

**Hosius and Mohyla:
Catholicism and Orthodoxy in the Polish-Lithuanian
Commonwealth in Early Modern Times.
A History of a Transcultural Reform Movement***

von

Tetiana Shevchenko

The equality of rights of denominations in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was based on the principle of equality of nobility, an essential freedom that was foundational to the state until 1791. The Warsaw Confederation (1573) guaranteed religious liberty for the nobility, or *szlachta* (except the Socinians) and their right to choose their subjects' denomination. In this context the Jesuits organized a dense network of schools free of charge and conducted dynamic polemical, publishing, and catechetical activities in the lands populated generally by the Eastern Orthodox population. The Jesuit schools were especially popular in Ruthenia – during 1575-1648 about 2,500 to 7,000 pupils, mainly of Eastern Orthodox faith, passed through Jesuit educational establishments. Against the background of polemics between the Eastern Orthodox and Catholic intellectuals, the places of real confrontation between the two denominations were the crown towns of Halyčyna (Polish “Galicja”), where the Eastern Orthodox burghers experienced oppression at the community level.¹ The situation became worse after the Union of Breść (1596), although the Union gave a new stimulus to the development of the Eastern Orthodox polemic literature, furthering the solidarity of the Eastern Orthodox burghers and nobles under the slogan of common struggle for faith.

Historiography has suggested more than once that Kyjivan metropolitan Petro Mohyla implemented the same reforms as the Polish Catholic bishops had done after the Council of Trent, calling them “the Orthodox Counter-Reformation”.² However, the degree of influence of “Latin” borrowings on

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¹ MYRON KAPRAL': Nacional'ni hromady L'vova XVI-XVIII st. (Social'no-pravovi vzajemymy) [National communities of L'viv of the 16th-18th centuries. (Social-legal relations)], L'viv 2003, pp. 95-131.

² AMBROISE JOBERT: Od Lutra do Mohyly. Polska wobec kryzysu chrześcijaństwa 1517-1648 [From Luther to Mohyla. Poland in the light of the crisis of Christianity 1517-1648], Warszawa 1994, p. 272; JAROSLAV ISAJEVYČ: Osvitnij ruch v Ukrajinі: schidna tradycja i zachidni vplyvy [An educational movement in Ukraine: an Eastern tradition and Western impacts], in: Kyjiv's'ka starovyna 1 (1995), pp. 2-10, here p. 5; ALEXANDER SYDORENKO: The Kievan Academy in the Seventeenth Century, Ottawa 1977,

Mohyla's theological, liturgical, administrative, and educational reforms and their assessment provoke active debates among scholars. Ukrainian researchers of Mohyla underestimate these adoptions, stressing that "he used only the foreign forms ... the means, but not the content of the confessional teaching". They emphasize that Mohyla's doctrine generally evoked no warnings, and the document itself became an official Confession of Faith of the Eastern Orthodox Church after "some changes" made by Greek theologian Meletios Syrigos in the 17th century, and later in the 18th century. Researchers present Mohyla's Confession of Faith as "a cultural synthesis" which had enriched the Eastern Orthodox tradition, "an attempt to find a way to come to a mutual understanding and a rapprochement of different Christian Churches in the dogmatic-theological aspect".³ At least it is declared that "Kyjivan scholasticism was Latin in form and Orthodox in spirit".⁴ Meanwhile, since the 17th century, Catholic scholars like Teofil Rutka, Antoine Malvy, Marcel Viller, Jakiv Suša and Marten Jugie have emphasized the importance of "Latin infiltrations" in Mohyla's work, the Greeks' rejection of "The Orthodox Confession of Faith", accepted by the Council of Jassy, and Mohyla's disregard for the Greek version of the "Confession" by Syrigos.⁵ The same views were shared by some Russian Orthodox historians and theologians. They think that Syrigos' corrections were significant, and Mohyla with his milieu were just crypto-Romanists who composed the "Confession" "on the basis of Latin books and schemes". According to these Russian researchers, Mohyla's dogmatics "differed little from the Latin", and, respectively, caused "an internal intoxication [of the Eastern Orthodox culture – T.Sh.] with Romanism", "tending toward the new and dangerous influence of extrinsic theological terms as well as theological and spiritual ideas on Eastern Orthodox theol-

pp. 29-34; LIUDMILA V. CHARIPOVA: Latin Books and the Eastern Orthodox Clerical Elite in Kiev, 1632-1780, Manchester 2006, pp. 48-49; ALFONS BRÜNING: Peter Mohyla's Orthodox and Byzantine Heritage. Religion and Politics in the Kievan Church Reconsidered, in: Von Moskau nach St. Petersburg. Das Russische Reich im 17. Jahrhundert, ed. by HANS-JOACHIM TORKE, Wiesbaden 2000 (Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte, 56), pp. 63-91, here p. 66.

³ ARKADIJ ŽUKOVSKYJ: Katechizys Petra Mohyly [The Catechism of Petro Mohyla], in: Katechizys Petra Mohyly, Kyjiv et al. 1996, pp. 5-32, here p. 5.

⁴ See for example: OLEKSANDR LOTOCKYJ: Ukraïns'ki dzerela cerkovnoho prava [Ukrainian sources of church law], Varšava 1931, p. 76; IHOR ŠEVČENKO: Różne oblicza świata Piotra Mohyły [Different faces of Petro Mohyla's world], in: IDEM: Ukraina między Wschodem a Zachodem, Warszawa 1996, pp. 19-44, here pp. 32, 39; SYDORENKO (as in footnote 2), p. 107.

⁵ ANTOINE MALVY, MARCEL VILLER: La Confession Orthodoxe de Pierre Moghila, métropolitte de Kiev (1633-1646), Roma 1927 (Orientalia christiana, 10/39), p. XVIII; MARTEN JUGIE: La Confession orthodoxe de Pierre Moghila – à propos d'une publication récente, in: Echos d'Orient 28 (1929), pp. 414-430; STEPAN T. GOLUBEV: Kyjivskij metropolit Petr Mogila i ego spodvižniki, II [Kyjivan Metropolitan Petro Mohyla and his associates translation, vol. II], Kyjiv 1898, pp. 227-230, 358-360.

ogy”.⁶ French historian Ambroise Jobert also underlines the controversy of Mohyla’s views concerning the Eastern Orthodox faith.⁷

A mediating opinion is presented in the works of the German researcher Alfons Brüning. He suggests that the Western impact on Mohyla was considerable, quoting Ihor Ševčenko’s expression that Mohyla “fought the enemy with the enemies’ weapons”.⁸ Nevertheless Brüning thinks that Mohyla’s deviations from Eastern Orthodox doctrine were not essential in his “Confession”. Brüning defines Syrigos’ text only as a “slightly altered” variant of Mohyla’s text, and an Orthodox could occasionally have good reasons to see elements of the Latin Western tradition as part of his own heritage.⁹ Modern Russian historians consider Mohyla’s reforms an original alternative to the Union of Brest, an attempt at extensive modernization of the Church comparable with the reforms launched by the Council of Trent one hundred years before.¹⁰ Archbishop Ihor Isičenko tries to present Mohyla in terms of Christian universalism.¹¹

As Heinz Schilling remarks, education and learning in the epoch of confessionalization were important channels “of osmosis or adaptation across even the severest and most aggressive confessional boundaries”. The agents of osmosis in Europe and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were the Jesuits.¹² More than half of their houses in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were

⁶ GEORGIJ FLOROVSKIJ: *Puti russkogo bogoslovija* [Ways of Russian theology], Brjussel’ 1982, pp. 49-51. The same point of view can be found in the following works: ANTON V. KARTAŠEV: *Očerki po istorii Russkoj Cerkvi* [Essays in the history of Russian Church], Pariž 1959, pp. 285-286; VASILIJ KRIVOŠEJ: *Simboličeskie teksty v Pravoslavnoj Cerkvi* [Symbolic texts in the Eastern Orthodox Church], in: *Bogoslovskie trudy* 4 (1968), pp. 5-36, here p. 18.

⁷ JOBERT (as in footnote 2), pp. 272-277.

⁸ ŠEVČENKO, *Różne oblicza świata Piotra Mohyły* (as in footnote 4), p. 24.

⁹ ALFONS BRÜNING: *Unio non est unitas. Polen-Litauens Weg im konfessionellen Zeitalter (1569-1648)*, Wiesbaden 2008 (Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte, 72), pp. 294, 296; IDEM: *Peter Mohyla’s Orthodox and Byzantine Heritage* (as in footnote 2), pp. 66-69, 78; IDEM: *On Jesuit Schools, Scholasticism and the Kievan Academy – Some Remarks on the Historical and Ideological Background of Its Founding*, in: *Kyjivs’ka akademija* 4 (2007), pp. 5-19, here pp. 9, 19.

¹⁰ ANATOLIJ A. TURILOV, BORIS N. FLOFJA: *K voprosu ob istoričeskoj alternative Brestskoj unii* [To the question of a historical alternative of the Union of Breść], in: MI-CHAIL V. DMITRIEV, LEV V. ZABOROVSKIJ, ANATOLIJ A. TURILOV, BORIS N. FLOFJA: *Brestskaja unija v konce XVI – načale XVII v., č. II*, Moskva 1992, pp. 13-58.

¹¹ IHOR ISIČENKO: *The Phenomenon of St. Petro Mohyla: Identity and Universality in the Religious Experience of Mohyla’s Kyiv*, in: *Friendship as an Ecumenical Value: Proceeding of the International Conference held of the Inauguration of the Institute of Ecumenical Studies (L’viv, 11-15 June 2005)*, L’viv 2006, pp. 76-87.

¹² HEINZ SCHILLING: *Confessionalisation and the Rise of Religious and Cultural Frontiers in Early Modern Europe*, in: *Frontiers of Faith. Religious Exchange and the Constitution of Religious Identities, 1400-1750*, ed. by ESZTER ANDOR and ISTVÁN GYÖRGY TÓTH, Budapest 2001, pp. 21-35, here p. 32.

located in the lands populated by Eastern Orthodox believers.¹³ Scholars' assessments of the Jesuit borrowings by Mohyla vary¹⁴, but the only attempt at an integral examination of these adaptations was made in Alexander Sydorenko's monograph¹⁵. Nevertheless, there are some inaccuracies in the presentation of national and cultural affairs¹⁶, as well as in the Jesuit educational history. Certain matters related to the adaptations are taken up more or less in detail in the articles and works concerning study process¹⁷ or music education in the Kyjiv Mohyla College¹⁸.

¹³ According to my estimates, until the mid of the 17th century 60 % of Jesuit foundations in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were located in the lands populated mostly by the Eastern Orthodox Ruthenians, and 20 % populated mainly by Protestants. Thus only 20 % of the Jesuit foundations fell on the lands populated mostly by Catholics. In the Ukrainian lands the Jesuit houses functioned in Jaroslav, L'viv, Luc'k, Kamjanec', Brest, Ostroh, Krosno, Vinnycja, Bar, Perejaslav, Novhorod-Sivers'kyj, Ksaveriv, Fastiv, Kyjiv, Peremyšl', and Humenne (transferred to Užhorod). See: TETJANA ŠEVČENKO: Jezujits'ke škol'nyctvo na ukrajins'kych zemljach ostann'oji čverty XVI – seredyny XVII st. [Jesuit schooling in the Ukrainian lands from the last quarter of the 16th to the mid of the 17th century], L'viv 2005, pp. 8, 104-108.

¹⁴ See a review of the opinions in: BRÜNING, On Jesuit Schools (as in footnote 2), pp. 5-10.

¹⁵ SYDORENKO (as in footnote 2).

¹⁶ See also: FRANK E. SYSYN: Peter Mohyla and the Kiev Academy in Recent Western Works: Divergent Views on Seventeenth-Century Ukrainian Culture, in: Harvard Ukrainian Studies 8 (1984), 1/2, p. 155-187, here p. 155-161.

¹⁷ There are some of the most important: JAMES CRACRAFT: Theology at the Kiev Mohyla Academy During its Golden Age, in: Harvard Ukrainian Studies 8 (1984), 1/2, pp. 71-80; IHOR ISIČENKO: Rytoryka i barokove propovidnyctvo u škol'nij kul'turi Kyjeva XVII st. [Rhetoric and baroque preaching in the school culture of Kyjiv of the 17th century], in: Kyjivs'ka akademija 2-3 (2006), pp. 32-39; RYSZARD ŁUŻNY: Pisarze kręgu Akademii Kijowsko-Mohylańskiej a literatura polska [Writers from the circle of the Kyjivan Mohyla Academy and Polish literature], Kraków 1966; JAROSLAVA M. STRATIJ, VLADIMIR D. LITVINOV, VLADIMIR A. ANDRUŠKO: Opisanie kursov filosofii i ritoriki professorov Kyjivo-Mogiljanskoj akademii [A description of the courses of philosophy and rhetoric by the Kyjiv-Mohyla Academy's professors], Kyjiv 1982; MYKOLA SYMČYČ: Philosophia rationalis u Kyjevo-Mohyljans'kij akademiji. Komparatyvnyj analiz mohyljans'kych kursiv lohiky kincja XVII – peršoji polovyny XVIII st. [Philosophia rationalis in the Kyjiv-Mohyla Academy. A comparative analysis of Mohylian courses of logic from the end of the 17th to the first half of the 18th century], Vinnycja 2009. There are also collections of articles: Kyjevo-Mohyljans'ka akademija v istoriji Ukrainy. (Do 380-riččja vid zasnuvannja KMA.) Tezy dopovidej Mižnarodnoji naukovoji konferenciji, misto Kyjiv, 1995, 13-15 žovtnja [The Kyjiv-Mohyla Academy in the history of Ukraine. (On the occasion of the 380th anniversary of the KMA's foundation.) Theses of the Papers of the International Scientific Conference, Kyjiv, 1995, October 13th-15th], ed. by VOLODYMYR MAN'KIVS'KYJ et al., Kyjiv 1995; Petro Mohyla – vydatnyj ukrajins'kyj prosvitytel' i religijnyj dijač XVII st.: Naukovometodyčnyj zbirnyk [Petro Mohyla – an eminent Ukrainian enlightener and a religious worker of the 17th century: A methodological collection], ed. by VJAČESLAV BRJUCHOVEC'KYJ et al., Kyjiv 1997; Religijno-filosofs'ka dumka v Kyjevo-Mohyljans'kij akademiji: Jevropejs'kyj kontekst [A religious-philosophical thought in the Kyjiv-Mohyla Academy: A European context], ed. by VILEN HORS'KYJ, Kyjiv 2002. The National

Ukrainian historiography began to use the concept of confessionalization rather late.¹⁹ In this article, I will analyze the complex of Mohyla's reforms as an indication of Eastern Orthodox confessionalization. Using historical-comparative and typological analysis methods, I will compare similar processes of confessionalization reforms in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, initiated by Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius, prince-bishop of Warmia in the Catholic Church, and by metropolitan Petro Mohyla in the Eastern Orthodox Church in two perspectives. The first will characterize the figures of Catholic and Eastern Orthodox reformers and analyse their role in the implementation of reforms from the perspective of the protagonists themselves; the second will explain the reforms and their nature from an organizational perspective. I will clarify how the initial stage of confessionalization of the Eastern Orthodox Church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth varied from analogical processes in the Catholic Church and how these processes coincided with each other.

The course of Catholic confessionalization in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was connected with a reform initiated by the Council of Trent (1545-63). Reform of the Catholic Church was supported by the Polish kings. During the rule of Stephen Batory and Sigismundus III a new post-Trent generation of bishop-reformers emerged, who implemented the Council's decrees.²⁰

Confessionalization in the Eastern Orthodox Church of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth developed in two directions: the "Protestant" and the

University of "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy" publishes magazines dedicated generally to a wide range of questions associated with a history of the Academy. Among them are *Kyjivs'ka akademija* (from 2004) and relevant subject series of *Naukovi zapysky NaUKMA* (from 1996).

¹⁸ See a select bibliography in: ŠEVČENKO, Jezujits'ke škil'nyctvo (as in footnote 13), pp. 36-37, 85. There is a bibliographical guide that includes basically Ukrainian and Russian language publications dedicated to the Academy (till 2002): *Kyjevo-Mohyljans'ka akademija: Materialy do bibliohrafičnoho pokazčyka literatury z fondiv naukovoji biblioteki NaUKMA, N. 1* [The Kyjiv-Mohyla Academy: Materials to the bibliography from the collections of literature of the scientific library of the NaUKMA, No 1], comp. by TETJANA P. ŠUL'HA, Kyjiv 2002.

¹⁹ NATALJA JAKOVENKO: *Narys istoriji seredn'ovičnoji ta rann'omodernoji istoriji Ukrajinjy* [An Essay of history of the medieval and early modern Ukraine], Kyjiv 2009; IHOR SKOČYLJAS: *Relihija ta kultura Zachidnoji Volyni na počatku XVIII st. Za materijalamy Bolodymyrs'koho soboru 1715 roku* [Religion and culture of Western Volhynia at the beginning of the 18th century. On the basis of sources of the Council of Volodymyr of 1715], L'viv 2008; SERHIJ PLOCHIJ: *Nalyvajkova vira: Kozactvo ta relihija v rann'omodernij Ukrajinjy*, Kyjiv 2006. (English edition: *The Cossacks and Religion in Early Modern Ukraine*, Cambridge 2002.)

²⁰ There were Primate Stanisław Karnkowski and Bishops Jan Dymitr Solikowski, Bernard Maciejowski, Piotr Tylicki, Jerzy Radziwiłł, Melchior Giedroyc, and Martin Szyszkowski. Some of them obtained their episcopacy thanks to Hosius' support. These were the bishop-shepherds concerned about his authority and prestige of the clergy, subordinated to him, who were able to implement the Reform.

“Catholic”. The first tendency appeared in 1570-80 and was characterized by in secular patrons’ attempts to usurp the Church leadership. The second tendency was represented by the Eastern Orthodox episcopate, which was dissatisfied with the interference of secular patrons and the ecumenical patriarch in the life of the metropolitanate.

In detail the Council of Trent defined the articles of faith proclaimed in 1564 in *professio fidei tridentinae* and allowed the Gospel to be read in the vernacular on Sundays. The key documents, such as “The Roman Catechism” (1566), “The Missal”, “The Prayer Book” were widely distributed. In the Eastern Orthodox Church the famous figures of the confraternity movement – the Zyzanij-Tustanovs’kyj brothers – made the first attempts at composing a catechism in 1595 and 1626. Another was composed anonymously at the beginning of the 17th century.

The Council of Trent prescribed the establishment of missions during which priests catechized, celebrated sacraments and preached. Parochial schooling and the wardship system were reorganized. The Jesuits created a network of confraternities, schools, and missions that effectively promoted re-Catholicization.²¹ In the Eastern Orthodox Church the first steps in this direction were taken by the most powerful Eastern Orthodox magnate Prince Kostjantyn Vasyl’ Ostroz’kyj. He founded an educational publishing center, the so-called “Academy”, in his residence of Ostroh, about 1576. The initial task of the Academy was the preparation of a first edition of the Bible in Church Slavonic. The circle of Ostroh scholars also helped the Prince to found a printing house and a school where liberal arts subjects were taught. At that time the Protestant magnates and nobles had already carried out the similar educational publishing activities. Calvinist schools were founded by Mikołaj Oleśnicki in Pińczów, by Stanisław Szafranec in Secemin, by Andrzej Myszkowski in Bychawa. Czech Brethren schools were founded by Rafał Leszczyński in Leszno and by Stanisław Michał Stadnicki in Dubieck. Łukasz Górka, the voivode of Poznań and an adherent of the Czech Brethren who later became a Lutheran, sponsored the translations of Protestant religious works into Polish. The Prince’s son-in-law Jan Kiszka, leader of the Lithuanian Arians, sponsored the New Testament, published in his printing house in Polish by Szymon Budny.²² The Calvinist Mikołaj Radziwiłł Czarny,

²¹ STANISŁAW LITAK: W dobie reform i polemik religijnych [In the age of reforms and religious polemics], in: *Chrześcijaństwo w Polsce. Zarys przemian 966-1979*, ed. by JERZY KŁOCZOWSKI, Lublin 1992, pp. 189-253, here pp. 227-248; *Kościół w Polsce, t. II: Wieki XVI-XVIII* [The Church in Poland, vol. II: The 16th-18th centuries], ed. by JERZY KŁOCZOWSKI, Kraków 1969; STANISŁAW OBIREK: *Jezuici w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w latach 1564-1668* [The Jesuits in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of two nations 1564-1668], Kraków 1996; BRÜNING, *Unio non est unitas* (as in footnote 9), pp. 192-365. These works contain a detailed bibliography on Catholic confessionalisation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

²² ANNA KAWECKA-GRYCZOWA: *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku, 5: Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie* [Printers of ancient Poland from the 15th till the 18th century, 5: The Great Duchy of Lithuania], Wrocław 1959, pp. 123, 126.

Lithuanian Chancellor and voivode of Vilnius, sponsored the translation and publication of a Bible in Polish language, the so-called “Biblia Brzeska”. Intellectuals from Ostroh extensively used Protestant theological experience in polemics against their Catholic opponents, in translations and publishing. Ostroz’kyj himself protected Arians who had houses of worship on four of his estates, including Ostroh, and dedicated their works to him; some Arians thought the Prince secretly shared their faith.²³ Two daughters of the Prince were married to protestants: to Krzysztof Radziwiłł “Piorun”, the leader of Lithuanian Calvinists, and Jan Kiszka.²⁴

The Catholic Church set a new goal: to include all believers within a pastoral wardship. The number of eparchies rose, and bishops were obliged to visit them. The Church developed intensive synodal activity; it impacted not only on ecclesial, but also political and national spheres of life. Bishops were charged with the duty of founding seminaries in their dioceses. All postulants had to graduate from seminary. While at the end of the 16th century seminaries existed only in five dioceses of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, half a century later there were thirteen seminaries founded in ten dioceses. The problem was solved by the Jesuits who led the seminaries during the next two centuries and became the main educators of the diocesan clergy.

At the time when the hierarchy and clergy in the Catholic Church increased their strength, the influence of secular patrons in the Eastern Orthodox Church grew. In 1583-84 two proposals were made in the milieu of the Princes Ostroz’kyj. The first proposal envisaged the transfer of the patriarchate from Constantinople to Ostroh or to another Ruthenian town. The creation of the patriarchate in Ruthenian lands might bring representatives of the Ostroz’kyj family, who were already the de facto sovereigns of their estates, to the coronation of Prince Kostjantyn Vasyl’ by the patriarch, with a Kingdom, as king or emperor. The second proposal envisaged the formation of a “military order of the Emperor Constantine” in which the title of grand master should be bestowed upon Kostjantyn Vasyl’ and his eldest son Januš. The implementation of those proposals might have been construed as some kind of

²³ OREST LEVICKIJ: Socynianstvo v Pol’she i v Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii [Socinianism in Poland and in South-Western Russia], Kyjiv 1882, p. 37; Archiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii 6 (1883), 1, p. 136.

²⁴ See also: IHOR Z. MYC’KO: Ostroz’ka slovjano-hreko-latyns’ka akademija [The Ostroh Slavonic-Greek-Latin Academy], Kyjiv 1990; Istorija ukrajins’koji kul’tury, II: Ukrajin’ska kultura XIII – peršoji polovyny XVII stolit’ [The history of Ukrainian culture, vol. II: Ukrainian culture from the 13th to the first half of the 17th century], ed. by JAROSLAV D. ISAJEVYČ, Kyjiv 2001, pp. 477-800; TOMASZ KEMPA: Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski (ok. 1524/1525-1608) wojewoda Kijowski i marszałek ziemi Wołyńskiej [Kostjantyn Vasyl’ Ostroz’kyj’ (about 1524/1525-1608), Voivode of Kyjiv and Marshal of Volhynia], Toruń 1997; BORYS GUDZIAK: Crisis and Reform: The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest, Cambridge 1998; TETIANA SHEVCHENKO: The Uncrowned Kings of Ruthenia and Jesuits: Kostiantyn Vasyl’ Ostroz’kyj against Piotr Skarga (1577-1608), in: Revue d’Histoire Ecclésiastique 105 (2010), 1, pp. 74-120.

logical institutionalization of an irrational-mystical perception of the Ruthenian Princes as bearers of the highest law, giving them their specific sacral aura of highness by divine providence²⁵, in particular Ostroz'kyj's interpretation as the Prince *Dei gratia* himself²⁶. Such an approach did not allow for a strong hierarchy. The same intention was behind the Prince's plan of 1593, in which he described "a universal union". He suggested an internal reform of the Church, equal social status for Orthodox and Catholic clergy, Uniate bishops' membership the senate, the creation of seminaries and the prohibition of forced conversion to Catholicism.²⁷

Another collective patron, the Eastern Orthodox confraternities, took part in the local councils of the metropolitanate in running schools, printing houses and poorhouses. The confraternities created a renewal program for the whole Eastern Orthodox Church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, with extensive activities in the last quarter of the 16th century. In contrast to the similar Catholic confraternities, secular persons played the leading role in the Eastern Orthodox confraternities. They hired priests and controlled their activities. The confraternities disobeyed local bishops, and even claimed supremacy over them. In 1586 the patriarch of Antioch, Joachim V, confirmed a statute of the L'viv confraternity which permitted the confraternity's members to denounce and excommunicate priests and bishops; on pain of excommunication, bishops as well as believers had no right of resistance against the confraternity's activities. The confraternity also received a charter of stauropegion and was released from the bishop's or Metropolitan's control, reserving all powers to influence the clergy. Statutes of other confraternities were composed as the statute of the L'viv confraternity. The patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremiah II, confirmed the rights of the L'viv confraternity and made a stand for it in a conflict with a local bishop during his stay in the metropolitanate in 1588-89. The confraternities' reform program was included into instructions for ambassadors of the Vilnius confraternity to the Council in 1594. The program suggested the removal of the hierarchies' control over the confraternities, including the metropolitan's control, the prohibition of associations created by bishops and the granting of the right to found schools and

²⁵ Concerning ideas about an irrational halo of superiority of Ruthenian Princes see in detail: NATALJA JAKOVENKO: *Ukrajins'ka šljachta z kincja XIV do seredyny XVII stolittja. Volyn' i Central'na Ukrajina* [The Ukrainian nobility from the end of the 14th to the middle of the 17th centuries. Volyn' and the central Ukraine], 2nd ed., Kyjiv 2008, pp. 81, 296; IDEM: *Topos zjednanych narodiv u panegyrykach knjazjam Ostroz'kym i Zaslavs'kym (bilja vytokiv ukrajins'koji identyčnosti)* [A topos of United Nations in panegyrics to the Princes Ostroz'kyj and Zaslavs'kyj (by the origins of Ukrainian identity)], in: IDEM: *Paralel'nyj svit. Doslidžennja z istoriji ujavlen' ta idej v Ukrajini XVI-XVII st.*, Kyjiv 2002, pp. 233-257.

²⁶ Prince Kostjantyn Vasyl' Ostroz'kyj himself signed one of his letters to Silesia in this way: "By the grace of God Prince in Volhynia". See: JAKOVENKO, *Ukrajins'ka šljachta* (as in footnote 25), p. 110.

²⁷ *Documenta Unionis Berestensis eiusque Auctorum (1590-1600)*, ed. by ATHANASIOS G. WELYKYJ, Romae 1970, pp. 20-24.

printing houses to confraternities. During the 1590s the confraternities became an independent power and began to claim the redistribution of authorities in the management system of the metropolitanate.²⁸ Thus, a diarchy was settled in the Eastern Orthodox Church, and the crisis of the metropolitanate revealed in unprecedented forms. This “Protestant” tendency of the confessionalization development was stopped by the Union of Brest.

In 1591-94 the “Catholic” tendency in Eastern Orthodox confessionalization began to form. During episcopal sessions a secret decision was made about union with Rome. In 1594 all bishops except the bishops of L’viv and Peremyšl’ signed the articles of union. These articles took care of the preservation of the forms of sacraments and ceremonies, the bishops’ supremacy over monasteries, churches and confraternities without intrusion of secular persons, the prohibition of conversions to Catholicism, the independent nomination and consecration of the bishops by natives and their approval by the pope, the membership of the Eastern Orthodox bishops in the Senate, etc. Prince Ostroz’kyj firmly rejected the articles and launched an active campaign against the bishops, winning the Protestants’ round in the Diet. The result of the “Catholic” tendency in the Eastern Orthodox confessionalization was the Union of Brest which gave birth to the Uniate Church, later reformed according to the model of the Catholic Church.

After the Union of Brest the Eastern Orthodox hierarchy was outlawed, the Church was deprived of its privileges and the landholdings had to be passed to the Uniate Church. Most monasteries did not support the Union and the Eastern Orthodox secular patrons helped the Church to survive. In 1620 the Eastern Orthodox hierarchy was reestablished under the auspices of the Cossacks. The newly consecrated metropolitan Jov Borec’kyj tried to centralize the Church. He gathered local councils which made decisions concerning the normalization of the Church’s functioning and the renewal of discipline, laid down conditions for education and pastoral work of the clergy, decreeing his decision to convoke such councils annually, for bishops to visit eparchies annually, and for priests to preach every Sunday. The archbishop Meletij Smotryc’kyj secured a liquidation of the stauropegion status of confraternities²⁹ and monasteries of the Metropolitanate during his travel to the Eastern Patriarchs in 1624-26. Thus at the time of Mohyla’s consecration the Eastern Orthodox hierarchy had only one option to reform itself – the way chosen by the Eastern Orthodox episcopacy in the 1590s, staying, however, in subordination to the patriarchate of Constantinople. Confessional identity soon played a very important role in the formation of national identity, which de-

²⁸ SVETLANA LUKAŠOVA: *Mirjane i cerkov’*: religioznyje bratstva Kyjivskoj mitropolii v konce XVI veka [The Laity and the Church: religious confraternities of the Kyjivan Metropolitanate at the end of the 16th century], Moskva 2006; JAROSLAV ISAJEVYČ: *Voluntary brotherhood: Confraternities of laymen in Early Modern Ukraine*, Edmon-ton et al. 2006. Cf.: PLOCHIJ (as in footnote 19), pp. 91-129, 201-213.

²⁹ Only the L’viv and Vilnius confraternities confirmed their stauropegion status in 1626.

fined the “Eastern Orthodox” and the “Ruthenian” against the “Catholic” and the “Pole”.³⁰

Hosius’ and Mohyla’s Careers

Hosius, a burgher by origin, was a well educated humanist. In 1519 he obtained a bachelor’s degree in liberal arts from the Jagiellonian University, the gateway to his further career. The bishop of Kraków, Jan Konarski, hired Hosius as a teacher for his nephews. Konarski’s successor, Piotr Tomicki, appointed him as a teacher in the private episcopal school. Tomicki also funded Hosius’ jurisprudential and philological studies in Padua and Bologna in 1530-34 (where Hosius took a *iusuris utriusque* doctor’s degree), which gave Hosius the chance to venture out into the world and to establish numerous contacts that were the basis of his further ennoblement as well as his official and church career.³¹ In 1538 Hosius became a secretary of the Royal Chancellery, where he was dealing with Prussian affairs. He was consecrated only in 1543, although he had been already participating in all synods with bishops for several years. Hosius belonged to the generation which evolved from “Erasmianism to the severe decrees of the Council of Trent”.³² During several decades Hosius was an adherent of the church reforming “from the inside”, just like Erasmus, whom Hosius considered to be his teacher.³³ All these factors lead Hosius to choose schooling as one of the decisive means to reform the whole church.

During his study at some Jesuit educational establishment Mohyla learnt that the Jesuit pattern of humanistic school was an effective instrument of educational reform. Based mostly on secondary sources, information about Mohyla’s education is rather fragmentary and there is no direct evidence about his belonging to the Jesuit College. The lost, anonymously written document titled “Magna ars disserendi de qualibet materia”, which has been found in the parish church of the diocese of Peremyśl’, affirms that Mohyla’s teacher was the most illustrious Varro: *Varronem enim praeceptorem habebat*

³⁰ JAKOVENKO, Narys istoriji (as in footnote 19), pp. 304-305. PLOCHIJ (as in footnote 19), pp. 24-29, 195-201, 213-221.

³¹ JADWIGA AMBROZJA KALINOWSKA: Stanisław Hozjusz (1504-1579), biskup i kardynał warmiński jako mecenas nauki i kultury [Stanislaus Hosius (1504-1579), the bishop and the cardinal of Warmia, as a patron of science and culture], in: Forum Teologiczne 2 (2001), pp. 241-252, here pp. 247-248.

³² JERZY KŁOCZOWSKI, LIDIA MÜLLEROWA, JAN SKARBK: Zarys dziejów Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce [An essay on the history of the Catholic Church in Poland], Kraków 1986, p. 81.

³³ WŁADYSŁAW A. SERCZYK: Europa XVI stulecia. Nowe wyzwania [Europe of the 16th century. New challenges], in: Kardynał Stanisław Hozjusz (1504-1579). Osoba, myśl, dzieło, czasy, znaczenie, ed. by STANISŁAW ACHREMZYK et al., Olsztyn 2005, pp. 5-13, here p. 12; HENRYK DAMJAN WOJTYSKA: Hozjusz w kręgu humanistów rzymskich w latach 1558-1560 [Hosius in the bosom of Roman humanists in 1558-1560], ibidem, pp. 113-121, here pp. 115-116.

eminentissimum. On these grounds Ukrainian historiography assumes that Mohyla's teacher was the Jesuit François Véron, who taught philosophy at the Jesuit College of La Flèche in France.³⁴ Nevertheless, Liudmila Charipova fairly suggests that the anonymous author was talking about Marcus Terentius Varro, one of the greatest Roman scholars and writers, whose name was used to lay a stress on Mohyla's classical education (otherwise it is unclear why an inhabitant of Poland mentions the Jesuit Véron, "who could not have enjoyed more than a moderate renown in certain circles, as *most illustrious*"³⁵). At the same time she does not exclude the possibility that Mohyla had been studying in one of the Jesuit Colleges. She refers to the known fragmentary information about Mohyla's education, detailed borrowings of the Jesuit curriculum, methods, administration style in the Kiev College, ideas and conceptions of western philosophy.³⁶

The beginning of both hierarchs' church career was typical enough for pre-Reformation times – they started their service as lay persons. Stanislaus Hosius had received his first benefice in 1527, without being consecrated. The benefice consisted of two altars in the castle churches of Vilnius and Trakai. Later Hosius became a prebendary of St. Martin chapel in the castle in Vilnius and received a prepositure of Wieluń, a canon of Wiślica, as well as the All-Saints altar in Kraków.³⁷ When Mohyla was elected as archimandrite of the Kyjiv Monastery of the Caves in 1627 he was not only not consecrated, but did not even take the monastic vows. Despite this, in 1632 the archimandrite was appointed as Kyjiv metropolitan of the officially restored Eastern Orthodox Church in the Kyjivan metropolitanate.

Neither hierarch received a systematic theological education. Nevertheless, they reached a very high level of theology – by self-education. The court of Piotr Tomicki acted as a kind of theological seminary for Hosius. Humanities and law became the basis of his education, and he was in perfect command of Latin. Hosius called this language *lingua catholica* and was afraid that the decay of Latin would cause the fall of the Catholic Church.³⁸ He was well-

³⁴ VASYL' ŠČURAT: Ukrajins'ki źerela do istoriji filosofii: istoryčno-filosofičnyj načerk [Ukrainian sources from the history of philosophy: a historical-philosophical essay], L'viv 1908, pp. 29-30; ARKADIJ ŽUKOVSKYJ: Petro Mohyla i pytanja jednosti Cerkov [Petro Mohyla and the matter of Churches' unity], Paryž 1969, pp. 56-57; ZOJA CHYŽNJAK: Kyjevo-Mohyljans'ka akademija [The Kyjiv-Mohyla academy], Kyjiv 1988, p. 58.

³⁵ CHARIPOVA (as in footnote 2), pp. 42-43.

³⁶ Ibidem.

³⁷ Hosius abdicated from these benefices only six years later his first bishopric nomination. MARCELI KOSMAN: Stanisław Hozjusz a konflikty wyznaniowe na XVI-wiecznej Litwie [Stanislaus Hosius and confessional conflicts in Lithuania of the 16th century], in: Kardynał Stanisław Hozjusz (1504-1579) (as in footnote 33), pp. 123-134, here p. 125.

³⁸ JADWIGA AMBROZJA KALINOWSKA: Stanisław Hozjusz jako humanista (1504-1579). Studium z dziejów kultury renesansowej [Stanislaus Hosius as a humanist (1504-1579). Study in the history of renaissance culture], Olsztyn 2004, p. 49.

versed in Greek, too. Hosius translated from Greek into Latin and used Greek in his polemical works for an exposition of the Catholic faith.³⁹ Hosius' mother tongue was German, in which he preached, read, wrote, and negotiated with burghers of the Prussian cities. He studied Polish and Latin at home. Hosius often signed documents as *Cracovianus* or *Polonus*, naming himself according to the custom of those times by place of birth, although he used Polish only rarely. Hosius had a better command of Latin than of Italian. He was the author of about ten Latin theological works, seven of which were polemical. The works enjoyed wide popularity (they were published by 32 publishing-houses, mostly in Western Europe). His separate treatises as well as his *Opera omnia* were translated into and published in vernacular languages.⁴⁰ Hosius left us more than ten thousand letters, one-third of which were published. The writing, dictating and reading of correspondence (a part of humanist tradition of the epoch) was one of Hosius' most favorite activities.⁴¹

Though information about Mohyla's education is almost completely non-existent, it is possible to conclude that he was educated in the humanities, Latin and Greek languages, the fundamentals of Eastern Orthodoxy and the Church Slavonic language. At the same time it might be supposed that Mohyla's thorough knowledge of Catholic theology was rather a consequence of his self-education than of university study. Mohyla had a perfect command of Church Slavonic, which he used in the correspondence with his brother Moses as well as in descriptions of miracles of the Eastern Orthodox Church. From nineteen works ascribed to Mohyla by scholars, eighteen were written in Church Slavonic or Ruthenian, and only "Lithos" was written in Polish. The Kyjiv metropolitan used polonized Ruthenian in his sermons, appeals to Ruthenian nobility, and introductions to service books. Mohyla considered the language of every people also to be suitable for a sacral usage.⁴² "The Didactic Gospel" of Patriarch Callistus of Constantinople, published in 1637 in Kyjiv with Mohyla's blessing, contained a great number of sermons for ecclesiastical feasts, each of which began with long extracts from the Bible in Ruthenian. Probably "The Orthodox Confession of Faith" was written in Latin. In his appeals to Ruthenian nobles Mohyla cited Latin Church fathers, giving Christian comparisons seasoned by a pagan wisdom. He was a master

³⁹ At the same time we may assume that Hosius did not speak Greek well enough, because during his stay in Rome he repeatedly asked the nephew of Pope Paul IV Antonio Carafa to help with translations of Greek texts. Ibidem, pp. 88-89; WOJTYSKA, Hozjusz w kręgu humanistów (as in footnote 33), p. 116.

⁴⁰ KALINOWSKA, Stanisław Hozjusz jako humanista (as in footnote 38), pp. 49-50, 127-139, 145.

⁴¹ Korespondencja Stanisława Hozjusza, kardynała i biskupa warmińskiego, t. 5: Rok 1564 [Correspondence of Stanislaus Hosius, the Cardinal and Bishop of Warmia, vol. V: 1564], ed. by ALOJZY SZORC, Olsztyn 1976 (Studia Warmińskie, 13), pp. 32-33.

⁴² VALERIJA M. NIČYK: Petro Mohyla v duchovnij istoriji Ukrajinny [Petro Mohyla in the spiritual history of Ukraine], Kyjiv 1997, p. 87.

of both the academic and rhetoric styles in Polish. In fact, Mohyla composed his will in Polish. All foreign citations in the Metropolitan's letters were in Greek. Evidence exists that Mohyla had some knowledge of Modern Greek and used it in his published works. Although Mohyla's mother tongue was Romanian, there is no evidence of his using it in any of his writings. It is very likely that he used Polish and Ruthenian in his private life, rather than Church Slavonic or Latin.⁴³ Mohyla signed only two treatises with his proper name, namely the sermon "Chrest Chrysta Spasytelja" ("The Cross of Christ the Saviour", 1637) and "Mova duchovna" ("A Spiritual Speech", 1645). Although "The Orthodox Confession of Faith" was rewritten and discussed several times, it undoubtedly reflected Mohyla's private opinions. The same can be said of the polemical work "Lithos" (1644), also attributed to Mohyla. Nevertheless, some scholars are inclined to ascribe his authorship or co-authorship to about thirty treatises.

From the end of the 1510s, Lutheranism from Silesia, Brandenburg, West Pomerania, Prussia, and Livonia began to spread into the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It was accepted mainly by townspeople and some nobility of German origin or culture. Approximately 25 % of the Commonwealth's nobles joined the Reformation.⁴⁴ The Socinians arrived in the Kingdom of Poland in the beginning of 1550s and formed a minor part of Protestant communities localized mostly in Little Poland, Halyčyna and Volhynia. Towards the end of the 1540s the influence of Calvinism became noticeable. It diffused among the nobles of Little Poland, the Ruthenian Voivodstvo, and some magnate and noble families of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. At the same time the Czech Brethren, who had been exiled from Bohemia and Moravia, settled in Greater Poland. Hosius' episcopal career began when Protestantism was spreading in Prussia. The local, separatist oriented nobility and burghers were hostile to the new bishop. The episcopacies of Chełmno and Warmia had been traditionally reserved for indigenously Prussian persons who had the Prussian *indigenat*. The latter was a specific kind of citizenship for nobles, born in Prussia, who had the right to possess land in Prussia and participate in the local diets. Hosius was the first non-indigene bishop, and thus was closely associated with royal centralizing policy. Besides, Hosius supported stronger connections between Prussia and Poland and decisively pursued the Reformation.⁴⁵

From 1545 Hosius participated in condemning the Protestants, and in 1547 he deprecated the unorthodox views of Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, with whom he had maintained a friendly relationship up to that time. In 1549 Ho-

⁴³ ŠEVČENKO, Różne oblicza świata Piotra Mohyły (as in footnote 4), pp. 29-33.

⁴⁴ JANUSZ TAZBIR: Jezuiści w Polsce do połowy XVII wieku [The Jesuits in Poland till the mid-17th century], in: IDEM: Szkice z dziejów papieżstwa, Warszawa 1961, pp. 109-153, here p. 111.

⁴⁵ ALOJZY SZORC: Hozjusz jako rzecznik interesów polskich i katolickich w Prusach [Hosius as a representative of Polish and Catholic interests in Prussia], in: Studia Warmińskie 20 (1983 [1991]), pp. 169-187.

sius became Bishop of Chełmno, and in 1551 he was nominated as Prince-Bishop of Warmia. From the 1550s on Hosius' letters to the king, magnates and clergy became an important means of struggle against the Reformation. In his appeals to the king, Hosius had emphasized that Protestant powers were destroying not only the true Catholic Church, but also the state, leading it to anarchy, chaos and religious wars.⁴⁶ In 1558 he departed to Rome; by now the Protestants had achieved tremendous success in Prussia. In 1557-58 the three biggest cities of this region – Gdańsk, Toruń and Elbląg – were granted royal patents, which provided freedom of confession and legalized the existing situation, which was very unfavorable to Catholics. Local towns followed this precedent. For example, in Braniewo, the richest and the most populated town of Warmia, the religious novelties were patronized by burgrave Johann Preuck, the son-in-law of voivode of Malbork Achacy Czema, the famous protector of Lutheranism in Royal Prussia. At the beginning of 1564 Hosius returned to the diocese from the Council of Trent, and the burghers of Braniewo made demand on him to permit communion under both kinds. Hosius understood that this demand was only the pretext for more radical claims. Therefore, after arriving at the diocese, he began persuading the Braniewo burghers to accept his point of view. As a result, in four weeks all burghers except two, who were obliged to leave the town, agreed to take communion under one kind.⁴⁷ Hosius, just like other Polish bishops, was not satisfied with the Edict of Parzew (1564) against the Arians. Instead of tolerating some sects and banning others, he thought that all heretical teachings should be banned. Meanwhile Hosius considered that there was no necessity to remove all Protestants, but only their leaders. Therefore, by defending the principle *Bellum haereticorum pax est Ecclesiae*, he prevented the banishment of the Arians.⁴⁸

In 1574 Hosius approved of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in Paris and the destruction of a Protestant meeting house in Kraków. He wrote that the Church would glorify the executors of these actions with eternal glory. The Bishop of Warmia praised the students of Kraków as the soldiers of Christ and the executed craftsmen as saint martyrs. He put pressure on bishops to intervene before the king and called on Stefan Bathory to close “a synagogue of Satan” in his capital. Hosius considered heresy the most serious misdoing of humankind, worthy of the death penalty. It is considered that Hosius used the term *reservatio mentalis* to persuade Bathory to nullify his oath at the

⁴⁶ IDEM: Sługa Boży Stanisław Hozjusz [Servant of God Stanislaus Hosius], in: *Polscy Święci*, t. 12, ed. by JERZY BAR, Warszawa 1985, pp. 9-91, here p. 84.

⁴⁷ Korespondencja Stanisława Hozjusza (as in footnote 41), p. 20.

⁴⁸ JANUSZ TAZBIR: Państwo bez stosów. Szkice z dziejów tolerancji w Polsce XVI i XVII wieku [A State without stakes: Essays on history of toleration in Poland of the 16th and the 17th centuries], Warszawa 2009, pp. 70-71, 102; JANUSZ HOCHLEITNER: Religijność potrydencka na Warmii (1551-1655) [Post-Trent religiosity in Warmia (1551-1655)], Olsztyn 2000, p. 110.

Confederation of Warsaw, which had been given under pressure.⁴⁹ At the same time, Hosius came out against hasty persecution of the Protestant nobility, and once even secreted the Socinians.

Hosius was the main brake on the development of the Reformation in Warmia, where the adherents of Lutheranism disguised their secession from the Catholic Church for as long as possible. The Bishop of Warmia preached sermons, urging Protestants and hesitant people personally. The Diocese of Warmia was the second diocese in the Kingdom of Poland (after the Archdiocese of L'viv) which started to put the resolutions of the Council of Trent into practice. The Polish episcopate adopted these resolutions only thirteen years later, at the Synod of Piotrków in 1577. Catholicism was saved in Warmia owing to policing measures used by the Bishop of Warmia in his domain. As the Bishop of Warmia Hosius was chair of the Prussian Senate, where he also had taken a second place as Bishop of Chełmno. The episcopate of Warmia did not belong to any palatinate and had its land in one compact territory, provided with castles and towns. In its lands the bishop and the chapter had power over nobility and conducted legal procedures independently of all royal official jurisdictions. In Braniewo, Hosius had a great impact on the town authorities through the burgrave, who was set by the bishop at the head of the mayor and magistrates. Besides it, Hosius had the right to approve new mayors and magistrates.⁵⁰

Therefore, Hosius could administratively pacify the burghers who demanded communion under both kinds. For example, in Warmia, where he controlled the secular authority, he used the punishment of banishment. In other cases Hosius applied persuasions or obtained the royal decrees of banishment from the country. He made the biggest – though unsuccessful – effort to fight Protestantism in Elbląg, a royal city of his diocese that did not belong to the bishop's or chapter's domain. There, as well as in big royal cities like Toruń, Chełmno and Gdańsk, Hosius was unable to apply physical pressure, and was dependent on the intermediaries of the king's court.⁵¹

None of the Catholic bishops in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had secular power in his diocese comparable to that which Hosius had. Even the Kyjiv Orthodox metropolitan did not have such power. Therefore in anti-Union, anti-Catholic and partly anti-Protestant policies, Mohyla relied on his family and personal relations at the royal court, as well as connections with high-ranking officials, aiming to strengthen the authority of the metropolitan and the church hierarchy. In particular, the accretion of Mohyla's power in the metropolitanate was made possible by his appointment by the patriarch

⁴⁹ JANUSZ TAZBIR: *Święci, grzesznicy i kacerze. Z dziejów polskiej kontrreformacji* [Saints, sinners, and heretics. From the history of Polish Counter-Reformation], Warszawa 1959, pp. 87-88.

⁵⁰ SZORC, Hozjusz jako rzecznik (as in footnote 45), pp. 169-187.

⁵¹ IDEM: *Rola dziejowa kardynała Stanisława Hozjusza* [The historical role of Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius], in: *Kardynał Stanisław Hozjusz (1504-1579)* (as in footnote 33), pp. 99-111, here p. 101.

Cyril Lucaris as “an exarch of the Saint Apostolic See of Constantinople”.⁵² At the same time, Mohyla remained on his post of archimandry of the Kyjiv Monastery of the Caves, became a father superior of the Saint Sophia Cathedral in Kyjiv and “a sentry” of St. Nicolas Hermitic Monastery. He also remained a senior brother and a guardian of the Kyjiv Epiphany Confraternity. Such status gave the Metropolitan the right to order that “none of our Ruthenian people should dare to get something from the Holy Patriarch – privately and confidentially – without Our Metropolitan’s and all the Ruthenian Church’s blessing”; if someone received something without permission, it should be acknowledged as invalid.⁵³ In fact, Mohyla brought the bishops into a state of obedience, though conflicts with them had been taking place. After obtaining the exarch’s powers from the patriarch, Mohyla tried not only to coordinate the activity of the bishops, but also to control the distribution of land property of the eparchies.⁵⁴

In a foreword to the “Euchologion” Mohyla clearly stated the behavioral model between clergy and parishioners: “The hierarchs should lead the sheep by perfect lives and sermons, but not vice versa”.⁵⁵ He was settling his collisions with the confraternities through a steadfast adherence to this principle, using, by necessity, the rights of “prelate non-blessing and anathema” or severe warning towards the breakers of church discipline. We know of only two conflicts between metropolitans and confraternities; with the Mohyliv and the L’viv Stauropelial Confraternities. In 1632 Mohyla brought the Kyjiv Epiphany Confraternity under his control. Two other significant Stauropelial Confraternities in Vilnius and Luc’k were headed by metropolitan deputies, devoted to him.⁵⁶ Although the Council of 1640 had confirmed the stauropelial status of these confraternities, de facto they lost it and were forced to submit to the metropolitan-exarch, who operated on behalf of the patriarch.⁵⁷

All books of the Kyjiv Monastery of the Caves printing house were published only with Mohyla’s authority and blessing. The same was demanded of other printing houses, which printed church books. A kind of censorial committee of presbyters was established in Kyjiv.⁵⁸

⁵² TERESA CHYNCZEWSKA-HENNEL: Konstany Wasyl Ostrogski, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. XXIV, Wrocław et al. 1979, pp. 489-495, here p. 493.

⁵³ Gramota Petra Mogily k peremyśl’skim graždanam [Petro Mohyla’s letter to the citizens of Peremyśl’], in: GOLUBEV (as in footnote 5), vol. I, Kyjiv 1893, pp. 555-558, here p. 557.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, vol. II, pp. 510-515.

⁵⁵ Translation was made by TETJANA ŠEVČENKO: *Trebynk Petra Mohyly: Kyjiv 1646* [Euchologion of Petro Mohyla: Kyjiv 1646], Kyjiv 1996, p. III.

⁵⁶ GOLUBEV (as in footnote 5), vol. II, pp. 501-506.

⁵⁷ SERHIJ HOLOVAŠČENKO: Mohyljans’ka cerkovna reforma u Kyjivs’kij metropoliji [Mohylanian church reform in the Kyjivan Metropolitanate], in: *Fenomen Petra Mohyly. Biohrafija. Dijal’nist’*. Pozycja, ed. by VALERIJ V. KLYMOV, Kyjiv 1996, pp. 68-70.

⁵⁸ It is known that Mohyla had a conflict with the L’viv Confraternity concerning printing restrictions. However, it is unclear whether other printing houses submitted to Mo-

The institute of metropolitan deputies was implemented to help the metropolitan to manage the eparchies. Mohyla delegated the deputies' large powers – to fill bishoprics temporarily, to represent the metropolitan in courts and governmental institutions (because were responsible for the protection of the church rights), and to inspect the monasteries. There were two permanent deputies (one for the lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and another for the lands of the Kingdom of Poland), and several provisional deputies (appointed to the certain places temporarily, for particular circumstances).⁵⁹ Like Hosius, Mohyla was an authoritarian personality, and his methods and nature of reforming were autocratic. It is fair to suggest that Mohyla implemented the same reforms as the Polish Catholic bishops had done after the Trent, naming them “the Orthodox Counter-Reformation”.

Sponsorship Activities of the Hierarchs

Hosius occupied himself with sponsorship activity completely in the spirit of Polish Renaissance bishops-humanists, whose patronage he had enjoyed. The bishop-sponsors founded the schools, took care of youths' and children's Catholic education. They sent more gifted boys to study abroad at their own expense. The most prominent Renaissance bishop was a sponsor of Hosius, Piotr Tomicki, guardian of the Jagiellonian University and founder of its Department of Philology. Tomicki maintained extensive connections with famous figures in Poland and abroad, in particular with Erasmus. The Bishop of Kraków was a great patron who supported and educated a significant group of youth at his court at his own expense. Later the most capable young men were sent on Tomicki's account to study abroad.⁶⁰ Hosius, like many writers and humanists of burgher origin, began to support poor students as soon as he received benefices, state and church positions, that is from the time of his nomination for the Bishop of Chełmno in 1549. In particular, Hosius always maintained a number of castle school pupils at his court in Lidzbark, and supported students of the Jagiellonian University. He sent gifted boys from poor families to study in Italy at his own expense. It was Hosius' initiative that in

hyla's demands, because their books lack notification of being published with Metropolitan blessing. MAKARIJ [MICHAEL PETROVIČ BULGAKOV]: *Istorija Russkoj Cerkvi* [History of the Russian Church], <http://www.sedmitza.ru/text/436146.html> (last accessed 23.05.2011).

⁵⁹ GOLUBEV (as in footnote 5), vol. II, pp. 486-489.

⁶⁰ KALINOWSKA, Stanisław Hozjusz (1504-1579) (as in footnote 31), pp. 245-246; STANISŁAW KOT: *Polska złotego wieku wobec kultury zachodniej* [Poland of the golden age in relation to Western culture], in: IDEM: *Polska złotego wieku a Europa. Studia i szkice*, Warszawa 1987, pp. 122-195, here pp. 133-136; IDEM: *Humaniści polscy między sobą* [Polish humanists among themselves], *ibidem*, pp. 196-215, here pp. 196-198.

1571 a number of alumni of the *Collegium Germanicum* raised poor boys from Pomerania and Greater Poland and enabled them to study there.⁶¹

He supported Polish students abroad, especially in Rome. In addition, he gave young nobles who intended to enter ministry the canonians and sent them to Rome, usually to the Jesuits, in order to study. But Hosius also kept up with their study progress: the chief examples of such students are Mikołaj and Erazm Działyński. In 1565 the Bishop of Warmia founded in Braniewo a Jesuit College. In 1569 he took the most talented students of the College along to Rome, who were recommended by Benedictus Herbest, a professor of the Jagiellonian University and future Jesuit. Due to Hosius' support, some young men from Greater Poland became alumni of the *Collegium Germanicum*. In Rome Hosius founded the St. Stanislaus *Hospicium* for the Poles (where not only students, but also other travellers could stay) as well the Church of the Most Holy Saviour and St. Stanislaus, the bishop and martyr. Under Hosius' wardship were Marcin Kromer, Stanisław Reszka, Jakub Górski, and Stanisław Sokołowski, who glorified the name of the great cardinal in their works and also realized the idea of cultural sponsorship in their milieu. Reszka, a long-serving secretary of Hosius, wrote a laudatory biography of his patron, "Vita Hosii", which was recognized as a trustworthy historical document.⁶² The bishop of Warmia left 1,200 thalers in his will to the Jesuit College and seminary in Braniewo, which he had founded.⁶³

Metropolitan Mohyla's sponsorship activities were directed by the urgent necessity to renew church life in the metropolitanate, a welcomed opportunity to oppose Uniate and Catholic influences as well as the chance to transform the capital of the metropolitanate into a powerful center of world-wide Eastern Orthodoxy, a "second Jerusalem", in his personal grandiose vision. Despite his personal readiness for a dialogue with the Uniates, Mohyla used the connections of his powerful relatives and their friends to confiscate or to exchange Uniate churches, monasteries and possessions.⁶⁴

When Mohyla was an archimandrite of the Kyjiv Monastery of the Caves, he redeemed the church vessels, renewed the caves, made new tombs for relics and restored the Dormition Church of the Monastery. He also returned to the Eastern Orthodox Church and restored, mostly at his own expense and partially by raised funds⁶⁵, the following buildings: Saint Sophia Cathedral in Kyjiv (the restoration took from 1633 until the offend of Mohyla's life, but even then it was not fully finished, although the liturgy could already be celebrated), the Church of the Tithes (which reached the same condition), St. Basil Church of the Three Saints, the Feast of the Cross Church, the Church

⁶¹ KALINOWSKA, Stanisław Hozjusz (1504-1579) (as in footnote 31), pp. 246-249; IDEM, Stanisław Hozjusz jako humanista (as in footnote 38), pp. 81-85.

⁶² KALINOWSKA, Stanisław Hozjusz (1504-1579) (as in footnote 31), pp. 250-251.

⁶³ IDEM, Stanisław Hozjusz jako humanista (as in footnote 38), p. 83. Further details about the Jesuit College and seminary see below.

⁶⁴ GOLUBEV (as in footnote 5), vol. I, pp. 312-319.

⁶⁵ Ibidem, pp. 460-462.

of the Transfiguration of the Saviour at Berestove, St. Michael of the Vydubyči Monastery in Kyjiv⁶⁶, as well as the churches in Luc'k, Lubny, Pryluky, Bielorussian Kupjatyči and Turyn. Mohyla invited artists and architects to Kyjiv. Among them we know only one, Illja from L'viv, who illustrated the "Euchologion" (1646) and illuminated "The Didactic Gospel" (1637) with ornaments.⁶⁷ Frescoes in the church of the Saviour at Berestove were made by master craftsmen from Greece. A goldsmith, an icon painter, engravers, carpenters and bricklayers were sent from Moscow to adorn these sacred buildings. Mohyla also summoned architects from Western Europe to restore Saint Sophia Cathedral. One of the restorers was the Italian Octaviano Mancini.⁶⁸

In the above-mentioned "Anthology", which was written for the students of his College in Kyjiv, among other names of Saints Mohyla frequently refers to the name of Grand Kyjivan Prince St. Volodymyr. The metropolitan inserted to this work a self composed troparion, a sticheron and a kontakion in honour of St. Volodymyr. He also placed the altar of St. Volodymyr in the inner northern portico of Saint Sophia Cathedral, where the sarcophagus of Grand Kyjivan Prince Jaroslav the Wise had been standing since ancient times. Besides, Mohyla located a richly decorated chapel-sarcophagus for the reliquary of St. Volodymyr in the external northern portico adjoining the altar, timed for the opening of the Church Council in 1640 in the Cathedral.⁶⁹ In 1640 the Kyjiv Metropolitan requested the Muscovian Tsar to make a reliquary for "the relics of [the Tsar's] great-great-grandfather".⁷⁰ In the restored church of the Saviour at Berestov, Mohyla placed the inscription in which the names of St. Volodymyr and the Kyjiv Metropolitan were close to each other and the titles used witnessed their authority over all Ruthenia/Rus'. It was mentioned that the church was built by "St. Volodymyr, the Great Prince of all-Russia and Sovereign", and renewed by "Petro Mohyla, the Archbishop and Metropolitan of Kyjiv, Halyč and all-Russia". In Mohyla's vision, his tenure of the metropolitan see was justified by three things: the

⁶⁶ Ibidem, vol. II, pp. 411-458.

⁶⁷ See in detail: DMYTRO STEPovyk: *Ukrajins'ka knyha i hravjura pry Petri Mohyli* [Ukrainian books and engraving during the times of Petro Mohyla], in: P. Mohyla: *bohoslov, cerkovnyj i kul'turnyj dijač*, Kyjiv 1997, pp. 90-106.

⁶⁸ NADIJA M. NIKITENKO: *Memorial vsjatoho Volodymyra u Sofiji Kyjiv's'kyj Mohyljans'koji doby* [A memorial of Saint Volodymyr in the St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyjiv of the Mohylanian times], in: *Naukovi zapysky 20* (2002), *Istoryčni nauky*, 2, pp. 20-24, here p. 22.

⁶⁹ The relics are supposed to have been transferred there only partly (the right hand). The skull was transferred by Mohyla to the Dormition Cathedral of the Kyjiv Monastery of the Caves, the lower jaw was sent to the Muscovian Tsar, the rest of the relics remained in the foundation of the Church of the Tithes, where they had been found in 1635. NIKITENKO (as in footnote 68), p. 21.

⁷⁰ Ibidem.

inspiration of the Holy Spirit, which had led Vladislaus IV, the blessing of the Apostolic See of Constantinople, and the will of all Ruthenian people.⁷¹

The restoration of “Volodymyr’s inheritance” as well as the canonization of the Saints of the Kyjiv Monastery of the Caves was aimed to show the continuity of the Kyjivan Eastern Orthodoxy from the Princes’ age on. It also symbolized the personal succession of the Kyjivan metropolitan as head of the Ruthenian people from the Kyjivan Princes and from the equal-to-the-apostles, the baptizer of Ruthenia himself. Mohyla materialized the thesis of “Kyjiv as the second Jerusalem” and wanted to create Moscow’s rival in Kyjivan Eastern Orthodoxy, with Moscow’s support. Nevertheless Moscow claimed to be the “third Rome” and the “second Jerusalem” itself and did not respond to Mohyla. Furthermore, St. Volodymyr’s sepulcher disappeared from the church after the Kyjivan Metropolitanate was affiliated to the patriarchate of Moscow.⁷²

In his spiritual testament of 1646 Mohyla made an endowment to the College of 55,000 gold pieces, an estate valued at 20,000 gold pieces, half of his herd of cattle, numerous gold crosses, chalices, richly decorated robes and a voluminous library. Three quarters of his silver plate Mohyla left to his College, the Kyjiv Monastery of the Caves and restored church of the Saviour at Berestov.⁷³

Renewed Theology

Hosius’ theological interests concentrated mainly on polemical theology. His apologetic and polemical work laid the humanistic foundation for the formation of a new positive-polemical theology in Poland. The best known of Hosius’ work was his monumental “*Confessio fidei catholicae christiana*”⁷⁴, which taught truths of the faith and polemicized with the Protestant “*Confessio Augustana*” (1530) and partly with Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski in disproving the accusations of his “*De Republica emendanda*”. The work of the Bishop of Warmia was republished thirty times and made the author widely popular. It is considered that Canisius’ works (particularly the “*Summa doctrinae christianae*” and “*Roman Catechism*”) were based on the “*Confessio*” of Hosius.⁷⁵ Hosius devoted a lot of time to reading Protestant books listed in

⁷¹ CHVEDIR TYTOV: *Materijaly dlja istoriji knyžnoji spravy na Vrajini v XVI-XVIII vv. Vsezbirka peredmov do ukrajins’kych starodrukiv* [Materials for the history of the book business in Ukraine in the 16th-18th centuries. Collected forewords to Ukrainian old printed books], Kyjiv 1924, p. 359.

⁷² See in detail: NIKITENKO (as in footnote 68), pp. 20-24.

⁷³ *Pamjatniki, izdannye Vremennoju komissieju dlja razbora drevnich aktov*, 2 [Records published by the Interim commission for ancient acts’ investigation, vol. 2], Kyjiv 1846, pp. 149-181.

⁷⁴ The first part was published in 1553 in Kraków, and the whole work was published in 1557 in Moguntia.

⁷⁵ JERZY GIERTYCH: *Oblicze religijno-narodowe Warmii i Mazur, ziem etnicznie polskich na podłożu pruskim* [A religious-national face of Warmia and Mazury, the ethnic

the “Index librorum prohibitorum”. Using the Bible he disputed the works of patristics and history. Since his youth Hosius interpreted Protestant books as an infection (*pestilentes libros*) for young souls, but he never used lies or insults, and did not attack particular people. Hosius usually applied rhetorical irony and casuistry, which were popular in religious polemics of both Catholic and Protestant sides at that time. He called Protestantism “biesowa wiarka” (“the devil’s faith”) and considered Lutherans to be non-Christians, because they did not want to name themselves Christians.⁷⁶ Hosius had no sense of the term “religious tolerance” in the modern understanding. In particular he argued against Modrzewski (“Dialogus de eo, num calicem laicis, et uxores sacerdotibus permitti, et divina officia vulgari lingua peragi fas sit”)⁷⁷, Johannes Brentius (“Verae Christianae catholicaeque doctrina solida propugnatio ...”), Petrus Paulus Vergerius (“De expresso Dei Verbo ...”), and Jan Łaski (a founder of the Calvinist Church in Poland and nephew of Jan Łaski, Primate of Poland). Hosius discussed the main problems of the time: Holy Communion *sub utraque specie* for the laity, priestly marriage, Divine Liturgy in the vernacular and the authority of the Holy Scripture and the Church. In his writings Hosius gave preference to the Church, because it had emerged earlier than Scripture. According to him, the Church had an authority and a right to evaluate Scripture, to determine the canonicity of its books and the truth of its statements.⁷⁸

The Cardinal followed the thesis of St. Cyprian’s “Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus”, but understood the Church as the Catholic Church, and placed Protestantism outside of Christianity, recognizing only the absolute obedience to the Apostolic See.⁷⁹ For Hosius the signs of the true church were unity, holiness, catholicity, and apostolic origin. He also excluded the Eastern Orthodoxies from the body of the true church, obviously “forgetting” about their unity, holiness, catholicity, and apostolic origin.⁸⁰ According to Hosius’ view, the

Polish lands on the Prussian ground], Rzym 1957, p. 81; SZORC, *Sługa Boży Stanisław Hozjusz* (as in footnote 46), p. 84; HOCHLEITNER (as in footnote 48), p. 272.

⁷⁶ KALINOWSKA, *Stanisław Hozjusz jako humanista* (as in footnote 38), pp. 34, 42-43, 51, 121-123.

⁷⁷ A part about the Church and the school was removed from Modrzewski’s Kraków edition of 1551 of “*De Republica emendanda*” due to Hosius’ intervention.

⁷⁸ ZDZISŁAW J. KIJAS: *Marcina Lutra i Stanisława Hozjusza wizja Kościoła* [Martin Luther’s and Stanislaus Hosius’ idea of the Church], in: *Kardynał Stanisław Hozjusz (1504-1579)* (as in footnote 33), pp. 285-295, here pp. 287-289; KALINOWSKA, *Stanisław Hozjusz jako humanista* (as in footnote 38), pp. 64-66.

⁷⁹ See in detail: MARJAN RECHOWICZ: *Teologia pozytywno-kontrowersyjna: szkoła polska w XVI w.* [Positive and controversial theology: the Polish school in the 16th century], in: *Dzieje teologii katolickiej w Polsce, t. II: Od odrodzenia do oświecenia, cz. I: Teologia humanistyczna*, Lublin 1975, pp. 33-86, here pp. 51-65; STANISŁAW KOZAKIEWICZ: *Eklezjalny wymiar zbawienia według Stanisława Hozjusza* [The ecclesial dimension of salvation according to Stanisław Hosius], in: *Kardynał Stanisław Hozjusz (1504-1579)* (as in footnote 33), pp. 185-194, here pp. 190-194.

⁸⁰ KIJAS (as in footnote 78), pp. 291-292.

sign of the church's unity was the papacy. The Pope and the Council were unerring in matters of faith, although they could make mistakes in disciplinary matters.⁸¹ Hosius could easily and precisely quote the Old and the New Testament orally and in writing. He based his interpretation of the scripture on the teaching of the Fathers, which gave him the chance to deprive his Protestant rivals the main support.⁸²

Hosius' polemical-theological works were reissued much more often abroad than in Poland. His "Confessio" alone was published about forty times. For example, the cardinal himself was the most widely read Polish author in 16th century France.⁸³

Apart from polemical theology, Hosius was one of the best experts on patristic literature of his time. He paid special attention to St. Augustine, following his life and church activity.⁸⁴ The Bishop of Warmia kept an eye on new editions of patristic literature; they were bought for him by his agents in Kraków and Poznań.⁸⁵ This interest in patristics allied Hosius to his Roman friends, sponsors of science and admirers of antiquity.⁸⁶ Nevertheless some of Hosius' works did not pass papal censorship: in 1559 and 1570 he was accused of using ideas close to Protestantism and of conflicting with the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas.⁸⁷

A basic source for study about Petro Mohyla's theological views is "The Orthodox Confession of Faith", which was probably composed by himself in collaboration with Isaja Trofymovyč-Kozlov's'kyj. Dogmatics was poorly developed in the Eastern Orthodox Church⁸⁸ and Mohyla's work became the first sound attempt of developing an Eastern Orthodox catechism. One of the main aims of "The Orthodox Confession of Faith" was a clear separation from Protestantism on account of "The Confession of Faith" by Cyril Lucaris, published in 1633. "The Orthodox Confession of Faith" was probably composed in Latin and was accepted by the Council of Kyjiv in 1640, by the Council of Jassy in 1642 and by the four eastern patriarchs in 1643. Although the work from Kyjiv polemicized with the papal claims and *filioque*, Mohyla was blamed for employing elements which contradicted with Eastern Ortho-

⁸¹ LUDWIK NADOLSKI: Nauka kardynała Stanisława Hozjusza o jedności Kościoła [Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius' doctrine of the unity of the Church], in: Studia Warmińskie 10 (1973), pp. 5-37.

⁸² KALINOWSKA, Stanisław Hozjusz jako humanista (as in footnote 38), pp. 46-47.

⁸³ Ibidem, pp. 130-131.

⁸⁴ Ibidem, pp. 47-49.

⁸⁵ Korespondencja Stanisława Hozjusza (as in footnote 41), p. 33.

⁸⁶ WOJTYSKA, Hozjusz w kręgu humanistów (as in footnote 33), pp. 117-119.

⁸⁷ According to Kalinowska, Hosius did not belong to the Thomist party. He often referred to his favorite St. Augustine, instead of St. Thomas Aquinas. The 16th century was marked by the crisis of Augustinianism, when the Protestants also started to refer to St. Augustine. Although Aquinas had borrowed much from Augustine, there were several differences between their systems. KALINOWSKA, Stanisław Hozjusz jako humanista (as in footnote 38), pp. 136-137.

⁸⁸ ŽUKOV'S'KYJ, Katechizys Petra Mohyly (as in footnote 3), pp. 6-9.

dox tradition. His positions were removed during a revision of Mohyla's text by the Greek theologian Meletios Syrigos, a recognized authority on canonical and liturgical questions.

These removed positions were the recognition of baptism by sprinkling, not only immersion; the rejection of the re-baptizing practice of heretics and apostates; the acknowledgment of the fact that the moment of transubstantiation of the Eucharist occurs at the words of Christ: "hoc est corpus meum" and "hic est sanguis meus", not at the Epiclesis; the belief in the existence of a third place, a sort of purgatory different from heaven and earth; the recognition of the personal judgment after death; and the usage of the seven deadly sins by St. Gregory the Great instead of the initial scheme by Evagrius Ponticus.⁸⁹

Mohyla ignored the Greek accusations and published a short version of the "Confession" (the so called "Small Catechism") in Kyjiv in 1645. The book was written in Polish and Ruthenian with the title "Zebranie krótkiey nauki o artykułach wiary prawosławnokatolickiey chrześcijańskiej". In 1646 a short edition of the first Ruthenian version was republished in L'viv.⁹⁰

In the foreword of the Polish version it was stated that the book had been written for young people who "were not provided with perfect spiritual pabulum" as well as for adults who "should be always ready to defend the holy faith". The foreword to the Ruthenian version extended the explanations of the school edition and added that the previous edition was published in Polish so that "the mouths of the shameless would be stopped. These, who are the main enemies of the Eastern Orthodox-Catholic Church, who were so bold and ventured to slander and make mischief it before the world in the Polish language [...] they should remain forever stricken and defamed [...] by the same language."⁹¹ In 1649 "The Small Catechism" was accepted with slight modifications in the Council of Moscow.

It is known that in his "Confession", Mohyla used not only Greek and Slavic sources, but also many Western works. For instance, he followed the scheme of the "Roman Catechism", where the chapter about the Sacraments was placed before the chapter about the Ten Commandments. Such approach

⁸⁹ The original version is now lost; an intermediate Latin version, made by Syrigos, has been edited: MALVY/VILLER (as in footnote 5); MARGARITA KORZO: "Prawosławne wyznanie wiary" Piotra Mohyły. Kilka uwag w sprawie wpływów zachodnich na teologię kijowską XVII w. ["The Orthodox Confession of Faith" of Petro Mohyla. Some remarks about Western influences on Kyjivan theology of the 18th century], in: *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 46 (2002), pp. 141-149, here pp. 141-142.

⁹⁰ The fourth edition of "The Orthodox Confession of Faith" was published in Moscow in 1649 in Church Slavonic, with small notes made by translator. Since then Mohyla's work was translated and published in Greek, Latin, German, Dutch, Serbian, English, Romanian, and Arabic, more than fifty times. In the Russian Empire "The Orthodox Confession of Faith" was used and studied in theological seminaries till 1867.

⁹¹ *Kratkij katechezis, izdannyj v Kievo-pečerskoj Lavre* [The Small Catechism printed in the Kyjevo-Pečers'ka lavra], in: GOLUBEV (as in footnote 5), vol. II, pp. 358-473, here pp. 358-359, 470-471.

could be explained by Mohyla's acceptance of the Western vision of interaction between grace and the human will. The Kyjivan Metropolitan also used the concept of original sin, which was strange to Eastern Orthodox theology but was popularized by theologians from Mohyla's circle in Orthodox didactic literature of the 1630-1650s. He also appealed to Augustine's teaching about hereditary guilt of all people through their participation in Adam's nature. Although the idea of original sin was central to the anthropological discourse of the "Roman Catechism", Mohyla's "Confession" used it only thrice and did not ascribe significant value to it. Borrowing a number of concepts from Catholic anthropology, Mohyla did not fully accept its teaching about the Fall and its consequences, and therefore did not consistently implement this teaching in his theological system. In contrast to the "Roman Catechism", which regarded the Decalogue as the quintessence of the whole Law through which all human actions were to be examined, the "Confession" briefly presented the Decalogue at the end, emphasizing the higher status of the Evangelical Commandments in relation to the Decalogue.⁹²

At the same time, in Mohyla's descriptions of miracles in the Kyjiv Monastery of the Caves in "The Personally Written Notes", the Metropolitan considered the Catholic faith to be lacking the grace of the Holy Spirit. He also criticized the teaching about purgatory⁹³ and the introduction of the new calendar⁹⁴. In Margarita Korzo's opinion, elements of Orthodox and Catholic faith and dogmatics paradoxically coexisted in Mohyla's works. He was obliged to use the Western experience, because the Orthodox theological tradition, based on Greek patristics, had limited opportunities to systematize theological knowledge, and no satisfactory methodology at that time. Mohyla regarded his innovations not as borrowings from the West, but as a recovering of forgotten statements from the ancient church tradition, common to both Catholics and Orthodox. The Western terminology in his works was just a technical means which did not warp the Orthodox teaching and the spirit of Greek patristics.⁹⁵

Moreover, according to some researchers, Mohyla distinctly demonstrated the theological autonomy of the Kyjivan Church from Rome, Constantinople

⁹² KORZO (as in footnote 89), pp. 146-147; LJUDMYLA FYLYPOVYČ, OLEKSANDR SARAPIN: Bohoslovja mohyljans'koji doby: sut' i rozvytok [Theology of the Mohylanian age: an essence and a development], in: Fenomen Petra Mohyly (as in footnote 57), pp. 74-111, here p. 102.

⁹³ It is obvious that this last issue remained rather controversial for the Kyjivan theologians. The Council of Kyjiv of 1640, chaired by Mohyla, decided to make a request to the Patriarch of Constantinople to explain the position of the Eastern Orthodox Church concerning the place where souls of the dead stay.

⁹⁴ GOLUBEV (as in footnote 5), vol. I, pp. 346-347.

⁹⁵ KORZO (as in footnote 89), pp. 147-149; CHARIPOVA (as in footnote 2), p. 162.

or Moscow, mentioning that “the mother-teacher of the rest Churches” was the Church of Jerusalem.⁹⁶

The immediate attitude of Mohyla to the Catholic Church could be seen in his polemic work “Lithos” (Kyjiv 1644). According to this book, neither St. Peter nor one of the apostles, prophets, and patriarchs could be the foundation of an Ecumenical Church, because the chief corner stone of the Church was Christ. The Pope might be considered the first among the bishops and might take the first place among the patriarchs in the councils, providing the juridical equality of power to all ecumenical pastors was recognised. Thus the Pope could receive the primacy not by transmission from St. Peter, but from the church itself – *ex beneficio Ecclesiae*.⁹⁷ One of the main works on which “Lithos” drew on the issue of ritualism was “De concordia Ecclesiae Occidentalis et Orientalis in septem sacramentorum administratione, libri VII”, written by the Jesuit Peter Arcudius. According to “Lithos”, the principal difference between the churches was not the rites (their essence was the same in many cases), but dogma.⁹⁸ “Lithos” denied accusations against the Orthodox concerning re-baptizing Catholics, but admitted that such a practice existed in the Kingdom of Muscovy. Furthermore, in 1644, when “Lithos” was published, Mohyla asked the Patriarch of Constantinople to explain to the Muscovians that re-baptizing those who were baptized in a correct way was illegal. In general, “Lithos” had no hostility to the Latin rite or to the Catholic Church.⁹⁹

Administrative Reform

Hosius’ administrative reforms in his diocese aimed at executing the resolutions of the Council of Trent concerning the regulation of diocesan life, the increase of discipline and moral virtue among the clergy and parishioners, and strengthening the entire system of supervision and inspection. The Council of Trent commanded bishops to visit their dioceses. The diocese of Warmia was one of the first in Europe to implement this demand.¹⁰⁰ Visitations had to be prior to the diocesan synod, which should eliminate discovered violations. The Council of Trent prescribed holding the same synods. The main aims of synods were the announcement and adaptation of all church instructions, pontifical decrees, and resolutions of the provincial synods to the local circumstances. Synods were allowed to take control of the state of religious life, to regulate different faults in pastoral care, and they were engaged directly in current diocesan problems. In 1565 Hosius visited his Diocese of

⁹⁶ ROMAN P. POPIVCHAK: P. Peter Mohyla, Metropolitan of Kiev (1633-47). Translation and evaluation of his “Orthodox Confession of Faith” (1640), Washington D.C. 1975, pp. 14-15.

⁹⁷ NIČYK, Petro Mohyla v duchovnij istoriji Ukrajiny (as in footnote 42), pp. 131-134.

⁹⁸ GOLUBEV (as in footnote 5), vol. II, p. 370.

⁹⁹ Nevertheless quite brutal epithets were used to Kasijan Sakovyč, the author of the polemical work “Perspectives”, and even to his parents. Ibidem, pp. 379-384.

¹⁰⁰ HOCHLEITNER (as in footnote 48), p. 55.

Warmia. In August of 1565 the synod of the diocese took place in Lidzbark and started the reform as an example for other dioceses. This synod elaborated instructions of prayer teaching for the faithful and paid attention to a proper moral lifestyle of the clergy. The latter were controlled during general visitations and annual decanal visitations.¹⁰¹

Another important direction of Catholic Reform was the improvement of the lifestyle of the clergy. In his "Confessio" Hosius depicted a precise image of a priest-envoy of Christ to the people, who, by his mediation, connected the faithful with God. The Cardinal considered immoral clergy lifestyle to be the main reason of decadence in the Catholic Church. The decree of the Council of Trent "Cum adolescentium aetas" of 1563 obliged the episcopate to found seminaries in order to solve this problem. Hosius did this in 1565, and entrusted a new seminary to the Jesuits. Because of the lack of priests in the diocese, Hosius won Pius' IV permission to consecrate persons who were not yet twenty five years old. The synod of 1565 demanded high standards of the candidates to the priesthood (a good education, blameless morality, non-assistance to heresy) and to the priests in their pastoral work (the synod determined the way of celebrating the sacraments and rituals, the books which they should have, the prayers which the faithful had to know, and an inspection of the diocesan schools' activities). Among the primary tasks of parish priests the synod defined frequent celebration of the mass and the sacraments, detailed knowledge of their parishioners and the influence on them through the priests' lifestyles.¹⁰²

The church was obliged to take care of and supervise all its members. The parishes received registration books to record all baptisms, marriages and funerals. Parish priests watched over the discharge of obligatory Easter confession, celebration of Sundays and ecclesiastical feasts. During the organized missions (the missionaries in the Diocese of Warmia in Braniewo and Elbląg were Jesuits) the priests catechized adults and children, taught them daily prayers, prepared the faithful for general confession, celebrated the sacraments and solemn masses, and delivered sermons. The Jesuits' contribution to reform was the evangelization of the rural population, whose parish network was sparse.¹⁰³ Hosius personally encouraged the faithful to assiduously and piously discharge their religious and liturgical practices, participate actively in the liturgical year, and to cross themselves frequently. Referring to Tertullian's teaching he considered the latter to be a necessary condition for the salvation of ordinary people.¹⁰⁴

The direction of administrative reform in the Kyjivan Metropolitanate was almost the same. For the first time in history of the Orthodox Church, Mohyla introduced official visitations throughout the Metropolitanate, carried out by

¹⁰¹ Ibidem, pp. 60-61, 200, 269.

¹⁰² Ibidem, pp. 271-275, 301.

¹⁰³ Ibidem, pp. 152-155.

¹⁰⁴ KOZAKIEWICZ (as in footnote 79), pp. 191-192.

him during his trips to the Diets of Warsaw and Kraków. For instance, the visitation of the Vilnius and Byelorussian parishes and monasteries in 1635 lasted about five months.¹⁰⁵ Since that time priestly activities were controlled by archpriests, who were elected among the most worthy priests. The activity of the archpriests was controlled by visitators (inspectors).¹⁰⁶

Mohyla introduced an annual meeting in the Kyjiv eparchy and demanded that such meetings gather in other eparchies as well. All priests of the eparchy had the right to take part in these. The participants examined the candidates to the priesthood, gave instructions to the local clergy and solved urgent problems of the eparchial life.¹⁰⁷ In 1640 the only whole church meeting, a synod, took place in Kyjiv. Its members discussed dogmatic issues (firstly “The Orthodox Confession of Faith”), administrative matters, and liturgical questions, in particular the text of the “Euchologion”.¹⁰⁸

In the foreword of “The Didactic Gospel”, Mohyla described the priesthood as the highest state, even more respectable than royalty, because priests “rule over the human soul” and hold the power of Christ to release from sins and reunite with the Lord. As a result, he demanded that priests live a devout angelic life.¹⁰⁹ Candidates to the priesthood were recruited among students of the Mohyla College and confraternity schools as well as among self-educated persons. They were bound to monasteries for six months, where selected monks prepared them to become clergy. Mohyla dictated bishops not to lay hands on those candidates who had two wives; those clerics and bishops were deprived of holy orders. The same instructions were given concerning “killers, drunkards, dealers, usurers, bribe-takers” and those who had bad knowledge of the scripture and did not confess twelve times a year.¹¹⁰

Mohyla examined the lawfulness of priestly ordinations. Persons who were unable to present documentation of their ordination were obliged to give special evidence from the parishioners about their lawful and good service.¹¹¹ In particular, as in the reformed Catholic Church, the Orthodox priests were obliged to confess monthly and to submit written evidence of this to the Metropolitan, to preach on Sundays and celebrate feasts for the faithful, and not to bless unlawful marriages.¹¹² A special vow was introduced for the bishops be-

¹⁰⁵ GOLUBEV (as in footnote 5), vol. II, pp. 492-497.

¹⁰⁶ Archpriests looked after the moral virtue of clergy and their discharging, collected the annual contribution for the benefit of the Metropolitan or a Bishop, and looked after the affairs of churches. *Ibidem*, pp. 484-486.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 489-491.

¹⁰⁸ MAKARIJ (as in footnote 58).

¹⁰⁹ FYLYPOVYČ/SARAPIN (as in footnote 92), pp. 89-97.

¹¹⁰ Quotation from: GOLUBEV (as in footnote 5), vol. II, pp. 484-485. See in detail *ibidem*, pp. 474-485.

¹¹¹ Only after this procedure could such a person receive a new certificate from the Metropolitan to replace the lost one. The certificate was combined with a list of the priests' duties.

¹¹² GOLUBEV (as in footnote 5), vol. II, pp. 479-484.

fore their chirotony. It contained the Confession of Faith, a vow of worthy pastoral service and conduct, adherence to church canons, and a careful attitude to church property.¹¹³ Educated and disciplined clergy became one of Mohyla's instruments to exterminate the confraternities' influences and the disorder in church life generated by these confraternities.¹¹⁴ The parish registration books for baptisms, marriages and funerals were introduced in the Kyjivan metropolitanate after the Catholic model.

In 1634/35 Mohyla centralized church management on the Catholic model. He founded the Metropolitan Consistory that conducted inquests and held a court over the clergy. The decisions of the Consistory were approved by the Metropolitan. In this way, the Orthodox clergy was taken out of lay jurisdiction.¹¹⁵ Mohyla founded separate courts for the parish clergy – the judicial tribunals, whose members were elected from the eparchial clergy. Previously, the ecclesiastical court had been run by kliroses or chapters under bishops, who also exercised administrative functions.

Mohyla continued the reform of the monastic life that had been started by Elisej Pletenec'kyj. He replaced the Studite typikon with the typikon of St. Basil the Great, which mitigated severe asceticism and seclusion and extended the monks' sphere of social activity. Mohyla demanded that the monks adhere to absolute non-profit-making, total self-denial and subjection to the father superior's will. He wrote that "the monastic life is a perfection of Christian life" and called "the rejection of any ownership" to be "the basis and foundation"¹¹⁶ of monastic life. Mohyla did not hesitate to exercise force against disobedient monks. For instance, during the confiscation of the St. Nicholas Monastery he expelled its father superior with the aid of his army.¹¹⁷ The metropolitan also prohibited friars and nuns to live outside the monasteries.

Besides all this, Mohyla struggled against the abuse of the advowson system and tried to limit it and the influence on patrons. For example, at the royal court he granted the right to appoint father superiors of the most famous Orthodox monasteries and churches in perpetuity only by his recommendation. Under Mohyla's influence, Orthodox patrons who had founded a mon-

¹¹³ An example of such vow, composed by Syl'vestr Kossov (Kosiv), the Bishop of Mstyslav, Orša and Mohyliv can be found in: ŽUKOVSKYJ, Petro Mohyla i pytanja jednosti Cerkov (as in footnote 34), pp. 218-221.

¹¹⁴ IVAN CHOLMS'KYJ: Istorija Ukrajiny [History of Ukraine], New York et al. 1949, pp. 174-175.

¹¹⁵ GOLUBEV (as in footnote 5), vol. II, pp. 498-499.

¹¹⁶ Sobstvennoručnye zapiski Petra Mogily [Autographical notes of Petro Mohyla], in: Archiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii 7 (1887), 1, pp. 49-189, here pp. 171-172.

¹¹⁷ The same means were used toward Isaja Kopyns'kyj, who was Mohyla's predecessor in the Kyjivan See. See: Pis'mo kievskogo vovody Januša Tyškeviča k Petru Mogile [Voivode of Kyjiv Januš Tyškevič's letter to Petro Mohyla] 1.X.1633, in: GOLUBEV (as in footnote 5), vol. I, pp. 548-552; Žaloba poverennogo Isaji Kopinskogo na Petra Mogilu [Complaint of Isaja Kopyns'kyj's attorney about Petro Mohyla] 24.IV.1637, ibidem. pp. 564-566 etc.; GOLUBEV (as in footnote 5), vol. II, pp. 49-59.

astery did not intervene in the elections of father superiors but charged the brethren with this issue. The elected father superior was confirmed by the Metropolitan. The latter, however, could deny giving a chirotony to an unwanted person who was recommended by a patron.¹¹⁸

Mohyla carried out liturgical reform in the church, aiming to reply to “the enemies and insincere brothers of Holy Eastern Orthodoxy” who “called our priests the most shameless ignorami and boors” and who “shouted that Ruthenia had become heretic”.¹¹⁹ Mohyla used Greek sources, even if they were published in the West. For example, in 1629 and 1639 he published two editions of the “Liturgiarion” and in 1646 the “Euchologion”. The second edition of the “Liturgiarion” of 1639 contained not only corrections and supplements on the basis of the Greek text, but also included columns for priests and commentaries written in the spirit of the Catholic Reform. Mohyla’s definition of the sacrament itself testified that he had used Catholic sources: he quoted almost literally statements by Augustine, Hugh of Saint Victor and Petrus Lombardus, and gave a typical scholastic scheme of the sacraments’ structure, separating substance and form (nevertheless he emphasized not the words themselves, but the action of assuming the Holy Spirit).¹²⁰ In particular, Mohyla denoted substance and form and insisted that the priest who celebrated a sacrament should be conscious of the hierurgy.¹²¹ Mohyla adopted the Western term of “intention” of a celebrant who administered a sacrament (the teaching about “intention” was formulated for the first time only in the Council of Trent). Moreover, in the foreword of the “Euchologion”, Mohyla gave as one reason for writing the work the accusations of “our opponents and pseudo-brothers of Eastern Orthodoxy” that Eastern Orthodox Ruthenia had deviated to heresy and had not known “neither the number, nor form, and substance, and intention, and consequences of the Sacraments and had celebrated them in different ways”.¹²² The collections of sinaptai and the prayers for twenty seven separate cases were added to the second edition, texts which were influenced by the Roman Missal.¹²³

The “Euchologion” is considered to be the fundamental embodiment of the theological and liturgical ideas of Orthodox Reform. It was composed on the basis of Greek and Slavonic collections of liturgical instructions and kept to the Orthodox order of the sacraments. The “Euchologion” fixed demands on the faithful to confess during every day-long fast and to know the Lord’s Prayer, “Hail Mary”, the Decalogue, and the truths of faith. The “Euchologion” reconciled the existence of both Eastern and Latin practices of celebrating the sacraments in the Kyjiv Metropolitanate, as well as in the case of

¹¹⁸ GOLUBEV (as in footnote 5), vol. II, pp. 506-510.

¹¹⁹ Trebnyk Petra Mohyly (as in footnote 55), vol. I, p. 4.

¹²⁰ KORZO (as in footnote 89), pp. 143-146.

¹²¹ PAVLO MEJENDORF: Liturhijni reformy Petra Mohyly: novyj pohljad [The liturgical reforms of Petro Mohyla: a new view], in: P. Mohyla (as in footnote 67), pp. 61-74.

¹²² TYTOV (as in footnote 71), p. 370.

¹²³ MAKARIJ (as in footnote 58).

baptism when both immersion and sprinkling were allowed. Latin infiltrations included the distinguishing of substance and form of the sacraments which was common in Western theology¹²⁴ and determining the moment of transubstantiation at the words of Christ. The invocation was not mentioned, Mohyla replaced the depreciative formula used at absolution in the Greek manuals (“May God forgive you ...”) with an indicative formula taken directly from the Roman Catholic ritual (“I absolve you ...”) – and undoubted necessity of penance – thus the accent was removed from the Orthodox emphasis on God’s infinite charity to the expiatory power of pious works. The “Euchologion” also established a new way of affiliation to the Orthodox Church. The Socinians, Anabaptists, Arians and Jews were affiliated through baptism (the baptism of their denomination was considered as invalid) and chrismation; Lutherans and Calvinists were affiliated through the abjuration of errors and through chrismation; Catholics, Uniates and apostates were affiliated through the abjuration of errors and through confession of the faith (their baptism was considered as valid). Baptism, chrismation and ordination to the Holy Orders were considered the sacraments which could not be renewed.¹²⁵ Some of the explanatory articles were borrowed by Mohyla almost completely from the Latin “The Roman Rite” (1614) by Pope Paul V. In some of the articles he used only the main ideas of this book. The “Euchologion” contained 37 new rituals, some of which were adaptations from “The Roman Rite”, and 20 original rituals that were unknown neither for Greek, Slavonic nor Latin rites.¹²⁶ In general, the range of works “Nomokanon” (1629), the “Liturgiaron” (1629, 1639), “The Catechism” (“The Orthodox Confession of Faith”) (1640), and the “Euchologion” (1646) were the part of Mohyla’s integral large-scale programme, which aimed at the unification and systematization of canon law, liturgy and dogmatics, to help the Eastern Orthodox Church not only to come out of recession¹²⁷, but also to change it into an influential competitive center of the Eastern Orthodoxy on a world-wide scale.

In his youth, Hosius was absorbed by the literary genre of the Lives of Saints. During the administration of his diocese he extended the cult of St. Stanislaus, Bishop of Kraków and martyr. Hosius’ successors spread or strengthened the cults of their patrons in the diocese too. The Council of

¹²⁴ This formula entered to Ruthenian and Slavic Orthodox tradition in general, but was not accepted by the Greek Churches. The Greeks preserved the formula of absolution in the third person and were very critical of the formula adopted by Kyjivan Church. They saw it as deviating from the Orthodox sacramental practice in which the priest had never spoken from the first person. IHOR ISIČENKO: “Myr s Bohom čeloviku” o. Inokentija Gizelja v konteksti bohoslovja pokajannja [“Peace with God to man” o. Father Inokentij Gizel’ in the context of theology of penitence], http://risu.org.ua/ua/index/monitoring/religious_digest/34433/ (last accessed 23.05.2011).

¹²⁵ Trebnyk Petra Mohyly (as in footnote 55), vol. I, p. 7.

¹²⁶ MAKARIJ (as in footnote 58).

¹²⁷ NIČYK, Petro Mohyla v duchovnij istoriji Ukrajinij (as in footnote 42), p. 153.

Trent laid stress on the saints' intercession and shielded the cult of sacred imagery and relics. Nevertheless this was carefully done, because at the same time the Council struggled against various superstitions in adoration of relics and consecration of imagery. A vested interest in the Lives of Saints, which could become an important guideline for the faithful, was noticeable in the post-Trent Catholicism. The literature of this genre was widely read and became an integral part of the religious culture of that time. In Braniewo, alumni of the pontifical seminary were obliged to read the Lives of Saints during meals. The Lives of Saints were also fixed in parish inventories of Warmia.¹²⁸ Hosius himself rigidly kept the fast and self-flagellation. The latter was a popular practice of the mortification of the flesh during the Catholic Reformation, both among clerics and secular persons.¹²⁹ In advanced age he "made use of assistance of somebody else, because he could do it too *much delicately* [italics added]".¹³⁰

That Mohyla paid a great deal of attention to iconoduly and the spread of the local saints' cults (first of all the saints of the Kyjiv Monastery of the Caves) let us to assume that this was done not only for the internal strengthening of his church in the struggle against Uniate and Catholic opponents, but also for raising the external authority of the church in the whole Orthodox world. Mohyla took personal care of compiling a new collection of "The Lives of Saints" and asked the Athos Monasteries to send him the "Menologion", the Lives of the Saints. In 1643 all monks whose relics rested in the caves of the Kyjiv Monastery of the Caves were proclaimed saints.¹³¹ During the process of their canonization the "Lives of Holy Fathers" ("Paterikon abo Żywoty śś. Oyców Pieczarskich" by Syl'vestr Kossov 1635) and the collection of stories about miraculous phenomena in this Monastery ("Teratourghma" by Atanasij Kal'nofojs'kyj 1638) were published in Polish.¹³² Kossov's work contained historical notes from famous historians such as Caesar Baronius, Jan Długosz, and Maciej Strykowski, which were added to "The Lives". Kal'nofojs'kyj's collection was composed on the basis of notes about miracles in the caves of the Monastery by Mohyla himself.¹³³ It is known that

¹²⁸ HOCHLEITNER (as in footnote 48), pp. 248-249, 252-253.

¹²⁹ TAZBIR, Święci, grzesznicy i kacerze (as in footnote 49), pp. 151-154.

¹³⁰ FLORIAN JAROSZEWICZ: Matka świętych Polska albo żywoty świętych, błogosławionych, wielbnych, świątobliwych, pobożnych Polaków i Polek, cz. 1 [Mother of saints, Poland, or hagiographies of saints, blessed, venerables, and pious Polish men and women, pt. 1], Kraków 1767, p. 103.

¹³¹ JEVHEN KABANEC': Petro Mohyla i pečers'ka kanonizacija 1643 r. [Petro Mohyla and the canonization of the Caves of 1643], in: P. Mohyla (as in footnote 67), pp. 151-156, here pp. 149-155.

¹³² GOLUBEV (as in footnote 5), vol. II, pp. 293-320.

¹³³ Mohyla's notes, which he wrote down in 1629-1631 and perhaps later, are published in: Sobstvennoručnye zapiski Petra Mogily (as footnote 116), pp. 49-132.

Mohyla lived a severe ascetic life as a monk, wore sackcloth and an iron belt.¹³⁴

Taking the pious life and ministry of both hierarchs into consideration, their churches initiated canonization (in the case of the Catholic Church it was beatification) processes. The idea of Hosius' beatification appeared immediately after his death. His collaborators Stanisław Reszka and Tomasz Treter glorified the majesty and sanctity of Hosius. In 1735 the Bollandists included his name in the "Acta sanctorum". Nevertheless, the beatification process itself was initiated by the Conference of the Polish episcopacy not before 1926 and was not put into practice until today. Petro Mohyla was canonized by the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Patriarchate of Kyjiv and of the Patriarchate of Moscow in 1996. In 2002 the Kyjiv Metropolitan was canonized by the Romanian Orthodox Church. Since 2005 Mohyla was acknowledged as saint in the Russian Orthodox Church of the Patriarchate of Moscow. He is also venerable as a saint in the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Mohyla's tradition was preserved not only in Kyjiv, but also in the Latin academy in Moscow, the Slavonic-Greek-Latin seminary in Petersburg, the Slavonic-Latin school in Kazan' and at the courts of the bishops. In the middle of the 18th century Great Russian bishops were mostly Ruthenians by origin, and in 1757 the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church officially accepted the "Euchologion" by Mohyla.

Why the Jesuits? Hosius' Response

Despite all their differences in legal status and peculiarities of experiencing a crisis, the Eastern Orthodox and Catholic churches undoubtedly found themselves facing identical problems. They were looking for instruments of religious and educational renewal in order to strengthen the church and successfully resist their rivals' offensive.

Alongside Protestants from Western Europe a new type of school was imported, called the *studia humanitatis* and with *pietas litterata* (educated piety) as its main principle. This type of school, firstly introduced by the Brethren of the Common Life in the Netherlands, was adopted by both uncompromising opponents, the Protestants and the Jesuits.¹³⁵

In the 16th century almost every big city in Western Europe had a good secondary school (gymnasium). However, in the Polish-Lithuanian Common-

¹³⁴ GOLUBEV (as in footnote 5), vol. I, p. 336.

¹³⁵ See in particular about the Jesuits: JOHN W. O'MALLEY: Renaissance Humanism and the First Jesuits, in: Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo. Congreso Internacional de Historia (9-13 Septiembre 1991), ed. by JUAN PLAZAOLA, Bilbao 1992, pp. 381-403; IDEM: Erasmus and the History of Sacred Rhetoric: The "Ecclesiastes" of 1535, in: Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook 5 (1985), pp. 1-29; Renaissance humanism. Foundations, Forms, and Legacy, vol. 1-3, ed. by ALBERT RABIL, Philadelphia 1988; ALDO SCAGLIONE: The Liberal Arts and the Jesuit College System, Amsterdam et al. 1986; GABRIEL CODINA MIR: Aux Sources de la Pédagogie des Jésuites. Le "modus Parisiensis", Roma 1968.

wealth under the rule of king Stephen Bathory (1576-1586) there was only one declining university and a few schools in Vilnius, Warsaw, and Lublin, in which the level of education was lower than in a grammar school.¹³⁶ The Reformation brought forward the establishment of grammar schools and universities of the humanistic type in Royal Prussia (in Elbląg, Gdańsk and Toruń), where the so called “academic gymnasiums” had emerged. In Królewiec (Königsberg) in the Duchy of Prussia, Prince Albrecht Hohenzollern, who had been in need of educated pastors, teachers, lawyers, and doctors, had founded a grammar school which he raised to the level of a university in 1544. Besides this, there were good secondary schools in the Duchy of Prussia that prepared students for university.

Therefore, the first educational initiatives of Hosius as Bishop of Chełmno (1549-51) were motivated by the necessity to re-Catholicize Royal Prussia by organizing a powerful educational establishment able to restrain the Reformation and the emigration of youth to foreign Protestant universities, particularly to the nearest Lutheran university *Albertina* in Królewiec.

When Hosius failed to re-Catholicize the gymnasium in Chełmno, he founded a convictorium (bursa) for the sons of the Polish nobility in his episcopal castle in Lubawa. The fiasco of the convictorium in Lubawa forced Hosius to transfer it to Elbląg. In the Elbląg secondary school he replaced the old director with Mikołaj Gelasinus, an alumnus of the Jagiellonian University. Nevertheless, this attempt to re-Catholicize and polonize the secondary school was also unsuccessful, because the school managers were facing hostility from the townspeople, adherents of a different faith.¹³⁷ So, Hosius’ attempts to reform local schooling by his own means failed. Therefore in 1551, when Hosius received the episcopacy of Warmia, he planned to invite the Jesuits to his diocese. The invitation was suggested by Hosius’ friend Marcin Kromer who had been an ambassador at the Imperial Court and was familiar with St. Petrus Canisius and other Viennese Jesuits. It is important to notice that despite Kromer’s reference, Hosius’ idea of the foundational administrative bases of the Jesuit schooling was very vague. The Jesuits based their school model on the *modus Parisiensis* and the Protestant school model of Johann Sturm. This turned out to be a very effective instrument for the Jesuit educational development.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ KOT (as in footnote 60), pp. 160-161.

¹³⁷ MARJAN PAWLAK: *Dzieje gimnazjum Elbląskiego w latach 1535-1772* [History of the Elbląg gymnasium 1535-1772], Pojezierze – Olsztyn 1972, pp. 37-39; JAN KOREWA: *Z dziejów diecezji warmińskiej w XVI w. Geneza braniewskiego Hosianum. Przyczynek do dziejów zespolenia Warmii z Rzeczpospolitą* [From the history of the diocese of Warmia in the 16th century. The genesis of the Branewian Hosianum. On the issue of history of Warmia and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth unification], Poznań et al. 1965, pp. 20-21; KALINOWSKA, Stanisław Hozjusz jako humanista (as in footnote 38), pp. 74-76.

¹³⁸ ŠEVČENKO, Jezujits’ke škil’nyctvo (as in footnote 13), pp. 47-52.

In 1554 Kromer, on behalf of Hosius, started negotiations about sending ten Jesuits, Germans and Flemings to the Warmia Diocese (the German language was used everywhere in the Warmian cities). They were expected to be experts in Greek and Latin and able to educate the clergy. Ten years passed before the first Jesuits arrived in Warmia. Difficulties and breaks during the negotiations were caused by Hosius's financial problems and his unfamiliarity with the conditions (including financial ones) under which the Jesuits usually entered dioceses. The invitation required many sacrifices from the bishop. For example, instead of a fixed teacher salary for several persons (as Hosius firstly had imagined), he was obliged to provide for the whole monastery school's needs. (At that time the minimal number of the Jesuits who could establish a College was twelve; later it turned to 15 and in 1561 grew to 20 persons). Also, a newly founded school became the property of the order and was taken out of the jurisdiction of the founding bishop.

The first Jesuit – Alphonso Salmeron – arrived in the Kingdom of Poland in 1555 as a theologian of the Pontifical Nuncio Aloisio Lippomano. Despite Queen Bona's favor to the foundation of the Jesuit house in the Kingdom of Poland, the country remained in Salmeron's memory as the land that was lost to the Church and inaccessible for the Society of Jesus. Owing to his reports the Jesuits lost their interest in Poland, which until then was considered to be a stronghold for conquering "Tataria" and China for Christ.¹³⁹

In 1557 Pope Paul IV called Hosius to Rome, where he served as a papal theologian. In 1560-61 Hosius worked as Nuncio in Vienna, and in 1561 he became a Cardinal. From 1562-63 he was a Papal Legate at the Council of Trent.¹⁴⁰ In Vienna, Hosius became the closest friend of the Jesuit Petrus Canisius. During his stay in Rome (he returned to his diocese in 1564), he made his acquaintance with the Jesuit Order's governing body and kept up with the activities of the *Collegium Romanum* and the *Collegium Germanicum*, both headed by Jesuits. Since then Hosius had kept in touch with persons from the Jesuits Generalate such as General Jacobo Laynez and his associates. Besides this, Hosius' nephew Johannes was studying at the *Collegium Germanicum*. Hosius's personal contacts with leading Jesuits gave him the chance to invite the Society to his diocese. It was thanks to their amicable relations that General Laynez made an exception for Hosius (taking his financial difficulties into account) and agreed to accept his foundation, which could provide maintenance for as little as eight persons.¹⁴¹ Hosius later increased the foundation, but nevertheless during the 16th century the Bra-

¹³⁹ KOREWA (as in footnote 137), pp. 18-35, 99-100, 104-105, 144.

¹⁴⁰ Hosius was highly favored by the Pope thanks to positive reports by Lippomano. In 1555-57, during Reformation perturbations in the Polish Church, Lippomano had accused many prelates and lay persons in his reports to Rome, speaking the most favorably only about Hosius. See: *Acta nuntiaturae Polonae*, vol. III/1: Aloisius Lippomano (1555-1557), ed. by HENRYK DAMJAN WOJTYSKA, Romae 1993, pp. 83-86, 135, 141, 277-283, 287-290.

¹⁴¹ KOREWA (as in footnote 137), pp. 94-112, 134-135.

niewo College had the worst material conditions of any Jesuit College in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. During some years there were above 80 Jesuits in Braniewo, with maintenance provided only 20 persons.¹⁴²

In October 1564 the Jesuits from Germany and Rome arrived in Braniewo, the largest city under Hosius' spiritual and secular jurisdiction. Braniewo was populated mostly by people of German origin, and had experienced the outbreak of the Reformation in 1523-25. Although the city remained Catholic, it was under great influence from Królewiec and the Prussian municipalities. Hosius had granted the Jesuits a former Franciscan monastery, where they placed the house, the school, and the convictorium.

Why According to the Jesuits? Mohyla's Response

The Eastern Orthodox Church, which existed for half a century without any hierarchy, was preserved owing to a powerful lay element, secular patrons and confraternities. If in the last quarter of the 16th century the conflict between secular patrons and church officials caused a crisis in the Kyjiv Metropolitanate, then in 1620 it was due to the support of secular powers (especially Cossacks) that the Eastern Orthodox restored its hierarchy. In 1625 Mohyla was consecrated and entered the Kyjiv Monastery of the Caves.¹⁴³ Just two years later, in 1627, with the assistance of Voivode of Kyjiv Tomasz Zamoyski he was elected as an archimandrite of the monastery. In 1632 Mohyla became Kyjiv Metropolitan. One year later he received sacra from the Patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril Lucaris, and the title Patriarchal Exarch.¹⁴⁴ In 1632 the Diet accepted the so called "Measures for the Accommodation of Citizens of the Greek Faith", which proclaimed the restoration of the lost rights of Eastern Orthodox Christians and acknowledged the hierarchy elected in 1620.¹⁴⁵ The rehabilitation of relations between the Kyjiv Metropolitanate

¹⁴² LUDWIK PIECHNIK: Gimnazjum w Braniewie w XVI w. Studium o początkach szkolnictwa jezuickiego w Polsce [The Grammar School in Braniewo in the 16th century. A Study in the Origins of Jesuit schooling in Poland], in: *Nasza Przeszłość* 7 (1958), pp. 5-72, here pp. 16-17.

¹⁴³ ŠEVČENKO, *Różne oblicza świata Piotra Mohyły* (as in footnote 4), pp. 21-22.

¹⁴⁴ It is possible that this fact underlies speculations about the spread of Calvinism throughout the Kyjiv Metropolitanate. For example, in 1639 the Jesuit Provincial Andreas Gutteter called the lecturers of competitive College "Schismatics and simultaneously Calvinists", and its Rector Sophronius Počas'kyj a "Calvinist, who publicly declared himself to some Catholics to be a German Calvinist". See: *Litterae nuntiorum apostolicorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantes (1550-1850)*, vol. VI: 1639-1648, ed. by ATHANASIOS G. WELYKYJ, Romae 1962, p. 20. In 1635 Sylvester Kossov denied such rumors in his "Exegesis", stressing that there were no Arian, Calvinist or Lutheran lecturers in the Orthodox College; later Mohyla disproved Lucaris' authorship of the Calvinist "Eastern Confession of Faith". In 1646 Mohyla negated in his "Lithos" the allegations that Calvinism had been spreading among his flock and emphasized his Church's loyalty to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

¹⁴⁵ MYCHAJLO HRUŠEVS'KYJ: *Istorija Ukrajinny, 8-I* [History of Ukraine, vol. 8-I], Kyjiv 1995, pp. 139-199.

and the state had strong connections with the election of the new Metropolitan. Mohyla was brought up by Hetman Żółkiewski, had a very good humanist education and was completely loyal to the state; he was connected by kinship with the most powerful magnate families of Polish and Ruthenian origin, such as Vyšnevec'kyj (Polish Wiśniowiecki), Korec'kyj, Potocki and Herbut (and through him Zamoyski).

When Mohyla became an archimandrite of the most significant and richest monastery of the Metropolitanate, he began to organize the monastery school there. The level of Western schools was taken as an example. Before Mohyla's time, Orthodox parish schools were not numerous and schooling did not go beyond the primary level. Only the confraternities' schools measured up to the level of a secondary school; the emphasis was on the Greek and Church Slavonic languages. The standard of education was highly dependent on how advanced the individual teacher was. This was not unusual, because in the 16th century the Jesuits set the standard for "mass" education of their age. The range of textbooks used at the Epiphany Confraternity School was the same as in other brotherhood foundations: the Psalter, the Breviary, and the Church Slavonic and Greek grammars. Confirmed facts about Latin studies were preserved only at the L'viv Confraternity School. The range of knowledge was limited and lacked systematization in comparison with their Latin counterparts, the level of teaching Latin was generally low with only a few and temporary exceptions; educational facilities were scarce and the teaching staff itself was not always adequately educated. Some elements of philosophy and theology courses within the limits of the secondary school curriculum were taught at the biggest schools of L'viv, Kyjiv, and Luc'k.¹⁴⁶ It was therefore no surprise that the boys who had begun to study at the confraternities' schools finished their education at the Jesuit academies or Colleges. However, knowledge of Latin and the whole school of humanism was considered to be dangerous, because it led to "apostasy".¹⁴⁷

The school of the Kyjiv Epiphany Confraternity, founded in 1615, was active in Kyjiv at the moment of the foundation of Mohyla's school. It was modeled on the school of the L'viv Confraternity and depended on L'viv for instructions and school staff. The school taught Greek and Slavonic, paid only small attention to Polish and excluded Latin. The main subjects were Ruthenian (Slavonic), *infima*, grammar, and *syntax*, which proves the infiltra-

¹⁴⁶ KONSTANTIN CHARLAMPOVIČ: Zapadnorusskie pravoslavnye školy XVI i načala XVII veka, otnošenje ich k inoslavnym, religioznoe obučenie v nich i zaslugi ich v dele zaščity pravoslavnoj very i cerkvi [Western Russian Eastern Orthodox schools of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries, their relation to the non-Orthodox schools, study of religion in its, their services in the defense of the Eastern Orthodox faith], Kazan' 1898; JAROSLAV D. ISAJEVYČ: Bratstva ta jich rol' u rozvytku ukrajins'koji kul'tury XVI-XVII st. [Brotherhoods and their role in the development of Ukrainian culture from the 16th to 17th centuries], Kyjiv 1966, pp. 127-172; GOLUBEV (as in footnote 5), vol. I, pp. 241-412.

¹⁴⁷ CHARIPOVA (as in footnote 2), pp. 21-26.

tion of Latin influences into the Eastern Orthodox schooling before the Mohyla College was founded. At times, the grammar and *syntax* classes included rhetoric, logic, and dialectics. The curriculum was not clearly defined, and some classes were merged. In his spiritual testament of 1631, Metropolitan Jov Borec'kyj demanded Mohyla establish his school "within the confines of the confraternity, not elsewhere".¹⁴⁸

In order to avert attacks by the Eastern Orthodox laity, metropolitan Mohyla received a blessing and approval to found the school from the patriarch of Constantinople in 1631. This school was called by one contemporary a school of Latin and Polish sciences. On 15 July 1631 Petro Mohyla proclaimed in L'viv that he founded the school because he had recognized the great distress in the Orthodox Church due to the clergy's ignorance and its lack of enlightenment in piety, virtuous habits, and the liberal arts.¹⁴⁹ In another declaration of 18 November 1631 Mohyla announced that the new school had been fully sanctioned not only by the Patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril Lucaris, but also by Metropolitan Isaja Kopyns'kyj and all the bishops, as well as by the will of the "entire pious priestly order, both monastic and lay, all noble personages" of the Voivodship of Kyjiv.¹⁵⁰ Mohyla's statement about patriarch Lucaris' approval was true, but other statements were a gross exaggeration. Metropolitan Kopyns'kyj and many members of the Kyjivan hierarchy did not support such a pedagogical initiative. The Metropolitan's resentment of Mohyla became fully apparent during the subsequent open hostilities between them. As a result, when in 1631 a hundred students started their studies at the *škola latynskich i polskich nauk* ("School of Latin and Polish Sciences") under the Kyjiv Monastery of the Caves, Kyjiv adherents of the Eastern Orthodox rigorism¹⁵¹ accused them and their lecturers of being pro-uniate sympathizers, provoking a disturbance among the commoners and the Cossacks. According to the famous testimony of Kossov's "Exegesis" (1635), the Cossacks even promised "to stuff the stomachs of Dnieper sturgeons" with the lecturers of the school.¹⁵²

One year later Mohyla reached a compromise with the Greek-Slavic school of the Kyjiv Epiphany Confraternity. He agreed to merge his and the Confraternity's School into one on terms which he had envisaged himself. It was a

¹⁴⁸ GOLUBEV (as in footnote 5), vol. I, pp. 413-429; SYDORENKO (as in footnote 2), pp. 29-30; CHARIPOVA (as in footnote 2), pp. 24-27.

¹⁴⁹ GOLUBEV (as in footnote 5), vol. I, p. 433.

¹⁵⁰ Quotation from: SYDORENKO (as in footnote 2), p. 28.

¹⁵¹ Conservative Orthodox clergy suggested that the imitation of Latins would lead to damnation: according to them schools and Latin sciences were an abyss and an eternal destruction (IVAN VYŠENS'KYJ: "Začapka" mudroho latynnyka z hlupym rusynom [An argument of a wise Catholic with a foolish Ruthenian], in: GOLUBEV [as in footnote 5], vol. I, pp. 67-108, here p. 102). They saw in Mohyla's plans a Catholic plot designed to ruin Orthodoxy. GOLUBEV (as in footnote 5), vol. II, pp. 5-12.

¹⁵² SYLVESTR KOSSOV: Exegesis, in: Archiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii 8 (1914), 1, pp. 422-477, here p. 423.

personal triumph for Mohyla, who got a promise from the Confraternities' patrons that they would not oppose his counsel and will, but pledged to obey him as elder brother, supervisor, and lifetime protector. Mohyla directly subordinated the confraternity to his jurisdiction, although it officially enjoyed the patriarchal stauropegial rights. In an unprecedented occurrence in the history of the Ruthenian Confraternities, the Confraternity surrendered all its administrative prerogatives to the local hierarch. Moreover, the Kyjiv Metropolitan acquired the Cossacks' support. Cossack hetman Ivan Petražyc'kyj and the whole Zaporozhian army obliged the local Cossack otaman to support the merger of the two schools and promised to guard the newly founded school.¹⁵³ An agreement with the Kyjiv confraternity and Cossack neutrality in this controversy had durable consequences for the Kyjivan Church. Firstly, Mohyla was given full sanction to promote his brand of "Latin sciences" which replaced the archaic curriculum of the confraternities' schools not only in Kyjiv, but also in the whole Metropolitanate. Secondly, the independent lay communities gradually lost control over educational, publishing, cultural and religious matters in favor of educated ecclesiastics. A fifty years long conflict between the Orthodox hierarchy and the laity thus came to an end.

Administration and curriculum of the Jesuit Braniewo College and the Mohyla's College

The Braniewo College, founded by Hosius, like every Jesuit College, was headed by a rector. His candidature was approved by the General of the Society of Jesus on the basis of the Provincial's resolution. The prefect was the rector's assistant in the organization of schooling and class guidance. Only order members were allowed to be lecturers in the College.¹⁵⁴

Mohyla's College was also led by a rector, who was a superior of the Epiphany Confraternity's monastery, responsible for administrative management, teaching philosophy and theology. The prefect inspected students, taught them rhetoric and was subordinated to the rector. As in Jesuit Colleges, the school staff and administrators were monks drawn from all social strata. Almost all lecturers were in some way related to the Kyjiv Monastery of the Caves. The fluctuation of school staff was a common feature of both educational establishments. Able alumni, *auditores*, helped lecturers, explained the material to their classmates and supervised them in their studies. Before the implementation of the first version of the *Ratio studiorum* in 1592, the activi-

¹⁵³ Pamjatniki, izdannye Vremennoju komissieju (as in footnote 73), pp. 101-143; ibidem, 2nd ed., Kyjiv 1897, vol. 2, pp. 421-422.

¹⁵⁴ Constitutiones Societatis Iesu a Congregatione Generali XXXIV annotatae et Normae complementariae ab eadem Congregatione approbatae, Roma 1995, [421], [423]-[438], [460], [461], [462], [490]-[492], [501]-[504]; Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Iesu [1599], in: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 5: Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Iesu (1586, 1591, 1599), ed. by LADISLAUS LUKÁCS, Romae 1986 (Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu, 129), pp. 355-455, here pp. 357, 369, 371, 374-377, 403-410.

ties of the Braniewo College were guided by instructions of the *Ordo studiorum* (the version is unknown) and possibly by the regulations of the *Collegium Romanum* and the Roman seminary, by instructions of Provincials and visitators and by its own curriculum, which was issued annually until 1599, when one last version of the *Ratio studiorum* was implemented for all Jesuit schools.¹⁵⁵

In 1565 the Braniewo College for lay boys was already a complete secondary school with five classes (three grammatical classes – *infima*, second *grammatica*, *syntaxis*, as well as *poesis*, rhetoric). The grammatical classes provided students with knowledge in spoken and written Latin and a certain level of knowledge in auxiliary sciences such as history, mythology and geography. In the *infima* class they studied the Greek language, in *poesis* class they mastered a poetical stylistics of lofty Latin and practiced writing in prose and rhyme. The rhetoric class was where students studied the art of writing essays and composing speeches for various occasions. The latter class played the most important role in the humanistic educational system of the Society of Jesus. The ideological principles of the Council of Trent focused mainly on the skill of persuasive power for the realization of Church Reform (exterior and inner missions, parochial preaching, and systematic studies of church rhetoric in the parochial seminaries). Lectures in philosophy were held on the basis of Aristotelian philosophy in Thomas Aquinas' interpretation. The philosophy course included a short study of logic (dialectics), philosophy of nature (physics), metaphysics, moral philosophy (ethics) and mathematics. The theology course consisted of scholastic theology (polemical and moral theology), Holy Scripture, and the Hebrew language.¹⁵⁶

The image of the curriculum planned by Mohyla can be found in the first panegyric "Eucharisterion" that was written by students of the rhetoric class of the Cave Monastery School on Easter 1631. The panegyric tells about the seven branches of the *trivium* and *quadrivium* as well as theology, which is described as "the root and crown of all knowledge". Natalia Pylypiuk supposes that Mohyla not only tried to imitate the Jesuits, but by including the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, music, geometry, astronomy) in the curriculum and becoming an academy with a right to teach theology, also wanted to excel them.¹⁵⁷ From 1568 to the end of the 17th century there were four unsuccessful attempts to reorganize the Braniewo College into a university by introducing a full three years' course of philosophy and a four years' course of theology to the curriculum.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ PIECHNIK, Gimnazjum w Braniewie w XVI w. (as in footnote 142), pp. 26-30.

¹⁵⁶ ŠEVČENKO, Jezujits'ke škil'nyctvo (as in footnote 13), pp. 53-72; PIECHNIK, Gimnazjum w Braniewie w XVI w. (as in footnote 134), pp. 30-34.

¹⁵⁷ NATALIA PYLYPIUK: Eucharisterion. Albo, Vdjačnost'. The First Panegyric of the Kiev Mohyla School: Its Content and Historical Context, in: Harvard Ukrainian Studies 8 (1984), 1/2, pp. 45-70, here pp. 66-68.

¹⁵⁸ LUDWIK PIECHNIK: Starania biskupów warmińskich i jezuitów polskich o przekształcenie kolegium w Braniewie w uniwersytet [Efforts of the bishops of Warmia and the

Primarily, the curriculum of Mohyla's school consisted of five years' study of Latin and Greek in the *infima*, grammatical and *syntaxima* classes as well as in the classes of *poesis* and rhetoric.¹⁵⁹ As in Jesuit schools the Greek language was rapidly relegated to obscurity. The philosophical and theological courses of the Orthodox College were influenced by works of the following Neo-Scholastics: the Spanish Jesuits Francisco Suarez, Tirso Gonzalez, Rodrigo Arriaga, Francisco de Oviedo, Francisco de Toledo, Gabriel Vasquez, and Pedro Fonseca, the Italian Jesuit and Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino and the Polish Jesuit Tomasz Młodzianowski (his "Praelectiones Philosophicae" – the first edition was published in 1671 – and "Praelectiones Theologicae" were used in the school).¹⁶⁰ The College ignored frustration with the Polish authorities and their prohibition of teaching philosophy and theology¹⁶¹, although there was a lack of qualified lecturers and adequate handbooks up to the mid of the 17th century. By that time theological matters were examined from the point formulated by Mohyla and his nearest officials in the "Catechism" and the "Confession of the Orthodox Faith".¹⁶²

Since the second half of 17th century, the theology course was taught in the Kyjiv Mohyla College on the basis of the works of Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus and Albert the Great. Orthodox scholars imitated their methods, debated about dogmatic issues, mirrored the scholastic traditions of the West. Kyjivan scholasticism raised the general level of theology in the Ruthenian

Polish Jesuits toward the reorganisation of the College in Braniewo into an university], in: *Z dziejów szkolnictwa jezuickiego w Polsce*, ed. by JERZY PASZENDA, Kraków 1994, pp. 137-150, here pp. 144-146, 149-150.

¹⁵⁹ ŠEVČENKO, Różne oblicza świata Piotra Mohyły (as in footnote 4), pp. 24-26. Cf.: ALEKSANDER JABLONOWSKI: *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohilańska. Zarys historyczny* [The Kyjiv-Mohyla academy. Essay in the history], Kraków 1899-1900, pp. 97-104, 125-127; KONSTANTIN CHARLAMPOWICZ: *Polski wpływ na szkolnictwo ruskie w XVI i XVII stuleciu* [The Polish influence on Ruthenian schooling in the 16th and the 17th centuries], Lwów 1924, pp. 26-35.

¹⁶⁰ See for example: SYMČYČ (as in footnote 17); CRACRAFT (as in footnote 17); CHARLAMPOWICZ (as in footnote 146), p. 35-37; STRATIJ/LITVINOV/ANDRUŠKO (as in footnote 17); VALERIJA M. NIČYK: *Do pytanja pro scholastyčnist' kursiv u Kyjevo-Mohyljans'kij akademiji* [On the issue of scholasticity of the courses of philosophy in the Kyjiv-Mohyla academy], in: *Vid Vyšens'koho do Skovorody. Z istoriji filosofov's'koji dumky na Ukrajinii XVI-XVIII stolittja*, Kyjiv 1972, pp. 54-74.

¹⁶¹ It is known that the philosophy class was already taught at the College in 1632. Archeologičeskaja zametka Ignatija Evleviča [An archeological note of Ignatij Evlevič], in: *Universitetskie izvestija* 5 (1886), pp. 74-79, here p. 77.

¹⁶² Literature about the influence of Latin scholastic theology on Mohyla's works is quite fruitful. See for example: JUGIE (as in footnote 5); KORZO (as in footnote 89); MALVY/VILLER (as in footnote 5); MARCEL VILLER: *Une infiltration latine dans la théologie orthodoxe: La Confession orthodoxe attribuée a Pierre Moghila et le catéchisme de Canisius*, in: *Recherches de sciences religieuses* 2 (1912), pp. 159-168; ANTOINE WENGER: *Les influences du rituel de Paul V sur le Trebnik de Pierre Moghila*, in: *Mélanges en l'honneur de Monseigneur Michel Andrieu – Revue des sciences religieuses*, Strasbourg 1956, pp. 477-499; ŽUKOVSKYJ, *Katechizys Petra Mohyla* (as in footnote 3), pp. 5-32.

Church by tapping the hitherto ignored intellectual currents of the West and trained skilled defenders of the faith.

Textbooks which were common throughout Europe, including in Jesuit schools, were used in the Kyjiv Mohyla College too. For example, the study of Latin was based on the grammars of Jesuit Emmanuel Alvarez, Aelius Donatus, Johannes Ursinus, Adam Romerius and selected extracts from Vergilius, Cicero, and Horatius. In the classes of *poesis* and rhetoric the textbooks of Julius Caesar Scaliger or Cypriano de Soarez were used (in 1599 the latter was officially included to the *Ratio studiorum*).¹⁶³ The dominant style of Kyjivan rhetoricians was baroque, in which elaborated figures of speech and imagery was perfectly in line with the ornateness of the Jesuit style, known for its admixture of Christian elements and classical pagan images.

The special attractions of the Braniewo College from 1566 were the German language course, arithmetic and dialectic. German was not stipulated by the Jesuit curriculum, but it was very popular in Poland. The youth went willingly to German schools and universities, and to the Jesuit College in Vienna. Another peculiarity of the Braniewo College was the teaching of mathematics. Jesuits taught mathematics only within philosophy studies, but from 1566 in Braniewo they taught the fundamentals of mathematics, astronomy and the church calendar within the curriculum of secondary school at the requests of pupils and the cardinal-founder.¹⁶⁴ In 1600, about twenty years after Hosius' death, the Polish Jesuits pressed for General Claudio Aquaviva's permission to teach arithmetic in the primary classes of the whole Polish Province, justifying this wish with the pupils' parents who did not "cease to demand" it from them.¹⁶⁵ In contrast, in the Orthodox College arithmetic was an obligatory subject. In the Braniewo College from 1566 on the course of dialectics was constantly taught for lay pupils, and from 1592 on a full course of philosophy was taught.

In both Colleges a catechism was taught – in Braniewo and other Jesuit schools of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (already in 1575) according to the Jesuit St Petrus Canisius' manual.¹⁶⁶ Canisius' "Parvus catechismus catholicorum" (1556) was translated by Jacobus Wujek into Polish and was reissued forty times in Latin and Polish variants. However, there is no information about the manuals and the authors of the catechism taught in the Mohyla College before the appearance of Mohyla's famous catechism "Ze-

¹⁶³ Till the end of 17th century, the Jesuit Maciej Sarbiewski's works were used in the textbooks of *poesis* and rhetorics in the Kyjiv Mohyla College. ŁUŻNY, *Pisarze kręgu Akademii Kijowsko-Mohylańskiej* (as in footnote 17), pp. 27-28, 45-47.

¹⁶⁴ PIECHNIK, *Gimnazjum w Braniewie w XVI w.* (as in footnote 142), pp. 36-39.

¹⁶⁵ *Acta Congregationum provincialium de studiis anno 1599-1600. Provincia Polonia*, in: *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu*, 7: *Collectanea de ratione studiorum Societatis Iesu* (1588-1616), ed. by LADISLAUS LUKÁCS, Romae 1992 (*Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu*, 141), pp. 364-370, here p. 370.

¹⁶⁶ PIECHNIK, *Gimnazjum w Braniewie w XVI w.* (as in footnote 142), pp. 40-43.

branie krótkiej nauki o artykułach wiary prawosławnokatolickiej chrześcijańskiej” in 1645.

Unlike the Jesuits, the Eastern Orthodox learned also Church Slavonic and Polish. In Jesuit schools the vernaculars were not taught or permitted only in the grammar classes in order to explain the Latin grammar, while in the Mohyla College the Polish language was not only taught, but became the chief means of literary communication, even before Latin. An infiltration of Polish historical literature and fiction had taken place in the Orthodox College, and students read the writings of Jan and Piotr Kochanowski, Samuel Twardowski, and Szymon Szymonowic. In Kossov's "Patericon" the wide literary influence of Piotr Skarga's works could be found.¹⁶⁷ The knowledge of the former gave students the chance to know the language of the Holy Scripture, the mass and religious literature. Polish language secured the Orthodox alumni the participation in political and public life of the state.

Mary Congregations – *Sodalitas annuntiatae Mariae Virginis* – were active in every Jesuit school. The Congregations' statutes envisaged spiritual tests for future sodalists. After joining the Congregation, members were obliged to take part in the mass daily, confess weekly, commune monthly, meditate daily, keep the fasts, pray, take part in the church feasts and "serve their neighbors". The Congregations had their own fund and cash at common disposal, their own chapel and church banner, church vessels, and priest. In the schools with a considerable number of students the Congregations were divided into three groups: the Major Congregation united students of philosophy and theology courses, the Media Congregation consisted of pupils from *poesis* and rhetoric classes, and the Minor Congregations included pupils of the lower classes. If the number of students was small, only the Major and the Minor Congregations were formed. These were headed by a priest or cleric. Such Congregations were found in Braniewo from 1571. In 1588 there were already five Congregations of the nobles, the clerics of the parochial seminary, the clerics of the pontifical seminary, the burgher students and the students of bursa for poor boys.¹⁶⁸ A great many candidates for the clergy came from the ranks of the Braniewo Congregation.¹⁶⁹ Mohyla established in his College the same system of student Congregations (the Major for higher classes and the Minor for lower classes) with the same aims, conditions of admission and activities as well as peculiarities of functioning. The Major Congregation was dedicated to Our Lady; the Minor was dedicated to St Prince Volodymyr, the baptizer of Ruthenia. Besides, Mohyla built a special wooden church for the Congregation.

¹⁶⁷ RYSZARD ŁUŻNY: The Kiev Mohyla Academy in Relation to Polish Culture, in: *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 8 (1984), 1/2, pp. 123-135.

¹⁶⁸ *Uczniowie-sodalisi gimnazjum jezuitów w Braunsberdze (Braniewie) 1579-1623* [Pupils-sodalists of the Jesuits' gymnasium in Braunsberg (Braniewo)], ed. by MAREK INGLÓT, Kraków 1998, pp. 9-18.

¹⁶⁹ PIECHNIK, *Gimnazjum w Braniewie w XVI w.* (as in footnote 142), p. 44.

Singing was taught in the three lower classes of the Jesuit schools. Students of the Braniewo College organized vocal musical performances during liturgies, school solemnities and scenic plays. In the 16th century almost every Jesuit church in Poland had an organ. Therefore the opening of the Jesuit schools was accompanied by the foundation of school choirs. In Braniewo such a choir functioned from the first years of the school's existence¹⁷⁰, in which music and singing were taught¹⁷¹. In the Mohyla College music and choral singing were taught as well, and the orchestras were organized on the Jesuit pattern. In the second part of the 17th century a part song cultivated there spread to the Kingdom of Muscovy under the name "Kyjivan".¹⁷²

Theatre was another sphere where music was used in both schools. School theatre became an indispensable part of the Jesuit school in the first year of its activity. According to the principles of the Council of Trent this art ought to admire and move, and especially preach, convince, and induce to prayer and piety. The main aims of Jesuit school theatre were modernized catechization, assistance in religious renewal and the preparation of youth for their public life. Performances propagandized the basic truths of faith, illustrated the Catholic dogmas related to certain church feasts and extended a religious emotional experience.¹⁷³ Theatrical performances in Braniewo included dialogs, declamations, festive processions, and plays on church feasts, while school feasts, religious dramas and other performances were dedicated to historical or current political events. One of them for example glorified Stephen Bathory's victory over Muscovy in Livonia (1585), another glorified the conquest of Smolensk by Sigismundus III (1623).¹⁷⁴ The form of perfor-

¹⁷⁰ LUDWIK GRZEBIEŃ: Bursy muzyczne [Music seminaries], in: *W służbie człowiekowi. Studium duszpastersko-katechetyczne*, ed. by ZBIGNIEW MAREK, Kraków 1991, pp. 184-189, here p. 185; JERZY KOCHANOWICZ: *Geneza, organizacja i działalność jezuickich burs muzycznych* [The foundation, structure and endeavors of the Jesuit music seminaries], Kraków 2002, pp. 32-34, 45; PIECHNIK, *Gimnazjum w Braniewie w XVI w.* (as in footnote 142), pp. 22, 33-36; BRONISŁAW NATOŃSKI: *Początki i rozwój Towarzystwa Jezusowego w Polsce (1564-1580)* [The origins and development of the Society of Jesus in Poland (1564-1580)], in: JAMES BRODRICK: *Powstanie i rozwój Towarzystwa Jezusowego*, Kraków 1969, pp. 414-476, here p. 428.

¹⁷¹ PIECHNIK, *Gimnazjum w Braniewie w XVI w.* (as in footnote 142), pp. 38-40.

¹⁷² LIDIJA P. KORNIJ: *Ukrajins'ka škol'na drama i duchovna muzyka XVII – peršoji polovyny XVIII st.* [Ukrainian school drama and spiritual music from the 17th to the first half of the 18th centuries], Kyjiv 1993; PYLYP O. KOZYC'KYJ: *Spivy i muzyka u Kyjivs'kij akademiji za 300 rokiv jiji isnuvannja* [Singing and music in the Kyjivan academy during 300 years of its existence], Kyjiv 1971.

¹⁷³ JAN POPLATEK: *Studia z dziejów jezuickiego teatru szkolnego w Polsce* [Studies in the history of the Jesuit school theatre in Poland], Wrocław 1957, pp. 13-16; *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy. 1564-1995* [Encyclopaedia of knowledge about the Jesuits in the lands of Poland and Lithuania. 1564-1995], ed. by LUDWIK GRZEBIEŃ, Kraków 1996, p. 685.

¹⁷⁴ PIECHNIK, *Gimnazjum w Braniewie w XVI w.* (as in footnote 142), pp. 25, 45-49; JAN OKOŃ: *Dramat i teatr szkolny. Sceny jezuickie XVII wieku* [Drama and school theatre. Jesuit performances of the 17th century], Wrocław et al. 1970, p. 373.

mances in the Mohyla school theatre (declamations, processions, drams, tragedies, and interludes) was the same as in the Jesuit school.¹⁷⁵

In every class of the Jesuit school a prefect was nominated a censor (*decursion* or *pretor*) among the best and the most diligent students. The censor's duty was to keep watch over the class, check verbal exercises of colleagues, to present the list of the absent students to the prefect and to inform about problems in the class that happened in the presence or absence of a teacher.¹⁷⁶

Adherents of a different faith were admitted to all Jesuit schools together with Catholics in the hope of their conversion to Catholicism. In September 1565 Hosius wrote that the Jesuit school had 50 students, and that in his castle school in Lidzbark there were three times as many.¹⁷⁷ Nevertheless in December the number of Jesuit pupils reached 240.¹⁷⁸ Students from abroad as well as from all regions of the Kingdom of Poland and Grand Duchy of Lithuania, including Ruthenia-Ukraine, came to study at the Braniewo College. They were the children of Catholic and Protestant nobles, magnates, burghers and even plebeians, the relatives of Polish Catholic Bishops and clerics.¹⁷⁹

The panegyric "Eucharisterion", written in 1631, mentions the old Ruthenian nobles and persons of lower estate among the students of Mohyla's school. From the very beginning the College educated the local Eastern Orthodox elite and offered gifted students a stay abroad, chiefly in Muscovy. In contrast to the Jesuit schools, which were oriented towards the education of the nobility's sons, the Mohyla College was characterized by the more diverse social origin of its students. The sons of nobility studied there together with the sons of the Eastern Orthodox burghers and clergy. Church singing, Church Slavonic language, and philosophy courses gave additional educational and career chances to youth who wanted to enter the ministry. The

¹⁷⁵ VLADIMIR REZANOV: Iz istorii russkoj dramy. Škol'nye dejstva XVII-XVIII v. i teatr iezuitov [From the history of school drama. School performances of the 17th-18th centuries and Jesuit school theatre], Moskva 1910; IDEM: K istorii russkoj dramy. Ekskurs v oblast' teatra iezuitov [On the history of Russian drama. An excursus on the sphere of the Jesuit theatre], Nežyn 1910; PAULINA LEWIN: Intermedia wschodniosłowiańskie a intermedia polskie [Eastern Slavic interludes and Polish interludes], in: O wzajemnych powiązaniach literackich polsko-rosyjskich, Wrocław et al. 1969, pp. 12-35; IDEM: Intermedia białoruskie, ukraińskie i rosyjskie – ważniejsze cechy i różnice [Beylorussian, Ukrainian and Russian interludes – the main features and differences], in: Wrocławskie spotkanie teatralne, Wrocław et al. 1967 (Studia Staropolskie, 18), pp. 121-140; IDEM: Staging of Plays at the Kiev Mohyla Academy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, in: Harvard Ukrainian Studies 5 (1981), 3, pp. 320-334; IDEM: Drama and Theater at Ukrainian Schools in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. the Bible as Inspiration of Images, Meanings, Style, and Stage Production, ibidem 8 (1984), 1/2, pp. 93-122.

¹⁷⁶ Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 5 (as in footnote 154), pp. 409, 418, 421, 425, 431, 434, 440.

¹⁷⁷ Korespondencja Stanisława Hozjusza (as in footnote 41), t. 6, Olsztyn 1978 (Studia Warmińskie, 15), p. 362.

¹⁷⁸ NATOŃSKI (as in footnote 170), p. 428.

¹⁷⁹ Uczniowie-sodalisi (as in footnote 168).

Polish language helped the Eastern Orthodox burghers to adopt the Commonwealth's political and cultural values. The same chances were given to the lower-class students from Jesuit schools (it is known that the Jesuit schools in spite of their clear tendency to educate the higher classes admitted boys from all social strata and taught them for free like all others). The number of students in the Mohyla College rarely exceeded two hundred during most of the 17th century. Mohyla's College produced a veritable constellation of eminent scholars, who strongly influenced intellectual life in Ruthenia and Muscovy. Among them there were Syl'vestr Kossov, Mohyla's heir to the metropolitan seat (1647-56); Isaja Trofymovyč-Kozlovs'kyj, the first rector of the College (1632-38) and father superior of the Monastery of St Nicholas; Sofronij Počas'kyj, rector of the Mohyla College in Kyjiv (1638-40) and founder of an analogical one in Jassy; Ignatij Oksenovyč-Horbac'kyj, rector of the Mohyla College (1640-42), scholar and bishop of Belarus; Innokentij Gizel, rector (1646-50), a benefactor of the College and author of several works; Ioanikij Galjatovs'kyj, one of the most prominent Kyjivan theologians; Jepyfanij Slavy nec'kyj, a translator, preacher and an author of dictionaries; Feodosij Safonovyč, author of the "Chronicle" and one of the first who systematized historical treatises. Besides that there were Cossack Hetmans Ivan Vyhovs'kyj, Ivan Samojlovyč and Petro Dorošenko, Cossack colonels and many others among the Mohyla College students.¹⁸⁰ Some of the alumni of the Orthodox College continued the study at the Jesuit Academy of Vilnius, as a future bishop of Černihiv, Lazar Baranovyč or a future educational reformer in Muscovy, Simeon Poloc'kyj, did. The Eastern Orthodox Christians at that time did not flaunt such occurrences. However, neither the lists of the Mohyla College's pupils nor of the Academy of Vilnius have remained. Therefore it is difficult to say whether such occurrences were exceptions or the rule. Nevertheless it is known that former pupils of rhetoric at the Braniewo School moved to the Academy of Vilnius exactly for philosophy and theology studies.¹⁸¹

Hosius founded a convictorium for the nobility's sons (*collegium nobilium*) almost at the same time as had founded the school. He aimed to enlist the sons of the Polish and Prussian nobility to the Braniewo School. According to Polish Provincial Sunyer the additional motive to organize the convictorium was the danger to the faith and morality of those students who resided in the private apartments let by the Lutherans. Boys lived and were maintained in the convictorium free of charge, attended the Jesuit schools for lay students and studied German language. Eighty boys were studying in the first year of convictorium's activity (1565). Hosius personally visited them, reviewed their scripts, dictated the speeches which pupils recited, asked about

¹⁸⁰ See: Kyjevo-Mohyljans'ka akademija v imenach XVII-XVIII st. Encyklopedyčne vydannja [The Kyjiv-Mohyla Academy by the names of the 17th-18th centuries. An encyclopedic edition], Kyjiv 2001.

¹⁸¹ PIECHNIK, Gimnazjum w Braniewie w XVI w. (as in footnote 142), p. 68.

their life conditions, preached to them and corresponded with the parents.¹⁸² In 1570 Provincial Laurentio Maggio composed the special “Regulae Convictorium Collegii Brunbergensis” and “Ordo servandus in studiis domesticis extra scholas” for the convictorium. These instructions regulated students’ daily schedule and stimulated them to diligence of study, discipline, and religious practices. In particular it was prescribed to take part in daily mass, to confess monthly, to begin the day with a prayer and to finish it with an examination of conscience.¹⁸³ The first Jesuit bursa for the poor arose under the Braniewo College after Hosius’s death in 1582. Boys attended the Jesuit schools for external students, and received a free allowance, clothes, food, and medical care in the case of disease. Later the Jesuits tied the bursas for the poor to a musical education. Like its Jesuit counterparts, Mohyla’s College tried to support poor students. It provided needy pupils with room and board in the bursa. No records have been preserved about the bursa’s activities, but probably it was quite a musical bursa.¹⁸⁴ Mohyla’s work “Anthology, or prayers and edifying admonitions”, published in 1636 in Kyjiv, was addressed to the students of the College. It was a clear copy of the interior rules of behavior and religious practices for students of the Jesuit educational establishments. Mohyla clarified in his work the conditions of study, living, and religious education which coincided with their Jesuit analog even in details: there were the regulations for the external students of the *Collegium Romanum*, written by Iacobus Ledesma¹⁸⁵, which were used in the Braniewo College too.¹⁸⁶

The novitiate, an ecclesiastical seminary for diocesan clergy and the pontifical aluminate (seminary) were also founded under the Jesuit College in Braniewo. In 1569 the first novitiate of the Polish Province was opened. The Fourth General Congregation (1581) insisted not to persuade students to enter to the Society of Jesus.¹⁸⁷ The order wanted to avoid accusations that they

¹⁸² KAZIMIERZ PUCHOWSKI: Konwikt szlachecki Hozjusza a instytucje wychowawcze jezuitów w Europie [The noble convictorium of Hosius and the Jesuit educational institutions in Europe], in: Kardynał Stanisław Hozjusz (1504-1579) (as in footnote 33), pp. 313-326, here pp. 320-322; PIECHNIK, Gimnazjum w Braniewie w XVI w. (as in footnote 142), pp. 18-19.

¹⁸³ LUDWIK PIECHNIK: Konwikt szlachecki w Braniewie (1565-1600) [The noble convictorium in Braniewo (1565-1600)], in: Studia Warmińskie 5 (1968), pp. 89-110.

¹⁸⁴ OKSANA F. ZADOROŽNA: Etapy budivnyctva “velykoji bursy” ta pobutovi umovy prožyvannja v nij studentiv [The stages of the building of the “great seminary” and students’ living conditions in it], in: Naukovi zapysky. Kyjivs’ka akademija 35 (2004), pp. 33-45, here p. 35.

¹⁸⁵ Ledesma I. Regulae quaedam quae videntur observandae circa scholasticos externos Collegii Romani 1564, in: Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu, 2: 1557-1572, ed. by LADISLAUS LUKÁCS, Romae 1974 (Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu, 107), pp. 496-504.

¹⁸⁶ PIECHNIK, Gimnazjum w Braniewie w XVI w. (as in footnote 142), p. 29.

¹⁸⁷ Decreta Congregationis Generalis Quartae de re paedagogica anno 1581, in: Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu, 7 (wie Ann. 165), pp. 292-293, here p. 293.

would turn lay boys into monks. The aim of the Jesuit schools was not the preparation of new candidates for the Society, but the education of the lay youth in the spirit of the Church.

In 1565 Hosius founded the first ecclesiastical seminary in Warmia, in Braniewo. The “Constitutions” for the seminary were elaborated by Hosius himself and were based on the proper decree (1563) of the Council of Trent and regulations of the *Collegium Germanicum*. The rules for prefects were written by the provincial Maggio.¹⁸⁸ The seminary opened in 1567 and admitted ten alumni. The Jesuits were responsible for education, while the bishop and the chapter managed financial matters. The Braniewo seminary became an example for other Jesuit seminaries in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It was one of the most prosperous establishments and brought the Church many zealous priests. The only difference in the curriculum of the Braniewo seminary was a complete course of philosophy and theology, while in other Jesuit seminaries the short course was taught and the complete one was reserved for exceptionally gifted students. The religious practices of alumni were the same as of the Jesuit clerics. The main subjects were rhetoric, poesis and polemical theology.¹⁸⁹

In 1578 the Pontifical Alumnate (Seminary) was founded in Braniewo on initiative of the papal legate Antonio Possevino and with assistance of Gregory XIII. It trained missionaries to be sent to the Protestant regions and countries of Europe, first of all Scandinavia and the Duchy of Prussia, but also to Lithuania and Ruthenia.¹⁹⁰ The curriculum included four or five years of humanities, philosophy and theology. Graduates of the alumnate were not obliged to enter the ministry; they could serve the Church as lay persons. Only in 1626 the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith introduced the pledge for all alumni to enter holy orders.¹⁹¹ After the opening of the Pontifical Seminary the Jesuit educational center assumed a more international character: large groups of Swedes, Hungarians, smaller groups of Danes, Norwegians, Finns, Englishmen, Scots, Irishmen, Westphalians, Tatars and Saxons studied there.¹⁹²

The Orthodox counterpart to this institution was not under the Mohyla College. However, Mohyla created a network of so called “satellite” Colleges. Alexander Sydorenko asserts that “satellite” Colleges were established

¹⁸⁸ HENRYK HULBINOWICZ: Geneza konstytucji Hozjańskich seminarium duchownego w Braniewie [The origin of Hosius’ constitutions of the theological seminary in Braniewo], in: *Studia Warmińskie* 5 (1968), pp. 43-66.

¹⁸⁹ LUDWIK PIECHNIK: Seminarium diecezjalne w Polsce prowadzone przez jezuitów od XVI do XVIII wieku [Diocesan seminaries led by the Jesuits from the 16th till the 18th century], Kraków 2001, pp. 7-19, 20-68.

¹⁹⁰ KALINOWSKA, Stanisław Hozjusz (1504-1579) (as in footnote 31), p. 250.

¹⁹¹ JAN POPLATEK: Zarys dziejów Seminarium papieskiego w Wilnie, 1585-1777 [An essay of the history of the Papal seminary in Vilnius, 1585-1777], in: *Ateneum Wileńskie* 7 (1930), pp. 170-228.

¹⁹² PIECHNIK, Gimnazjum w Braniewie w XVI w. (as in footnote 142), pp. 65-67.

in Kremjanec' (1636), Vinnycja (1638, transferred to Hošča in 1639), Bil's'k and Jassy (1640), which followed the Jesuit educational establishments. Nevertheless the network of "satellite" Colleges had existed under the Kraków Academy, and the Jesuit educational network was of a different nature. Also is it difficult to agree with Sydorenko's idea that "Mohyla wished to establish an Orthodox equivalent to the Jesuit Order" and "greatly admired Jesuit organization and militancy".¹⁹³ Although he adopted their school organization and curriculum, there is no evidence of Mohyla's wish to establish an order of such nature. It was rather the strong desire to use the most effective and time-tested means of ecclesiastical Reform.

It is interesting to note that like the Jesuit schools, the Mohyla College had been gradually Latinized, while the role and level of Greek language courses, which were not high even during Mohyla's lifetime, was considerably falling.¹⁹⁴

The activity of the printing house of the Kyjiv Monastery of the Caves shows how the role of the Polish language increased. From the foundation of the printing house in 1616 until the time of Mohyla's consecration in 1633 all 38 editions were printed only in Church Slavonic or Ruthenian. However, during Mohyla's fourteen year rule over the metropolitanate, fourteen of thirty printed editions were published in Polish, and four in Latin.¹⁹⁵ Until the end of the 17th century the Jesuits did not have their own printing house in Braniewo. There was, however, one private printing house, founded in 1589, which edited materials concerning the promotion of Catholic Reform. At the same time there was the printing house of the Cistercians in Oliwa, where the professors from Braniewo willingly published their works.

The library of the Braniewo College was established in 1565 on the basis of the library of a former Franciscan monastery. It was supplemented by gifts from Hosius, materials from the chapter in Frombork, and Jesuit efforts. It is considered that by the time of the order's suppression in 1773 the library of the College was one of the richest Jesuit libraries in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, storing more than ten thousand volumes.¹⁹⁶ The basis of the

¹⁹³ SYDORENKO (as in footnote 2), pp. 85-86.

¹⁹⁴ Lithos, in: *Archiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii* 9 (1893), 1, pp. 375-377. For instance, ŠEVČENKO, *Różne oblicza świata Piotra Mohyły* (as in footnote 4), pp. 28-29, 72-73, presents several mistakes in the Greek texts and inscriptions of Mohyla himself and the persons from his closest environment.

¹⁹⁵ The editions were counted on the basis of the editions' list of the printing house: JAKYM ZAPASKO, JAROSLAV ISAJEVYČ: *Kataloh starodrukiv. Knyha perša (1574-1700)* [A catalogue of the old printed books. The first part (1574-1700)], L'viv 1981.

¹⁹⁶ LUDWIK GRZEBIEŃ: *Organizacja bibliotek jezuickich w Polsce od XVI do XVIII wieku* [The organisation of the Jesuit libraries in Poland from the 16th till the 18th centuries], in: *Archiwa, Biblioteki a Muzea Kościelne* 31 (1975), pp. 225-279, here p. 256; JÓZEF TRYPUĆKO: *Próba rekonstrukcji biblioteki kolegium jezuickiego w Braniewie wywiezionej w r. 1626 do Szwecji* [An attempt at the reconstruction of the library of the Jesuit College in Braniewo which was removed to Sweden in 1626], in: *Dawna książka i kultura*, Wrocław 1975, pp. 207-220.

Mohyla College library was laid in 1631 and connected to the foundation of the school by the Kyjiv Monastery of the Caves. It was augmented by private donations of secular and clerical persons as well as alumni. The general nature of the library stock changed little through the late 17th and 18th century. Nearly ninety per cent of about 1,450 documented titles in the academy library before 1780 were in Latin. They were principally Western editions of classical authors and commentaries on their works: patristic literature; Catholic (mainly Jesuit) ascetic, moralistic, philosophical and thealigical treatises, books on politics, mostly by Protestant authors, lexicons and grammars. The books were intended to perform a pragmatic rather than an aescetic function.¹⁹⁷ Mohyla passed his private library of about three thousand volumes down to the College. The library stacks included books from the leading centers of European printing like Cologne, Halle, Leipzig, Douai, Frankfurt am Main, Hanover, Mainz, Hagenau, Zurich, Paris, Venice, Antwerp, and Kraków. The content of Mohyla's collection was eclectic. The set of homilies and commentaries was presented mainly by Jesuit authors. Most of the books were intended for student use in the newly-established College; other editions were about theology and politics.¹⁹⁸ There were also works of some Protestant authors like Martin Luther, John Calvin, Marcin Czechowic, Justus Lipsius and others; the Quran in Arabic, numerous dictionaries of the Eastern languages, including Syrian and Aramaic, and a Latin collection of Avicenna and other Moslem authors.¹⁹⁹

Jesuit-Eastern Orthodox Rivalry

A short comparison of the main features of the Jesuit educational establishments and the Mohyla College leaves no doubt about the prototypical character of the former. Thus it is no wonder that the "Latin" nature of the school displeased not only the Orthodox, but also their rivals, the Jesuits and the deputy chancellor of the Kingdom Tomasz Zamoyski, son of the founder of the Zamoyski Academy.²⁰⁰

The rise of the Eastern Orthodox College was especially annoying to the Jesuits. The Jesuit mission in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Jesuit schools firstly aimed to convert to Catholicism, and only secondly to re-Catholicize persons of the higher social strata. When the Eastern Orthodox College was founded in 1632, the Jesuits had been running nine schools at secondary level in Ukraine-Ruthenia and eleven in Lithuanian Ruthenia, monopolizing secondary education in the lands populated mainly by the Eastern Orthodox Ruthenians. Perhaps due to the Jesuits' influence, in 1634 Vladislaus IV issued the letter of restriction to Metropolitan Mohyla in which he

¹⁹⁷ CHARIPOVA (as in footnote 2), pp. 88, 157-158.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 66-67, 83.

¹⁹⁹ NIČYK, *Petro Mohyla v duchovnij istoriji Ukrajinjy* (as in footnote 42), pp. 44-47.

²⁰⁰ ŠEVČENKO, *Różne oblicza świata Piotra Mohyły* (as in footnote 4), p. 23; SYDORENKO (as in footnote 2), pp. 36-37.

prohibited managing the Latin school and the printing house, and advised to use the vested rights “reasonably”. Nevertheless, one year later the King acknowledged the existence of the Mohyla College and permitted the teaching of *humaniora* “in scholis Kijoviensibus ... Graece et Latine”. He limited, however, the level of subjects by dialectics and logic, and prohibited the teaching of theology.²⁰¹

A typical example of the Jesuits’ displeasure concerning the Orthodox College can be found in a letter of the Provincial of the Polish Province, Andreas Gutteter, written to the General of the Society on 12 May 1639. The Jesuit blamed the Eastern Orthodox, that they “docent litteras humaniores omnes fere ad normam scholarum nostrarum” (“teach all humanities almost according to the regulations of our schools”), as well as philosophy and theology. Although we still have no evidence of a theology course in the Mohyla College, the Jesuits had insisted that it “was lectured in secret by some Basilian monks”; the rest of the subjects were taught by alumni of foreign heretical educational institutions and former students of the Jesuit schools, who left the union “again to the schism”.²⁰² The latter may seem true, but, for instance the Jesuit statement about rebaptizing Latins who had accepted Orthodoxy is very doubtful. Gedeon Balaban’s Breviary of Strjatyn (1606) and Breviary of Ostroh (1606) contained the description of the Latins’ rebaptizing rite.²⁰³ Both Breviaries were published not just by the opponents of the Union of Brest, but by main organizers of the antiunion struggle. Therefore, it is possible to say that the rebaptizing rite itself reflected not merely a common practice of these eparchies, but rather an ideological attitude of the Breviaries’ publishers who were adherents of the union idea in earlier times. So we could affirm that the practice of rebaptizing (at least theoretically) was used very rarely in the Orthodox Church of the Kyjiv Metropolitanate. In contrast to the Kingdom of Muscovy, where the practice of rebaptizing had become a custom since the mid of the 15th century and had been officially acknowledged by the Council of Moscow in 1620, the Kyjiv Metropolitanate followed the rules of the Council of Constantinople of 1484 which prescribed to accept the Catholics through Chrismation.²⁰⁴ Moreover, in the Breviary, published in 1646 in

²⁰¹ The royal authority used a modest term “scholis”. ŠEVČENKO, Różne oblicza świata Piotra Mohyły (as in footnote 4), pp. 23-24, explains that the College “was considered more inconvenient to the policies of the Catholic state than the established Orthodox hierarchy. The latter, it was continuously hoped, could be persuaded to join the Union, especially if a Uniate patriarchate of Kyjiv were created and the patriarchal throne were offered to Mohyla”.

²⁰² He also wrote about Orthodox monks, specifying that “qui hic vulgo appellantur nostra lingua Czernci” (“which are named here in common parlance Czernci”). *Litterae nuntiorum apostolicorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantes* (as in footnote 144), pp. 19-21.

²⁰³ GOLUBEV (as in footnote 5), vol. II, p. 379; MYCHAJLO HRUŠEVS’KYJ: *Istorija ukrajins’koji literatury*, V [History of Ukrainian literature, V], Kyjiv 1926, <http://litopys.org.ua/hrushukr/hrush524.htm> (last accessed 23.05.2011).

²⁰⁴ SERGEJ GOVORUN: *Iz istorii bogoslovskich sporov XVIII veka o probleme latinskogo kreščenija* [From the history of theologian controversies of the 18th century about the

Kyjiv, Mohyla established the official practice of Catholics' joining the Eastern Orthodox Church even without Chrismation, but only through penance and confession of faith, and prohibited rebaptizing Catholics and anointing them with Holy Chrism.²⁰⁵ It is worthy to say that Nuncio²⁰⁶ Mario Filonardi also did not trust the Jesuit statement about rebaptizing: although the Jesuits began their statement with the words: "Certum est" ("It is a certainty"), the Nuncio began his commentary on the Jesuit message with the words: "S'è vero" ("If it is true")²⁰⁷. Therefore the information about rebaptizing Latins in the Mohyla College is doubtful, especially in the context of the College's competition with other educational institutions.

Mohyla's death in 1647 brought an end to a prominent period of intellectual strength, during which Kyjiv became a leading intellectual and spiritual center of the Orthodox Slavdom. As a result of the Cossack revolution the Jesuits were removed from the territory of the Hetmanate state of the Zaporozhian Host and particularly from Kyjiv, and thereby the Mohyla College lost its rival. The Treaty of Hadjač (1658) raised the College to the rank of an academy and guaranteed it all the rights and freedoms which the Jagiellonian University enjoyed. Nevertheless that term was ineffective until 1694 and 1701, when Tsar Peter I granted the College the status of academy both factually and juridically.

Conclusion

Hosius was a follower of Northern European humanism and of its creator, Erasmus. He accepted the primacy of the Holy Scripture, appreciated the return to the heritage of the Fathers of the Church and emphasized the necessity for personal internal renewal. Hosius evolved from Renaissance humanism, which was based on pre-Christian ancient ideals, to Catholic humanism. He made his classical erudition a tool for religious polemic and became famous not only among Catholics, but also among the adherents of other denomina-

Latin rebaptizing issue], http://www.krotov.info/history/11/1/govorun_03.htm (last accessed 23.05.2011); ILARION (TROICKIJ): Edinstvo cerkvi i vsemirnaja konferencija christianstva (Pis'mo g. Robertu Gardineru, sekretarju komissii dlja ustrojstva mirovoj konferencij christianstva) [The unity of the Church and the world conference of Christianity (The letter to Mr. Robert Gardiner, the secretary of the Commission on the organization of the world conference of Christianity)], http://promolenko.narod.ru/literat/ilarion_2.htm (last accessed 23.05.2011).

²⁰⁵ See in detail: Trebnyk Petra Mohyly (as in footnote 55), vol. I, pp. 15-16, 76-215. A sequence of rites and ceremonies as well prayers with explanations were included to the Breviary from the Roman Ritual of 1614, in particular "The Statute of the Sacrament of Penance".

²⁰⁶ Athanasius G. Welykyj identified an anonymous person, who made a short notes and explanations on an exemplar of the Jesuit letter, as the Nuncio. At that time Nuncio was Mario Filonardi. See: *Litterae nuntiorum apostolicorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantes* (as in footnote 144), p. 19.

²⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 21.

tions.²⁰⁸ Hosius and other Catholic humanists used the methods of Renaissance humanism for a revival of education in the Catholic Church; in the same manner Mohyla used the ideas and concepts of the reformed Catholic theology to revive or even to form a conceptual apparatus of Eastern Orthodox theology.

Hosius implemented in his diocese the Trent model of Catholicism in its pure form. A combination of secular and spiritual powers secured the subjugation of the faithful by sermons and instructions of the Church and influenced decisively on the discipline of the diocese's inhabitants, which had been kept at a high level many years after the liquidation of the domain.²⁰⁹ At the beginning the activities of the institutions that were founded by Hosius faced resistance from the Braniewo town council and the burghers. But over time the Jesuit establishments became stronger and many burghers openly joined the Counter Reformation side. Braniewo itself became not only a bastion of the Counter Reformation in a relatively short time, but also a powerful educational center, named by the contemporaries the "Prussian Athens".

Mohyla developed "the Catholic" tendency of Eastern Orthodox confessionalization. He fully used Western, mainly Catholic experiences in his reformation activities. He dealt with matters of church discipline, clergy education, unification of liturgical practice and doctrinal systematization. The latter was implemented in the form of "The Orthodox Confession of Faith", which lately became the basis of many Eastern Orthodox theological works. Mohyla's policy reinforced the hierarchy's authority and church autonomy. The autonomy was gained by an increase of the metropolitan's influence in the hierarchy of the metropolitanate, the subordination of Confraternities and formerly semi-dependent bishops to the Kyjivan See, and the transmission of church protectors' function from the Cossacks to the Orthodox nobility.

Mohyla assumed the role of Orthodox leader of all Ruthenia, an heir to Prince St. Volodymyr. His large scale projects concerning the transformation of Kyjiv into one of the biggest centers of the Eastern Orthodox world can be explained by his origins, which gave him the chance to compare himself to St. Volodymyr, the Baptizer of Ruthenia.

The Jesuits' reputation as the "teachers of Europe", Hosius' highly positive evaluation of their curriculum and methods of education, and his personal acquaintance with the Jesuits induced him to found the school of the Society of Jesus in his diocese. Carrying out the decrees of the Council of Trent, as a son of a burgher Hosius perfectly knew the benefits of education which had brought him noble status and raised him to the top of the social and church hierarchy.

Johann Sturm's model of the secondary school was accepted by the Jesuits and, via them, by the Eastern Orthodox. In this way Mohyla and his nearest aides laid the basis for a highly qualified education both for lay persons and

²⁰⁸ KALINOWSKA, Stanisław Hozjusz jako humanista (as in footnote 38), pp. 10-12.

²⁰⁹ HOCHLEITNER (as in footnote 48), p. 295.

clerics. Mohyla enriched the Byzantine heritage of the Kyjivan Church with achievements of the West and Neo-Latin culture by following the principle of “adaptation for preservation”. One of the main reasons of Mohyla’s success was the introduction of a Western educational model on a wholesale basis.²¹⁰ (Incidentally, the earlier introduction of the same educational model on a wholesale basis by the Jesuits had brought success to the mission of the Society of Jesus.) The success of Mohyla’s school provoked further resentment both among Orthodox and the Catholic circles in Kyjiv. The model of educational reform, embraced as one of the constituent parts of the church Reform by Mohyla, turned the Eastern Orthodox Church into a completely competitive institution and enabled it to withstand its Catholic rivals.

Zusammenfassung

Hosius und Mohyla. Katholizismus und Orthodoxie im Polen-Litauen der Frühen Neuzeit. Die Geschichte einer transkulturellen Reformbewegung

Die Autorin untersucht die Reformen Petro Mohylas vor dem Hintergrund der orthodoxen Konfessionalisierung. Mithilfe einer differenzierten und analytischen Typologie vergleicht sie aus zwei Blickwinkeln einander ähnelnde Konfessionalisierungsprozesse im polnisch-litauischen Staatenbund, die von Kardinal Stanislaus Hosius, dem Fürstbischof von Ermland, in der Katholischen Kirche und von dem Metropoliten Petro Mohyla in der Orthodoxen Kirche eingeleitet worden sind. Die erste, persönliche Perspektive charakterisiert die katholischen und orthodoxen Reformer als Akteure und analysiert deren Rolle bei der Durchführung der Reformen; die zweite, organisatorische Perspektive erklärt die Reformen selbst und ihre wesentlichen Eigenschaften. Dabei wird erläutert, wie sich die Ausgangssituation der Konfessionalisierung in der Orthodoxen Kirche von ähnlichen Prozessen in der Katholischen Kirche unterschied und auf welche Weise all diese Prozesse aufeinander eingewirkt haben. Hosius setzte in seiner Diözese das Trienter Modell des Katholizismus in seiner reinsten Form um. Die Hauptstadt Braunsberg (Braniewo) wurde innerhalb relativ kurzer Zeit nicht nur zu einem Bollwerk der Gegenreformation, sondern auch zu einem einflussreichen Bildungszentrum. Mohyla entwickelte eine „katholische“ Tendenz der ruthenisch-orthodoxen Konfessionalisierung. Für seine Reformbestrebungen nutzte er seine westliche, hauptsächlich katholische Erfahrung in ihrer ganzen Breite. Er befasste sich mit der Sicherstellung der kirchlichen Disziplin, der Ausbildung des Klerus, der Vereinheitlichung der liturgischen Praxis und der Systematisierung der Kirchendoktrin. Mohylas Politik ließ die hierarchische Ordnung sowie die Autonomie der Kirche zu alter Stärke zurückkehren. Mohylas Modell einer Bildungsreform, das zu den wichtigsten Bestandteilen seiner Kirchenreform zählt, versetzte die Orthodoxe Kirche in die Lage, ihrer katholischen Kontrahentin auf Augenhöhe entgegenzutreten

²¹⁰ CHARIPOVA (as in footnote 2), p. 163.