і розвиток українського іконошанування у XVI – XVII століттях* [The Union of Brest and the development of Ukrainian icon of honor in the 16th – 17th centuries] “Geneza, dziejei konsekwencij ew kulturze narodow slowjanskich. Praczbiorova”, Krakow, 1994, s. 465 – 473.
- ¹⁷ *Історія релігії в Україні: у 10-ти т.* [History of Religion in Ukraine]. Т. 5. Протестантизм в Україні [за ред. П. Яроцького], Київ, Світ знань, 2002, 426 с.
- ¹⁸ Шевченко В. *Православно-католицька полеміка та проблеми унійності в житті Русь-України доберестейського періоду* [Orthodox-Catholic polemics and problems of unity in the life of Rus-Ukraine to the berestyie period]. Київ, Преса України, 2002, 416 с.
- ¹⁹ Шкрібляк М. *Формування ренесансного світогляду українців в умовах*

At the same time, we do not analyse the classical works of modern scholars of Protestantism, which substantiate the latest concepts and approaches to the interpretation of the Protestantism role and place in the spiritual, cultural and social life of the Ukrainian people in full, since they, in the majority of cases, express specific features of Modern Protestant denominations functioning and the leading ideas of religious doctrines. But it does not mean that the works by V. Dokash²⁰, A. Kolodnyi²¹, L. Fylypovych²² and others are not considered. On the contrary, in order to confirm the author's conclusions, we refer specifically to them, but not to emphasize once more the development of Protestantism in Ukraine and the extremely positive influences of the European Reformation, as can be seen from their often-tendentious generalizations.

бездержавності та піднесення ідей “польського сарматизму” [Formation of the Renaissance worldview of Ukrainians in the conditions of statelessness and the rise of the ideas of “Polish sarmatism”] “Мандрівець”, №3 (111), Тернопіль, Вид. Національного ун-ту “Кієво-Могилянська академія”, 2014, с. 71-74; Шкрібляк М. В. “Церковний Переяслав” на тлі унійних колізій і політико-ідеологічних стратегій ранньомодерної України-Руси [“Church Pereyaslav” on the background of one-to-one conflicts and politic-ideological strategies of early modern Ukraine-Rus], Чернівці, Наші книги, 2015, 400 с.

²⁰ See also.: Dokash V. *Плюралізм, поліконфесійність ...*, с. 130 – 138; Dokash V. *Реформація як соціокультурний феномен: уроки історії для українського соціуму* [Reformation as a socio-cultural phenomenon: history lessons for Ukrainian society], in *Протестантські церкви у контексті вітчизняної історії та суспільних трансформацій: Матеріали IV Всеукраїнської конференції* (м. Тернопіль, 27-28 квітня 2017 р.), Тернопіль-Київ, ФОП Осадца Ю. В., с. 107 – 112.

²¹ Kolodnyi A. *Релігійне сьогодення України: роздуми, оцінки і прогнози* [The Religious Present of Ukraine: Reflections, Assessments and Forecasts], Київ, 2009, 450 с.; Колодний А. Протестантизм в контексті релігійного життя України [Protestantism in the context of the religious life of Ukraine], in *Протестантські церкви у контексті вітчизняної історії та суспільних трансформацій: Матеріали IV Всеукраїнської конференції* (м. Тернопіль, 27-28 квітня 2017 р.), Тернопіль-Київ, ФОП Осадца Ю. В., с. 112-117.

²² Fylypovych L. *Культура релігійного життя. Вибрані праці* [Culture of religious life. Selected Works], Київ, УАР, 2011, 387 с.; Филипович Л. *Етнорелігійна ідентичність в сучасному світі: проблеми визначення і умови збереження* [Ethno-religious identity in the modern world: problems of definition and conditions of preservation], in “Релігія і Соціум. Міжнародний часопис”, Чернівці, Чернівецький нац. ун-т, 2010, № 1 (3), с. 61 – 66; Филипович Л. *Реформація і принцип свободи* [Reformation and the principle of freedom], in *Протестантські церкви у контексті вітчизняної історії та суспільних трансформацій: Матеріали IV Всеукраїнської конференції* (м. Тернопіль, 27-28 квітня 2017 р.), Тернопіль-Київ, ФОП Осадца Ю. В., с. 217 – 223.

Within the limits of the outlined methodology, the research also pays attention to work of many faith-oriented scholars who are called to popularize the ideas of the European Reformation, and thus the Protestant movement itself in Ukraine. But we do not make it from a critical point of view, or in order to more clearly justify our own discourse conception, or to refute some obviously tendentious, in our opinion, statements that representatives of some Protestant communities cultivate.

PRESENTATION OF BASIC MATERIAL AND DISCUSSION

Thanks to the persistent creative and search work of many intellectuals, the reader is acquainted with increasingly complex and controversial in terms of its own achievements, and at the same time a lost hope, the early modern era - the time that was filled with so promising, as unrealized opportunities. First of all, it refers to the late 16th and early 17th centuries, that is, the period characterized by the course of the most dynamic processes objectively endowed with broad historiosophical-religious semantics with a pronounced continual potential. After all, they can and should be considered as a kind of “stretched” time bifurcation point, when the civilization choice of Ukraine was carried out and had to choose between the “old” Rus-Ukraine, represented by a Polish or cloned magnates and local gentry that was orientated towards the European West, and new-born Cossack Ukraine, whose representatives preferred Eastern (Byzantine) landmarks in their own civilization choices.

At the same time, it is known that the European Reformation has undergone several important stages: from origin and local influence to the implementation of their basic ideas and institutionalization of Protestant communities in most European countries. The first stage was the Lutheran Reformation, which had almost the largest historiography and source base; the second – continuation of the reformist protests following the Wormser Edict (Seim) when the Protestant masses were led by Thomas Münzer. That period includes the Peasant War in Germany, the Augsburg Reichstag and the burgher movement; the third stage was the release of the reformist protest outside the German lands and it’s spreading in Denmark and Norway, and later in Sweden, Finland, Switzerland, Scotland, the Netherlands and other West European countries. At about the same time, Protestantism began to develop in the Baltic lands, Poland, Lithuania and Ukraine, whose ethnic lands were then part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Hence, we conclude that the Ukrainian premodern had a pronounced “Rzeczpospolita” colour and taste, while Reformation Protestantism was of West European origin. And despite the presence (mainly in the popular discourse) of those who “had not forgotten nothing, they had not learned anything”, and therefore they still cultivated propaganda stamps about “foreign invaders”,

“religious expansion” of the patriarchal, that is, counter-Reformation Catholicism and “Latin yoke”, realization that they were deliberately imposed in the interests of the Russian-Soviet imperial project, which continued its initiation under the chauvinistic ideologues of the “Russian world”, gradually overcomes the boundary defined by the then historians and philosophers, including developing new alternative in its ideological orientation and educational direction projects. The example is formation of relevant to modern civilization and intellectual inquiries visions of encyclopaedic reference of the national biographical literature corpus where Reformation and Protestant movement inspirers would take their deserved place²³.

Having recognized that Rzeczpospolita was neither the first nor the only geographical Renaissance-Reformation centre in Europe, the ideas of this intellectual social-religious movement found their good support there from the Polish kings themselves²⁴. Reformation-humanist trends came here mainly from the Czech Republic and Hungary, and the first centres of the Pre-Renaissance era in the Commonwealth were founded by the Italians (F. Buonaccorsi), Germans (K. Celtis), Swiss (P. Agricola)²⁵ and others. In this context, we would like to emphasize that the sons of Polish king Kazimierz IV (1447-1492) - Alexander I and Zygmunt I, who replaced each other on the royal throne, were F. Kallimach's students, became zealous Renaissance and reformist ideas supporters²⁶. There were quite favourable conditions for constituting Renaissance ideas and providing them with an all-inclusive influence on the whole Rzeczpospolita populated society and representatives of Ukrainian intellectual circles. It must be remembered that Rzeczpospolita, unlike many other Western Europe countries, and, in particular, neighbouring Germany and the Czech Republic, was not exhausted by the religious struggle and confessional confrontation. The Polish church greatly benefited it make that possible.

According to our observations, the Roman Catholic Church played a decisive role in shaping the Renaissance paradigm of the Polish national culture development. Flowering of humanism ideas in Rzeczpospolita began when the representatives of clergy became the ideological inspirers and theoreticians of the Polish rebirth, which provided it with rapid spread among various strata of society. The church elite succeeded in directing the ideological and educational

²³ Балух В. О. *Реформаційні ідеї на українських землях XVI – XVII ст. (100 протестантських діячів): Словник [Reformation ideas on the Ukrainian lands of the 16th – 17th centuries. (100 Protestant figures): Dictionary]*, Чернівці, Чернівецький нац. ун-т, 2017, 200 с.

²⁴ Шкрібляк М. *Формування ренесансного ...*, с. 71.

²⁵ Дворнік Ф. *Слов'яни в Європейській історії та цивілізації [Slavs in European history and civilization]*, Київб Дух і Літера, 2005, с. 262.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, с. 263.

potential of the Renaissance, the Reformation and Counter-Reformation in the desired direction as well as the Polish statehood on the whole, and thus ensured the universal character of their ideological and social influence. Hierarchs were the founders of humanistic studies, founded collegia, and so on. According to researchers, “the feature of Polish humanism is that it is deprived of secularization dictate, secularism and pagan impulses”²⁷, which can easily be detected in the Italian Renaissance. For this purpose, the Polish humanists wrote works exclusively in Latin, which expanded not only the theoretical and cognitive capabilities of national humanitarian studies, but also the spiritual and educational and religious-identification significance, since Latin was still the language of the Divine Liturgy, and therefore the sacred, and the one that performed consolidating and nation-building function, which, unfortunately, cannot be said about the Ukrainian spiritual and political elite.

We are deeply convinced that the rapid spread of the Renaissance and Reformation ideas of humanity in Rzeczpospolita was promoted by the then Polish democracy, religious tolerance and worldview pluralism, which is especially emphasized by modern researchers of the early modernism period. “In the world where religious intolerance grew,” English scholar and publicist N. Davis puts, “The Polish-Lithuanian state occupied a separate place. On its vast territory with a vibrant population, there was a palette of Catholic, Orthodox, Jewish, and Muslim communities before Lutheranism spread in the cities of Polish Prussia, and much of the nobility was seduced by Calvinism <...>. That day, Poland was fairly proud of both its role as a bastion of the Christian world against the Turks and Tatars, and the creation of the first asylum of tolerance in Europe.”²⁸ By agreeing with this statement, we note, however, that the aspiration of Warsaw to be the “bastion” of the Christian Catholic world in Europe has led to the fact that the religious policy of the Rzeczpospolita Government evolved from religious tolerance to the systematic conversion of all its subjects in the womb of the Catholic Church²⁹. Finally, this became a kind of reflection of the Reformation-Protestant principle: whose authority is, is the faith (*Cujus regio, ejus religio*). And, of course, this religious-political plan could not but exacerbate the issue of national-cultural and spiritual self-determination of Ukrainians, which became especially urgent after the Union of Lublin of 1569, when the Ukrainian lands became part of Rzeczpospolita, and after the Council of Trent (1545-1563), when the Roman Catholic Church resolutely appealed to a systematic counter-reformation movement. Without a doubt, these events marked a new stage in the socio-political and religious-church development of the Ukrainian people, since it never

²⁷ Шкрібляк М. *Формування ренесансного ...*, с. 72.

²⁸ Дейвіс Н. *Європа : Історія* [Europe: History], Київ, Основи, 2008, с. 250-251.

²⁹ Шкрібляк М. *Формування ренесансного ...*, с. 72.

remained on the margins of the spiritual and cultural life of the European society.

The intellectual elite at that time perceived socio-political, spiritual and cultural transformations as an opportunity to reform all spheres of the social life. Therefore, it is not surprising that in the lands that were part of Rzeczpospolita, the theorists of different philosophical and theological ideologies and practices launched broad religious propaganda and ideological and educational activity. Those were ethnic Germans, Italians, and Lithuanians, and, of course, Ukrainians themselves, although the primacy in that movement still did not belong to them. Having united around the common ideas that Orthodox Christians viewed as mere heresies, they cultivated both secular humanist Renaissance worldview concepts and religious-theological ideas that aimed not only to popularize the Lutheran and Calvinist social and religious paradigms, but also spread of Antitrinitarian (unitary) theological idioms among Orthodox Ukrainians³⁰.

However, the reformist Protestant influence in the Ukrainian lands was uneven. Calvinism was the most widespread trend but it occupied only West Ukrainian lands. Calvinists, as other early Protestant assemblies, had their own school and printing houses, which promoted their religious ideology and practice. But a new countdown of that movement began in the late 17th century: Calvinists entered the stage of stagnation and after collaborative work with the Swedes during the Swedish-Polish war (1600-1629) their final decline took place. The Calvinists received somewhat different perspectives were in Transcarpathia. They had had a privileged position and support of the Hungarian feudal lords for half a century, but their institutional functioning ceased with the proclamation of Uzhhorod Union in 1646.

Particularly noticeable was the movement of Antitrinitarians represented by Unitarianism and Socinianism. The Italian immigrants, Lelio and Fausto Sozzini, Giorgio Blandrat, and others, remained their ideological inspiration and propagandists among the Polish gentry. The Unitarians began their activities in Podillia, but soon they moved to Volyn, which became the major area of the Unitarianism in in the early 17th century. That very period can be regarded as the period of an independent flow design of Antitrinitarian origin – Unitarianism or Socinianism. The ideologists of Socinianism were among the first to revise one of the main achievements of the German Reformation – implementation of the principle – whose authority is that is the faith. They spread the principle of separation of state from church, since they believed that the authorities could not interfere with the religious affairs of their loyal subjects³¹.

To strengthen their influence, Protestants founded schools and printing houses. Therefore, many researchers of the reformist Protestant movement

³⁰ Балух В. О. *Реформаційні ідеї ...*, с. 92

³¹ Петрук Н. *Українська духовна ...*, с. 109.

emphasize their significant contribution to the educational development of the Ukrainian people. Indeed, almost all Protestant denominations had the network of their schools but most of them belong to Calvinists and Socinianists, where, along with the propaganda of new faith, new patterns of school education organization and upbringing were formed.

But their publishing activity was the most extensive. The Protestants founded the printing houses in almost every city where they had denominations, but most of the printing shops operated in Vilno. The city of Ostroh became a powerful place of Protestant literature duplication. At the same time, we cannot speak about fateful significance in the development of schooling and printing under the care of Protestants, since the main purpose of their school education, publishing and translation activities was to establish Renaissance and Reformation ideas and to create favourable conditions for introducing Protestantism in the church-religious environment in Rzeczpospolita, which could not occur due to a number of objective reasons.

The European Reformation in the Ukrainian lands was a *de facto* marginal phenomenon, but its ideas were of utter importance to the cultural development of the Ukrainian society. Admiration of Protestant ideas after concluding the Union of Brest began to decline. That was due to both decline of Protestantism in Rzeczpospolita and strengthening of conservative tendencies in the Orthodox Church that underwent changes as a result of the Petro Mohyla reforms, although that was a transformation not directed at the Reformation, but it was in the spirit of the Counter-Reformation of the Post-Trinitarian era. It is true that the grains sown by Protestant figures gave results and contributed to the internal reform of Ukrainian Orthodoxy.

The joint activity of Orthodox and Protestants believers in the Ukrainian lands acquired various forms of joint councils, unions, confederations, joint demonstrations, organisation of petitions and lawsuits to local Diet, deserves deeper analysis and synthesis. And in this regard, it is worth outlining the specifics of the Orthodox-Lutheran rapprochement at the early stage of the Reformation in Germany. On the one hand, it helped define the basic forms, specifics of carrying out and consequences of that dialogue, and on the other one - it would shed light on the key factors interpretation that contributed to the legalization of Lutheranism in the Ukrainian lands in its most famous figures, manifestations and leading trends.

The sources testify that Luther himself had never had and could not have had any good feeling for Greek Orthodoxy. He considered the Eastern Church "idolatrous", but now, the main enemy was Rome. This could explain his promising messages addressed to the Greeks, who better "preserved the

traditions of the early Church of Christ than the Roman theologians”³². But whether Luther did not dare to personally ask Constantinople for support, or he did not certify his openness to dialogue, it's difficult to say. In any case, there are no sources that would even indirectly confirm such attempts.

The first documented attempts to establish contacts between the Lutherans and the higher Orthodox Hierarchs of the East date back to 1559. Then the theologian and reformer P. Melanchthon wrote a letter to Patriarch of Constantinople Joasaph II (1555-1565), in which he sought to convince him of the Orthodoxy of Luther's teaching. He emphasized the respect of Protestants to theological heritage of the Church Fathers and the decisions of the seven Ecumenical Councils. Having met Melanchthon's message without much enthusiasm Patriarch Joasaph II sent Deacon Dmytro Myziy to Wittenberg “to study accurate and reliable data about the new doctrine”³³. But the ambassador seemed to fail convincing the patriarch that Lutheranism worth attention of Eastern Hierarchs. And even when P. Melanchthon gave Deacon Dmytro the next letter, full of praise for the Orthodox and assurances that “Protestants remained faithful to Scripture, the tenets of the holy Councils and the teaching of the Church Fathers,” and just turned away “from misconceptions heretics, as well as superstition and worship of Latin ignorant monks”³⁴, but Patriarch Joasaph did not hurry up with his answer. When he met the Augsburg Confession of Faith (made by P. Melanchthon in 1530), he ceased the dialogue with the German reformers.

After P. Melanchthon's death, the Lutherans made some unsuccessful attempts to bring the Orthodox Hierarchs of the East to their side. The inter-confessional dialogue was renewed in the mid-1570s, when Jeremias II Tranos became Patriarch of Constantinople (he occupied this post three times (1572 - 1579, 1580 - 1584, 1589 - 1595). Then the followers of the Lutheran-Melanchthon protest decided to send the full text of the Augsburg Confession of Faith, and also, it's Apology (1531) to Constantinople.

Seeing the tension of the German Lutherans, Patriarch Jeremias II gave a detailed answer to all questions and proposals addressed to him in a letter dated May 15, 1576³⁵. Researchers emphasize that the patriarch had analysed section by

³² Козак В. *Протестантський чинник у процесах, пов'язаних з підготовкою та укладенням Берестейського церковного з'єднання 1596 року* [The Protestant Factor in the Processes Concerning the Preparation and Conclusion of the Brest Church Connection of 1596], in *Протестантські церкви у контексті вітчизняної історії та суспільних трансформацій: Матеріали IV Всеукраїнської конференції* (м. Тернопіль, 27-28 квітня 2017 р.), Тернопіль-Київ, ФОП Осадца Ю. В., с. 13.

³³ Бурмило І. *Історія Церкви* [], Чернівці, Книги – XXI, 2007, с. 258.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, с. 258.

³⁵ *Acta synodów różnowierczych w Polsce* [Acta synods ruling in Poland], Warszawa, Wydawnictwa uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1972, T. 2: (1560-1570), s. 25-27.

section all 21 articles of the Confession, defining in it “all the errors and deviations from the universal truth”³⁶ The Constantinople First Hierarchy and the theologian, in particular, drew attention of the Lutherans to the fact that they: 1) supported the *filioque*; 2) proclaimed five *sola*; 3) approved of only two Sacraments instead of seven; 4) abandoned iconoclasm, thus consolidating the principle and practice of iconoclasm; 5) neglected the experience of honouring the saints.

The initiators of the dialogue hoped that the lack of success in it would manage to catch up with persistence. It even came to the charge the Patriarch of Constantinople of bribing. The longer correspondence and visits continued, the more interpersonal hostility was shown and the denominational difference was revealed, which concerned not only the dogmas of faith, but also the Liturgy, which still remains the language of the Church, and “the liturgical life was the most sophisticated and most complete manifestation of Eastern theology”³⁷. Finally, in 1579, the patriarch sent a strict tone condemnation of the Lutheran heresy. Consequently, the Protestants did not achieve their goal. But the Orthodox-Protestant dialogue received its more prolonged continuation in the Ukrainian lands. The Wittenberg-Constantinople missions laid the foundations for a certain mutual Protestant-Orthodox perception not only at the European level, but within specific national churches and communities.

However, the mass consciousness of then Ukrainians, which remained inextricably linked with the Orthodox Church-liturgical tradition, all that was happening around their religious and spiritual identity was always perceived as encroachment not only on their territories (land or estate), but in the inner spiritual world too.

It is important to remember that “invasion” was presented in, at least, three vector-oriented directions: Orthodox-Conservative, Unitarian, and Renaissance-Humanist³⁸. The brightest representative of the first one was Ivan Vyshensky. However, he and those who supported his ideas did not always play a positive role in the formation of the modern-day type Ukrainian Christianity, because they by their messages “driven” the Ukrainian Orthodox believers in

³⁶ Бурмило І. *Історія Церкви ...*, с. 258; Черкасов С. *Європейська Реформація та Православна Церква у Речі Посполитій XVI ст.: специфіка зачаткування міжконфесійних відносин* [European Reformation and Orthodox Church in the Commonwealth of the 16th century: the specificity of the establishment of inter-confessional relations], in *Європейська Реформація XVI ст.: історико-антропологічний вимір (До 500-річчя Реформації в Європі): Матеріали міжнародн. наук.-практ. конф.* (м. Запоріжжя, 8 лютого 2017 р.), Запоріжжя, АА Тандем, 2017, с. 75.

³⁷ Шкрібляк М. В. *«Церковний Переяслав» ...*, с. 104.

³⁸ Литвинов В. *Україна в пошуках духовних пріоритетів (XVI ст.)* [Ukraine in search of spiritual priorities (16th century.)] in “Україна і Ватикан в контексті культурно-цивілізаційного діалогу: історія та сучасність”, Київ, 2009, № 3, с. 183.

the so-called “the bed of Procrustes” of the Eastern Byzantine “piety”. Therefore, some modern scholars emphasize the negative component of his educational activity, since it “posed a threat of spiritual isolation, the acquisition of a stable culture of provincialism”³⁹.

The Orthodox Christians feeling the lack of well-educated theologians who could conduct polemics on a par with Protestants and Jesuits willingly accepted “humanitarian aid” from Protestants in the form treatises far from high-probing for theological content but sharp in emotional perceptions and filled with sarcasm and offences of their recipients. Another important part of the Reformation and counter-Reformation movements and struggle between the Uniate and Orthodox Churches became declaring, and partial realization of Polish social rights and freedoms: privileges, interdenominational tolerance programme, long-standing customary rights, social equality of Sarmatian nobles and others⁴⁰.

The pro-Uniate religious and ideological direction was represented by the Jesuits, among whom the brightest representatives were B. Herbest, P. Skarga A. Possevino, H. Pocij, M. Smotrytskyi (he also once belonged to anti-Uniate flow), L. Kreuza and others. However, they were not only ideological encouragers of the Union but also brilliant polemicists, enlighteners, fighters for the purity of faith and the unity of the Church of Christ. And if the primary task for the Polish Jesuits was to turn all faithful into the womb of the Catholic Church, then for the Kyiv Metropolis Hierarchs - raising it to the level of the Patriarchate but with nominal dependence on Rome.

As for the Reformation-Protestant wing, it was actually represented by a large number of names that left the most noticeable trace in the history of this movement in the Ukrainian lands, influenced the process of institutional design and the prospects for the development of Protestantism in Ukraine up to the present day.

Recognizing the important role of Reformation-Protestant figures, we would like to emphasize that the following representatives of political elite played the most important role in the development of Renaissance ideas and innovation, and hence the denomination division of the church and religious life of Ukrainian society: the first was Vasyl-Kostiantyn Ostrozkyi who manoeuvred between Uniate doctrine, Protestantism and Orthodoxy, and his family members belonged to different churches and it was difficult to find someone like him among noble and monarchic families of Europe, and later – Ukrainian hetmans who while

³⁹ *Ibid.*, c. 183.

⁴⁰ Вирський Д. *Стріла «натягнутого лука» : Україна в Речі Посполитій (1505 – 1795)* [Ukraine in the Commonwealth (1505 - 1795)] in “День”, № 21 (21 квітня 2017), [Electronic resource], access mode: <http://www.pressreader.com/ukraine/den-ukrainian/20170421/281681139757053>

choosing their own political and ideological strategies settled between Moscow and Warsaw, and finally rejected the Reformation and Protestant factor as a deconsolidating one and devoid of the national unity idea.

Before the Union of Brest period, the main merit in the process of rapprochement between Orthodox and Protestants had belonged to C. Lucaris, who was a personal buddy of above mentioned K. Ostrozkyi and the rector of the same school (academy). Living in Ostroh, the future patriarch took an active part in the church-religious controversy and the Orthodox-Catholic dialogue of the late 16th century, as well as in the anti-Uniate convocation in Brest in 1596. At the same time, C. Lucaris supported the Calvinist movement in Rzeczpospolita. Having earned a lot of money he returned to his homeland in 1600, where he was first elected the Patriarch of Alexandria, and when (in 1613) the Constantinople episcopal see was freed – the Patriarch of Constantinople.

But Patriarch Cyril did not become history because he was the head of the Alexandria and Constantinople patriarchal cathedra's, and because he was elected to that post several times, even because he was killed by janissaries. The reason was because he had written his Confession of Faith (although there is no unanimity about his authorship), which was filled with Protestant character and Calvinist spirit⁴¹. Unfortunately, or fortunately, Lukaris's Confession caused a lively theological discussion, which resulted in his conviction of anti-Orthodoxy, deception and harm. The Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Church or the famous Catechism of Petro Mohyla righteously occupied its place. Catechism essentially denied the Lukaris's confession of faith articles and therefore had a pronounced anti-protestant character⁴².

In general, the European Reformation in the Ukrainian lands had its ambiguous response. Therefore, it is not worth exaggerating its influence in anything. First, it was present there for quite a while, and secondly, it did not manage to penetrate deeply into the domestic life of the society, because it was interesting only for elite oriented at economic, and administrative and managerial benefits. The Roman Catholic Church of Poland firmly stood against the Reformation, and it could not but respond to the Protestant-Orthodox convergence, especially in the Ukrainian lands, where, due to the rise of the Uniate doctrine and the proclamation of the Union of Brest, a new ecclesiastical reality favourable to Rome was formed, and in the struggle against it the General Confederation of Vilna was established in 1599 headed by K. Ostrozkyi's son-in-law Krzysztof Radziwiłł (who was Calvinist)⁴³. It appeared that one influential

⁴¹ Бурмило І. *Історія Церкви ...*, с. 259.

⁴² *Ibid.*, с. 260.

⁴³ *Історія православної Церкви в Україні. Зб. наук. статей* [History of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine.], Київ, Четверта хвиля, 1997, с. 89.

tycoon proclaimed himself a defender of Orthodoxy, and the other one – Protestantism. In fact, the matter was about consolidating the spheres of influence on the church and religious life of Ukrainians and Lithuanians between the father-in-law and the son-in-law. But that was an artificial "combination of wool and polyester"⁴⁴, and therefore the results of its activities were quite modest.

In the course of the intensive expansion of the Reformation and counter-reformation ideas the consciousness of the Ukrainian faithful suffered from understanding of what would happen with their “fatherly” faith and the native church, that is, Orthodox Church if “a secular element” would finally win. And the “secular element” had already been known for incarnating itself in the “secular patronage” principle. Securing the institution of “secular patronage” served as a canonical justification of the Orthodox Church subordination to secular individuals, which was far from perception of the ordinary people. It can be assumed that both reflected the history and general features of the Orthodox Ukrainians struggle against Lutheranism, Calvinism and Antitrinitarianism that spread in the late 16th century. It took place against the backdrop of the sharp Orthodox-Catholic controversy, which was also filled with interesting names and related events and phenomena in the church-religious life of the Orthodox faithful and supporters of the union with Rome. It is noteworthy that the Orthodox polemicists did not waste either time or intellect on the delineation of the East European and West European heretical movements, or as some called it “the classical lines of Protestantism.” For them, they are all heretical in essence.

Meanwhile, “new faith, as noted by I. Ohienko, spread only among intellectuals and ordinary Ukrainians were rather indifferent to the “new science”⁴⁵. Hoping for the local Protestants success in the struggle against Catholicism in Rzeczpospolita, the local magnates and gentry supported them in every possible way, joining new religious-theological teachings (Calvinism), and inclining their subjects either voluntarily or according to the principle – whose land is that is the faith. However, having gained some success in the church lands secularization the nobles immediately showed cool attitude towards Protestantism. Its ideological polyphony and institutional fragmentation, coupled with the radicalization of the social, legal and religious-theological discourse between Antitrinitarians rejected the Reformation-Protestant movement to the margins of spiritual, cultural and political life of the Ukrainian people and especially the intellectual sphere that rapidly reoriented to Orthodox-Catholic dialogue that initially aimed to Kyiv Metropolis union with Rome, and later - the fight against it as the particular project of the alone spiritual group.

⁴⁴ Костомаров Н. И. *Исторические произведения ...*, с. 184.

⁴⁵ Митрополит Іларіон. *Українська Церква: у 2-х т.* [Ukrainian Church], Вінніпег, 1956, Т. 1, 242 с.

CONCLUSIONS

Both in Europe and Ukraine, the Reformation had roughly the same consequences albeit with a certain delay in time. Renaissance-humanist trends having embraced Western Europe quickly reached the southern lands of Germany and led Luther's protest and establishment of Lutheranism as an alternative to Catholicism, and then - Calvinism as the alternative to both. Furthermore – Theology of Huldrych Zwingli, Anabaptism, and so on up to the modern, colourful and contradictory, ideological and theological palette of Protestant denominations.

Something similar things were observed in Ukraine. Although there were no wars here and so rigid confrontations as in Germany, Switzerland or France. On this background, the Uniate Church (now called the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church) was established. It successfully overcame the Protestant and Catholic, and Moscow-Orthodox religious and political expansion and played an important role in the history of the socio-political, spiritual and cultural development of the Ukrainian people. It was also possible to revive its long-standing traditions and that part of the Kyiv Metropolis that did not support the union with Rome.

The European Reformation and the spread of early Protestant flows strengthened the traditional feature of the Ukrainian Church - its constituent power, which was especially evident in the activity of church brotherhoods (16th - 17th centuries). This in fact led to the collapse of the Reformation and Protestant ideas that lay movement based on the principle of “secular apostolate” or “secular priesthood” relied largely on magnates and gentry to whom there was no special trust as German reformers and religious brothers hoped.

Development of Kyiv Metropolis church life in the Reformation era was not separated from the civilization, social and religious European context. Its state and dynamics were conditioned firstly by the Renaissance-Reformation, and somewhat later, by the Counter-Reformation influences that led to intensification of unanimous encouragement and spread of Protestantism and the Orthodox hoped to use its potential to strengthen their own positions in the struggle against the “Polish-Jesuit” intrigue and the Moscow religious and political expansion. The result of this transformation was deepening of domination division of church and religious life of Rzeczpospolita, social, religious and political tensions at the confessional level, and what was the most important – deconsolidation and atomization of the Ukrainian society when a spiritual unity was needed for designing the Ukrainian people as a titular political nation.

At the same time, the practice of Protestant-Orthodox rapprochement, which Ukrainians observed on the example of the German ideological inspirations of the protest and the Patriarchs of Constantinople, as well as

representatives of the Ostroh group, marked the beginning of gradual departure from the Eastern Byzantine collectivism and friendship with anyone - but the most important against Rome. Separation of the Kyiv Metropolis from the historical centre of Orthodoxy also took place due to the fact that Constantinople was rapidly losing its original position, since it was in the spiritual captivity of the Islamic state power.

However, the real tragedy of the Ukrainian people and its church and political elites was that there were few among them who understood that neither Rome nor Moscow, nor Constantinople, were Mother or Father to them. In their ignorance, instead of restoring the historic mission of Kyiv, they lived narrow-minded life creating their own "Ukraine" with centres in different cities: Brest, Vilno, Lviv, Ostroh, Przemysl and others. And only a small part decided to master the cultural and spiritual-religious achievements of the Catholic West that crystallized in the struggle against the Protestant ideology.