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# DOCTRINE AND FORMS OF IDEOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATIONS OF RATIONALIST MOVEMENTS IN UKRAINE

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The article analyzes the transformation of the creed of the currents of spiritual Christianity as a religious reflection of the protest of the peasant masses against the tsarist autocracy and orthodox Orthodoxy. It was established that the representatives of this direction produced religious spirituality as a way of religious self-determination, self-actualization, self-realization of the self-development of a person in being. In the context of the religious worldview, spiritual Christians sought to reveal a special spirit in man and the world, through godlikeness and faith as the ability of every believer to satisfy his spiritual needs, to improve his mind, feelings and behavior. It has been proven that spiritual Christians used a free way of interpreting the Bible, which led to the denial of the dogma of the Trinity and professing faith in the incarnation of the Spirit in living people, the possibility of direct communication with God, not recognizing the mediating mission of the clergy between God and people, worshiping their prophets and living gods. They called to trust not the established laws, but the inner conviction of the mind and conscience of a person formed on the truth. Instead of ritual and cult practice, spiritual Christians demanded to honor a person because of his belonging to the essence of the creator spirit. The moral and ethical teaching of spiritual Christians was based on Christian principles, promoting universal human values and moral norms based on love for God, people, and respect for elders. They focused special attention on such human qualities as honesty, justice, and humility. They preached a high level of moral perfection of man, although they used for this the religious factor, which is an important source of universal virtues. It is substantiated that religious and social utopias of the peasant masses were reflected in ideas about free will, reason and human dignity, future equality and brotherhood.

*Key words:* religious spirituality, religious practice, spiritual Christians, moral and ethical teaching, religious associations, rationalist currents, social justice.

Formulation of the problem. In the spiritual origins from which the doctrinal foundations of modern religious movements in Ukraine have formed, the relevant role belongs to the anti-Trinitarian doctrine, which has become a factor uniting many ideological movements, some principles of which have found continuation in modern Protestantism and other religious directions. The relevance of studying domestic anti-Trinitarianism as a religious phenomenon is determined by the peculiarities of the development of its religious system. Anti-Trinitarians are followers of the religious Christian teaching who denied or did not recognize, for various reasons, the dogma of the Holy Trinity about the single essence of the three hypostases of God. The establishment and development of domestic anti-Trinitarianism occurred under the influence of both Western Reformation movements and local rationalistic movements connected with the socio-spiritual processes in Ukraine from the 14th to the 20th centuries.

In domestic religious studies, the idea of historical regularity and originality of the Reformation processes in Ukraine has taken root. However, the appeal to anti-Trinitarianism was selective, as this movement was studied within the general religious and cultural processes or was identified with Protestantism and Reformation movements as a whole. In the period of modern

and contemporary history, anti-Trinitarianism has not become the subject of thorough scientific analysis.

With the spread of the activities of the religious associations of Dukhobors and Molokans, theological literature of a polemical and incriminatory nature concerning their activities appeared [1]. In addition to traditionally accusing the Dukhobors and Molokans of ecclesiastical heresy and anti-state activities, the authors identified both religious formations and did not see any fundamental difference between them. For the first time in independent Ukraine, the issues of the development of spiritual Christians on ethnic territories were raised by L. Shugayeva, who studies the peculiarities of social practice and religious beliefs of the Orthodox sectarianism of the Dukhobor community.

Discussion and results. During the Reformation, anti-Trinitarians called themselves Unitarians, who, through radical-critical propaganda, gained considerable support among the middle and lower social strata. The ideological dogma had an eschatological-chiliastic direction and was based on the necessity of the spiritual revival of believers. The ideological and worldview system of the anti-Trinitarians brought them closer to the teachings of Anabaptism, which led to the transition of some Anabaptists to the Unitarian community (Chekhovich, Krishkovsky, Nemoievsky). A certain influence of Unitarians was also observed among representatives of classical Protestantism, who left the ranks of their followers and converted to a new faith. This feature was due to the fact that Protestantism was honored by those segments of the population who had almost completely abandoned Orthodox traditions and could relatively easily change their confessional orientation. Anti-Trinitarianism was marked as one of the most acceptable forms for that part of the Ukrainian population that was still connected to Orthodoxy. This can be explained by some of its peculiarities.

Certain features of anti-Trinitarianism were borrowed in the 19th century by some sectarian associations in the Orthodox environment. Most scholars rightly relate sectarianism, which emerged from the depths of Orthodoxy in the 17th to 19th centuries, to late Reformation movements [2]. The latter continue to exist in the East Slavic region and in the 19th century, unlike Western Europe, which entered the path of capitalist development earlier and where such movements largely exhausted themselves. However, followers of the new doctrine operated in new socio-economic conditions, which affected the religious and cult practices of anti-Orthodox associations.

Dukhoborism and Molokanism are the result of social and religious activities of a defined group of peasantry. The complexity of the socio-economic situation and the critical characteristics of the era were the ground that contributed to the emergence, establishment, and development of Dukhoborism. The outlining of the social environment and the formation of the religious association is important for understanding the characteristic features of its doctrinal content. In the center of state peasants, the earliest properties of the transition to bourgeois-type relations and the emergence of small commodity producers revealed themselves. The psychology of the likeminded was suitable for rationalizing consciousness.

The founder of the Dukhobor movement was Siluan Kolesnikov, who established the first community in the Yekaterinoslav province. The foundations of the Dukhobor faith were outlined in the "Note submitted by the Dukhobors of the Yekaterinoslav province to Governor Kakhovsky in 1791", which was published by M. Tikhonravov in 1871 in the Living Book. L. Ushkalov suggested that the Yekaterinoslav confession of faith was composed not by the Dukhobors themselves but by the Ukrainian philosopher Hryhorii Skovoroda [3].

Alongside the rationalistic principles of faith characteristic of all religious associations of spiritual Christians, the Dukhobors emphasized specific theses of their teaching that defined their

position towards Orthodox sacraments, social life, and marital-family relations. The adherents of Dukhobor ideas defined the "spirit" as the main object of their faith. Therefore, the main idea of the Dukhobor teaching was to worship and honor God in spirit and truth. Any manifestation of external worship is unacceptable in the matter of true faith.

While not denying the Book of Scripture as one of the main sources of faith, they still noted the need for spiritual interpretation of religious texts, rather than ecclesiastical-orthodox [4, p. 45]. The Dukhobors interpreted it in a somewhat variable way. Justifying their position, they came to the conviction that a person is unable to independently interpret the true revelation. This is only possible through the spirit. Only the spirit helps the human mind to reveal the truth of the Scripture, which remains hidden in the realm of human fantasies.

Many researchers who have studied the genesis of the Spirit-bearers pointed to their direct connection with previous Khlyst groups [4, p. 302]. Scholars noted that they rejected all ecstatic practices and emphasized that the goal of their activities was not peaceful living and quiet exploitation, but an advance and struggle. Thus, the Christ-believers played a noticeable role in shaping the ideological foundations of Spirit-bearing teaching at the stage of the emergence and establishment of this religious community. In particular, similar to the Christ-believers, the Spirit-bearer Ilarion Pobirokhin declared himself the Son of God, choosing 12 apostles-archangels and 12 deadly angels. However, unlike the Christ-believers, the Spirit-bearers asserted that Christ as spirit is everywhere. He is internally present in the souls of all believers, not just the chosen ones.

The source of their teaching is not the Bible, but the Living Book, which lives in the hearts and memories of the Spirit-bearers. The Living Book was preserved in oral form and was never written down by the Spirit-bearers because they regard the spoken word with greater respect than printed books or manuscripts.

Religious subjectivism led the Spirit-bearers to a maximum simplification of the symbol of faith. One of their main objects of criticism was the dogma of the trinity of persons in the Divine. The Spirit-bearers criticized the Trinity in two aspects. On the one hand, they sought to prove that a given dogmatic position cannot be substantiated by referring to the Bible. On the other hand, like the Socinians, the Spirit-bearers argued that most dogmas contradict human reason. In the first case, the actions of the Spirit-bearers reflect a tendency to revive primitive Christianity, which, in their opinion, was based on the principles of social justice; in the second, the tendency to rationalize social consciousness typical of antitrinitarianism was expressed.

The Spirit-bearers, rejecting the dogma of the Trinity, had a peculiar interpretation of the essence of the persons. God is analyzed in three persons. The Spirit-bearers argue that God the Father is the first person, God the Son is the second person, and God the Spirit is the third person, which is associated with tranquility [5, p. 240]. In other words, the persons are revealed as height, breadth, and depth, each of which plays a symbolic role. For example, the Father is so high that no one can rise above him, the Son represents broad understanding, and in the depth of the Spirit, no one can penetrate. Some researchers conclude that the Spirit-bearers' teaching is characterized by pantheism. God is viewed by them as an impersonal force dissolved in nature, manifesting itself in the form of its laws. He embodies himself equally in all existence. Therefore, according to the Spirit-bearers, all people are equal, and any violence is prohibited. The category of soteriology was identical to that of the Socinians – good deeds and moral perfection [6, p. 165–166].

According to the teaching of the Spirit-bearers, the soul was created before the creation of the world. Due to its sinful nature, it became a prisoner in earthly life, the prison of which is the human body. The soul, by God's command, must suffer. Therefore, the body is evil from the moment of its creation, distracting the soul from the heavenly and divine and leading it down a sinful path [7, p. 586]. Thus, the soul arose and spiritually declined before the creation of

the world. According to the Spirit-bearers, who criticized the chiliastic-eschatological ideas of their predecessors, each soul appears before God's Judgment six weeks after death. For these reasons, the cosmologism of the Spirit-bearers is eliminated, as they imagine human history as a struggle between the soul and the body. They perceive the biblical legend of Cain and Abel allegorically, considering Cain to be the body and Abel to be the soul. The followers of Cain constantly persecuted the sons of Abel, resulting in human actions reaching a point where God's intervention became necessary. This ended with the emergence of laws, authority, state, and other political institutions to normalize relationships among people. The latter must cease to exist as a result of love's victory in society when everyone becomes like the Spirit-bearers.

According to the Spirit-bearers, God is the word that lives in the lineage of Spirit-bearers and thus does not disappear. The historical Christ was just a man like everyone else but more sanctified by the inner word [5, p. 241]. Like the Socinians, the Spirit-bearers interpret the mission of Christ in ethical terms. By appearing on Earth in human form and overcoming suffering and death, Christ demonstrated the possibility of achieving immortality through moral perfection. Therefore, He must be conceived, born, and resurrected in a person. This is the process of a new birth or renewal of a person. Some scholars broaden the Spirit-bearers' understanding of Jesus Christ, noting that he is one of the righteous and that the Son of God is only in the sense that all Spirit-bearers are sons of God. The purpose of his mission is to show the example of suffering for faith. His soul has transferred into the apostles and then into their successors, who are the Spirit-bearers. This is the basis for the theocratic governance of the community – leaders are deified and pass their position by inheritance.

A characteristic feature of the Spirit-bearers is that in their ideological worldview, they define their understanding of God through internal contemplation, which is vividly manifested in practice. Baptism occurs when a person renounces oneself and allows God into their life. Communion is conducted mentally, through faith in the sacrifice of Christ [6, p. 165]. The Spirit-bearers reject church organization, as it exists in the hearts of those chosen by God. The symbols of faith are bread, salt, and a jug of water, which are placed on the table during worship. Thus, the Spirit-bearers are convinced that their faith compensates for what is lacking in the hierarchical structure and ritual worship of the official church. The primary focus of the spiritual revival of the Spirit-bearers is heartfelt faith, while equality and mutual respect prevail in social and family relationships.

Therefore, the Spirit-bearers called for worship not of external laws, but of the internal law, embodied in "the spirit and truth of human reason and conscience". Instead of bowing before idols, they demanded respect for humanity, as its soul is a part of the omnipresent spirit-creator. The Spirit-bearers regarded humans as "living temples", and their ideas about free will, reason, and human dignity held significant importance. This was meant to manifest the power of one's soul.

Thus, if we compare this position with the teachings of earlier antitrinitarian communities, which became the ideological predecessors of the Spirit-bearers, we can trace their transition to allegorical rationalism. There is also a certain evolution in the ideology of the followers of the antitrinitarian direction, along with changes in the electorate of the Spirit-bearer communities and a shift toward loyal positions regarding state structures and authority in general. The ideology of the Spirit-bearers combined antitrinitarian (Socinian) and animistic elements that were understandable to the carriers of these ideas, despite changes in the social structure. Thus, the teachings of the Spirit-bearers were based on Socinian principles that espoused universal human values and moral norms, as they aimed to instill love for God, respect for people, and reverence for elders in the younger generation. They particularly emphasized qualities such as

honesty, justice, and humility. Ukrainian Spirit-bearers preached a high level of moral perfection in humans, although they utilized the religious factor as an important source of universal virtues.

Since the inception of the Spirit-bearer and Molokan movements, researchers in theological and academic literature during Soviet times did not see a fundamental difference between the ideologies and social practices of both associations. According to researchers, "there is much in common between the two sects, and minor differences are explained by not entirely identical compositions and different living conditions" [5, p. 241]. We agree with L. Shugaieva's position that the limited number of studies on the activities of the Molokan religious community and the analysis of its ideology and social practices can be attributed to the fact that the vast majority of researchers examined Molokanism in the context of the religious and social practices of the Spirit-bearers [8, p. 134].

The founders of the movement remain unknown, but the ideas were embodied by the peasant Semen Uklein from the Tambov province. The emergence of the ideology of the religious community appeared in the late 17th century as a peasant movement and, after going through several stages in its history, finally formed in the 1870s as a specific group. Being a representative of Spirit-bearing, S. Uklein did not accept the community's denial of the main dogmas of the Orthodox Church, particularly the rejection of the Bible. Eventually, he broke away from the Spirit-bearers and founded his own doctrine, which became known as Molokanism. The geography of Molokan spread in Ukraine was similar to that of the Spirit-bearers: Kharkiv, Tavria, Katerynoslav, and Kherson provinces. By the end of the 18th century, Molokans settled in southern Ukraine. In the first decades of the 20th century, the spread and activity of Molokans in the Volyn district were limited to several areas: Pulin (the village of Kruchynets, the village of Novopil), Chernyakhiv (the village of Mokrenyshche, the village of Slava, the village of Chernyakhiv), Potiiiv and Volodarsk [9, p. 242].

Unlike the Spirit-bearers, Molokans had a broader social base. While the Spirit-bearers primarily consisted of peasants, the foundation of the Molokan community included not only peasants but also small trading bourgeoisie and townspeople. The presence of merchants and wealthy peasants directly influenced the formation of the ideology of Molokanism, distinguishing it from Spirit-bearing.

If S. Uklein's worldview was formed based on the Bible, he explained his understanding of God through the Holy Scriptures, which he made the foundation of his teachings. Followers of his teachings believe that "God is spirit, in three persons-Father, Son, and Holy Spirit", and they acknowledge that the Holy Scripture "is given to man by God". Sometimes, Molokans interpret the Bible not literally, but allegorically, to give events a moral hue.

In their doctrine of the Trinity, Molokans did not reject the Orthodox interpretation of the dogma. They considered the Son and the Holy Spirit to be of one essence with the Father, although they denied equality among them. In a philosophical understanding, the Spirit-bearers combined pantheistic worldviews with rationalist forms, while the Molokan doctrine developed as Christian theism. They reveal the dogma of the Trinity as the capacity of human memory, reason, and will. The seven heavens symbolize: the first heaven-humility, the second-understanding, the third-self-restraint, the fourth-brotherly love, the fifth-mercy, the sixth-advice, the seventh-love [10, p. 366]. The Christological teachings of Molokans were more similar to Orthodoxy than to Spirit-bearing. Christ is the Son of God, not merely a spiritually perfect man. Molokans suggest that during his earthly life, Christ established the true church, which the apostles built, and later all those who joined them. According to Molokans, the true church is built only by genuinely spiritual Christians who do not recognize the main dogmas of the Orthodox Church but accept the Gospel. While denying the Orthodox Church itself, Molokanism, unlike other antitrinitarian communities,

supported the institution of the church. The apostolic Christian church and its teachings before the period of the Ecumenical Councils serve as an example of a religious structure for Molokans. Therefore, they rejected the Orthodox Church's teachings on sacraments, which divert people from spiritual rebirth.

Like other antitrinitarian movements, the Molokans reject water baptism, the sacrament of communion, the Eucharist, and fasting as having no sacred power [11, p. 367]. Other sacraments have also received a peculiar interpretation, particularly repentance, which should be performed directly before God. A characteristic feature of Molokan doctrine, common to antitrinitarian movements, is the iconoclastic tendencies. Relying on the tradition of the rationalist-heretical movement of the "Judaized" and authoritative references to biblical commandments, the Molokans do not venerate icons.

The worship service among the Molokans is simplified, built on the principles of other anti-Trinitarian communities, and consists of reading the Bible and Psalms. Initially, the worship service, which was led by the presbyter heading the Molokan community, took place in ordinary premises with benches. The elders of the church held great authority, and no Molokan ritual occurred without them.

The soteriology of the Molokans is based on Socinian teachings, which gained ethical significance through the concepts of the meaning of existence and human purpose. Molokans believe that in sinful humans, a fragment of goodness remains, which is awakened through the Word of God and can be developed through self-improvement and good deeds. In other words, salvation is achieved through personal effort, similar to Socinians. In their views on human sinfulness and salvation, they emphasize the confidence of individuals in their moral and intellectual capabilities. Like Socinians, the Molokans particularly insisted on the equality of all believers in matters of conscience, and society should be structured on evangelical principles and love. The ideal state structure for the Molokans is a society where the need for state violence disappears. They recognize state power only formally, at the call of their own goodwill. However, over time, the Molokans began to demonstrate moderation in their attitude towards state authority and its institutions. This was due to an ideology that corresponded to the interests of social strata that preferred the status of free producers. This is why their demands for reducing the church's costs, simplifying its organization, and rituals emerged.

Having distanced themselves from the Orthodox Church, the Molokans did not reject all its rituals, although they interpreted them according to their own understandings. They honor all the main holidays of the Orthodox Church. The humanistic principles of the Molokans are built on Socinian traditions and are closely linked to teachings about sinfulness, the atonement of Christ, and spiritual rebirth. Their attitude towards work as the highest human virtue connects Molokanism not only with Socinianism but also with Protestantism. Molokans believe that work is an expression of the spiritual and physical identification of a person, as God wanted humans to be the masters of the universe. The ideology and morality of Molokanism formed as the ideology of small commodity producers, transforming work into a moral obligation and granting it the status of a sacred duty. Over time, the Molokans split into three main currents: communal, permanent, and jumpers, which in turn also divided into directions.

In the first quarter of the 19th century, chiliastic-eschatological ideas spread in Ukraine, under the influence of which religious associations such as the Ilyinites and painted ones emerged. One of the features of the creed of these currents was a consistent anti-Trinitarianism. The basis for such conclusions is the identification by some authors of the Ilyinites sect with the Jehovah's Witnesses sect. We agree with L. Shugaieva's position, who, based on a substantial literary and source base, made an objective analysis of the social prerequisites for the emergence

and formation of the ideology of the sect. The author concluded that Jehovah's Witnesses were formed on a Protestant basis and belong to messianic-eschatological sects, which explains the differences in the religious foundations of the sects [11, p. 79–80].

The formation of M. Ilyin's worldview occurred under the influence of the ideas of Western chiliastic mystics, which reflected in his ideas about the millennial kingdom of Christ. Based on these ideas, he denied Holy Tradition, the sacraments of the Orthodox Church, rituals, the authority of the Ecumenical Councils, and the teachers of the Church. The basis of his teaching was the revelation of John the Theologian, which he interpreted arbitrarily [11, p. 81]. Due to the celebration of the Saturday of the week by the Ilyinites among the population, they were more commonly known by the name "Sabbatarians".

Conclusions. The popularity of the teaching was determined by the internal prescriptions of the sect, which consisted of complete support and assistance to its representatives, marrying only with members of the sect, and the cult of guardians of the light. As followers of anti-Trinitarianism, the Ilyinites did not recognize Orthodox sacraments, did not honor icons, crosses, or relics, and celebrated Jewish holidays. Thus, the evolution of the religious foundations of anti-Trinitarianism in Ukraine within rationalistic-heresy currents was determined by the influence of, on one hand, the Renaissance and Reformation, and on the other, the consequences of the crisis phenomena in contemporary society and church life. If heretical currents at the turn of the 16th–17th centuries under the influence of rationalism led to the formation of anti-Trinitarianism and Socinianism, then in the 19th century, a similar path was taken by spiritual Christianity. However, regarding Christological doctrine, eschatological expectations, interpretation of the Bible, social practice, and social composition, each current distinguished itself as a completely independent religious formation.

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# ВІРОВЧЕННЯ ТА ФОРМИ ІДЕОЛОГІЧНОЇ ТРАНСФОРМАЦІЇ РАЦІОНАЛІСТИЧНИХ РУХІВ В УКРАЇНІ

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У статті проаналізовано трансформацію віровчення течій духовного християнства як релігійне відображення протесту селянських мас проти царського самодержавства та ортодоксального православ'я. Встановлено, що представники даного напрямку продукували релігійну духовність як спосіб релігійного самовизначення, самоактуалізації, самоздійснення саморозвитку людини в бутті. В контексті релігійного світосприйняття, духовні християни прагнули до розкриття у людині та світі особливого духу, шляхом богоуподібнення та віри як здатності кожного віруючого задовільнити свої духовні потреби, удосконалювати розум, почуття і поведінку. Доведено, що духовні християни послуговувалися вільним способом тлумачення Біблії, що призвело до заперечення догмату Трійці й сповідувати віру у втілення Духа в живих людей, можливість прямого спілкування з Богом, невизнання посередницької місії духовенства між Богом і людьми, поклоніння своїм пророкам і живим богам. Вони закликали довірятися не встановленим законам, а внутрішньому переконанню сформованого на істині розуму і совісті людини. Замість обрядово-культової практики духовні християни вимагали шанувати людину через її приналежність до сутності духа-творця. Морально-етичне вчення духовних християн грунтувалося на християнських засадах, пропагуючи загальнолюдські цінності та моральні норми, які грунтуються на любові до Бога, людей, поваги до старших. Особливу увагу вони акцентували на таких якостях людини, як чесність, справедливість, покірність. Вони проповідували високий рівень моральної досконалості людини, хоча й використовували для цього релігійний чинник, що  $\epsilon$  важливим джерелом загальнолюдських чеснот. Обгрунтовано, що в уявленнях про свобідну волю, розум і гідність людини, майбутню рівність і братерство відбилися релігійно-соціальні утопії селянських мас.

*Ключові слова:* релігійна духовність, культова практика, духовні християни, морально-етичне вчення, релігійні об'єднання, раціоналістичні течії, соціальна справедливість.