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# THE RESTORATION OF CHURCH ORTHODOX BROTHERHOODS AND THEIR MISSIONARY WORK IN RIGHT-BANK UKRAINE (From the 1860s to the Beginning of the 20th Century)

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## Abstract

The article examines the process of restoring Orthodox church brotherhoods in the 1860s on the territory of the Right-Bank Ukraine, defines the goals and objectives of these organizations, and analyzes the content and consequences of missionary and related educational and charitable work. The subjects of the research are the Orthodox church brotherhoods and their missionary work. The analysis of historiography is carried out and the need for further scientific research in the study of the topic is indicated. The role of brotherhoods in interfaith encounters is clarified, as are the methods aimed at combating Late Protestant confessions. Despite a certain positive effect, the dependence of church brotherhoods on the state and formalism in the organization of their work prevented them from fully realizing the tasks assigned to them. The Russian Orthodox Church in general and the Orthodox brotherhoods failed to stop the development and spread of the evangelical movement in the Ukrainian lands. The Orthodox Church did not take opportunities to renew and reform the church, which opened up in the process of inter-confessional confrontation with heterodox confessions.

**Keywords:** Orthodox Church brotherhoods, Orthodox Church, missionary activity, Late Protestant denominations, evangelical movement.

## Introduction

The emergence and spread of Protestantism in Europe in the 16th century led to an intensification of the religious struggle between adherents of the Catholic and Protestant churches. This struggle took place using both forceful and spiritual methods. As part of the counter-reformation processes in the Ukrainian lands, the influence of the Catholic Church increased, and its pressure on the Orthodox population and the educational activities of the Jesuits intensified. The Orthodox Church also intensified its educational and missionary work. An important role in this matter was played by Orthodox church brotherhoods. These were

spontaneous associations of the laity, which had a significant impact on the revival of religious life, and the development of culture and education in Ukrainian lands. Their activities in the 16th–17th centuries are largely covered in the scholarly literature, but the further fate of these organizations escaped the attention of researchers. In the 1860s, a major revival of Orthodox brotherhoods took place. They received a new impetus for development, while also remaining true to their old motivations. Similar new associations were being revived. At this time, these organizations had to resist the Catholic and Uniate influences and the spread of the evangelical movement. Their tasks were coordinated with the activities of the imperial government.

Only certain aspects of the work of Orthodox brotherhoods are reflected in general works devoted to the history of the church, such as in the studies of S. O. Gladky,<sup>1</sup> S. I. Zhilyuk,<sup>2</sup> V. G. Mesha,<sup>3</sup> G. M. Nadtoka,<sup>4</sup> S. V. Rimsky,<sup>5</sup> and N. A. Smirnova.<sup>6</sup> In Soviet historiography, all aspects of the work of the church were criticized, including missionary activity, and Orthodox brotherhoods were viewed only as one of the elements of the Russian bureaucratic machine, whose task was to preserve the existing system and “exploit the working people.” From such a position, for example, the work of N. A. Smirnov was written.<sup>7</sup>

The emphasis is different in modern Russian historiography: the authors are trying to objectively depict church history. However, general imperial approaches dominate in their works, so they pay attention to general processes without going into the specifics of individual regions, especially when it comes to ethnic differences that do not fit into the imperial concept. For example, S. V. Rimsky describes in detail the various aspects of the work of the Russian Orthodox Church during the years of church reforms of the 1860s and 1870s. He also analyzes the reasons for the revival of Orthodox brotherhoods, determines the tasks that were assigned to them, and indicates the results of their work.<sup>8</sup> However, his attention is mainly focused on general processes, while the specific cultural aspects of religious practice in the Ukrainian lands remain undiscussed.

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<sup>1</sup> Гладкий *Культурницька діяльність парафіяльного духовенства православних єпархій України на початку ХХ ст.* (Запоріжжя, 1997). 50 pp.

<sup>2</sup> С. І. Жиліюк. *Російська православна церква на Волині (1793 – 1917)*. (Житомир, 1996). 173 pp.

<sup>3</sup> В. Г. Меша *Конфесійний та суспільний аспекти розвитку православної церкви в Україні 1875 – 1900 років*. (Донецьк, 2007). 354 pp.

<sup>4</sup> Г. М. Надтока. *Православна церква в Україні 1900 – 1917 років: соціально-релігійний аспект*. (Київ, 1998). 271 pp.

<sup>5</sup> С. В. Римский. *Российская церковь в эпоху великих реформ (Церковные реформы в России 1860 – 1870-х годов)*. (Москва, 1999). 568 pp.

<sup>6</sup> Н. А. Смирнов. “Миссионерская деятельность церкви (вторая половина XIX в. – 1917 г.)”. *Русское православие: веки истории*. (Москва, 1989). Рр. 438-462.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Римский, op. cit.

Among the works of Ukrainian historians, the developments of G. M. Nadтока are notable. In his monograph, he analyzed various aspects of the activities of the ROC within the Ukrainian lands at the beginning of the 20th century, and studied the management structure, educational and missionary activities of the church, but the work of the Orthodox brotherhoods, especially its results, has not been studied enough<sup>9</sup>. S. I. Zhilyuk's research is also devoted to the activities of the Russian Orthodox Church, and the geographical boundaries of the work are limited only to Volyn. The author recalls and evaluates the activities of church brotherhoods from a positive side, however, their practical work, especially in missionary work, is considered briefly, in the context of the general religious processes that took place in the region<sup>10</sup>. The subject of research by S. A. Gladky was the cultural activities of the parish clergy of the Orthodox dioceses of Ukraine at the beginning of the 20th century. Carrying out a scientific search in this direction, the author also pointed to the activities of Orthodox brotherhoods, however, a number of aspects of their work remained outside the scope of the study<sup>11</sup>. V. G. Mesha analyzed in detail the confessional and social aspects of the development of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine at the end of the 19th century, and therefore reflect the work of Orthodox brotherhoods. However, the tasks of these organizations, their missionary and educational activities, are covered only in passing.<sup>12</sup> Insufficiently deep study of the topic, especially the gaps in the coverage of the missionary and educational activities of the Orthodox brotherhoods, indicate the need for further scientific research.

Therefore, there is a need to continue scientific research and identify all aspects of the activities of Orthodox brotherhoods, among them the forms, methods, and results of their missionary work.

### **Key Definitions and Status of the Study**

The Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) is a Christian church organization of the Orthodox denomination, which, during the years of the existence of the Russian Empire (1721–1917), occupied a privileged position in the country: it had the right to missionary work (unlike other denominations), and was included in the system of public administration. The Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) was an executive authority responsible for the formation and

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<sup>9</sup> Надтока, *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> Жилук, *op. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> Гладкий, *op. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> Меша, *op. cit.*

implementation of state policy in the field of maintaining order from unlawful encroachments and combating crime.

Right-bank Ukraine is the historical and geographical name of the part of the territory of Ukraine on the right bank of the Dnieper. It occupied the territory of modern Vinnitsa, Zhytomyr, Kirovograd, Kiev and partially Cherkasy regions. As a result of the second division of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1793, Right-Bank Ukraine became part of the Russian Empire.

The Russian Empire was a state formed from the Muscovite kingdom (proclaimed an empire in 1721) and, because of further continuous expansion into neighboring countries and territories, by the beginning of the 20th century, became the second largest country in the world, occupying vast territories of Eastern Europe and Asia. It existed until the February Revolution of 1917.

Church Orthodox brotherhoods are national-religious public organizations formed with the goal of protecting Orthodox laity from the policy of religious and national oppression carried out by gentry of Poland and the Catholic Church. The brotherhoods played a significant role in the socio-political and cultural life of Ukraine in the 16th-18th centuries, and in the middle of the 19th century they were in the process of rebirth.

Late Protestant denominations are confessions of Stundists, Baptists, Evangelical Christians, Adventists, and others actively spreading in Ukrainian lands from the middle of the 19th century onward.

Non-Orthodoxy is a term that was used in the Russian Empire to refer to Christian non-Orthodox denominations.

Sectarians is a general term that was used in the Russian Empire to refer to believers who had departed from the official church. This term has taken on a negative connotation since it was used by members of the Russian Orthodox Church to marginalize other believers and fight against them.

The Holy Synod is a collegiate governing body of the Russian Orthodox Church. The Holy Synod was headed by a state official, the chief procurator, appointed by the emperor.

### **Reforms of the Late 19th to Early 20th Century**

In the 1860s, reforms began in the Russian Empire in various areas of life, among them the religious sphere. One of the components of religious reform was the revival of Orthodox brotherhoods, associations of believers and clergy that had existed in the 16th and 17th centuries in churches and monasteries to protect the Orthodox faith. After the seizure of

Ukrainian lands by the Russian Empire as a result of the division of Poland, the activities of these brotherhoods gradually ended, since the ROC focused not on the help of such impromptu associations, but prioritized its support of the state. However, in the middle of the 19th century, in connection with the Polish uprisings, Orthodox brotherhoods gained new life as defenders of faith, traditions, and the existing regime. The Russian authorities closely followed the process of the revival of the brotherhoods and tried to direct them according to their own needs. For this reason, the Ministry of the Interior developed rules that contained the tasks and regulated the activities of these associations. In 1864, these rules were approved and since then the brotherhoods have launched an active missionary, publishing, and charitable work aimed at combating heterodoxy -- that is, Catholicism and Protestantism.

The key areas of work of the Orthodox brotherhoods include religious and educational, missionary, and charitable activities.<sup>13</sup> However, the political subtext of their activities remained important, as indicated by the resolution introduced at the initiative of the then Interior Minister P. A. Valuev when discussing the question of the advisability of reviving the Orthodox brotherhoods. According to the minister, these brotherhoods are useful, and in the western provinces they are simply necessary, so their revival and activities should be regulated “in accordance with the tasks of the government.”<sup>14</sup>

One of the first Orthodox brotherhoods appeared in Kyiv and Kamenetz-Podolsky. On July 15, 1864, the St. Vladimir Brotherhood began in Kyiv in the St. Sophia Cathedral,<sup>15</sup> and on November 21, 1864, in Kamianets-Podolsky, in the Cathedral.<sup>16</sup> The main efforts of these associations were aimed at developing public education and raising the moral level of the population of the region.<sup>17</sup>

Specifically, the Kiev St. Vladimir Brotherhood, thanks to donations and its own commercial activities, expanded over time, and was able to implement a number of projects that correspond to their main task. Among the most important was pedagogical work. It entailed organizing and promoting the development of a network of fraternal and parochial schools, secondary educational institutions, and teaching activities in these institutions. The Orthodox clergy of the Right-Bank Ukraine took an active part in these processes. A specific example in

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<sup>13</sup> А. А. Папков. *Церковные братства: краткий статистический очерк о положении церковных братств к началу 1893 года*. (Санкт-Петербург, 1893), р. 51.

<sup>14</sup> Римский, *op. cit.*

<sup>15</sup> “Киевское Свято-Владимирское, при Софийском соборе, братство.” *Киевские епархиальные ведомости*. 1864. № 19. ч. неоф. Р. 591.

<sup>16</sup> “Устав братства при Кафедральном соборе в г. Каменце.” *Киевские епархиальные ведомости*. 1865. № 5. Р. 202.

<sup>17</sup> “Извлечение из всеподданнейшего отчета обер-прокурора Святейшего Синода по ведомству православного исповедания за 1866 год.” *Киевские епархиальные ведомости*. 1868. № 5. ч. неоф. С. 208.

this regard was given by Metropolitan Arseniy (Moskvin) of Kiev, who, in 1866-1867, donated 537 books of various contents to the Kiev Vladimir Brotherhood to be sent to the parochial schools of the diocese.<sup>18</sup>

Educational activity was closely intertwined with missionary work, and, with the spread of late Protestant confessions, the fight against the latter became an important vector. As part of this struggle, the brotherhoods chose places for missionary interviews, financially supported diocesan and district missionaries and their assistants, arranged positions for permanent brotherly missionaries, and organized traveling missions. Some of the brotherhoods were engaged in the study of the peculiarities of sectarian creeds, the way of life of Protestants, and their published doctrines.<sup>19</sup> In particular, such work was actively carried out by the Lutsk Exaltation of the Cross Brotherhood, the charter of which was approved by the Volyn Spiritual Consistory on January 22, 1871. This brotherhood carried out the cleansing of Volhynia from Catholicism by means of embodying the great-power idea of the historical community of the Volynians.<sup>20</sup>

On September 14, 1870, thanks to the efforts of the Kiev Metropolitan Arseniy (Moskvin), a committee of the Russian Orthodox Missionary Society was opened in Kyiv, which he headed.<sup>21</sup> To combat the Protestant denominations, the Metropolitan proposed to train special missionaries at the Kiev Theological Seminary and Academy. He also took the initiative to double the allowance of the clergy of those parishes in which Stundism had spread.

Some representatives of the Orthodox Church considered the missionary work to be so important that they proposed the creation of brotherhoods solely for this purpose. In 1903, the Volyn diocesan missionary V. Levitsky even developed a draft charter for Orthodox brotherhoods, whose task should be exclusively to counter heterodoxy. It noted that members of such societies should monitor the state of sectarianism in their parishes, return sectarians to the Orthodox faith, inform the priest about all events in sectarian life, deepen their knowledge of the history of sectarianism and improve methods of combating it.<sup>22</sup> Consequently, according to the priest, the Orthodox population had to bear collective responsibility for the inviolability and unity of the Church. These same ideas were voiced by the top church leadership. Thus, a high-ranking official of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, V. M. Skvortsov,

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<sup>18</sup> “Отчет Киевского Свято-Владимирского братства за третий год его существования с 24 августа 1866 г. по 19 июля 1867 года.” *Киевские епархиальные ведомости*. 1867. № 20. отд. 2. Рр. 646-647.

<sup>19</sup> Н. А. Заозерский. “Братское дело в Православной России.” *Богословский вестник*. 1894. № 10. Р. 182.

<sup>20</sup> Папков, *op. cit.*

<sup>21</sup> А. Воскресенский *Открытие в Киеве Комитета Православного Миссионерского общества*. (Киев, 1870.” р. 19.

<sup>22</sup> Державний архів Житомирської області. Ф. 1. Оп. 31. Спр. 668. Арк. 3-3 зв.

during a meeting with the Kiev clergy, emphasized that, to successfully combat sectarianism, it is necessary to unite the joint efforts of the clergy and the entire Orthodox population.<sup>23</sup>

With the beginning of the revolution of 1905-1907, the existing brotherhoods sharply revived their activities and new similar associations arose. In 1906, in the city of Kamenetz-Podolsk, at the Holy Trinity Monastery, the Podolsk Holy Trinity Missionary Brotherhood was established. The scale of its activities is evidenced by the fact that only during 1908 it sent to the churches and parishes of the Podolsk diocese missionary and religious-moral literature in the total amount of 15,260 rubles.<sup>24</sup> In 1909, similar brotherhoods appeared in the Baltsky and Vinnitsa counties; in 1911 in the Gaisinsky and Kamenets counties; and in 1912 in the town of Orinin, Kamenetsky County.<sup>25</sup>

Such organizations arose where, in the opinions of their founders, the Orthodox Church was threatened by other religious denominations. In the report on the state of the Podolsk diocese for 1908, it was noted that sectarianism was widespread in the village of Osolinka, Litinsky district, Podolsk province. Accordingly, it is here that the parish fraternity was organized, which, during 1908, spent about 300 rubles on charity to “fight against Stundism.”<sup>26</sup> In our opinion, the brotherhood's emphasis on charity was associated with the desire of the supporters of Orthodoxy to compete with similar efforts on part of the Late Protestant<sup>27</sup> communities.

An important direction in the missionary activity of the Orthodox clergy and members of the fraternities was the distribution of anti-sectarian literature among the Orthodox population--books, brochures, etc. Thus, in 1908, the Kiev Ascension parish brotherhood distributed copies of the Anti-Sectarian Catechism by the St. Petersburg missionary D. Bogolyubov to the Orthodox. In addition, five thousand anti-sectarian leaflets were distributed by members of the brotherhood.<sup>28</sup> In order to increase the efficiency of the work of the church in this direction, special book-carrying missionaries were introduced. The decision to introduce four such posts with a salary of 300 rubles was made in the summer of 1912 at the Cherkasy Missionary Congress.<sup>29</sup> The Orthodox clergy saw in the dissemination of anti-sectarian literature an important means of preserving the Orthodox faith, and therefore

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<sup>23</sup> “Миссионерское собеседование.” *Киевские епархиальные ведомости*. 1910. № 8-9. ч. неоф. р. 231.

<sup>24</sup> Российский государственный исторический архив. Ф. 796. Оп. 442. Спр. 2291. Арк. 42.

<sup>25</sup> Державний архів Хмельницької області. Ф. 228. Оп. 1. Спр. 8199. Арк. 7, 10 зв., 13, 25-25зв., 66-66 зв.

<sup>26</sup> Российский государственный исторический архив. Ф. 796. Оп. 442. Спр. 2291. Арк. 35 зв.-36.

<sup>27</sup> “Late Protestant” is an Ukrainian term to designate Protestant denomination which arose since the 18th century.

<sup>28</sup> Центральний державний історичний архів України в м. Києві. Ф. 127. Оп. 787. Спр. 182. Арк. 7 зв.-8.

<sup>29</sup> “Доклады, обсуждавшиеся на миссионерском съезде в г. Черкассах, происходившем 18 – 22 июня 1912 года.” *Киевские епархиальные ведомости*. 1912. № 45. ч. неоф. Р. 1071.



recommended that no expense be spared in this matter. Quite emotionally, the Tarashcha district missionary F. Khizhnyakov wrote about this in a letter to the Kiev Diocesan Missionary Council in October 1909: "To spare church money for issuing such anti-sectarian leaflets, or to refuse because of a lack of funds ... is sinful and criminal. When it comes to the salvation of human souls from destruction, all other church needs should be put in a secondary place."<sup>30</sup>

Orthodox brotherhoods paid special attention to educating young people in the spirit of the dominant church, to level the influence of Protestants on the younger generation. In this regard, the case of I. Kulichevsky, a teenager from Kyiv, which was deliberated at a spiritual consistory in 1904, turned out to be indicative. Its essence was as follows. The teenager's father gave his son as an apprentice to the "Stundist shoemaker" T. Mazhny. The latter began to force I. Kulichevsky against his will to attend the children's prayer meetings of sectarians. As a result of the investigation of the consistory, it turned out that, after the death of his wife, Kulichevsky Sr. was left with several young children and was unable to raise them. Representatives of the Orthodox Church, apparently, "pressed" on the father, and an agreement was concluded between him and the consistory that his children would be taken into the custody of the Kiev St. Vladimir Brotherhood. The members of the consistory noted with pleasure that the further education of Kulichevsky's children "...in the spirit of the Orthodox religion can be considered quite secure."<sup>31</sup>

At the beginning of the 20th century, the activities of the St. Vladimir, St. Fedorovsky, Boriso-Glebsky, and the Tarashchansky, St. George brotherhoods were most noticeable in the Kyiv diocese. Other dioceses were as follows: in the Volyn diocese the Vladimir-Vasilyevsky, Anastasievsky, in Lutsk the Holy Cross Exaltation, in Ostroh Cyril and Methodius brotherhoods, and in the Podolsk diocese the Podolsky St. Vladimir brotherhood.<sup>32</sup>

During the revolution of 1905–1907, the imperial authorities relaxed some religious legislation and issued regulations that improved the legal status of believers of the L denominations. On April 17, 1905, the tsarist decree "On strengthening the principles of religious tolerance" was issued, in the first paragraph of which it was stated that "leaving the Orthodox faith for another Christian confession or dogma is not subject to persecution."<sup>33</sup> And on October 17, 1905, the tsar's manifesto granted civil liberties to the population, among them

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<sup>30</sup> Центральний державний історичний архів України в м. Києві. Ф. 127. Оп. 1005. Спр. 84. Арк. 2 зв.

<sup>31</sup> Обеспечение православного воспитания детей." *История Евангельского движения в Евразии (1.0) [Электронный ресурс]: материалы и документы*. Одесса, 2001. 1 электрон. опт. диск (CD-ROM).

<sup>32</sup> Гладкий, *op. cit.*, Рр. 22-23.

<sup>33</sup> Именной Высочайший указ, данный Сенату Об укреплении начал веротерпимости. 17 апреля 1905 г. *Полное собрание законов Российской империи: собр. 3-е*. Санкт-Петербург, 1908. Т. XXV: 1905 г. Отд. 1. № 26125. Р. 257.

freedom of conscience. Accordingly, the leaders of the Orthodox Church and members of church brotherhoods adjusted their methods of missionary encounter with religious opponents. On this occasion, the magazine of the Kiev clergy stated, “With the publication of the Supreme Decree of April 17, 1905, on freedom of religion, the Kyiv diocesan mission is implementing exclusively religious and moral measures to combat sectarianism.”<sup>34</sup>

In addition to changes in legislation, Orthodox brotherhoods were prompted to attempt new methods of religious competition because of the public opinion that they had failed to overcome other sects. The too-close relationship of the church and the state, especially the focus on supporting the police as the most effective way to fight dissidents, caused the public to question the validity of the Orthodox clergy’s methods of spiritual influence, which, in turn, undermined the authority of the church. This was recognized by a part of the Orthodox clergy. Thus, in 1911, priest V. Toropetsky noted on the pages of Volyn Diocesan Information: “We do not at all want to resurrect the past times, when the police took an active and direct part in the fight against false teachings. We do not want this participation. History has convinced us all that any violent measures in the cause of religion have always led to just the opposite results.”<sup>35</sup> Another priest, P. Matushevich, criticizing the organization of the Orthodox mission in a December 1905 letter to the famous missionaries S. Potekhin and M. Belogorsky, spoke more categorically: “Mixing state power with religion, missionary work put itself on the side of the rapists and took up the fight against the people.”<sup>36</sup>

Thus, a partial change in the methods of missionary work of the Orthodox brotherhoods after 1905-1906 was caused both by the liberalization of legislation and by the awareness of an increasing part of the clergy of the negative consequences that administrative methods of struggle had for the church in general, and its missionary work. The use of religious and moral methods of influence, however, even borrowing the experience of religious opponents, had positive consequences both for the church itself and for ordinary believers. This entails principally the activation of Orthodox Christian education, the publication of Orthodox brochures, the holding of public speeches by members of Orthodox brotherhoods, etc. Such measures did not always produce an immediate missionary effect, but their significance was much deeper. They contributed to the partial renewal of the church, the elimination of negative

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<sup>34</sup> К характеристике деятельности Киевской епархиальной противосектантской миссии, частью в ее прошлом, частью в настоящем времени. *Киевские епархиальные ведомости*. 1908. № 30. ч. неоф. Р. 786.

<sup>35</sup> В Торопецкий. “Грозные явления.” *Волинские епархиальные ведомости*. 1911. № 19. ч. неоф. Р. 394.

<sup>36</sup> Центральний державний історичний архів України в м. Києві. Ф. 127. Оп. 1003. Спр. 77. Арк. 109 зв.

aspects in its activities, which reduced its authority and encouraged some believers to search for a better religious system.

Analyzing the results of the missionary activity of the ROC and the Orthodox brotherhoods, it can be stated that they did not manage to stop the constant growth of the Late Protestant denominations. For 1906-1911, their number within all of Ukraine doubled from 25 to 50 thousand people. Of course, this is partly due to some Evangelical believers returning to the Orthodox faith. The dynamics of mutual transitions still overall reflect the advantage of the Late Protestant confessions: in the Kiev diocese in 1912, 366 people converted from Orthodoxy to Stundism, 90 to Baptism, 66 to Adventism, and 208 to Evangelical Christianity. At the same time, 212 people from Stundism, 51 from Baptism, 43 from Adventism, and 9 from Evangelical Christianity joined the Orthodox Church.<sup>37</sup> Thus, only due to officially registered transitions, the number of believers of the Late Protestant denominations in one Kiev diocese during 1912 increased by 415 people. However, most of these transitions were not included in the statistics, since leaving Orthodoxy was generally prohibited before 1905, and, while after 1905, it was allowed, it was complicated by bureaucratic obstacles, public pressure from church leaders, and a conservative-minded environment.

In general, the civil and church leadership presented the activities of the brotherhoods as a universal spontaneous manifestation of a popular movement aimed at protecting Orthodoxy. However, an impartial assessment of their functioning is far from rosy. N. A. Zaozersky, a professor at the Moscow Theological Academy and a regular correspondent for the *Theological Bulletin* (and from 1909 to 1912 its editor), was quite critical of the attempts of some authors to exaggerate the positive consequences of the work of Orthodox brotherhoods. He noted that, unfortunately, among the members of the fraternities, an insignificant part was active in the development of the fraternal cause. The participation of the majority was limited to paying membership dues of several rubles a year, and often reluctantly.<sup>38</sup> Many brotherhoods existed formally or limited their work to concern for the purely economic needs of the church.<sup>39</sup>

The activities of the Orthodox brotherhoods were under the constant control of the highest church leadership and were vigorously encouraged by them. The conservative-monarchist newspaper *Life of Volyn* noted in January 1911 that, in connection with the

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<sup>37</sup> История евангельско-баптистского движения в Украине: материалы и документы / сост. С. И. Головащенко. (Одесса, 1998). Р. 136.

<sup>38</sup> Н. А. Заозерский. "Братское дело в Православной России." *Богословский вестник*. 1894. № 10. Рр. 184-185.

<sup>39</sup> Гладкий, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

particularly useful activities of some brotherhoods of the Western Territory in favor of Orthodoxy and the Russian people, the Holy Synod decided to assign to some of them an assistance of 250 rubles. In the Volyn diocese, assistance was assigned to the Lutsk Exaltation of the Cross, Vladimir-Volyn and Ostroh Cyril and Methodius brotherhoods.<sup>40</sup>

At the same time, excessive control over the Orthodox brotherhoods by the state, involving attempts by the authorities to use them for their own utilitarian purposes, did not give them the opportunity to fully reveal their potential, and reduced their importance in the religious life of the region. In 1894, N. A. Zaozersky noted that the Orthodox brotherhoods were certainly useful, and their activities were important, but, considering their foundational initiative of the “leadership,” they did not sufficiently contribute to the increase of religious and moral consciousness.<sup>41</sup> Even modern Russian researchers admit that the brotherhoods mainly served the political goals of the government, the Russification of the region; they did not notably figure into the problems of church reform. Due to their small number, they failed to positively influence the increasing authority of the clergy or its rapprochement with the people.<sup>42</sup>

Consequently, the revival of Orthodox brotherhoods in the 1860s was an important phenomenon in religious life. In Right-Bank Ukraine, the activities of the brotherhoods were focused on raising the religious and moral spirit of the population, protecting the Orthodox Church from Catholic and Uniate influences, and later, to combat the spread of Late Protestant confessions. The activities of these organizations had a certain effect, but their dependence on the state and formalism in the organization prevented them from fully realizing the tasks assigned to them.

The Russian Orthodox Church as a whole, and the Orthodox brotherhoods, were unable to stop the development of the Evangelical movement, despite the support of the state, the number of missionaries, significant intellectual forces, and abundant material resources. Additionally, the Orthodox Church did not properly utilize the opportunities for internal church reform, which opened the process of inter-confessional confrontation with non-Orthodox confessions. But Protestantism offered the ideas of religious tolerance, general tolerance, and rationalism; these ideas, which were massively disseminated in the world, forced traditional

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<sup>40</sup> “Местная жизнь.” *Жизнь Волыни*. 1911. 22 января. Р. 3.

<sup>41</sup> Заозерский, р. 185..

<sup>42</sup> Римский С. В. *Российская церковь в эпоху великих реформ* (Церковные реформы в России 1860 – 1870-х годов). (Москва, 1999), р. 368.

Orthodoxy to reckon with them and change their social policy in accordance with the requirements of the time.

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