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THE LIBRARY OF THE KIEV MOHYLA ACADEMY (1632-1780) IN ITS HISTORICAL CONTEXT

by

Liudmila V. Charipova
Magdalene College

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This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration. Its length is 90,068 words.



Philosopho et Militi

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Summary

This study of the history of the library of the Kiev Mohyla Academy (1632-1780), is a piece of interdisciplinary research, which looks into the intellectual sources of the long-term development of Ukrainian and Russian culture and education.

The Kiev Mohyla Academy, founded as a college in 1632 on the Jesuit model, was the first Orthodox seat of higher education in the East Slav lands. The intellectual milieu formed by the Academy in the seventeenth century may be regarded as unique and highly influential for the fostering of culture and education in the whole region.

Very little has been written about the library of the Kiev Mohyla Academy and much uncertainty surrounds its history. The building that housed the library was badly damaged by fire in 1780, and there is very little documentary evidence as to what proportion of the library's collections survived that disaster. The main objective of this study is to piece together and evaluate evidence from various sources (printed references, manuscripts, archives, surviving books) so as to reconstruct a picture of the library's history, collections and organisation. Some of these sources have never been used by scholars before.

In the seventeenth century the library of the Kiev Mohyla Academy offered Ukrainian intellectuals what may be called a 'heavyweight' introduction to Western printed matter. No less than 90 per cent of the total of around 8,000 volumes kept in this holding by the late eighteenth century were Latin books of a remarkably varied nature, and there are grounds for believing that the proportion was the same a century before. In this way, Kievan scholars had to cope with the full body of literature and thought which had evolved over the previous 200 years or more in the West, and to absorb it at a stroke. Printed books had important implications for knowledge in that they brought about the concept of standardisation, the reorganisation of textual space, the preservative functions of the printed word, and an awareness of the diversity and multiplicity of views which educated people could hold. These theoretical and methodological perspectives help to produce a tentative model of how the introduction of a new, Western, system of cultural symbols and stereotypes may have influenced the development of Kievan learning in the seventeenth century.

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Several libraries and archival institutions helped me in completing this work. However, my very special thanks are due to the staff of the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine. Without their crucial support, rendered despite many serious and trifle obstacles, this research simply would not have happened.

And finally, many thanks to all my friends, who kindly granted me their moral support through the years. Fortunately, they are too many for me to mention them all here, and, hopefully, generous enough to forgive me this, also.

Needless to say that after such assistance the remaining shortcomings of this work are entirely my own fault.

List of abbreviations

ADOIKA	*Akty i dokumenty, otnosiashchiesia k istorii Kievskoi Akademii*
CSHAU(K)	The Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in the city of Kiev
HUS	*Harvard Ukrainian Studies*
IM VNLU	The Institute of the Manuscript of the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Kiev)
TKDA	*Trudy Kievskoi Dukhovnoi Akademii*
TsNB AN USSR	Tsentral'na Naukova Biblioteka Akademii Nauk Ukrains'koi Radians'koi Sotsialistychnoi Respubliky

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Introduction

It is no exaggeration to say that the history of the library of the Kiev Mohyla Academy has never been the subject of serious historical research so far. There are some superficially-obvious reasons for that. Firstly, the Academy archives that could have shed light on its history, do not exist, having been destroyed by the fire which broke out in 1780 and which also devastated the library itself. Secondly, the remains of the library that survived the fire, were dispersed in the quickly growing new collections of the Academy library, and nobody seems ever to have tried to distinguish them from later accessions. Thirdly, several authoritative nineteenth-century historians declared one after another (and sometimes one quoting another) that the topic was impossible to develop due to the fact that no materials on the history of the library existed after the fire of 1780. This view became an axiom in historiography and dampened down subsequent investigation of the problem.

1. *Historiography of the problem*

Metropolitan Makary Bulgakov was the first author to mention the library of the Kiev Mohyla Academy in his history of the Academy, published in 1843. He dedicated just a few pages of his work to this question.[1] He concluded that the library together with all the catalogues was completely destroyed in the fire of 1780.[2] The next monograph on the history of the Academy, published by Victor Askochensky in 1855, maintained that the library in its original state as of the time of the foundation of the Kiev Mohyla College in 1632, was destroyed by burning and looting in 1658-1668.[3]

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[1] M. Bulgakov, *Istoriia Kievskoi Akademii* (St. Petersburg, 1843), pp. 60-61, 132-136.
[2] Bulgakov, *Istoriia Kievskoi Akademii*, p. 135.
[3] V. Askochensky, *Kiev s eho drevneishim uchilishchem Akademiei* , I (Kiev, 1855), p. 290.

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There are grounds for doubting Askochensky's view, however.[4] The opinions of subsequent writers varied as to what the fate of the College library could have been in the seventeenth century, but usually agreed with Bulgakov that it was burned in its entirety in 1780.[5] The exception was Nikolai Petrov who claimed that 'by no means all the Academy library was destroyed by fire' in 1780,[6] and that 'no fewer than 1,500 books from the seventeenth century survived in the library... after the 1780 fire up to 1811'.[7] Apparently, many archival documents revealed and published later, particularly by Petrov, in the 1900s, were unknown to Bulgakov and Askochensky. Nevertheless, Bulgakov's pessimistic view about the complete destruction of the Academy library and the error introduced by Askochensky is perpetuated in almost all subsequent works, including the most recent ones.[8]

It was not until the late 1980s that a separate work, an article dedicated to the history of the library of the Kiev Mohyla Academy, was published by Petr Sotnichenko[9]. It was with Sotnichenko that a new approach to the problem, albeit of dubious scholarly value, set in. Through negligence if not sheer lack of historical knowledge Sotnichenko and some subsequent authors, have come to regard the libraries of the Mohyla Academy and that of the Kiev Theological Academy (1819-1918), a successor to the Mohyla Academy, as very similar book collections with basically the same sources of acquisition, principles of maintenance, and no visible

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[4] For details see Chapter VII.

[5] S. Golubev, 'O sostave biblioteki Petra Mohyly', *Trudy Tret'ego Arkheologicheskogo s"ezda v Rossii, byvshego v Kieve v avguste 1874 g.*, II (Kiev, 1878), p. 257; V. Ikonnikov, *Opyt russkoi istoriografii i ee protivniki*, I, 1 (Kiev, 1891), p. 749; V. Serebrennikov, *Kievskaia Akademiia s poloviny XVIII v. do preobrazovaniia ee v 1819 g.* (Kiev, 1897), p. 180.

[6] N. Petrov, *Kievskaia Akademiia v tsarstvovanie imp. Ekateriny II , 1762-1796* (Kiev, 1906), p. 66.

[7] N. Petrov, *Kievskaia Akademiia vo vtoroi polovine XVII v.* (Kiev, 1895), p. 118.

[8] See A. Jablonowski, *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohilanska: Zarys historyczny na tle rozwoju ogolnego cywilizacyi zachodniej na Rusi* (Cracow, 1899-1900), pp. 201, 242; Z. Khizhniak, *Kievo-Mohylianskaia akademiia* (Kiev, 1988), p. 140; V. Mykytas', *Davn'ioukrains'ki studenty i profesory* (Kiev, 1994), p. 222.

demarcation line between the pre-fire and the post-fire book stock. In fact, Sotnichenko tried to substitute posterior evidence for the lack of contemporary material on the pre-fire state of affairs. To attempt a historical reconstruction of phenomena that existed earlier through analysis of information derived from later developments is not a sin in itself. It may prove fruitful and indeed is sometimes the only way of dealing with complicated historical problems. However, this method would require a certain subtlety, which is lacking from Sotnichenko's endeavour. He mixed the data relating to the pre-fire and post-fire periods without hesitation, and at some points he seriously misinterpreted them, thus contributing to further confusion, such as that manifested in the work of Tatiana Gorbachenko, written in the form of a series of short 'theses'.[10] Without even mentioning the destruction of the collections late in the eighteenth century, Gorbachenko concluded her piece with a tacitly formulated wish that the library, having once belonged to the Mohyla Academy, should be given back to the present-day Kiev Mohyla Academy (re-established 1991). One is left wondering if she was aware of the fact of the 1780 fire at all.[11] In almost the same vein, V. Mykytas' enthusiastically quotes the post-1780 catalogue of the Academy library, taking it for the one compiled in the late seventeenth century.[12]

There exist two short manuscript notes held at the Institute of the Manuscript of the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, both attributed to Amvrosy Krylovsky.[13] Although they mainly rely upon works on the history of the Academy published in the

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[9] P. Sotnichenko, 'K istorii biblioteki Kievo-Mohylianskoi akademii', *Istoriia stanovleniia i razvitiia akademicheskikh bibliotek* (Moscow, 1987), pp. 87-114.

[10] T. Gorbachenko, 'Biblioteka Kyievo-Mohylians'koi Akademii v dukhovnii kul'turi ukrains'koho narodu', *Rol' bibliotek, monastyriv, soboriv ta inshykh ustanov u rozvytku kul'tury Ukrainy* (Kiev, 1993), pp. 45-47.

[11] Gorbachenko, 'Biblioteka Kyievo-Mohylians'koi Akademii', p. 47.

[12] Mykytas', *Davnio-ukrains'ki studenty i profesory*, p. 222.

[13] A. Krylovsky, *Kratkii istoricheskii ocherk biblioteki Kievskoi Dukhovnoi Akademii*, IM VNLU, fond 184, no. 66; idem, *Biblioteka byvshei Kievskoi Dukhovnoi Akademii*, 12-25 February 1925, IM VNLU, fond 184, no. 67.

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Krylovsky's notes prove interesting, because he was employed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a librarian to the Kiev Theological Academy. He had direct access to the library stock and therefore had a vantage point which is lost to us today. So, for instance, it was in the systematic catalogue of the library of the Kiev Theological Academy, published by Krylovsky in 1892, that an attempt to identify the surviving books from the collection of Peter Mohyla was first undertaken.

A number of articles in periodicals and collections of works briefly mention the library in the course of discussion of very different concerns.[14] In addition, there are a few short notes in some monographs[15]. A single English-language monograph on the history of the Academy only mentions the library a couple of times[16].

In 1995, the author of the present work completed a dissertation for the degree of MA, entitled 'The library of Kiev Mohyla Academy and other European libraries', at the Central European University (Budapest College). The work mostly summed up what had already been published on the history of the library of the Kiev Academy and sought to compare the practices adopted therein with those of the most renowned college, university and private libraries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Western Europe. In 1996, my dissertation for the degree of MPhil under the title 'A cultural history of the library of the Kiev Mohyla Academy (1632-1780)' was submitted at the University of Cambridge. That essay may be regarded as a rough sketch, which

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[14] See, for instance P. Sotnichenko, 'Biblioteka Kyievo-Mohylians'koi akademii: filosofs'ki dzherela', *Vid Vyshens'kogo do Skovorody: z istorii filosofs'koi dumky na Ukraini XVI-XVIII st.* (Kiev, 1972), pp. 47-54; V. Nychyk, 'Sobranie kursov ritoriki i filosofii professorov Kievo-Mohylianskoi akademii v TsNB AN USSR', *Russkie biblioteki i ikh chitatel'* (Moscow, 1981), pp. 80-87.

[15] See Jablonowski, *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohilanska*, pp. 201-202, 242-243; D. Vishnevsky, *Kievskaia akademiia v pervoi polovine XVIII st.: novye dannye, otnosiashchiesia k istorii etoi akademii za ukazannoe vremia* (Kiev, 1903), pp. 282-287; Khizhniak, *Kievo-Mohylianskaia akademiia*, pp. 112-117; M. Samchyshyn, *Tysiacha rokiv ukrains'kii kul'turi: istorychnyi ohliad kul'turnogo protsesu* (Kiev, 1993), p. 174.

[16] A. Sydorenko, *The Kievan Academy in the seventeenth century* (Ottawa, 1977), pp. 38, 167.

has been significantly augmented and revised in my present work. In 1997 my article giving an outline of the history of the Academy library between 1632 and 1780 was published in Britain.[17]

2. *The Kiev Mohyla Academy in national and foreign historiography*

In contrast to the history of its library, that of the Kiev Mohyla Academy has a rich historiography and has been a battlefield of the most diverse opinions for at least a century and a half. Ever since its foundation in 1632, the Academy itself has been a constant focus of public opinion. Nineteenth-century historians of the Russian Empire did much to elucidate a whole range of important questions relating to it. At the same time, usually concerned with proving the righteousness of the Orthodox Church in its opposition to the Catholics and the Uniates, they were not free from bias, mixing prejudice with sound arguments and compounding myths by creating a 'tradition'.[18] Later most Soviet historiography, constrained as it was by 'Marxist' historical views, regarded past events in a distorted perspective. This trend in historiography was overtly hostile to religion and tried by all means to reduce its historical role. As a result, the Academy professors and teachers, all of whom were clerics, appeared to be little less than atheists.[19]

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[17] L. Charipova, 'A survey of the history of the library of the Kiev Mohyla Academy (1632-1780)', *Solanus*, 11 (1997), 5-25.

[18] Askochensky, *Kiev s eho drevneishim uchilishchem Akademieiu*; Bulgakov, *Istoriia Kievskoi Akademii*; S. Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla i ego spodvizhniki: Opyt istoricheskogo issledovaniia*, in 2 vols. (Kiev, 1883-1898); idem, *Istoriia Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii: period do-mohylianskii*, I (Kiev, 1886); idem, *Kievskaia Akademiia v kontse XVII i nachale XVIII stoletii* (Kiev, 1901); Petrov, *Kievskaia Akademiia vo vtoroi polovine XVII v.*; idem, *Kievskaia Akademiia v tsarstvovanye imp. Ekateriny II*; Serebrennikov, *Kievskaia Akademiia s poloviny XVIII v.*; Vishnevsky, *Kievskaia akademiia v pervoi polovine XVIII st.* This list is by far not complete, as it includes only the most prominent historians of the Kiev Academy.

[19] For instance, the monograph of Khizhniak: *Kievo-Mohylianskaia akademiia*, is particularly characteristic of such attitude.

The only existing English-language monograph, and indeed the sole large-scale work on the history of the Academy in a non-Slavonic language, was published by Alexander Sydorenko, an American historian of Ukrainian origin, in Ottawa, in 1977.

3. *The turbulent century: historiography of seventeenth-century Ukraine*

No study of a library's existence can be complete without analysis of its relationship with the cultural and historical conditions of the period. Aiming to provide a broad historical context for the foundation and development of the library of the Kiev Academy, this study offers an overview of Ukrainian political, social and cultural history in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. However, to deal with this period is a serious challenge, for the complex religious and political situation in the region and the conflicting loyalties and individual ambitions of the *dramatis personae* make the issue extremely controversial and difficult to assess. Moreover, works aimed at elucidating different aspects of Ukrainian historical development of the period are both abundant and extremely varied. Due to their great diversity of opinions, Ukrainian history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may look unfathomable to an observer trying to amass different interpretations without a critical approach. Therefore, the choice of a vantage point appears to be critical.

There exist several historiographical traditions concerning the history of the Ukrainian lands, particularly from 1569, when the territory came under Polish control, to 1686, when a great part of Ukraine was ceded to Russia. Most East European historians working on the period seem to have been unable to free themselves from confessional, national, or social bias. In this way, Polish tradition would emphasise the 'missionary' cultural role of Poland that brought Western civilisation and 'true' Christianity to Ukrainians, and regards Ukrainian affairs mainly from the perspective of

the history of Poles and Poland.[20] Pre-1917 Russian historiography, in turn, would put forward theses about the inevitable nature of the process whereby the 'Russian' lands were 're-united' under the tsar as the lawful ruler, and about the 'deliverance' of the Orthodox fellow-believers from the religious and social oppression of the Catholic Polish state.[21]

Ukrainian historiography of the pre-Soviet period not infrequently tended to ignore legal-juridical subjects in favour of events pertaining to the 'people', undervaluing the role of the 'elites' and overemphasising the importance of the 'masses', and it idealised the Cossacks.[22] The work of twentieth-century Ukrainian émigré authors, mainly in the United States and Canada, but also in Germany, is of special interest. It bears, however, a number of peculiar features of its own. On the one hand, these authors have been free to air their views, responding to recent trends in historical thought and to the pertinent literature. On the other, it is hardly surprising that, badly lacking the appropriate source base and still working in the shadow of the nineteenth-century Russian and Ukrainian historians, they also inherited some of their handicaps.[23] In addition, they were sometimes inclined to idealise their forsaken homeland: their Ukraine is a fully-fledged member of the West European cultural community, taking part in what they see as the achievements and high points of this

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[20] For an accurate concise analysis of Polish historiography of the Ukrainian lands see S. Velychenko, *National history as cultural process: A survey of the interpretations of Ukraine's past in Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian historical writing from the earliest times to 1914* (Edmonton, 1992), pp. 47-75.

[21] Velychenko, *National history as cultural process*, pp. 111-137.

[22] See Velychenko, *National history as cultural process*, pp. 187-191, 216-219.

[23] See, for instance, Sydorenko's admission in the preface to his study on the history of the Academy in the seventeenth century: 'Since the author had no direct access to archival materials... the merit of this study must lie exclusively in its examination and reevaluation of the published documentary sources and secondary works. Therefore, no hitherto unknown information has been uncovered and the nature of this inquiry is mostly interpretive and historiographical': Sydorenko, *The Kievan Academy in the seventeenth century*, p. ix.

development.[24] Finally, the late 1980s and the 1990s saw several noteworthy works by modern Ukrainian historians such as Nataliia Iakovenko, Oleksiy Tolochko, and Vasyl' Ulianovs'kyi.[25]

Among contemporary Western Slavicists such scholars as David Frick, Frank Sysyn, and Francis Thomson, present relatively impartial and balanced views on the history of Ukraine in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Where such impartiality is married to a profound factual knowledge, a clear understanding of the complex nature of the subject, and a holistic approach, it bears fruit in interesting and important studies.[26]

4. *Libraries and beyond*

Why does the lost library matter at all? It is hardly necessary to dwell on the basic idea of the cultural significance of the book. To quote Milton's well-known claim

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[24]See, for instance: O. Ohloblyn, 'Western Europe and the Ukrainian Baroque: An aspect of cultural influences at the time of Hetman Ivan Mazepa', *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U. S.*, 1 (1951), 127-137; F. Korchmaryk, *Dukhovni vplyvy Kyeva na Moskovshchynu v dobu Het'mans'koi Ukrainy* (New York, 1964); S. Horak, 'The Kiev Academy: A bridge to Europe in the 17th century', *East European Quarterly*, 2 (1968), 117-137; Samchyshyn, *Tysiacha rokiv ukrains'kii kul'turi.*

[25] See N. Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy z naidavnishykh chasiv do kintsia XVIII stolittia* (Kiev, 1997); idem, *Ukrains'ka shliakhta z kintsia XIV do seredyny XVII st.: Volyn' i tsentral'na Ukraina* (Kiev, 1993); idem, '"Cholovik dobryi" i "cholovik zlyi": z istorii mental'nykh ustanovok v Ukraini-Rusi kontsia XVI – seredyny XVII st.', *Mediaevalia Ucrainica: Mental'nist' ta istoriia idei*, 1 (Kiev, 1992), pp. 47-91; O. Tolochko, 'Obraz "chuzhyntsia" v kartyni svitu domongol's'koi Rusi', ibid., pp. 26-46; V. Ulianovs'kyi, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, I-II (Kiev, 1994).

[26] See F. E. Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine: The dilemma of Adam Kysil, 1600-1653* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985); D. Frick, *Meletij Smotryc'kyj* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995); F. Thomson, 'Peter Mohyla's ecclesiastical reforms and the Ukrainian contribution to Russian culture: a critique of Georges Florovsky's theory of *the pseudomorphosis of Orthodoxy*', *Slavica Gandensia*, 20 (1993), 67-119; F. Thomson, 'Melety Smotritsky i uniia s Rimom: religioznaia dilemma v Rutenii XVII veka', in *400 let Brestskoi tserkovnoi unii (1596-1996): kriticheskaia pereotsenka*, ed. A. Iudin (Neimengen, 1998), pp. 177-218. For a concise analysis particularly of the state of research in East Slavonic cultural studies, see D. A. Frick, 'Misrepresentations, misunderstandings, and silences: problems of seventeenth-century Ruthenian and Muscovite cultural history', in *Religion and culture in early modern Russia and Ukraine*, eds. S. H. Baron and N. S. Kollmann (DeKalb, Illinois, 1997), pp. 149-168.

in the *Areopagitica*: 'I know they [books] are lively, and as vigorously productive, as those fabulous dragon's teeth: and being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men'.[27] Nicolas Barker goes on to say: 'Milton's concept of animation extended beyond the text, a single thing, to embrace all the copies of it that might be made by other hands than the author's, scrivener's or printer's. All these had a further life that extended to their use by other authors and all the readers to whom they came, directly in their original form or in the indirect form of quotation or even unconscious adaptation in the hands of others'.[28] The text as an entity unto itself must certainly receive attention in the present study as, to use a trite but apt metaphor, libraries consist of books just as houses are built of bricks. However, the main focus of this study is the library singled out as a socio-cultural phenomenon and approached in all its various aspects.

The nature of a library traditionally presupposes a certain social function. In the early modern period traces of such attitudes can be found, for instance, in Archbishop Antonio Augustine's letter to a friend, written in 1573 and complaining about the inaccessibility of the Escoriál library, called by contemporaries 'a book cemetery': 'So many excellent books are kept there that to make them all unavailable amounts to doing more harm than good'.[29] These traces can also be found in the fact that the first three European public libraries were opened in the early seventeenth century. The Bodleian (Oxford) in 1602; the Ambrosiana (Milan) in 1609; and the Angelica (Rome) in 1614 clearly were meeting a concrete need.[30] Moreover, there appeared in 1627 the famous treatise by Gabriel Naudé, *Avis pour dresser une bibliothèque*. It stated that 'fair and magnificent libraries' had to be established and eventually devoted to public use.[31]

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[27] J. Milton, *Areopagitica*, ed. R. C. Jebb (Cambridge, 1918), p. 6.
[28] N. Barker, 'Introduction', *A potencie of life: Books in society*, ed. N. Barker (London, 1993), p. 1.
[29] Quoted by L. Vladimirov, *Vseobshchaia istoriia knigi: drevnii mir, srednevekov'e, Vozrozhdenie, XVIII vek* (Moscow, 1988), p. 196.
[30] J. A. Clarke, *Gabriel Naudé, 1600-1653* (Hamden, Conn., 1970), p. 70.
[31] See Clarke, *Gabriel Naudé*, p. 22.

Although the college and university libraries, among which that of the Kiev Academy belonged, can by no means be regarded as public institutions, they were used by relatively large communities of scholars, and therefore can be associated with the dissemination of knowledge and ideas.

According to an explication of John Oates, 'a library may be defined as a room or building in which books are assembled (and such assemblage of books will itself, by extension, be called a library) and arranged in some way that will enable them to be the more conveniently studied'.[32] This classical definition postulates that books must be studied rather than merely stored in a library. In one of his articles David McKitterick mentions a 'long-established, and indeed honourable tradition in the history of libraries to concentrate on high spots, such as major collections, important textual or illuminated manuscripts, and notable benefactors'.[33] In addition, reference is often made to other issues concerning library buildings, armoire and decoration, and to bibliographical variations on the principles of arranging books and compiling catalogues.

McKitterick's article poses a number of important questions, described as 'subtle' and 'sometimes (extraordinarily) ignored'. All are directly relevant to the subject of this study: namely, why did a particular library appear to be necessary at a particular time? how did it differ from other libraries of the given region and from those elsewhere? what is the history of the collection and its methods of acquisition? how did these change as time passed? Although these questions could themselves be considered 'enough for the overworked historian', they only pave the way for more crucial ones: what were readers' expectations in using the collection? who were these readers themselves? which books did they prefer and why? and to what extent did library

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[32] J. C. T. Oates, *Cambridge University Library: A history, from the beginnings to the Copyright Act of Queen Anne* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 1.

[33] D. McKitterick, 'The limits of library history', in J. P. Feather and D. McKitterick, *The history of books and libraries: Two views* (Washington, 1986), p. 22.

management determine such preferences?[34] The scheme offered by McKitterick will serve as the main methodological framework for this study. Apart from it, certain approaches to book history, which can be regarded as an integral part of the history of libraries are used in this study. Among them, those put forward by such book historians as Roger Chartier, Thomas Adams, Nicolas Barker and Elizabeth Eisenstein are of prime importance.[35]

5. *The structure of the dissertation*

As Robert Darnton puts it, the history of libraries, and, indeed, book history in general, requires a holistic view, in order to avoid 'freezing human beings out of history'.[36] The library of the Kiev Mohyla Academy as a cultural phenomenon must be placed in its social and historical context. Similarly, to understand the role and place of the Mohyla Academy library as part of an educational institution, consistently modelled after Jesuit schools, one has to turn to the establishments which served as a model for Peter Mohyla and his associates.

This study consists of twelve chapters, falling into two principal parts: the first provides the socio-cultural context in which the library of the Mohyla Academy was formed and maintained; the second presents original research on the history of the library itself. In this way, the first part of the dissertation has a predominantly historiographical nature, and its sketchy character is preconditioned by the broad nature of the subjects involved. The first three chapters analyse social and political aspects of

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[34] McKitterick, 'The limits of library history', p. 20.

[35] See R. Chartier, *The order of books: Readers, authors, and libraries in Europe between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries* (Cambridge, 1994); T. R. Adams and N. Barker, 'A new model for the study of the book', *A potencie of life*, pp. 5-43; N. J. B., 'Intentionality and reception theory', *A potencie of life*, pp. 195-201; E. Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change: Communications and cultural transformations in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1980).

[36] R. Darnton, 'What is the history of books?', *Books and society in history*, ed. K. E. Carpenter (New York, 1983), p. 7.

Ukrainian history in the early seventeenth century, and the state of affairs in culture and education of that period. The aim of the fourth chapter is to describe the Jesuit system of education. Those authors who generally accept the fact of the extensive borrowing from the Jesuits at the establishment of the Kiev College seldom if ever go into detailed comparison between the Jesuit educational scheme and the practices applied at Kiev. Such an attempt is undertaken in this study. The fifth chapter presents a biography of Metropolitan Peter Mohyla, the founder of the College and its library, whose influence remained strong within the Academy well into the eighteenth century. The sixth chapter provides a survey of the history of the Kiev Mohyla Academy from its foundation to the mid-eighteenth century.

The six chapters of the second part are dedicated to the foundation of the College library; the formation and maintenance of the collections; the books that have survived until the present; the provenance evidence and bindings of the surviving books. Finally, an attempt is made in the twelfth chapter to offer a tentative model of what the impact of the Kiev Mohyla Academy library on the formation of seventeenth-century Ukrainian intellectual milieu may have been.

This study has had to contend with a lack of primary sources, above all, catalogues of the pre-fire collection and early documents on the principles of maintenance of the library. Therefore, an attempt is made to reconstruct a relatively full picture from a limited range of available data. For instance, the analysis of the early period of the library's existence and the ideas behind its foundation is made possible by means of contrasting the generally insufficient direct evidence with material on the Jesuit school and study libraries.

A list of the surviving books, composed as a result of my search for the remnants of the pre-fire collections of the Academy library, accompanies this study in the form of an appendix. A few remarks seem appropriate at this point. My search was

in effect limited to several divisions of the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, namely to its Department of Historical Book Collections, and the Institute of the Manuscript and the Institute of the Ukrainian Book affiliated with this library. More particularly, I was extremely lucky to gain access to the holdings of the Department of Historical Book Collections, where most of the surviving books from the Kiev Mohyla Academy were discovered. Such a privilege is seldom if ever granted to members of the general public. It is not impossible that a dozen or so more of the surviving books might be found in other holdings in Ukraine and Russia, but under the current library regulations these holdings remain inaccessible to anyone other than the members of staff who are directly in charge of the book collections.

6. *The scope of research in terms of chronology, historical geography and social composition*

For the sake of a coherent picture, the lower chronological boundary of my discussion briefly goes back to the mediaeval period, when the present-day territory of Ukraine was ruled by more than one political state simultaneously. My discussion is confined to events that took place in the territory of the Ukrainian lands, encompassing the historical regions of Galicia, Podolia, Volhynia, Bratslav Palatinate and the so-called 'Inner' or 'Central' Rus', including the Kiev and Chernigov regions.[37] Due to the fact that most of present-day Belarus and Lithuania formed a single state with Ukraine before 1569, and were parts of the same polity after that, I occasionally turn to developments that took place in these territories. I do not in any way touch upon the

[37] See the map.

history of Bukovyna, Transcarpathia and the Black Sea region including the Crimea, for most of these lands did not form part of Ukraine before the mid-twentieth century.[38]

In the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands, constituting a part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, were often collectively referred to as 'Ruthenia'. It is exactly in this sense that the term will be used in this study.[39] The use of the term 'Ukraine', particularly in relation to events that took place in the seventeenth century is mainly applied here for the sake of convenience and requires a qualification in that its usage at that time has not been fully established in historiography, and different authors hold different views.[40] What has been said above is also applicable to such designations as 'Ruthenians' and 'Ukrainians': the former stands for the population of the Belarusian and Ukrainian lands taken altogether; the latter – for the inhabitants of Ukraine, even though no people defining themselves as the 'Ukrainians' existed in the period under discussion. In this way I attempt to escape the great complexity of trying to define elusive identities of peoples constituting multinational and multilingual states such as the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In the same vein is my use of the term 'Poles' and 'Muscovites': they mean the whole of the population of Poland and Muscovy respectively, rather than a particular nation in an ethnic sense.

Due to the nature of this study, dealing almost exclusively with the transformations of the Ukrainian intellectual milieu in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the focus will be on the three upper societal estates: the nobility, the clergy

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[38] For a brief sketch on the formation of the present-day territory of Ukraine see Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, pp. 8-9.

[39] Confusion may arise from the fact that in the mediaeval and early modern time Galicia was also occasionally referred to as 'Ruthenia'.

[40] For instance, Frank Sysyn argues that in the seventeenth century 'Ukraine' as a geographic term described only the lands of the Dnieper region: *Between Poland and the Ukraine*, p. xiii. At the same time, Iakovenko tries to discard this view and maintains that this term was applied to the territory of present-day Ukraine from as early as the sixteenth century: *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, p. 11.

and the burghers. It also touches upon a heterogeneous social layer of the Cossacks, an increasingly important element of the seventeenth-century population of Ukraine. This basically leaves the peasantry outside the scope of my analysis. Furthermore, no picture of contemporary economic development of the Ukrainian lands will be presented, as I turn to economical issues only occasionally and in connection with specific social and religious questions.

7. *Some notes on transliteration of proper names and place names*

The following rules concerning the transliteration of East European proper names have been applied in this study. The names of figures and places, more or less well-known in Western historiography such as 'Peter Mohyla', 'Khmelnitsky', 'Ostrozhsky', 'Kiev', 'Lvov', 'Cracow', 'Moscow', and others are given in their commonest forms.[41] Otherwise, people and places known to be Polish are given in Polish spelling (e. g. 'Chodkiewicz', 'Zolkiewski', 'Przemysl', 'Zamosc', etc.), and those of figures and places known to be Ruthenian are given in transliteration from Cyrillic (e. g. 'Kossov', 'Zaborovsky', 'Chernigov', 'Vinnitsa', etc.). No proper names, save for those of Ukrainian authors writing in Ukrainian (e. g. 'Ulianovs'kyi', 'Nychyk', 'Samchyshyn', etc.) are given in Ukrainian transliteration. The names of modern Ukrainian authors, who have published their works in Russian, are given in Russian transliteration (e. g. 'Khizhniak' and 'Sotnichenko'). I am aware that my opting for convenience in this way may be seen as a bias towards the Russian over the Ukrainian language. However, my main concern here is readability and recognisability of proper names rather than particular national inclinations. Anyway, I have to ask for forbearance in respect to any failures of consistency encountered in this work.

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[41] An exception is made, however, where such names are mentioned in quotations and the titles of books and articles.

During my work on the dissertation I encountered a serious problem concerning the use of accents and special characters in Polish and Greek words. The College and University computer systems I used had no East European and Greek scripts, and were protected against unauthorised changes such as the installation of additional fonts. Therefore, no special characters (such as Polish 'ł', 'ą', 'ę' and 'ń') are put in Polish proper names, titles and quotations. Similarly, there are no diacritical marks in Greek book titles. The spelling (and transliteration) of all Russian nineteenth-century titles of books and articles is modernised.

Chapter I

HISTORY OF THE UKRAINIAN LANDS BY THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: POLITICS, SOCIETY, RELIGION

> *It is uncertain whether the future is written in the stars, but there is no doubt that the destiny of nations is largely predetermined by the nature of the territory which they occupy.*[1]

1. *From the disintegration of the Galician-Volhynian Principality to the Union of Lublin (1340-1569)*

The so-called 'Princely era' in the history of Rus', which embraced the period of Kievan ascendancy (860-1169) and that of the Galician-Volhynian Principality (1124-1340), came to an end in the second quarter of the fourteenth century and brought the hitherto mostly 'nationally'-independent Ruthenian lands under foreign domination. Between 1316 and 1340, Lithuanian Prince Gediminas took possession of the regions as far afield as the northern part of the Kievan region. Nearly all the Ruthenian lands found themselves under the rule of Lithuania by the early 1360s. In the 1370s-1380s, Gediminas's descendants eventually lost Galicia to Poland, but spread their domination further to the south-east including Podolia, and to the north as far as Kiev and the regions of Chernigov and Novgorod-Seversky.[2] At that time, nine-tenths of the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania consisted of Ukrainian and Belorussian lands.[3]

Initially, the situation seemed to be advantageous both to the 'conquerors' and to the 'conquered'. According to Stephen Rowell, 'the Slavs enjoyed the *pax lithuanica* which protected their trade routes to Hansa and defended them from the depredations of the grand dukes of Moscow'.[4] From the early fourteenth century onwards, both war and dynastic alliances helped to establish Lithuania as an important

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[1] A. Zoltowski, *Border of Europe: A study of the Polish Eastern provinces* (London, 1950), p. 1.
[2] Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, pp. 75, 91.
[3] N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko, 'At the dawn of the modern age: Ukraine under Lithuanian and Polish domination', *Ukraine: A concise encyclopedia*, ed. V. Kubijovych, I (Toronto, 1963), p. 619.
[4] S. Rowell, *Lithuania ascending: A pagan empire within East-Central Europe, 1295-1345* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 116.

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power in Eastern Europe.[5] Ruthenian nobles became part of the ruling elite: they served in the army and held the higher offices. Ruthenian became the state language, and Slavic customs prevailed in the administration, courts and religion.[6]

The social structure that existed in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was mostly inherited from the Galician-Volhynian Principality. The grand duke, a Gediminid, ruled the state, which was divided into principalities.[7] Princes of both the Gediminid and the Riurikid lines (the so-called *kniazhata*) stood at the head of constituent principalities. A step lower down the social scale stood the 'lords' (*paniata*), who owned their landed properties (*otchyny*) by inheritance. In contrast to them, the 'serving boyars' (*boiare kniazhie*) obtained estates in return for services to a prince or a lord, and their heirs could retain those properties only on condition of serving that same overlord. Another category of free men in the service of the notables were the military or the 'serving gentry' (*druzhina*), who, as a rule, were paid for their services in a way different from that of granting landed properties. However, the latter two categories tended to overlap, and by the second half of the fifteenth century together formed the class of lesser nobility.[8] Three other categories of free men were the clergy, burghers and peasants (*smerdy*). The semi-free peasants (*zakupy*) were bound to the land. The category of slaves (*cheliad'*) had entirely disappeared in Lithuania by the sixteenth century.[9]

By the late fourteenth century, the weakening of princely power in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as a result of internecine wars between the Gediminids compelled Lithuania to seek a union with Poland. After the conclusion of such a union at Krewo in 1385, Grand Prince Jagiello of Lithuania married Queen Hedwig of Poland and

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[5] On the dynastic policy of Gediminas see Rowell, *Lithuania ascending*, pp. 87-94.
[6] Rowell, *Lithuania ascending*, pp. 149, 295; Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, p. 91.
[7] Rowell, *Lithuania ascending*, pp. 61, 66-67.
[8] Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, pp. 96-97; F. Sysyn, 'Ukrainian social tensions before the Khmel'nits'kyi uprising', in *Religion and culture in early modern Russia and Ukraine*, eds. S. H. Baron and N. S. Kollmann (DeKalb, Ill., 1997), p. 55.
[9] M. Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, V (New York, 1955), p. 27; Rowell, *Lithuania ascending*, p. 73.

embraced Catholicism.[10] An increasing proportion of the Lithuanian nobility began to turn towards Polish customs and religion, which greatly assisted Catholic proselytising in the region. The 1413 Polish-Lithuanian Union of Horodlo began the process of incorporating the Catholic Lithuanian boyars into the specific system of the Polish *szlachta* by abolishing the difference between the lords and the lesser nobility in terms of the right to pass their feudal holdings by inheritance.[11] *De jure* only the Catholics were henceforth supposed to hold the higher offices in state administration and participate in the grand prince's Council.[12] Although it does not seem to have noticeably affected the Orthodox nobility, since they did not disappear from court and administration instantly after 1413, religious discrimination stirred up discontent among the Ruthenians and strife within the state.[13]. In the long run, the policy bore fruit in that by 1450 the proportion of Orthodox Ruthenian nobility in central government had become negligible, and its principal influence shifted to local administration, mainly that of Volhynia, and the Kievan and Bratslav regions. There the members of wealthy and influential Orthodox princely families – such as the Ostrozhskys, Zbarazhskys, Vishnevetskys, Chortoryiskys, Koretskys, Chetvertinskys, Pronskys, and Sangushkys – remained the only real power endowed with a special aura of hereditary authority in the eyes of their subjects.[14]

By the first decade of the sixteenth century, the idea of making the Polish-Lithuanian union a full, structural merger rather than merely a dynastic alliance, was in the air. Apart from nurturing great state ambitions, Poland looked eastwards in hopes of new territory, much of it in fertile Ukrainian lands. Considerable changes in the

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[10] On the Union of Krewo see J. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the rise of Russia: A study of Byzantino-Russian relations in the fourteenth century* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 241-245; S. Rowell, 'Forging a Union? Some reflections on the early Jagiellonian monarchy', *Lithuanian Historical Studies*, 1 (1996), 6-21; and Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, pp. 92-93.

[11] N. Davis, *God's playground: A history of Poland*, I (Oxford, 1982), p. 216.

[12] O. Halecki, *From Florence to Brest (1439-1596)* (Rome, 1958), p. 161; Ulianovs'kyi, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, I, pp. 108-109.

[13] On the 'civil war' of 1432-1440 in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania between the adherents of a closer alliance with Poland and those who kept sides with the Ruthenian nobility see Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, pp. 93-95.

[14] Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, pp. 95-96, 100-101.

European socio-economic system, such as the growth of the cities and the resulting increase in the non-agricultural population, led to a growth in demand for grain and made agriculture a profitable occupation.[15] Lithuania was exhausted by the continual wars with Muscovy (1487-1537), which was promoting its policy of 'bringing the Russian lands together' under the Grand Dukes Ivan III and Vasily III. The result of these wars was that the Chernigov and Novgorod-Seversky regions and the city of Smolensk were lost between 1492 and 1503, and about one-third of Lithuanian territory was annexed by Muscovy during the thirty years that followed. Constant awareness of the potential threat from this aggressive neighbour added to the sense of insecurity.[16] The attitude to the prospect of an 'ultimate' union on the part of different strata of the nobility was divided. The equality of all nobles, notwithstanding their property status and even religion, was a cornerstone upon which the whole idea of the noble *natio Polonica* was built up.[17] Therefore, lesser Lithuanian and Ruthenian nobles mostly coveted a closer union, as they appreciated the idea of their rights being significantly extended to equal the privileged position of the Polish nobility, and they also hoped for Polish help against the attacks of the Crimean Tatar hordes, which assumed a regular character from the 1470s onwards. On the other hand, both Lithuanian and Ruthenian princes and nobles of higher standing opposed the 'ultimate' union precisely because they feared losing their special status by being placed on the same level as the lesser nobility.[18]

The question was finally resolved by the signing of the Act of Union at Lublin in 1569. According to its conditions, the two states merged into a single polity – the Commonwealth of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, with a joint representative body, the Diet (*sejm*), and a monarch, the king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania, elected jointly. Only the nobles were regarded as 'citizens' in the

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[15] See Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, p. 121; F. Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine: The dilemma of Adam Kysil, 1600-1653* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), p. 24.
[16] Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, p. 120.
[17] M. Hrushevs'kyi, *Ocherk istorii ukrainskogo naroda* (Kiev, 1990), p. 121.

Commonwealth, all other estates being placed beyond the recognised citizenry, and thus excluded from participation in the joint Diet. Discrimination against the Orthodox was basically negligible, the only discernible restriction being that the Orthodox bishops did not sit in the Senate (the upper house of the joint Diet).[19] Lithuania retained its autonomy, having its own diet, courts, legal regulations, finances and army. At the same time, a large portion of the Ruthenian territory hitherto dominated by Lithuania – practically all Ukrainian lands, including Volhynia, eastern Podolia, the Kievan and Bratslav regions, and the Lower Left Bank of the Dnieper river – was ceded to Poland. In addition to what were the Lithuanian lands in a proper sense, only Belarus' and some minor parts of Ukraine remained under the Lithuanian direct rule.[20]

According to the terms of the union, all legal differences between the nobles were abolished. However, the existing economic differences between the princes and the lords, on the one hand and the lesser nobility, on the other hand, could not be forfeited. Nor could the special authority enjoyed by the Orthodox princes in Volhynia and the 'inner Rus'' be questioned either by their own subjects or, in fact, even by the central authorities. Significantly, only the old aristocracy of the Ukrainian lands incorporated into Poland after 1569, retained their princely titles.

In contrast to the rest of Poland, where the nobles constituted five to eight per cent of the population, or even as many as twenty per cent in some regions such as Mazovia, the situation was very different in the Ruthenian lands, where the nobility made up only about one per cent of the whole population.[21] A few princely families, such as the Ostrozhskys and Vishnevetskys, still controlled vast territories of eastern Ukraine much as they had done in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and were unrivalled in their power. Owning 'thousands of peasants, scores of towns... [they]

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[18] A. Kaminski, 'The *szliachta* of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and their government', *The nobility in Russia and Eastern Europe*, eds. I. Banac and P. Bushkovitch (New Haven, 1983), p. 29; Polons'ka-Vasylenko, 'At the dawn of the modern age', p. 623.

[19] Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine*, p. 33.

[20] Hrushevs'kyi, *Ocherk istorii ukrainskogo naroda*, pp. 118-119; Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, pp. 121-122.

maintained private courts and armies, controlled the administration and usually allowed only members of their families or their clientele to represent their territory in the Parliament [Diet]'.[22] The result was that even wealthy nobles in the region could not feel secure unless they could claim 'friendship' with a great lord, usually in the old framework of suzerainty and vassalage. Therefore, in Andrzej Kaminski's view, until as late as 1648, the predominant political system existing in the Ukrainian lands was 'a *de facto* oligarchy'.[23]

This *status quo* was characterised by a noticeable passivity of Ruthenian nobles, above all in the political domain, but also as far as the patronage of church and cultural affairs was concerned. After the state border between them ceased to exist, the Orthodox Ruthenians from Galicia and those from the Ukrainian lands incorporated in Poland after 1569 found that they were quite different in terms of culture, behaviour and, ultimately, mentality. However, it was the Union of Lublin which really launched the process of cultural integration of 'Polish' and 'Lithuanian' Ruthenians. This manifested itself in the fact that practically all the intellectuals at the courts of great lords of Volhynia and the Kievan region late in the sixteenth century came from the Western regions of Ukraine.[24]

Shortly after 1569 the process of assimilation of the upper strata of the Ruthenian population – the princely aristocracy and the nobility of medium wealth – into Polish culture snowballed. This development was fostered by intermarriages. The process did not take place instantly, but developed in stages: from trying to associate oneself with the Polish political nation by adopting the language and life style of the

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[21] See Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine*, p. 10, and Kaminski, 'The *szliachta* of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth', pp. 27, 31. Among the European nations, only Hungary and Bohemia could be compared with Poland in the high proportion of the nobility among the population.

[22] Kaminski, 'The *szliachta* of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth', p. 31; see also Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, pp. 122-124.

[23] Kaminski, 'The *szliachta* of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth', p. 31. An excellent analysis of different strata of the Ukrainian nobility is given in the monograph of Iakovenko *Ukrains'ka shliakhta z kintsia XIV do seredyny XVII st.* On the 'patron-client' relationships between the grand lords and lesser nobles in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries see Sysyn, 'Ukrainian social tensions before the Khmel'nits'kyi's uprising', pp. 64-66.

[24] Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, p. 124.

Polish nobility, to the loss of a sense of belonging to the Ruthenian tradition.[25] This led to the 'secession' of the Ruthenian noble elite, a problem that proved to be one of the central themes in Ukrainian history. As is put by Orest Subtelny, it meant that the Ruthenians were left without the body 'that normally provided political leadership and purpose, patronised culture and education, supported the church and endowed society with a particular sense of ethnopolitical identity'.[26]

The process was largely aided by the Jesuit schools that began to be established in Poland from 1565 onwards, helping to promote the prestige of Catholic education in comparison to the inferiority of contemporary Orthodox schools.[27] By 1608, the Jesuit Order had two provinces in the territory of the Commonwealth: the Polish and the Lithuanian ones.[28] According to the Polish historian Adryan Krzyzanowski, the whole region had been turned into a 'grand Jesuit college'.[29] A succession of Polish kings benevolent to the Jesuits had started with Sigismund August II (r. 1530-1572) and it came to an end only with the last Polish king, Stanislaw August III Poniatowski (r. 1764-1795), and the Jesuits gained considerable support from the Catholic nobility.[30] Moreover, the Jesuits soon managed to win over a great proportion of the Orthodox nobility. In Lucjan Lewitter's view, the fact that

> Roman Catholicism was established as the religion of the vast majority of the White Russian and the Ukrainian nobility... was not brought about by Jesuit intrigue or coercion on the part of the state, but by the indisputable superiority of Polish over Ruthenian culture and by its indispensability to the *szlachta* of those regions as one of the attributes to the Republic's [Polish Commonwealth] governing class, whether on the Vistula or on the Dnieper, where now to be civilised was to be polonised.[31]

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[25] Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine*, p. 35.

[26] O. Subtelny, *Ukraine: A history* (Toronto, 1988), p. 96.

[27] On the state of education among the Orthodox Ruthenians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries see Chapter III. On the Jesuits and their involvement in the business of education in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth see Chapter IV.

[28] A. Savych, *Narysy z istorii kul'turnykh rukhiv na Vkraini ta Bilorusi v XVI-XVIII v.* (Kiev, 1929), p. 73.

[29] A. Krzyzanowski, *Dawna Polska... w dzielach postepujacej ludzkosci skreslona* (Warsaw, 1857), p. 62.

[30] M. Demianovich, 'Iezuity v Zapadnoi Rossii (v 1569-1772 godakh)', *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia*, 8 (1871), 208-209.

[31] L. R. Lewitter, 'Poland, the Ukraine and Russia', *The Slavonic (and East European) Review*, 27 (1948), 169. On the state of affairs in Ruthenian culture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries see Chapter II.

The quoted passage conveys the state of affairs in contemporary Ruthenian society with a sufficient degree of accuracy. As the influence of Polish culture spread among much of the Ruthenian nobility, Orthodoxy, along with the national language and customs, came to be associated primarily with the lower classes. 'As such they became the object of scorn in the eyes of the Polish establishment. Henceforth, ambitious, talented Orthodox youths would constantly be forced to choose between loyalty to their own people and traditions and assimilation into the dominant culture and society'.[32] In fact, they usually opted for the latter.

The demand for religious freedom for the non-Catholic nobility in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was proclaimed by the Confederation of Warsaw under pressure from the Protestant segment of the nobility during the interregnum period between the death of Sigismund II Augustus (r. 1548-1572), the last of the Jagiellons, and the coronation of Henry Valois (subsequently Henry III of France) as King of Poland (1573-1575). This settlement of the Confederation of Warsaw became a part of the so-called 'Henrician Articles' that defined a wide range of rights and privileges granted to the nobility, to which Henry was forced to agree. This set a precedent for the *Pacta Conventa*, personal contracts of the Polish kings with the 'nation'. *Pacta Conventa* expired with the death of a king and had to be renewed by his successor to the throne. Religious tolerance was included among other basic rights granted to the nobility by the state in the person of the king.

2. *The burgher estate and the formation of Orthodox brotherhoods*

The burgher estate existed in the cities of the Galician-Volhynian principality as early as the thirteenth century. Later, under Gediminas, a consistent programme of encouragement for skilled artisans and their Catholic pastors to immigrate and settle in the cities of the Grand Duchy and those controlled by Lithuania was adopted.[33] German settlers were the first to arrive in the cities and to have municipal self-government and

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[32] Subtelny, *Ukraine: A history*, p. 96.
[33] Rowell, *Lithuania ascending*, pp. 76, 204-207, 225-227.

personal privileges conferred on them. Along with land and the exclusive protection of the so-called German (Magdeburg) Law, the newcomers were offered relief from taxation for ten years. By the early fifteenth century most of the cities of Galicia and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were granted the right of Magdeburg Law.[34] Although the development of self-government in the cities of Galicia and eastern parts of Ukraine generally coincide chronologically (the Magdeburg Law was granted to Lutsk, Kremenets, Vladimir and Kiev in the fifteenth century), essential differences can be observed. In most Galician cities Ruthenians constituted only an important minority. At the same time, in ethnic, linguistic and religious terms cities in Volhynia and the Kievan region remained predominantly Ruthenian and Orthodox. An average proportion of artisans in a sixteenth-century Volhynian city was ten per cent; even in a big city like Kiev they made up only 36.5 per cent of the population. [35] This means that in comparison with their Galician and Podolian counterparts, townsmen in the eastern regions of Ukraine had a more traditional life-style, were less touched by the innovations coming from the West, and were generally closer to the rural population.[36]

No special restrictions on the participation of the Orthodox in municipal self-government are known to have existed. Occasional solicitations of religious 'purity' and the 'logical' need to ban the Orthodox from city administration coming from the Catholic Germans and Poles usually simply masked a desire to keep the Ruthenians out of competition for the offices in city magistrates. The Orthodox were never slow in return, promptly dispatching complaints to the authorities and petitioning the king. Natalia Iakovenko concludes that in such cases the king not infrequently supported the Orthodox, ordering that their rights be respected.[37]

Parallel to the establishment of self-governing administration in cities went the foundation of artisans' guilds. Theoretically, as some of the guilds' statutes reflect, only Catholics had the right of membership. However, such a regulation could not be

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[34] Polons'ka-Vasylenko, 'At the dawn of the modern age', p. 62; Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, p. 85.
[35] Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, pp. 105-106.
[36] See Sysyn, 'Ukrainian social tensions before the Khmel'nits'kyi's uprising', pp. 63-64.

implemented easily, for instance, in the multi-ethnical reality of Galician cities. In practice, a certain parity of Catholic and Orthodox representation was usually maintained.[38]

In spite of all this, inter-ethnic and inter-confessional clashes did occur in the cities, and grew especially bitter after the Catholic Reformation movement reached Poland in the mid-1560s. General commotion in places with Orthodox populations as a result of the 1582 calendar reform of Pope Gregory XIII testifies to the deepening of the confessional divisions.[39]

The late sixteenth century witnessed an important phenomenon: the Orthodox lay confraternities or brotherhoods came into prominence in the cities. Initially, they were affiliated with individual parish churches and maintained them; they arranged parish feasts and ritual dinners for the members, collected money, and helped the poor and the sick. The controversial question of the origin and historical tradition of the brotherhoods cannot be discussed here at length.[40] It is, however, necessary to make a few remarks about them.

Close similarities between Western confraternities and their Ruthenian counterparts have long attracted the attention of historians. According to Iaroslav Isaievych, 'there can be no doubt that the Western confraternities and guilds served as models for their East European [i. e. Ukrainian] counterparts'.[41] However, as is usual with his work, when speaking about Ukraine Isaievych supports his argument with evidence that relates to western regions of Ukraine, coinciding with the area exclusively under Polish control between the 1340s and 1569. In this way, Isaievych basically

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[37] Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, pp. 86-87.
[38] Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, p. 86.
[39] For details see Ulianovs'kyi, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, II (Kiev, 1994), pp. 160-162; also O. Kryzhanovs'kyi, and S. Plokhii, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, III (Kiev, 1994), pp. 20-21.
[40] For further reference see I. Isaievych, *Bratstva ta ikh rol' v rozvytku ukrains'koi kul'tury* (Kiev, 1966); also Ulianovs'kyi, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, I, pp. 198-202. For a concise account on the brotherhoods see *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, I, ed. V. Kubijovych (Toronto, 1985), pp. 303-306.
[41] I. Isaievych, 'Confraternities of laymen in early modern Ukraine and Belarus', *Belarus, Lithuania, Poland, Ukraine: The foundations of historical and cultural traditions in East Central Europe* (Lublin, 1994), p. 181.

disregards the fact that, for instance, direct contacts of merchants and artisans of Kiev with foreigners were quite negligible in comparison with their counterparts in Lvov. In reality, the development of brotherhoods was not simultaneous in different parts of Ukraine, but had a gradual character.

Having begun as mostly charitable organisations, Orthodox brotherhoods assumed a political as well as an important cultural role as protectors of Orthodoxy. This process was launched by the burghers of Lvov in the 1580s; only relatively slowly did it move eastward, and it did not reach Kiev earlier than 1615. It is noteworthy that such an important religious centre as Kiev did not have a lay confraternity established earlier. One of the reasons may have been that, unlike Lvov, the Orthodox population at Kiev was in the majority, and this rendered the foundation of a brotherhood, an essentially defensive organisation in religious terms, less imperative. The relative backwardness of the Kievan burghers in comparison with their counterparts in Galicia may serve as yet another explanation. It is indicative how the social composition of brotherhoods varied from Lvov to Kiev. The membership of the clergy in the Lvov Confraternity was only nominal or 'honorary', and real authority was exercised by the burghers.[42] At the same time, when a brotherhood was eventually established in Kiev, it was the clergy and not the burghers who held the upper hand. It is also characteristic that all the lay brotherhoods founded after the Lvov Confraternity took its statute of 1586 as an example for their own bylaws.[43]

In 1586, the Lvov Brotherhood was granted the right of *stauropegion*, which exempted it from the jurisdiction of both the metropolitan of Kiev and the local bishop, placing it directly under the nominal authority of the patriarch of Constantinople. In time the right of *stauropegion* was granted to many other confraternities.[44] This development created continual friction between the higher clergy and the brotherhoods. The brotherhoods interfered with the competence of bishops attempting to control the morals of the higher clergy, whose 'Polish ways' and Catholic sympathies aroused

[42] Ulianovs'kyi, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, I, pp. 206-207.
[43] Ulianovs'kyi, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, I, p. 206.

suspicion among their flocks.[45] The organisation of schools and publishing were most important kinds of cultural activity of Orthodox confraternities in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.[46]

3. *The Orthodox clergy*

From the fifteenth through the seventeenth century, the clergy constituted about ten per cent of the Orthodox population of the Ruthenian lands.[47] The Orthodox churchmen traditionally fall into two major categories: secular or 'white' clergy serving as priests and deacons in parish churches, and the monastic or 'black' clergy existing in varied capacities – from simple monks to the higher church hierarchs. The 'white' priests constituted the majority of the Orthodox churchmen in the cities and in the rural areas alike.[48] Due to the wide range of possibilities open to the 'black' clergy, contrasting sharply with the basically negligible prospects of upward mobility among the 'white' clergy, the two categories differed considerably in terms of social composition.

The right of patronage was widely spread and extensively exercised in Poland and Lithuania. It included the right of protection over churches and monasteries and providing them with the necessary means (*jus patronatus*); the right of granting churches and monasteries to chosen candidates (*jus donandi*); the right to nominate candidates for the church offices (*jus praebendi, jus presentationis*); and a limited right to control and administer justice over the churchmen and ecclesiastical institutions.[49] The institution of patronage is thought to have originated from the full right of a land-owner to control everything that was situated and everyone who lived within his domain. In this way, all the churches and monasteries in the lands belonging

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[44] Isaievych, 'Confraternities of laymen in early modern Ukraine and Belarus', pp. 182-183.
[45] See Ulianovs'kyi, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, I, pp. 210-213.
[46] On the publishing activity of brotherhoods see Chapter II; on the brotherhood schools see Chapter III.
[47] Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, V, pp. 211-212. It should be noted, however, that this figure includes not only the 'white' and the 'black' clergy, but also the families of parish priests.
[48] Ulianovs'kyi, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, I, p. 184.
[49] Savych, *Narysy z istorii kul'turnykh rukhiv na Vkraini ta Bilorusi*, p. 130.

to the Crown came to be subjected to the king, and all the appointments to the higher offices depended on his benevolence to a candidate. Likewise, church institutions in private domains came under the control of local nobles. Theoretically, churches, monasteries and ecclesiastical offices could not be regarded as the patrons' property; rather, they were supposed to defend and give support to the church. However, in many cases the idea of patronage took the reverse form – not so much the patrons sponsoring the church as church properties helping to sustain their patrons.[50] Church offices and institutions were regarded, in effect, as 'commodities': they could be bought, sold, pawned, and even subject to inheritance. This situation involved corruption and incessant conflicts between the king, the landlords, and church hierarchy. Thus, for instance, priests usually bought their parishes from the nobles who exercised the right of patronage over a given church; later those parishes could be inherited by the priest's sons or next of kin.[51]

Monastic status opened up a whole range of opportunities for personal promotion, especially for the nobles. The right of patronage from the king or aristocracy made it easier for an ambitious noble to take an important office in the church should he decide on an ecclesiastical career. As a result, the supremacy of the metropolitan of Kiev, officially the highest ecclesiastic authority in the Ruthenian lands, was not infrequently bypassed in the appointment of bishops. The candidates were prepared heavily to bribe the patrons, thus securing a significant income for themselves in the future. As often as not, the patrons tended to ignore some very serious obstacles, such as the fact that a candidate was a secular person, or that he had been married twice before he took his monastic vows. The appointment of Peter Mohyla, still a layman, as archimandrite of the Kiev Caves Monastery probably represents just one of many such cases. He openly confessed later that a great part of his success was to be attributed to

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[50] Ulianovs'kyi, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, I, pp. 174-175.
[51] Ulianovs'kyi, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, I, p. 187; for more details see Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, V, pp. 281-287.

the king's benevolence as well as to 'lobbying' on the part of his aristocratic Polish relations.[52]

4. *Ukrainian Cossacks – a new layer of the Ruthenian society*

The Cossacks are thought to have appeared in the steppes of southern Ukraine around the fifteenth century.[53] Their social composition was never homogeneous, encompassing, as it were, representatives of practically all strata of contemporary Ruthenian society.[54] The men were grouped in bands, learning the methods of fighting in the steppes from the Tatars, and they became the Tatars' most dangerous enemy. The Cossacks built fortified settlements along the Dnieper river and operated a mobile fleet to attack their enemies from the sea. It is noteworthy that having come into existence largely as a means of self-preservation, the Cossacks' struggle against the Tatars soon came to be regarded as an important social function, the defence of Christianity. In popular opinion, such a function usually raises its performers to the status of heroic fighters against the infidels, making them almost semi-legendary people. Interestingly, later the Cossacks' wars against the Poles were also regarded as strife against the 'infidels' who distorted 'true' Christianity and oppressed the faithful.

Toughened by the conditions of their existence, the Cossacks presented a picked force of self-reliant and reckless warriors. From about the mid-sixteenth century, they began to be employed as mercenaries by different powers: by the

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[52] For more details see Chapter V, n. 45.

[53] An abundance of information about the Cossacks is found in the fundamental three-volume monograph of D. Iavornyts'kyi, entitled *Istoriia zaporoz'kykh kozakiv* (Kiev, 1990-1991). Two volumes of Hrushevs'kyi's fundamental history of Ukraine are dedicated to the history of the Cossacks before the Khmel'nyts'ky's uprising: *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, VII-VIII (New York, 1956). See also Hrushevs'kyi, *Ocherk istorii ukrainskogo naroda*, pp. 152-178; I. Kryp'iakevych, *Istoriia Ukrainy* (Lvov, 1990), pp. 155-169; Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, pp. 108-118, 153-167 et sqq. An English-language monograph of Linda Gordon, entitled *Cossack rebellions: Social turmoil in the sixteenth-century Ukraine* (New York, 1983), presents the combination of a significant lack of understanding of the subject in general, and populist prejudices mainly picked up from nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Russian and Ukrainian nationalistic historiography.

[54] There exist no less than nine theories on the origins of the Cossacks. These theories range from regarding them as separate branches of some Turkic tribes (the Khazars, the Circassians or the Tatars) to considering them as fugitive serfs on the run from increasing economic oppression in Poland and Lithuania, and probably not infrequently also from legal persecution for criminal offences: Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, p. 111.

Lithuanians against the Tatars, by the Tatars or the Muscovites against the Poles, and by the Poles against Sweden, Turkey or Muscovy. However, the Cossacks' preoccupation with taking booty and their uncertain loyalties made them unpredictable and dangerous for all their temporary allies.[55]

The Cossacks' devastation of the Crimea and Turkey enraged the Muslim leaders and provoked destructive raids in return, which fell heavily on the civil population of Poland, Lithuania and Ukraine alike, rather than affecting the mobile and elusive Cossack forces. Attempts of the Polish kings to pacify the Cossacks proved only partially successful. The first attempt was undertaken by King Sigismund II. In 1568, he dispatched a letter addressed directly to 'his subjects the Cossacks', in which he warned them against raiding Tatar territory, but suggested that the Cossacks could be 'officially' employed to guard the borders of Poland and Lithuania instead. The first regiment of 300 Cossacks was formed in 1570.[56] In 1578, King Stephen Bathory created a register of 500 'royal' Cossacks. They took an oath of allegiance, served under their own commander (*hetman*), and were to receive a fixed annual fee. The Cossack regiment was used in Bathory's wars against Muscovy, but they were strictly forbidden to attack the Turks and the Tatars. As the Cossacks paid little heed to such prohibitions, Bathory in return did not hesitate to execute their leaders.[57]

Late in the sixteenth century the number of the so-called 'registered' Cossacks steadily increased to reach about 6,000 by 1600.[58] During the Moscow campaign of 1611-1613, the register was extended to include as many as 30,000 Cossacks. The 'unregistered' Cossacks were also widely employed by the Commonwealth in the wars waged against Sweden, Muscovy and Turkey in the first decades of the seventeenth century. Thus, 50,000 Cossacks were enrolled in the army that laid siege to Smolensk

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[55] See Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, pp. 117-118, 153-160.
[56] Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, p. 153.
[57] Davis, *God's playground*, I, p. 426.
[58] Hrushevs'kyi, *Ocherk istorii ukrainskogo naroda*, pp. 157-158.

in 1609, and it was largely due to the 40,000 Cossacks of Hetman Sahaidachnyi that the powerful Turkish army was defeated at the battle of Chocim in 1621.[59]

Being an attempt to regulate the relationship of the Cossacks with the state, the institution of the Cossack register caused discontent both among the nobility who opposed the ennoblement of the Cossack leaders, and on the part of the rank-and-file Cossacks who, remaining outside the register, were officially regarded as peasants subject to feudal obligations. As a result, the Cossacks were far from unanimous in their attitude to the Polish regime. The upper layer of the Cossacks were generally interested in reaching a compromise, whereas the unprivileged majority remained recalcitrant.[60] Problems created by the attempts to bring unruly Cossacks under the control of the Commonwealth authorities would bear bitter fruit to both parties by the mid-seventeenth century.

In the 1610s and 1620s, the Cossacks began to assume a distinctive political role as defenders of Orthodoxy. It was largely due to their support that the Orthodox church hierarchy, abolished in 1596 after the 'union of churches', was re-established in 1620 by Patriarch Theophanes III of Jerusalem (1606-1644).[61] The newly-restored hierarchy was placed under the protection of the Cossacks.[62] The same year the Cossack Hetman Peter Sahaidachnyi joined the Kiev Brotherhood 'together with all his host', and pledged to support the Brotherhood and its school to the end of his life.[63] Later, during the interregnum period following the death of King Sigismund III in

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[59] Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, p. 160.

[60] Davis, *God's playground*, I, p. 446.

[61] Patriarch Theophanes passed through the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on his way back from Moscow, where he had collected alms: Thomson, 'Melety Smotritsky i uniia s Rimom', p. 184. Apparently, the Cossacks had to apply their specific 'art of persuasion', falling just short of coercion, to the patriarch before he eventually gave his consent to consecrate new bishops for the Orthodox Ruthenians who had not joined the Union with Rome. The Cossacks supposedly addressed him with these words: 'You would be neither a patriarch, nor a good pastor [to your flock], nor a deputy of Christ and the Apostles, unless you consecrated the metropolitan and bishops for us now that you have found us persecuted and forlorn; moreover, we are much afraid lest some wild beast might kill you on your way', Kryzhanovs'kyi, Plokhii, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, III, p. 59. For more about the church union concluded at Brest in 1596 see later in this chapter.

[62] Kryzhanovs'kyi, Plokhii, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, III, p. 59.

[63] In 1622, dying of the wound he had received at the battle of Chocim, Sahaidachnyi divided a significant part of his possessions between the Kiev, Lvov and Lutsk brotherhood schools: Khizhniak, *Kievskaia akademiia*, p. 44.

1632, the Cossacks warned the Polish authorities that 'unless the rights of the Orthodox were respected, the loyalty of the Cossacks could not be granted'.[64] One other notable event, connected with the Cossacks' growing awareness of their Orthodox identity took place in 1632, when they decided to dismiss all their Catholic fellows, and ordered them to instantly leave the army.[65] Such was the transformation of a people of whom a contemporary, the Orthodox magnate Adam Kysil, said they did not know any religion at all (*religionis nullius*).[66]

The incorporation of the Ukrainian lands into Poland brought about not only a significant growth in territory and consequent economic benefits, but also serious social and political problems. One of the most difficult issues was that such an important and increasingly influential group of the Ukrainian population as the Cossacks had no place in the established social structure of the Commonwealth. However, in Frank Sysyn's view, 'the political and social conflicts might have been resolved had it not been for overlapping tensions involving religious, cultural and national issues'.[67] The Cossacks' involvement in religious matters may have been seen as a step in the right direction by the Orthodox community. The Union of Brest had served to shake the confessional balance in the Commonwealth by endangering the principle of religious tolerance. From the Orthodox viewpoint, their rights were deliberately violated by the Catholic state. The Cossacks, themselves pressed by the state that tried to circumscribe their mayhem activities, took sides with the Orthodox, and thus determined their own identity. In this way, the popular image of the Cossacks as Christian warriors interlocked in an endless struggle with the 'infidels' of all sorts, was greatly strengthened. By the 1630s the new identity was fully established and, in turn, contributed to the formation of the Cossacks' politics towards the state and the church. In the circumstances when the

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[64] Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla i ego spodvizhniki*, I, Appendices, p. 405. For the texts of letters dispatched by the Cossacks to Polish authorities at that time see ibid., pp. 403-405, 450-453. For more about the interregnum of 1632 see Chapter V.

[65] Iavornyts'kyi, *Istoriia zaporoz'kykh kozakiv*, I (Kiev, 1990), p. 264. Every kind of self-identification begins when essential differences that divide 'us' and 'them' are instituted.

[66] Iavornyts'kyi, *Istoriia zaporoz'kykh kozakiv*, I, p. 262.

noble elite largely ceased to perform its traditional function of providing political and cultural leadership for society, the representatives of other estates – the burghers, the clergy, and the top stratum of the Cossacks – assumed this role.[68]

5. *Orthodox Church in Ruthenia before the reforms of Metropolitan Peter Mohyla*

After the transfer of the seat of the Kievan metropolitan from the territory controlled by the Tatars to the north in 1299, the state of church affairs among the East Slavs may be characterised as essentially chaotic. The main reason for this was the conflict of loyalties in the Orthodox Church hierarchy, divided by its allegiance to the patriarch of Constantinople, on the one hand, and its subjection to the local secular rulers, on the other hand. Regarding church affairs as a most important part of their policies, the princes of Kiev, Moscow and Tver and those of the Galician-Volhynian state, in the first place, and later the grand princes of Lithuania, became embroiled in endless conflicts between themselves and within the hierarchy itself. By 1300, Kiev lost much of its significance as the centre of ecclesiastical authority for the East Slavs, and the mention of the name of the city in the title of Kievan metropolitans became a mere symbol of past glory, the metropolitans themselves usually residing in Moscow. However, the see of the Kievan metropolitan remained the highest in the Orthodox Church, being nominally in control of the ecclesiastical affairs of several states, which never ceased confronting each other over matters of a secular nature.[69]

In Rowell's opinion, Roman Catholic sees and dioceses began to be established and engaged in missionary activity throughout the Ukrainian lands as early as the

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[67] Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine*, p. 26. For a general overview of the social structure existing in the Ukrainian lands in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries see Sysyn's article 'Ukrainian social tensions before the Khmel'nyts'kyi's uprising', pp. 52-70.

[68] I. Kryp'iakevych, 'L'vivska Rus' v pershii polovyni XVI viku', *Zapysky naukovogo tovarystva imeni T. G. Shevchenka*, 79 (Lvov, 1907), 42-43.

[69] On this vast topic see, for instance, Rowell, *Lithuania ascending*, pp. 149-188; and J. Fennell, *A history of the Russian Church to 1448* (London, 1995), esp. pp. 132-169 and 218-236. On the significance of the metropolitanate of Kiev see Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the rise of Russia*, pp. 77-80; for a Byzantine vision of the social and political functions of the metropolitanate of Russia see an important quotation from the ordinances of the 1389 Patriarchal Synod in Constantinople ibid., pp. 76-76.

1320s.[70] However, Vasily Ulianovs'kyi argues that it was not before 1375, when Pope Gregory XI issued the bull *Debitum pastoralis officii*, that the first four Catholic dioceses were established in Galicia.[71]

The strife and intrigues aimed at keeping the Kievan metropolitan see in Moscow, in the first place, and the creation of a separate ecclesiastical unit, independent of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, in the second place, arose in the first half of the thirteenth century and did not come to an end before the mid-fifteenth century.[72] The appointment of Iona, the first metropolitan of Moscow not to be consecrated by the patriarch of Constantinople, began a *de facto* autocephaly of the Muscovite church in 1448.[73] From 1460, mention of Kiev was dropped from the title of the Muscovite metropolitan. This development had beneficial consequences for church life in Ruthenia, since the jurisdiction of the Kievan metropolitan now extended over a smaller proportion of the East Slavonic lands, and therefore his authority became more palpable.[74]

In 1453, the Turks conquered Constantinople, and thus brought the seat of its patriarch, the ecclesiastical superior of the Orthodox Church in Ruthenia, under the control of a Muslim power. As a result, the Byzantine Orthodox Church had to be hyper-cautious in its relations with Rome, having to conform with the political interests of the Ottoman Empire. Consequently, the ties between the Kievan metropolitanate and Rome also grew weaker.[75]

The problem of the influence of the Protestant on the Orthodox church in Ruthenia is a broad and complex one. The more traditional view in historiography is that the penetration of Protestantism into the Ukrainian lands, in particular, was quite negligible, and that it could only find adherents among the previously Catholicised

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[70] See Rowell, *Lithuania ascending*, pp. 216-217.
[71] Ulianovs'kyi, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, II, p. 107.
[72] Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the rise of Russia*, pp. 200-205, 214-221.
[73] Fennell, *A history of the Russian Church to 1448*, p. 188; Ulianovs'kyi, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, I, p. 29-31.
[74] N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko, 'The Ukrainian church in the Lithuanian-Polish realm and the Kozak Hetman State', *Ukraine: A concise encyclopaedia*, II (Toronto, 1971), p. 145.
[75] See Polons'ka-Vasylenko, 'The Ukrainian church in the Lithuanian-Polish realm', p. 146

Ruthenian nobility.[76] Traces of Protestantism have been discerned in the brotherhood movement.[77] A number of authors emphasise the importance of Protestant trends to the development of Ukrainian culture, especially after the Union of Brest.[78] Apparently, the impact of Protestantism on the Ruthenians manifested itself not as much in the actual conversion of the faithful as in the awakening of the Orthodox to the problems within their church, such as corruption of the bishops, lack of education among the priests and general cultural decline. The multifarious experience of dealing with these problems acquired by the Protestants provided the Orthodox with an example to follow. Characteristically, Protestant ideas were especially popular among the laity, whereas the higher Orthodox clergy were *en masse* hostile to Protestantism.

The 1439 Union of Florence was intended to provide a serious opportunity for reconciliation between the Eastern and the Western churches. Substantial efforts were made to compromise on the most controversial issues of ritual and dogma that divided the two churches. The Act of Union stated that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father *through* the Son (a compromise formula, trying carefully to combine the Latin doctrine about the procession of the Holy Spirit both from the Father *and* the Son with that of the Eastern Church that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father *only*); that during communion the priest may use unleavened or leavened bread, according to the traditions of his own church; it also acknowledged the doctrine of Purgatory and the primacy of the pope.[79] However, only a few people, both from among the ecclesiastics

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[76] See Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, VI (New York, 1955), pp. 420-435.

[77] See I. Paslavs'kyi, *Z istorii rozvytku filosofs'kykh idei na Ukraini v kintsi XVI – pershii tretyni XVII st.* (Kiev, 1984), pp. 64-65; M. Kashuba et al., *Filosofiia Vidrodzhennia na Ukraini* (Kiev, 1990), pp. 80-81.

[78] See Savych, *Narysy istorii kul'turnykh rukhiv na Vkraini ta Bilorusi*, pp. 17-62. It is noteworthy that Protestant ideas not only came to the Ukrainian lands from the West, but also were brought by the so-called 'Orthodox heretics', fleeing from persecution in Muscovy – the adherents of the 'Jewish heresy' (*eres' zhidovstvuiushchikh*) active in Novgorod and Moscow in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, and the disciples of Feodosy Kosoi prominent in Lithuania in the 1560s: Ulianovs'kyi, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, II, pp. 174-186.

[79] '...Ex Patre per Filium procedere Spiritum sanctum, ac hanc intelligentiam tendit; ut per hoc significetur, Filium quoque esse secundum Graecos quidem causam, secundum Latinos vero principium subsistentiae Spiritus sancti, sicut et Patrem. Item, in azymo sive fermentato pane triticeo, corpus Christi veraciter consici; sarcedotesque in altero ipsum domini corpus conficere debere, unumquemque scilicet juxta suae ecclesiae, sive occidentalis, sive orientalis consuetudinum. Item, si vere poenitentes

and the laymen, were prepared to embrace that opportunity. All the rest either remained indifferent or were openly hostile to the Union and its promoters. Isidore, the Metropolitan of Kiev, one of the champions of compromise between the churches, who signed the Union Act on behalf of the Ruthenian Church, was imprisoned in Moscow soon after his arrival. He was treated as a 'heretic' and 'traitor', and would have faced an uncertain future, had he not fled to Lithuania and later to Rome. The notion of a universal union of churches appeared to be too radical for Catholics and Orthodox alike. The idea of the equality of the two churches was generally foreign to the Roman Catholic clergy, and anyway they did not recognise the Union because it was proclaimed by the council under the direction of Pope Eugene IV at a time when Poland and Lithuania recognised the Basle Anti-Pope Felix V. The Orthodox, for their part, did not attend services conducted by Isidore, thus demonstrating their attitude to the Union and to the metropolitan himself.[80]

The hundred years or so between the fall of Constantinople and the mid-sixteenth century was characterised by a deplorable state of affairs within the Orthodox Church, providing examples of moral degradation among the bishops combined with a generally poor level of education among the priests. In 1473, 1476, and 1500, several inconclusive attempts at the renewal of the union with Rome were undertaken.[81] It was the beginning of the Catholic Reformation that ultimately woke up the more conscientious part of the Orthodox to the degradation of their church.

At the Council of Trent (1544-1563) the Union of Florence was once again referred to as a precedent for possible compromise between the two churches. Two variants of union were worked out between the 1560s and 1590. The so-called

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in Dei caritate decesserint, antequam dignis poenitentiae fructibus de commissis satisfecerint et omissis, eorum animas poenis purgatoriis post mortem purgari... Item... Romanorum pontificem in universum orbem tenere primatum, et ipsum pontificem Romanum... totiusque ecclesiae caput et omnium Christianorum patrem ac doctorem existere...': *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova, et amplissima collectio*, ed. J. D. Mansi, XXXI (Venice, 1798), cols. 1030-1031.

[80] On Metropolitan Isidore and his participation in the Union of Florence see Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, V, pp. 519-526; J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 358-364; Fennell, *A history of the Russian Church to 1448*, pp. 170-183; and I. Peleshenko, 'Metropolitan Isidore and the Union of Florence', *The Ukrainian Review*, 44, no. 2 (1997), 32-50.

'universal' union with Rome would have embraced all the branches of the Eastern Church, including the patriarchates of Constantinople and Moscow, and the Metropolitanate of Kiev. Among the adherents of such a union was Prince Vasily (Konstantin) Ostrozhsky, one of the most influential Ruthenian figures of the time. In 1583-1584, he discussed the possibility of a church union with the representatives of Pope Gregory XIII. In 1585, Ostrozhsky wrote to the pope: 'I do not wish anything else more than I wish that unity and concord may establish themselves throughout the Christian world, and I would not hesitate to give my life away should it be necessary in order to accomplish such a godly task'.[82]

The less ambitious 'regional' variant of union assumed that for the time being only the Ruthenian Church was to be united with the Apostolic See, having acknowledged the primacy of the pope.[83] Apparently, the idea of 'universal' union proved absolutely unrealistic, given the fact that the project involved too many parties, pursuing mutually unacceptable policies (such as Poland, Muscovy and the Ottoman Porte). Therefore, between 1590 and 1594, a group of Orthodox Ruthenian bishops set forth a project of 'regional' union with Rome, which resulted in the so-called *Torchin Articles*.[84] The final charter stated that the Orthodox rite was to be preserved unchanged; jurisdiction over the Orthodox Church passed from the patriarch of Constantinople to the pope; the Orthodox were henceforth entitled to elect their bishops themselves, but the metropolitan was to be approved by the pope; the Orthodox bishops were to obtain the right to sit in the Senate, and the quota of their representation was to equal that of their Catholic counterparts; all the monasteries, churches and

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[81] Ulianovs'kyi, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, I, pp. 46-49, 56-58; on that period see O. Halecki, *From Florence to Brest (1439-1596)* (Rome, 1958), pp. 99-122.

[82] Quoted in Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, pp. 127-128; also see Kryzhanovs'kyi, Plokhii, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, III, p. 19.

[83] Opinions about the two variants of church union vary even nowadays. For instance, the modern Jesuit scholar Krajcar has classified the Jesuit Peter Skarga's project of a regional union, actually the very terms, upon which the Union of Brest was eventually concluded, as a 'disappointing' piece of 'abstract thinking', J. Krajcar, 'Jesuits and the genesis of the Union of Brest', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 44 (1978), 149.

[84] Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, pp. 274-275. For a concise survey of church affairs in Ruthenia that led to the genesis of the Union of Brest see B. Gudziak, 'Istoriia vidokremelennia: Kyivs'ka

confraternities of laymen of the Orthodox rite were to be subjected directly to the bishops. The final version of the document, unanimously approved by the Synod of the Orthodox Church hierarchs held in Brest in June 1595 and later presented to the Pope Clement VIII, amounted to 33 articles altogether.[85]

Ostrozhsky fiercely opposed the bishops' project.[86] It was largely due to his efforts, his wealth and the importance of his princely authority, supported by the anti-union propaganda of brotherhoods, that a mighty wave of hostility rose among the Orthodox and made the union unacceptable to the majority of the population.[87] At the last moment, two Orthodox hierarchs, Gedeon Balaban, the bishop of Lvov, and Mikhail Kopystensky, the bishop of Peremyshl, changed their minds and took sides with Ostrozhsky. At the Synod of Brest that took place in October 1596, the Uniate party, consisting of the metropolitan and five Orthodox hierarchs and supported by four Jesuits, two senators, and three Catholic bishops, proclaimed the conclusion of union. Its main characteristic was that as a regional union it could not be 'concluded according to the pattern of Florence as an agreement between two partners, but was a unilateral act – the Ruthenian Church was received into the communion of the Roman Church'.[88] The alternative synod was organised by the Orthodox and attended by Ostrozhsky himself, three representatives of the Constantinopolitan patriarch, about two hundred Orthodox churchmen, abbots and proto-priests, and the representatives of *szliachta*.[89] With the hierarchy and the flock at loggerheads with one another, the Orthodox Church was basically torn apart.[90] The attempt at the reconciliation of religious contradictions in

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mytropoliia, Tsargorods'kyj patriarkhat i geneza Beresteis'koi unii', *Kovcheh*, 1 (Lvov, 1993), pp. 1-22.

[85] For Polish and Latin texts of that document see *Documenta Unionis Brestensis eiusque auctorum*, ed. A. G. Welykyj (Rome, 1970), pp. 61-75.

[86] Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, pp. 295, 299-300. Halecki attributes a special hostility which Ostrozhsky developed towards Rome in the 1590s to his leanings to Calvinism at that time: see Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, pp. 247, 284.

[87] Kryzhanovs'kyi, Plokhii, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, III, pp. 41-42.

[88] Krajcar, 'Jesuits and the genesis of the Union of Brest', 149-150.

[89] Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, p. 130; Kryzhanovs'kyi, Plokhii, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, III, pp. 44-48.

[90] On the social composition of the Uniate Church believers in the first half of the seventeenth century see A. Dylagowa, *Dzieje Unij Brzeskiej* (Warsaw, 1996), pp. 35-36, and M. Dovbyshchenko,

the Polish Commonwealth and at modernising the Orthodox Church, failed, causing general disillusionment.

Undoubtedly, the Jesuits' participation in literary religious controversy, their politicking, and their persistence were instrumental in the forging of the Union of Brest. At the same time, to argue that the Union was the result of a 'Jesuit plot' is a mistake.[91] Firstly, there was no need for the Jesuits to 'plot': their mission and concrete political circumstances within and without the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth made it impossible for them to exclude themselves from the process. Secondly, the Union would have been impossible had not several parties, the king, the nobility, the Jesuits, and the Orthodox Church hierarchy, combined their efforts.[92] Referring to primary sources, Ulianovs'kyi concludes that it was not before 1595 that the Jesuits began to participate in the immediate preparations for the Union of Brest.[93]

By a decree issued in December 1596, the establishment of the United Church was recognised by King Sigismund III of Poland; significant privileges were promised. A paradoxical situation followed in that the Orthodox Church ceased to exist in the eyes of the Polish state, for without the king's authorisation all new appointments were illegal.[94] The question of privileges for the newly-established church seemed to have a very simple solution: churches and properties were forfeited from the Orthodox and transferred to the Uniates. The promise of equality with the Roman Catholic clergy, however, remained a dead letter.

'Ukrains'kyi nobilitet Volyni pershoi polovyny XVII st.', *Proseminarii: Medievistyka, istoriia tserkvy, nauky i kul'tury*, 1 (Kiev, 1997), pp. 52-64.

[91] Even some Uniate and Catholic historians tended to overestimate the Jesuits' role in the preparation and realisation of the Union of Brest: see for instance M. Koialovich, *Litovskaia tserkovnaia uniia*, I (St. Petersburg, 1859), pp. 49-50, 61, 69; and S. Zaleski, *Jezuici w Polsce*, I, 2 (Lvov, 1900), pp. 548-555. For Jesuit participation in the sixteenth-century literary religious controversy see Chapter II.

[92] For a balanced view on the Jesuit participation in the Union of Brest see Ulianovs'kyi, *Istoriia tserkvy ta relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, II, pp. 154-160.

[93] Ulianovs'kyi, *Istoriia tserkvy ta relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, II, p. 160. See also Krajcar, 'Jesuits and the genesis of the Union of Brest', 131-153. However, Krajcar tends to underestimate the Jesuit effort, presenting them as something of daydreamers, altogether denying them a political insight, and arguing that the Union was almost exclusively the result of 'the courage and toils of the Ruthenian hierarchy'.

[94] Kryzhanovs'kyi, Plokhii, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, III, p. 47.

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[94] Kryzhanovs'kyi, Plokhii, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, III, p. 47.

The Latin clergy looked down on the Uniates, and the Orthodox were openly hostile to them.[95] There exist numerous examples of violence against the Uniate hierarchs and clergymen: dozens of them were murdered during the first thirty years after the conclusion of the Union. Uniate bishops, in turn, not infrequently resorted to coercion.[96] The situation as a whole amounted to religious civil war. According to an oft-quoted contemporary expression, 'Rus' was destroying Rus''.[97] Having realised the misgivings of the affiliation with the Union, some of its followers tried to re-convert to Catholicism. To prevent this, Pope Urban VIII issued a decree prohibiting transfers from the Uniate to the Latin rite, in 1624.[98] However, both the Polish clergy and the king himself seemed to pay little heed to the prohibition, obviously encouraging such conversions.[99]

After 1610, only one Orthodox bishop, Ieremiia Tissarovsky of Lvov, remained in all of Ukraine.[100] It was not before 1620 that a new Orthodox hierarchy was consecrated by Patriarch Theophanes.[101] However, Metropolitan Job Boretsky and the five bishops appointed by Theophanes were not recognised by the king; some of the bishops were unable to go and live in their dioceses and had to stay permanently in Kiev under the protection of the Cossacks, fearing persecution.[102]

The first documented attempt at the reconciliation of the two 'Greek' churches existing within the Commonwealth was made in 1623, when a special commission, created by the Diet suggested that a joint synod of the Uniate and the Orthodox Churches could be held in order to try and find a compromise. However, the Orthodox hierarchs declined the proposition under the pretext that such a synod and the ensuing

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[95] On the attitude of the Polish Catholic church to the Uniates see S. Senyk, 'Ukrains'ka tserkva v XVII st.', *Kovcheh*, 1, pp. 61-63

[96] Kryzhanovs'kyi, Plokhii, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, III, pp. 51, 66.

[97] See Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, pp. 135-137.

[98] Senyk, 'Ukrains'ka tserkva v XVII st.', p. 62; Kryzhanovs'kyi, Plokhii, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, III, p. 56.

[99] Polons'ka-Vasylenko, 'The Ukrainian church in the Lithuanian-Polish realm', p. 151.

[100] Kryzhanovs'kyi, Plokhii, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, III, p. 57.

[101] Kryzhanovs'kyi, Plokhii, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, III, p. 60. For more details about Theophanes and the role of the Cossacks in the restoration of the Orthodox hierarchy see above in this chapter.

discussion on the questions of dogma could be held only under the aegis of the patriarch of Constantinople. At the same time, the representatives of both the Uniate and the Orthodox parties began contemplating the idea of a separate Kievan patriarchate, created after the example of Moscow and re-uniting the divided churches under the nominal jurisdiction of the pope.[103] However, the murder of Josaphat Kuntsevich, the Uniate Archbishop of Polotsk, in November 1623, and the anti-Orthodox repression that followed halted this development.[104]

In 1626, King Sigismund III expressed the wish that a joint synod of both churches be held, having fixed the precise date, 26 September of the same year, and the place, the town of Kobrin. The Orthodox ignored the suggestion, and their representatives did not even turn up in Kobrin.[105] The two subsequent attempts at finding common ground, undertaken in 1627-1628 and 1629, brought no material signs of a possible *rapprochement*.[106]

The initiative for the next attempt at religious reconciliation came from a secular person, Prince Alexander Sangushko, a Catholic, in 1635, and was supported by King Wladyslaw IV. Negotiations held by Sangushko's representative in Rome proved unsuccessful, since this time the Apostolic See did not seem to be in favour of the idea of joint patriarchate, putting forward various objections to the project.[107]

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[102] Polons'ka-Vasylenko, 'The Ukrainian church in the Lithuanian-Polish realm', p. 150; Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, p. 143.

[103] For a concise overview of the development of the idea of a separate Ruthenian patriarchate see J. Krajcar, 'The Ruthenian patriarchate: Some remarks on the project for the establishment in the 17th century', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 30 (1964), 65-84.

[104] Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, pp. 83-89; A. Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov* (Kiev, 1997), pp. 113-114.

[105] Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, pp. 89-92; Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, p. 114.

[106] See Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, pp. 92, 204-225; Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, pp. 114-124.

[107] See Krajcar, 'The Ruthenian Patriarchate', 82-83; also Kryzhanovs'kyi, Plokhii, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, III, pp. 68-69; Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, pp. 124-127. On the 1645 project of the union of churches attributed to Peter Mohyla see Chapter V.

Chapter II

Intellectual development of the Ukrainian lands: the aspect of book culture (the state of affairs by the 1630s)

What is now known as the cultural history of the East Slavs may well be regarded as a succession of extensive borrowings from several sources of great authority and equally great vitality. The impact of Byzantine civilisation after the adoption of Christianity in 988 and the shift towards Western intellectual trends in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can serve as the most striking, yet by no means the only examples of such large-scale cultural 'appropriations'.

1. *Cultural interaction with Byzantium*

In his book presenting a general outline of the history of Russia, George Vernadsky asserted: 'Culturally they [the East Slavs] were the heirs of Byzantium'.[1] In terms of literary borrowings, in particular, it is possible to speak about two principal stages in which translated Byzantine literature was introduced to Rus'. The first took place in the eleventh century; the second – in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[2]

As is pointed out by Francis Thomson: 'It is not possible to give anything other than a very brief survey of the works in Slavonic translation available in Russia in the 10 c. – 14 c., but this will suffice to give a broad idea of the nature of the corpus [of translated literature]'.[3] Consequently, what follows is just a brief outline intended to highlight the most important writings constituting the corpus of Byzantine literature in Slavonic translations. The earliest works translated from Greek included: (1) the books of

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[1] G. Vernadsky, *A history of Russia* (New Haven, 1951), p. 9.

[2] According to Francis Thomson, 'The conversion of Kievan Rus' did not lead to the introduction of Byzantine Greek culture, but to the transfer *en masse* of the results of over a century of Bulgarian efforts to receive and adapt that culture to Bulgaria's own needs': 'The Bulgarian contribution to the reception of Byzantine culture in Kievan Rus': the myths and the enigma', *HUS*, 12/13 (1988/1989), 214. Noteworthy as it is, this idea is beyond the scope of my work.

[3] F. Thomson, 'The nature of the reception of Christian Byzantine culture in Russia in the tenth to thirteenth centuries and its implications for Russian culture', *Slavica Gandensia*, 5 (1978), 107.

the New Testament; (2) parts of the Old Testament;[4] (3) the liturgies of St. John Chrysostom and St. Basil of Caesarea; (4) most important Byzantine service books such as the *Euchologion*, the *Horologion*, the *Triodion*, the *Pentekostarion*, the *Heirmologion* and the *Oktoechos*; (5) monastic writings and ascetic treatises such as those of St. John Climacus (*Lestvichnik*) and John Moschus, either complete or in extracts collected in miscellanies; (6) numerous lives of the saints, mainly the translations of the Greek *Synaxarion* and *Menaea*; (7) apocryphal writings; (8) semi-secular works such as *Barlaam and Joasaph*, Joseph Flavius's *History of the Jewish War*, Pseudo-Callisthenes's *Romance of Alexander*, the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, the *Physiologus*, George of Pisidia's *Hexaemeron*, and several chronicles of world history such as those of John Malalas and George Hamartolus; and (9) several 'editions' of the *Nomocanon* (a codification of ecclesiastical and canon law).[5]

As Simon Franklin puts it, 'Christianity is a religion of the book'.[6] However, not only the translation of books was 'the most prized and praised achievement of the Slav conversion'.[7] Remarkably, in old Church Slavonic usage the notion of 'book' existed only in the plural, *knigi*, and originally it referred to the Scriptures, being the exact translation of the Greek βιβλια, 'books'.[8] According to many book historians, the very concept of the book as a codex was brought to the Slavs in the tenth and eleventh century, at the time of the mighty influx of literature from Byzantium. This means that the book came to the East

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[4] It was not before the late fifteenth century that a complete Slavonic version of the books of the Old Testament appeared in the East Slavonic lands: D. Obolensky, 'Early Russian literature (1000-1300)', *The Byzantine inheritance of Eastern Europe* (VIII) (London, 1982), p. 58.

[5] Obolensky, 'Early Russian literature', pp. 57-60; Thomson, 'The nature of the reception of Christian Byzantine culture in Russia', 107-115; I. Shevchenko, 'Byzantine elements in early Ukrainian culture', *Byzantium and the Slavs in letters and culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), pp. 166-167.

[6] S. Franklin, 'The empire of the *Rhomaioi* as viewed from Kievan Russia: Aspects of Byzantino-Russian cultural relations', *Byzantion*, 53 (1983), 509.

[7] Franklin, 'The empire of the *Rhomaioi*', 509.

[8] S. Siropolko, *Istoriia osvity na Ukraini* (Lvov, 1937), p. 12.

Slavs, in particular, in 'ready-made form', embodying all the inherent characteristics of the Byzantine and Western European codex of that time.[9]

The scope of the literature which arrived in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries included an immense body of spiritual, predominantly monastic works. Among Byzantine authors whose writings in Slavonic versions came to Rus' at that time were St. Dorotheos, St. Isaac of Nineveh, St. Symeon the New Theologian, St. Gregory of Sinai, Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, John of Damascus.[10] As John Meyendorff observed, theological treatises were 'almost absent in the Russian libraries', but works related to anti-Jewish and anti-Latin polemics, which were of direct relevance to religious affairs in the Eastern Slavonic lands, did find their place in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century monastery libraries.[11]

Dimitri Obolensky has pointed out that 'the degree to which Byzantine civilisation was adapted or transformed on Russian soil' should be taken into consideration.[12] Understandably, each of the aspects of cultural borrowings from Byzantium – religion, law, literature and art – acquired marked local peculiarities in the course of time; these peculiarities were preconditioned by the intentions of the 'donors', the immediate needs of the 'recipients', and to a great extent also by their ability to assess certain aspects of the 'implanted' culture.[13] For instance, such an important part of Byzantine culture as classical

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[9] See, for instance, V. Liakhov, *Ocherki teorii iskusstva knigi* (Moscow, 1971), p. 43; N. Rozov, 'K opredeleniiu poniatiia "kniga" v istoricheskom aspekte (po russkim materialam XI-XIV vv.)', *Rukopisnaia i pechatnaia kniga*, ed. D. Likhachev (Moscow, 1975), pp. 11-12.

[10] Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the rise of Russia*, p. 124.

[11] Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the rise of Russia*, p. 125; on the translation of works presenting scientific, technical and philosophical views, see I. Shevchenko, 'Remarks on the diffusion of Byzantine scientific and pseudo-scientific literature among the Orthodox Slavs', *Byzantium and the Slavs in letters and culture*, pp. 585-615.

[12] See D. Obolensky, 'The relations between Byzantium and Russia (11th-15th century)', *The Byzantine inheritance of Eastern Europe*, (V), p. 11; see also his 'Late Byzantine culture and the Slavs: A study in acculturation', ibid., (XVII), p. 4.

[13] A number of works by Simon Franklin elaborate upon this topic. See, for instance, his articles 'The empire of the *Rhomaioi*', 507-537; 'The reception of Byzantine culture by the Slavs', *The 17th International Byzantine Congress: Major papers* (New Rochelle, 1986), pp. 383-397; 'Booklearning and bookmen in Kievan Rus': A survey of an idea', *HUS*, 12/13 (1988/1989), 830-848; and a special section

learning remained largely unknown to the East Slavs. There were several reasons for that. Firstly, the Byzantine inheritance basically came to Rus' in the 'ready-made' form of translations. As a result, the East Slavs found themselves in quite the opposite situation from that of their Roman Catholic counterparts who had to study Latin in order to learn their faith: for the latter Christian knowledge made the introduction to the heritage of antiquity at least 'technically' possible.[14] Secondly, although Byzantine intellectuals were always able to appreciate the secular culture of classical antiquity, the clergy was never particularly happy about it, and it was mainly by the monks that Byzantine culture was transmitted to the Slavs.[15] As John Meyendorff puts it, the East Slavs' cultural initiation to Byzantine civilisation

> was limited by the language barrier, so that new developments depended to a great measure upon indigenous talents... independent creativity in a purely intellectual field had to wait several centuries... Even in the fourteenth century, when the volume of translations from the Greek increased very substantially... the speculative, theological and philosophical achievements of Byzantine Christian Hellenism were accepted only passively and on a very limited scale.[16]

The situation with the study of Greek in Rus' was twofold. On the one hand, it was never specially encouraged by the Byzantine 'donors'. On the other, the attitude to Greek among the East Slavs themselves was peculiar: its 'main cultural function... was precisely as image – whether for the eye or for the ear – rather than a language'.[17]

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dedicated to the reception of the Byzantine book culture in mediaeval Kiev in S. Franklin and J. Shepard, *The emergence of Rus' 750-1200* (London, 1996), pp. 237-244.

[14] Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the rise of Russia*, p. 22.

[15] On the impact of classical literature and art on Byzantine culture see A. Kazhdan and A. Epstein, *Change in Byzantine culture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (Berkeley, Cal., 1985), pp. 133-145. The unfavourable attitude of the Greek church towards the classics was, in a way, 'mimicked' by the clergy in Rus'. See Franklin's account of what he calls a 'unique' charge against a Kievan ecclesiastic, Klim Smoliatich, of 'using writers from classical antiquity in preference to Scripture': Franklin, 'The empire of the *Rhomaioi*', 519-528, and in the introduction to *Sermons and rhetoric of Kievan Rus'* (transl. and intr. S. Franklin), (Cambridge, Mass.,1991), esp. pp. lviii-lxiv.

[16] Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the rise of Russia*, p. 23. For more about Byzantine attitude to the classical heritage see H. Birnbaum, 'Some aspects of the Slavonic Renaissance', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 47 (1969), 41.

[17] S. Franklin, 'Greek in Kievan Rus'', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 46 (1992), 69-82.

The flow of translated works stimulated the growth of 'original' literature.[18] The word 'original' might be somewhat misleading, for while it was literally 'original' in the sense of having been composed by the East Slavs, it still imitated Byzantine patterns as far as literary genres and techniques were concerned. It included such extensive groups as sermons, hagiographic works, historical chronicles, moralistic writings, pilgrimage literature, heroic poetry, works concerned with the Tatar invasion and princely biographies.[19]

Looking for the terminology most suitable for the description of the East Slavs' adaptation of the achievements of Byzantine civilisation, Franklin arrives at the conclusion that the word 'translation' proves to be 'both more specific and more flexible' than any other; moreover, the application of translation theory in the most general terms, proves advantageous for the study of cultural relations between Byzantium and Rus'.[20] The reasons enumerated by the author show the validity of this approach. Firstly, the actual process of translation took place 'through the translation of texts from Greek into Slavonic'. Secondly, translation was recognised as a 'symbol of a broader cultural process... by Slavonic *literati* themselves: Byzantine culture was above all "book-learning"'. Thirdly, translation theory seems to aptly describe the complex nature of Byzantino-Slav cultural relations with all the 'losses' and 'gains' involved. In Franklin's words, the 'original' was changed as it was 'filtered through the resources, experiences and perceptions' of the 'translator', and at the same time the 'translator's' own 'resources, experience and perceptions... [were] modified in the very act of translating'.[21]

In yet more general terms, the whole cultural space is permeated with 'the currents of internal translations... Translation is a primary mechanism of consciousness'.[22] Culture

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[18] Obolensky, 'Early Russian literature', p. 61.
[19] Obolensky, 'Early Russian literature', pp. 62-79, 80-82.
[20] Franklin, 'The reception of Byzantine culture by the Slavs', pp. 384-385.
[21] Franklin, 'The reception of Byzantine culture by the Slavs', p. 385.
[22] I. Lotman, 'Semiotic space', in *Universe of the mind: A semiotic theory of culture* (London, 1990), p. 127.

'can be regarded as a totality of differing and relatively... individualised languages (sign systems)'.[23] The word 'languages' is used here in a broader sense than 'natural languages' or 'spoken tongues', including also the languages of myth, literature, art, system of knowledge, attitudes and beliefs, and ultimately – different cultures. 'In the majority of cases... [these] different languages... do not have mutual semantic correspondences'.[24] Therefore, as Franklin observes, 'cultural history is perpetual mistranslation'.[25] The cultural interrelation between Byzantium and the East Slavs may be regarded as a case of a 'wholesale' translation.[26]

2. *Western cultural influences in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*

Though with the gradual fall of the Ruthenian lands under Lithuanian and Polish domination Ukraine and Belorussia came to be more open to Western influences than other areas of the old Rus' polity, these regions do not seem to show any visible traces of a shift in their cultural paradigm before the sixteenth century; they remained basically faithful to the Byzantine heritage as far as their literary and intellectual culture was concerned. The link was maintained by their direct ecclesiastical dependence upon the Constantinopolitan patriarchate. This continued until as late as 1686, when the metropolitanate of Kiev was subjected to the patriarchate of Moscow.[27] After a short period of relatively privileged

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[23] I. Lotman and B. Uspensky, 'Authors' introduction', in *The semiotics of Russian culture* (Michigan, 1984), p. xi.

[24] Lotman, 'Semiotic space', p. 127.

[25] Franklin, 'The reception of Byzantine culture by the Slavs', p. 385.

[26] Making use of the same basic imagery, I shall further try to show that the process of extensive borrowing from Western sources by Mohyla and his Kievan milieu was an attempt at a 'consciously-selective' translation, which, however, resulted in just another case of a 'wholesale' cultural borrowing. Another apt imagery of the two kinds of cultural process may be presented by an opposition between 'acculturation' and 'diffusion': see D. Obolensky, 'Late Byzantine culture and the Slavs', *The Byzantine inheritance of Eastern Europe*, (XVII), p. 3.

[27] Metropolitan Ilarion, *Ukrains'ka tserkva: narysy z istorii Ukrains'koi pravoslavnoi tserkvy* (Winnipeg, 1982), pp. 200-202. Also see Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine*, p. 29. The documents illustrating the gradual subjection of the metropolitanate of Kiev to the Moscow patriarchate are collected in a special issue, entitled *Akty, otnosishchiesia k delu o podchinenii Kievskoi mitropolii Moskovskomu patriarkhatu (1620-1694)*, of the *Arkhiv iugo-zapadnoi Rossii*, I, 5 (Kiev, 1872); for a brief account on the reaction of the Kievan clergy to this process in the mid-seventeenth century see P. Pekarsky, 'Predstaviteli kievskoi

existence as a politically and culturally superior nation in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania before 1385, the Orthodox elite had gradually to accustom itself to a defensive position after the Union of Krewo, and this did not contribute to a balanced cultural development.

As Obolensky observes, no insurmountable gap existed between the Byzantine and the Roman civilisations: 'Byzantium and the mediaeval West... [were] two different but closely interwoven halves of one Graeco-Roman Christian and European civilisation... at least until the late fifteenth century'.[28] However, the 'Russian adherence to Greek Orthodoxy at the time of the breach between the Roman and Byzantine churches... tended to separate Russia from the Western peoples'.[29] This cultural separation from the West was aggravated by the Tatar onslaught of the mid-thirteenth century. After 1453 Byzantium itself was no more, but its legacy survived and further contributed to the formation of Western intellectual tradition. However, the East Slavs' contacts with this legacy did weaken and grew ever fainter in the course of time. One can positively speak about the 'crisis of Russian Byzantinism' in the sixteenth century.[30]

New cultural and intellectual trends began to slowly penetrate from the West early in the sixteenth century. The Reformation movement prompted the arrival of Protestant translations of liturgical texts and those of the Holy Writ in German, Polish and Czech, as well as Latin printed books from Central and Western Europe. From the range of literary works intended for entertainment only a few titles are known, such as *Visio Tundali*, chivalric novels about Tristram, Lancelot and 'Prince Bova', and the Hungarian tale of Attila. All of these are found in sixteenth-century miscellanies, and all bear traces of having

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uchenosti v polovine XVII-go stoletiia: Istoriko-literaturnye ocherki', *Otechestvennye zapiski*, 3 (1862), 380-383.

[28] D. Obolensky, 'Russia's Byzantine heritage', *Byzantium and the Slavs: Collected studies*, (III) (London, 1971), p. 108.

[29] Vernadsky, *A history of Russia*, p. 10.

[30] See G. Florovsky, 'Western influences in Russian Theology', *Collected works of G. Florovsky*, IV (Vaduz, 1987), p. 158.

been translated into Ruthenian from Czech, Serbian and Polish.[31] Finally, in the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century assimilative contacts with Polish culture brought about some European Baroque trends slowly spreading among certain segments of Ruthenian society.[32] However, these external contacts were limited: sporadic rather than regular and fragmented rather than integral.[33]

Printed and manuscript books came to belong to different intellectual spheres soon after the first printed volumes had arrived in Ruthenia around the late fifteenth century. By and large writings that formed a part of the Byzantine heritage, books used in the liturgy and items of original East Slavonic literature circulated in manuscript form. The copying of books by hand remained an important means of multiplication right up until the early eighteenth century.[34] The printed book may well have been inaccessible to interested readers due to the high price or the insufficient number of copies issued, and to have it copied by hand was probably the easiest way to get a copy of one's own.[35]

A tentative reconstruction of the range of manuscript books in Ukraine until the first half of the seventeenth century, offered by Marta Boianivs'ka, includes, firstly, liturgical books, secondly, patristic literature, and, thirdly, secular books. Most of the works that constituted the first two categories were Byzantine writings, translated between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries, and original South Slav and Old Rus' writings. The third category is, however, subject to further sub-division: (1) translated historiographical works; (2) original historiography: the Old Rus' chronicles, those of a later period compiled in

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[31] Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusi*, VI, pp. 346-347; I. Golenishchev-Kutuzov, *Gumanizm u vostochnykh slavian (Ukraina i Belorussiia)* (Moscow, 1963), pp. 64-65. One of these miscellanies was found by Alexander Brückner in the library of the counts Raczynskis in Poland; he thought it had been compiled in the territory of present-day Belorussia: Ulianovs'kyi, *Istoriia tserkvy ta relihiinoi dumky na Ukraini*, II, pp. 18-19, 216.

[32] *Ukrains'ka kul'tura v zagal'noslov'ians'komu i svitovomu konteksti*, ed. H. Verves, I (Kiev, 1987), p. 52.

[33] D. Chizhevsky, *Outline of comparative Slavic literatures* (Boston, Mass., 1952), p. 49.

[34] O. Apanovych, 'Chytats'ke seredovyshche Ukrainy XVIII stolittia', *Radians'ke literaturoznavstvo*, 5 (1983), 44.

[35] I. Isaievych, 'The book trade in eastern Europe in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries', *Consumption and the world of goods*, eds. J. Brewer and R. Porter (London, 1992), p. 388.

Ruthenia, and historical notes; (3) the so-called books on 'natural sciences', that is, cosmology and geography (e. g. the *Physiologus*); (4) legal texts, predominantly representing ecclesiastical law in earlier periods (*Kormchie knigi*), but later augmented by secular texts of local origin, such as the *Lithuanian Statute* (the sixteenth-century codification of Lithuanian law); (5) literary works, such as the widely read *Barlaam and Joasaph* and Joseph Flavius's *History of the Jewish War*, but also including a limited range of translations from classical authors, such as Cicero and Aesop, usually in fragments; (6) Ruthenian and Polish poetry; (7) apocryphal writings; (8) primers and teaching aids in Church Slavonic; (9) miscellanies; and (10) original and translated polemical works.[36]

Not only the genres, but also titles and authors of books mentioned by Boianivs'ka, are mostly familiar to us: the repertoire does not seem to have significantly changed since the eleventh-century influx of translated Byzantine literature. The appearance of Cicero and Aesop might be attributed to the 'Second South Slavonic influence', while that of the original and translated polemic literature may reflect the contemporary religious situation in the Ukrainian lands.[37]

At the same time, according to Boianivs'ka, humanistic works then known in Ukraine existed mainly in the form of printed volumes published in the West.[38] But there remained the key question of who was able to read them. Most of the Orthodox Ruthenian nobility and the 'black' clergy were literate, but their language abilities seldom went beyond Church Slavonic, Ruthenian and Polish. At the same time, while manuscript Cyrillic books were generally available to all layers of contemporary society, printed volumes were a

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[36] M. Boianivs'ka, *Ukrains'ka rukopysna knyha v XV- pershii polovyni XVII st.: vyrobnytstvo i poshyrennia* – Dissertation for the degree of Candidate in History, submitted at the Lvov Institute for Ukrainian Studies (Lvov, 1994), pp. 52-62.

[37] I shall elaborate the issue of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century religious polemic literature below in this chapter.

[38] Boianivs'ka, *Ukrains'ka rukopysna knyha v XV- pershii polovyni XVII st.*, p. 54.

privilege of the elite.[39] Apart from the difference in price, this may be explained by the fact that some representatives of the Ruthenian elite found their way to European universities at Padua, Prague and Cracow as early as the fifteenth century.[40] However, their number was so paltry that it is impossible to speak about the existence of an 'educated elite', well-versed in Latin and thus able to enjoy the achievements of contemporary Western civilisation. Above all, following the important observation of Ilya Golenishchev-Kutuzov, practically all those ethnic Ruthenians who were known as men of letters educated in the West between 1400 and the 1550s, were Catholics.[41]

The situation is very likely to have changed after the arrival of the Jesuits in 1565, for the following reasons. Firstly, they brought with them a wide variety of humanistic literature necessary for their schools, and they often founded printing presses at their colleges.[42] Secondly, an increasing number of the offspring of Orthodox Ruthenian nobility entered Jesuit schools and obtained a European education there. However, the latter would have hardly contributed greatly to the formation of an educated Orthodox elite interested in Western literature so long as Jesuit education all too often went hand in hand with conversion to Catholicism.

In the 1590s, Ivan Vishensky, a Ukrainian monk from Mount Athos, commented on the nobles' adherence to Western learning:

> Tempted by Latin and worldly knowledge, some people have lost their piety, their faith has become undermined, heresies have been contrived, and godly wrath has risen against them. Would it not be better for you to read the Breviary, the Psalter, the Acts of the Apostles and the Gospel, and other books approved by the Church, and to be a godly person, and to obtain eternal life through it, than to know Aristotle and Plato, and be called a learned philosopher in your earthly life, but go to a fiery hell afterwards? Consider it![43]

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[39] Boianivs'ka, *Ukrains'ka rukopysna knyha v XV- pershii polovyni XVII st.*, p. 166.

[40] See Golenishchev-Kutuzov, *Gumanizm u vostochnykh slavian*, pp. 10-11.

[41] Golenishchev-Kutuzov, *Gumanizm u vostochnykh slavian*, p. 10.

[42] J. Jacobsen, *Education foundations of the Jesuits in sixteenth-century New Spain* (Berkeley, Cal., 1938), p. 234.

[43] 'Chetyre sochineniia afonskogo monakha Ioanna iz Vishni', *Akty, otnosiashchiesia k istorii iuzhnoi i zapadnoi Rossii, sobrannye i izdannye Arkheograficheskoi Komissiei*, II (St Petersburg, 1865), p. 210. Michele Colucci draws attention to the difference in usage of a number of expressions defining Western Christianity among the East Slavs. While such expressions as 'Varangian faith' (*variazhskaia vera*),

He also insisted: 'Let us abandon Latin altogether... and let us not listen to their science! Let us not learn their devices for our refinement! Let us, before their very eyes, according to the Gospel, be simple, witless and peaceable!'[44] According to a characteristic observation of Chizhevsky, Vishensky 'expected salvation for every individual who followed the "old rules"... [Vishensky] stood for the old times and conditions, for the Apostolic Acts and the Gospel and against "Aristotle and Plato", for the book in Slavic [i. e. Church Slavonic], but against their [the holy books'] "perversion" by rendering them into the vernacular'.[45] This may serve as an apt illustration of a system of views that did not accept 'middle-course' solutions or shades of meaning, in which 'we' and 'they' are the ultimate extremes of godliness and sinfulness respectively.[46]

Such was the stand of the most conservative circle of the Orthodox. There existed different opinions, however, particularly among those representatives of the nobility who remained loyal to their faith, on the one hand, but who saw the increasing need for action in

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'German faith' (*nemetskaia vera*) and 'Frankish faith' (*friazhskaia vera*) 'may be looked upon as being semantically "neutral"', the attribute 'Latin faith' (*latinskaia vera*) was given 'a limited and negative nuance'. Such an attitude had its roots in Greek usage, and was 'opposed to the more universal appellation of a political and legal nature... closely tied to the concept of *imperium*': M. Colucci, 'The image of Western Christianity in the culture of Kievan Rus', *HUS*, 12/13 (1988/1989), 576-577.

[44] Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, Appendices, p. 113.

[45] D. Chizhevsky, 'Ivan Vyshens'ky', *The annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U. S.*, 1 (1951), 120.

[46] It is noteworthy that Vishensky often played with the words *uniia* ('the Union') and *iunaia* ('young') in his writings: see Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, Appendices, p. 71. Regarding culture as 'non-hereditary collective memory expressed in a definite system of prescriptions and prohibitions' or 'collective consciousness', Lotman and Uspensky point to the 'fundamental polarity' expressed in the dual nature of Russian culture as its principal characteristic. In their model, 'the basic cultural values (ideological, political, religious) in the system of mediaeval Russia... [were] arranged in a bipolar value field divided by a sharp line and without any neutral axiological zone'. As the world beyond the grave was for an Orthodox Russian divided into heaven and hell only, his behaviour in earthly life could be either holy or sinful. In Lotman and Uspensky's view, the duality of the Russian world-view largely contributed to the structure of Russian culture 'throughout its whole history from the introduction of Christianity into Russia until the reforms of Peter I'. The fundamental binary 'opposition "old ways" (*starina*) ↔ "new ways" (*novizna*)... [proved] to be so vigorous and significant that from the subjective standpoint of a bearer of the culture at various stages it absorbs into itself or subordinates to itself other most important oppositions of the type "Russia ↔ the West", "Christianity ↔ paganism", "true faith ↔ false faith", "knowledge ↔ ignorance"'. In this way, any further development was possible only after an emphatic negation of the preceding stage: I. Lotman and B. Uspensky, 'The role of dual models in the dynamics of Russian culture (up to the end of the eighteenth century)', *The semiotics of Russian culture*, pp. 3-5.

order to preserve the Orthodox elite, on the other. These people may have seen no irreconcilable contradiction between being 'holy' and being 'learned'. The brothers Jeremiah and Symeon Mohyla and Prince Konstantin Ostrozhsky may serve as examples of such an 'enlightened' attitude. However, the efforts of the sixteenth-century Orthodox 'enlighteners' rarely if ever stretched beyond the task of 'preservation' and defence, and therefore their best intentions did not result in significant changes.[47]

3. *The advent of print to Ukraine*

The earliest books printed in the Cyrillic alphabet, the *Oktoechos* and the *Horologion*, were produced in Cracow in 1491, by a Franconian expatriate, Schweitpold Viol (Fiol). Francis Skoryna published parts of the Bible in Prague (1517-1519) and Vilnius (1525). Having left Moscow in 1567, Ivan Fedorov and Petr Mstislavets worked in Polish Zabludow, where 'The teaching gospel' (*Evangelie uchitel'noe*) and 'The book of common prayer' (*Psaltyr' s chasoslovtsem*) were issued between 1568 and 1570.[48] The arrival of the printing press in Ukrainian territory dates to 1573-1574, when Ivan Fedorov published 'The book of the Apostles' (*Apostol*) in Lvov. Initially, here as elsewhere, print was conceived as a means for multiplying religious texts. However, in contrast to Western Europe, among the East Slavs religious texts remained the main printed output throughout the seventeenth century: 'the most numerous were liturgical texts, patristic and hagiographic works of Byzantine and South Slavic authors'.[49] The reasons for this seem to be many and varied, from ideological to economic: church books were in constant demand and sold the best. It is noteworthy that early in the seventeenth century, buyers were

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[47] On Ostrozhsky's role in the 'universal' union attempt of the 1580s and his opposition to the 1596 Union of Brest see Chapter I. About the circle of learned men and the school created at his court see Chapter III. For more details about Jeremiah and Symeon Mohyla see Chapter V.

[48] Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusi*, VI, pp. 427-428, 438.

[49] Isaievych, 'The book trade in eastern Europe in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries', p. 388; cf. E. Eisenstein, 'From scriptoria to printing shops: Evolution and revolution in the early printed book trade', *Books and society in history*, ed. K. E. Carpenter (New York, 1983), p. 31.

prepared to pay more for printed books than for manuscripts, which proves 'that imprints were already considered more authoritative and prestigious than hand-written volumes'.[50]

There existed several categories of printing enterprise in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Ukraine: private presses of merchants, including itinerant private enterprises, private presses of magnates operating on their estates, publishing enterprises of the Orthodox confraternities, and monastery printing presses.[51] Naturally, these categories varied according to their ideology and attitude to profit-making. Most of the private printers were travelling craftsmen, as was, for instance, Ivan Fedorov. Usually they were burghers, but sometimes monks and even Cossacks engaged in this kind of activity.[52] Isaievych points out that such private printers 'had to make their enterprises profitable in order to obtain money for further activity'. However, he argues that 'they were not mere men of business: they certainly connected profit-making with an ideological programme – to preach the "true faith" [and] to disseminate education'.[53] Alternatively, the magnates who owned printing presses such as that of Prince Ostrozhsky in his hereditary estate, as a rule, were minimally concerned about profit, pursuing almost exclusively religious ends.[54] The same is true of the publishing enterprises of the Orthodox confraternities, especially at the initial stage of their activity in the late sixteenth century. Their output consisted mainly of textbooks, political pamphlets and minor literary works. Some of them, such as the Przemysl Confraternity press, printed engraved icons only.[55] Finally, monastery printing presses, such as those at the Vilnius Holy Spirit Monastery, the Kiev Monastery of the Caves, and the Derman monastery in Volhynia were at once important profit-making enterprises and ideological centres of Orthodoxy. Most of the private presses were short-

[50] Isaievych, 'The book trade in eastern Europe', p. 386.
[51] Isaievych, 'The book trade in eastern Europe', p. 385.
[52] Isaievych, 'The book trade in eastern Europe', p. 384.
[53] Isaievych, 'The book trade in eastern Europe', pp. 384-385.
[54] For more about private printing presses in Ukraine in the late sixteenth century and the first quarter of the seventeenth century and especially on the migration of typographic materials among them, see A. Guseva, 'Vzaimosviazi ukrainskikh tipografii konca XVI- pervoi poloviny XVII vv. (Problema migratsii tipografskikh materialov)', *Fedorovskie chteniia (1973)* (Moscow, 1976), pp. 80-85.

lived, and the only printing house to outlast the seventeenth century and indeed survive right up to 1918, was that of the Caves Monastery. All Christian denominations then existing in Ukrainian territory, the Orthodox, the Catholics and the Protestants, ran printing presses of their own.

Between 1574 and 1630, a modest number of 90 titles of books appeared in print in Ukraine, with about 17,500 copies issued altogether.[56] In Ruthenia and Lithuania, thirty-two presses were active by the mid-seventeenth century, but only those in 'the largest cities such as Vilnius, Lvov and Kiev developed into large centres of the book industry and trade. The causes for this were mainly economic: the availability of qualified craftsmen and better market possibilities'.[57]

The origins of printing in Kiev date back to 1616-1617, when a 'Breviary' (*Chasoslov*) became the first product of the Kiev Caves Monastery press due to the enterprise of Elisei Pletenetsky, then Archimandrite of the Caves Monastery, who bought Slavonic types from the owners of an abandoned private printing press. In addition, in order to secure the stock of paper essential for the work of the press, Pletenetsky purchased a paper factory at Radomysl for the Monastery.[58] By 1627, the year of Mohyla's election as archimandrite, the Caves Monastery press had issued fourteen titles: six liturgical editions; three titles of commentaries to the New Testament by John Chrysostom and Anthony of Caesarea; three panegyrics; one polemical work; and the anonymous work 'A wondrous tale by a hermit about the repentant devil' (*Ot otechnika skitskogo povest' udivitelna o diavole khotiashchem kaiatisia*).[59] It was not until late 1632 or early 1633, when Mohyla acquired Latin types for the Caves Monastery press, that the Orthodox began

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[55] Isaievych, 'The book trade in eastern Europe', p. 385.
[56] G. Golenchenko, *Ideinye i kul'turnye sviazi vostochno-slavianskikh narodov v XVI- seredine XVIII v.* (Minsk, 1989), p. 98.
[57] Isaievych, 'The book trade in eastern Europe', p. 386.
[58] On the origins of book printing in Kiev see S. Golubev, 'O nachale knigopechataniia v Kieve', *Kievskaia starina*, 2 (1882), 381-400.
[59] P. Popov, 'Oseredky knyhodrukuvannia na skhidnii Ukraini', *Knyha i drukarstvo na Ukraini* (Kiev, 1965), pp. 70-77.

to publish books and brochures in Latin and Polish. Out of twenty-seven titles of books published by the Monastery printing shop during Mohyla's time as archimandrite (1627-1646), ten were in Polish, and one in Latin.[60]

Initially, printers had to see to the distribution and sale of their products themselves. Likewise, church brotherhoods and monasteries operating printing presses sold their books in fairs and markets or through itinerant salesmen.[61] Commercial competition between printing enterprises soon became intense and sometimes bore bitter results. In April 1646, Peter Mohyla issued a special charter, prohibiting the reprinting of his Λειτουργιαριον, published by the Caves Monastery press in 1629, under the threat of excommunication 'as long as those [copies] printed by ourselves [at the Caves Monastery press] are not sold out'.[62] However, in August that year, Michael Sliozka, a typographer from Lvov, disobeyed the metropolitan by issuing the Λειτουργάριον at his private press on the order of Arseny Zheliborsky, the Orthodox bishop of Lvov. Mohyla was not slow to react: he excommunicated Sliozka. That same year Mohyla passed away, and Sliozka's excommunication was not lifted until his own death in April 1667, and indeed for more than two weeks after it his body remained unburied, awaiting the metropolitan's decision as to whether the anathema could be repealed *post mortem*.[63]

According to Iaroslav Isaievych, books printed abroad could be bought at fairs in large cities in western parts of Ukraine and from bookbinders specialising in the foreign book trade already in the late sixteenth century.[64] He writes: 'Analysis of forty-three known inventories [of books owned by Lvov burghers] from the years 1560-1653 shows that the most numerous were books published in the Latin language in Cracow, Basle,

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[60] I. Zapasko, *Mystetstvo knyhy na Ukraini v XVI-XVIII st.* (Lvov, 1971), p. 262.
[61] B. Krawciw, 'The sale and distribution of books', *Ukraine: A concise encyclopaedia*, II, p. 473.
[62] Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, II, Appendices, p. 489.
[63] I. Isaievych, 'Tipografiia Mikhaila Sliozki i ee rol' v mezhslavianskikh kul'turnykh sviaziakh', *Fedorovskie chteniia (1973)* (Moscow, 1976), pp. 45-47.
[64] Isaievych, 'The book trade in eastern Europe', p. 388.

Frankfurt, Nuremberg, Strasbourg, Paris, Venice and other European cities'.[65] Among the authors most often mentioned in those catalogues one finds Cicero (85 volumes altogether), Aristotle (58 volumes), Erasmus (58 volumes), Galen (37 volumes), Hippocrates (29 volumes), Plutarch (34 volumes), and also Virgil, Ovid, Livy, Petrarch and others.[66] Isaievych supposes that the possibility of ordering literature through booksellers in Polish Cracow and Gdansk existed, and books could also be bought during travels abroad.[67] However, one must be cautious with this evidence. First of all, Isaievych's sources deal with Lvov, the city that always presented a picture of cultural development considerably different from that of the cities in the eastern parts of Ukraine. Galicia, a region in western Ukraine, of which Lvov was the capital centre, had been the first of the Ruthenian lands to become part of Poland as early as 1377. This, along with such factors as the geographical position of the city at the cross-roads of eastern and central European trade routes, and a strong flow of foreign immigration, greatly contributed to Lvov's distinctive cultural profile, much closer to the Western cultural paradigm than any other Ruthenian city.[68] Therefore, the evidence on the nature of Western books in the private collections of the inhabitants of Lvov is not, strictly speaking, necessarily valid for the rest of Ukraine. In his other article Isaievych specified that the libraries in question were owned by Lvov townspeople representing many nationalities (Ruthenians, Greeks, Armenians, Germans, Italians and Poles), different Christian denominations and different estates; for instance, there were both laymen and churchmen among their owners.[69] Thus the accumulated evidence from the catalogues of those libraries leads us virtually nowhere. Furthermore, the chronological boundaries of Isaievych's inquiry are anyway too broad to be taken

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[65] Isaievych, 'The book trade in eastern Europe', pp. 388-389. The overall number of entries in those catalogues is around 3,500: see Isaievych's earlier article 'Krug chitatel'skikh interesov gorodskogo naseleniia Ukrainy v XVI-XVII vv.', *Fedorovskie chteniia (1976)* (Moscow, 1978), p. 65.
[66] Isaievych, 'Krug chitatel'skikh interesov gorodskogo naseleniia Ukrainy', pp. 71-72.
[67] Isaievych, 'The book trade in eastern Europe', p. 389.
[68] See Birnbaum, 'Some aspects of the Slavonic Renaissance', p. 48.
[69] Isaievych, 'Krug chitatel'skikh interesov gorodskogo naseleniia Ukrainy', p. 71.

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[66] Isaievych, 'Krug chitatel'skikh interesov gorodskogo naseleniia Ukrainy', pp. 71-72.
[67] Isaievych, 'The book trade in eastern Europe', p. 389.
[68] See Birnbaum, 'Some aspects of the Slavonic Renaissance', p. 48.
[69] Isaievych, 'Krug chitatel'skikh interesov gorodskogo naseleniia Ukrainy', p. 71.

synchronically, and have to be checked against the changing circumstances of Ukrainian cultural and intellectual life.

Unfortunately, no consistent evidence of the kind exists for private book collections of, for instance, the Kievan townspeople. There exists, however, the list of books kept in the Dormition church of the Caves Monastery in 1554.[70] The list contains 24 titles of books (59 volumes, some of the titles present in several copies) in Church Slavonic and Greek, contrasted with a group of volumes, collectively specified as '25 books in the vernacular' (*knig pospolitykh poltretiadtsat'*). Only one of the 59 volumes is classified as a printed book (*bitaia*), all the rest apparently being manuscript codices. To all appearances, the '25 books in the vernacular' were religious writings in Polish, but it is impossible to make more assured statements about their nature at this point.

It is clear enough that further to the east, opportunities for purchasing Western books were limited to contacts with visiting foreigners, acquaintances living or travelling abroad and so forth. Though Isaievych himself attributes this situation to Muscovy alone, it appears to be equally true of the central and eastern regions of Ukraine.[71] In this way the possibility of acquiring printed Latin books in Kiev, for instance, was in practice very remote. However, there may have been a kind of vicious circle, the consequence of a relatively negligible demand for them in the late sixteenth century and during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, seeing that the handful of people who were able to read books in Latin did not create a market considerable enough for book-traders to import them. This, in turn, would explain why Peter Mohyla had to resort to purchasing books for his private library, and possibly also for the College he founded in Kiev, during his sojourns in Warsaw and Cracow in 1632-1633.[72] It was only from the late 1630s that the foundation of the Kiev College and the formation of a Kievan intellectual milieu could have created a certain demand for Latin printed books. Even so, they remained too expensive for

[70] Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, Appendices, p. 10.
[71] See Isaievych, 'The book trade in eastern Europe', p. 389.

the students, and the professors apparently preferred to augment their libraries during their travels abroad.

4. *The religious revival of the late sixteenth century*

Apart from causing a direct religious confrontation, the Union of Brest seems to have awakened the Orthodox to the issue of their traditional culture receding into oblivion. In Frank Sysyn's words: 'The challenges of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation and the polemics over the Union of Brest sparked a revival among Ruthenians that centred on church affairs, but also penetrated other cultural and intellectual spheres'.[73] Literary polemics came to be one of the most distinctive features of that revival.

Christianity has a long history of literary religious controversy. The writings of this genre are known to have arrived at Rus' around the fourteenth century. So sixteenth-century literary religious controversy in Ukraine cannot be regarded as unique in terms of literary history. However, its role in the increase of interest in Ruthenian history and traditions, promotion of philological studies and, ultimately, in the reform of the Ukrainian church should not be underestimated.

A formal point from which we can start speaking about the anti-union literary polemics is, most probably, 1577, the year when the Jesuit Peter Skarga, published a work dedicated to the faults of the 'Greek church' and representing church union as the only way for resolving her problems. The book was entitled 'On the unity of the Church of God under one Shepherd and on the Greeks' apostasy from this unity' (*O iednosci kosciola bozego pod iednym pasterzem y o greckim od tey iednosti odstapieniu*). Skarga dwelt at great length on the pitiful failings of the Orthodox faith in general and its Ruthenian branch in particular. Grave offence was taken by the Orthodox, and in the preface to its second edition issued in 1590, Skarga even assumed that almost the whole run of the first

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[72] For details see Chapter VII.
[73] Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine*, p. 30.

edition 'had been bought out and burned by wealthy Ruthenians'.[74] 'On the unity of the Church of God' had immediately stirred up great passions among the Orthodox; however, no response is known to have been produced before 1582,[75] and indeed no work that offered an argument on systematically argued rather than emotional grounds appeared earlier than 1597.[76]

It was in 1597 that 'Αποκρισις, or Response to the [Catholic and Uniate] writings on the Synod of Brest compassionately written by Christophor Philalet' (Αποκρισις *abo odpowiedz na xiazki o synodzie brzeskim... przez Christophora Philaleta w porywcza dana*; Vilnius, 1597) was published.[77] The main thesis of the author was that the Union of Brest could by no means be regarded as a legitimate development of the Union of Florence after the 1565 Tridentine Synod had institutionalised an irreconcilable attitude towards all other Christian denominations deemed to be 'heretical'. Therefore, the Uniate hierarchs who accepted the rule of the pope, did not belong to the Orthodox faith any more, and should be treated as apostates. The author warned them that their aspirations for political participation by the Uniate Church in the affairs of the Commonwealth were mere delusions; the Union as such could only lead to further confrontation and turmoil among the Ruthenians. However, the elaborate and well-founded argumentation of the Αποκρισις

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[74] Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusi*, VI, p. 458. Halecki argues that it was Prince Konstantin Ostrozhsky himself who did this: Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, p. 241.

[75] Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusi*, VI, pp. 461-462; Krajcar, 'Jesuits and the genesis of the Union of Brest', 148.

[76] Such as, for instance, Gerasim Smotritsky's 'The key to the kingdom of Heaven' (*Kliuch tsarstva nebesnogo*; c. 1580); Lavrenty Zyzany's 'The sermon of St. Cyril the Patriarch of Jerusalem about anti-Christ and his signs' (*Kazanie sviatogo Kirila patriarkhi ierusalimskogo o antikhriste i znakakh ego*; Vilnius, 1596); and the eighteen writings of Ivan Vyshensky, produced in the 1590s and 1600s: see Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusi*, VI, pp. 491-492, 542, 552-557; also Ulianovs'kyi, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, II, pp. 35-42.

[77] 'Christophor Philalet' is thought to be a pseudonym of the Protestant Marcin Broniewski, sometime secretary to King Stephen Bathory. Florovsky explains that Broniewski 'was deeply involved in the confederation of the Orthodox and the Evangelists': Florovsky, 'Western influences in Russian theology', p. 162. In 1598, a Ruthenian translation of the Αποκρισις was published in Ostrog.

bore discernible traces of Protestant views, which later resulted in its refutation by the Orthodox as a heretical writing.[78]

Melety Smotritsky's 'Θρηνος, or Lament... of the Eastern Church, with an explanation of its dogmas' (Θρηνος. *To iest Lament... Wschodniey Cerkwie, z obiasnieniem dogmat wiary*; Vilnius, 1610) is often regarded as the most important work in defence of the Orthodox faith to be written after the Union of Brest. Its author, Melety Smotritsky, most probably started his education at the Ostrog school and continued it at the Vilnius Jesuit Academy, and later in Germany. Apart from listing numerous examples of religious oppression against the Orthodox in the Polish Commonwealth, the treatise revealed a deplorable state of the church seen from the inside: the avarice of the bishops, the lack of education among the clergy, the falling away of the nobility, and the despair of the ordinary flock. It showed that the problems of the Orthodox faith did not lie in its inherently faulty nature, but rather in the absence of those eager and able to defend it.[79]

The works published during more than fifty years of active religious controversy in Ukraine comprise dozens of titles written, respectively, by the Catholics, the Orthodox and the Uniates.[80] It is not my task to describe them all here. The examples given above demonstrate what kinds of intellectual response the Orthodox could make against their adversaries during these fifty odd years. First there was silence, after which came an emotional outburst that proved nothing. Christophor Philalet's Αποκρισις was a well-

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[78] According to Florovsky, there was an obvious similarity between the Αποκρισις and J. Calvin's *Institutio Christianae religionis*: 'Western influences in Russian theology', p. 162; also see Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusi*, VI, pp. 548-550.

[79] Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusi*, VI, pp. 594-598.The Θρηνος is reported to have been read aloud in church services and brotherhood meetings, and some Orthodox devotees even ordered that they be buried with the book in their coffins. It also evoked reaction from the state: King Sigismund III banned the selling and buying of the Θρηνος, with a fine of 5,000 Polish *zloty* to those not complying, and ordered that those copies already purchased be burned. Having disguised himself under a pseudonym and the pretence that the book had been translated from a Greek original, Smotritsky himself escaped persecution, whereas Leonty Karpovych, then corrector and scribe of the Vilnius Brotherhood, was seized and imprisoned: Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusi*, VI, p. 596.

[80] During the last quarter of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century, around 140 polemical treatises and minor works were produced in Ruthenia, of which approximately 60 were written by

composed intellectual treatise written by a Protestant and permeated with Protestant spirit. Finally, there came Smotritsky's Θρηνος, a book which at last clearly emphasised both the external and internal problems of the Church as seen by a contemporary Orthodox Ruthenian, educated in the West. Notably, both Αποκρισις and Θρηνος were composed in Polish. However, neither offered a plausible way of resolving the crisis.

By the late sixteenth century, there emerged a number of factors that greatly increased the importance of Kiev as a centre of cultural, religious and political development in Ukraine. In the military sphere, some degree of protection from the raids of the Crimean Tatars was secured thanks to the policies of the Polish-Lithuanian state.[81] The increasing military and political importance of the Cossacks and their constant presence in and around Kiev added to the sense of security of the Orthodox population. This led to important changes in the religious field. At the end of the sixteenth century, the metropolitans of Kiev returned to the city 'after their long refuge in the safer Belorussian lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania', thus, in effect, restoring it as a metropolitan see.[82] Such institutions as the Kiev Monastery of the Caves, undoubtedly the richest ecclesiastical institution outside the Muscovy, and the Epiphany Brotherhood in Kiev, gained positions of real importance. Firstly, a succession of archimandrites of the Caves Monastery, Nikifor Tur (1593-1599), Elisei Pletenetsky (1599-1624) and Zakhariia Kopystensky (1624-1627), much concerned about the shaken foundations of the Orthodox faith, greatly contributed to the fact that the oldest monastery of Rus' recovered its somewhat faded prestige among the Orthodox. Secondly, both the Monastery and the Brotherhood exercised the *stauropegion* rights obtained from the patriarchs of Constantinople, which provided them with a relative administrative independence from the changing moods and inclinations of Kievan

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the Orthodox, and the rest – by the Catholics and the Uniates: Ulianovs'kyi, *Istoriia tserkvy i relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, II, p. 44.

[81] F. Sysyn, 'Peter Mohyla and the Kiev Academy in recent Western works: Divergent views on seventeenth-century Ukrainian culture', *HUS*, 8 (1984), 180.

[82] Sysyn, 'Peter Mohyla and the Kiev Academy in recent Western works', 180.

metropolitans and local bishops.[83] Thirdly, the Orthodox nobility gave considerable moral and financial assistance to the efforts of the Kievan clergy.[84] Finally, after the Orthodox hierarchy, torn apart by the Union of Brest in 1596, was re-established in 1620, the metropolitan and all the five bishops had to stay permanently in Kiev, thus providing the city with the aura of a true religious capital.

The three predecessors of Peter Mohyla in the office of the Caves Monastery archimandrite may be said to have laid the spiritual ground for the reforms of the late 1620s to 1640s. Nikifor Tur was archimandrite at the time of the Union of Brest, and distinguished himself as the one who successfully withstood the Uniate attempts to seize the Monastery. A contemporary testimony relates how, having received the king's ordinance to let the Uniates have their way without opposition, Tur proudly replied that the king had nothing to do with the Monastery due to the right of *stauropegion* granted by Constantinopolitan patriarchs, and nobody was going to listen to him as long as he tried to violate the ancient rights and liberties of the Orthodox.[85] Elisei Pletenetsky established the printing press in the Caves Monastery, having provided it with Slavonic types and a paper factory, and also created a 'learned circle' of prominent clergymen and typographers within the Monastery. He was the author and editor of eleven important liturgical, patristic and polemical works published by the newly-established printing press, among them the 'Breviary' (*Chasoslov*, 1616), the 'Festive Menology' (*Anthologion*, 1619), the *Nomokanon* (first published in 1620), and the commentaries of St. John Chrysostom on parts of the New Testament (1623-1624).[86] Pletenetsky put much effort into the restoration

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[83] See W. K. Medlin and C. G. Patrinelis, *Renaissance influences and religious reforms in Russia: Western and post-Byzantine impacts on culture and education (16th-17th centuries)* (Geneva, 1971), p. 125; on the economic position of the Kiev Caves Monastery before 1596 see Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, pp. 244-245.

[84] Medlin and Patrinelis, *Renaissance influences and religious reforms in Russia*, p. 126; Sysyn, 'Peter Mohyla and the Kiev Academy in recent Western works', 181.

[85] See Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, p. 266.

[86] It is not clear to date what were the runs of any of these editions, but one can assume they amounted to several hundred of copies each.

of churches and maintenance of the Caves Monastery properties.[87] Zakhariia Kopystensky mainly continued those kinds of activity introduced by Tur and Pletenetsky. He was especially concerned with the preservation of the Monastery's *stauropegion* rights. During the less than three years of his office, nine more titles appeared in print at the Caves Monastery press. As William Medlin and Christos Patrinelis state, 'Kopystensky did not engage much in intellectual polemics, but rather steered his energies in the direction of revitalising the old evangelical traditions of the Christian church'.[88] The undertakings of Pletenetsky and Kopystensky may be generally characterised as measures of cultural reform in the framework of 'educated' conservatism and Orthodox purity.

The combination of factors listed above preconditioned the beginning of the shift of Kiev from a peripheral position in the structure of Ukrainian culture to its centre. The process would reach its climax in the early 1630s, when Mohyla took office as metropolitan and founded the Kiev College.

[87] See Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, pp. 62-63; Popov, 'Oseredky knyhodrukuvannia na skhidnii Ukraini', pp. 70-76.
[88] Medlin and Patrinelis, *Renaissance influences and religious reforms in Russia*, p. 127.

Chapter III

DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN THE UKRAINIAN LANDS IN THE LATE SIXTEENTH AND EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

A clearly defined school system did not exist among the Rus' in the mid-thirteenth century, and the situation did not radically change before the 1580s.[1] In other words, schooling did not go beyond the primary level, and was in no way affected by Western European educational trends. The church remained the main spiritual guardian, schools were usually run by churchmen or their affiliates, and their number was far from sufficient. Several forms of primary education have been documented: parochial and monastery schools, and home education. The educational programme of an elementary school included reading, writing, church singing, arithmetic. Mastery of the main prayers, certain psalms and the fundamentals of the Orthodox faith, was also axiomatic. Understandably, the standards of learning depended very much on how advanced the individual teachers were, the most qualified usually going to work in cities. The continuing lack of educational facilities in the Eastern Slavonic lands towards the end of the sixteenth century is an acknowledged historical fact.[2]

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Protestant and Catholic educational establishments spread rapidly in Ruthenian lands. Catholic schools began to be founded in Galicia from the late fourteenth century onwards.[3] The first Lutheran schools situated in the centres of Ruthenian population are documented at Vilnius (1539) and Vitebsk (c. 1550).[4] In the second half of the sixteenth century and early seventeenth century, Protestant schools became numerous throughout Poland and Lithuania, and their nature varied from secondary schools providing tuition in the 'seven liberal arts' (for instance, the 'higher' Calvinist school in Panivtsy, Podolia,

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[1] F. Titov, *Imperatorskaia Kievskaia Dukhovnaia Akademiia v ee trekhvekovoi zhizni i deiatel'nosti (1615-1915 gg.)* (Kiev, 1915), p. 13.

[2] See, for instance, K. Kharlampovich, 'Bor'ba shkol'nykh vliianii v do-petrovskoi Rusi', *Kievskaia starina*, 78 (1902), 12; S. Kot, *Historja wychowania*, I (Lvov, 1934), pp. 196-197; Siropolko, *Istoriia osvity na Ukraini*, p. 22.

[3] K. Kharlampovich, *Zapadnorusskie pravoslavnye shkoly XVI i nachala XVII veka, otnoshenie ikh k inoslavnym, religioznoe obuchenie v nikh i zaslugi ikh v dele zashchity pravoslavnoi very i tserkvi* (Kazan', 1898), pp. 4-5.

[4] Kharlampovich, *Zapadnorusskie pravoslavnye shkoly*, pp. 48-50.

established 1590) and elementary schools.[5] Early in the seventeenth century, a network of Socinian schools was established throughout the Commonwealth. Primary schools were run in Cherniakhov (1611), Khmel'nyk, Hoshcha, Liubartov and Berestechko (1610s-1640s), and a secondary Socinian school operated in Kyselin from 1614.[6] From the onset, Protestant schools taught mainly in Polish and German, since many of their teachers were either German by origin, or had studied in German Protestant universities. Secondary schools also taught Latin. Characteristically, Protestant schools were commonly sited near the castles of their noble protectors.[7]

The first five Jesuit colleges were founded in the Commonwealth under the reign of Sigismund II: in Braniewo (1565), Pultusk (1566), Vilnius (1568), Poznan (1572), and Jaroslaw (1575).[8] Under his successor Stephen Bathory (1575-1586), the Jesuits opened a number of new colleges in Cracow (1576), Polotsk (1580), Riga (1582), Lublin (1582), Kalisz (1583), and Dorpat (1585); in 1578 the College at Vilnius was raised to the status of an Academy. Bathory had exempted the Jesuits from taxes, having allowed them to establish colleges throughout the country wherever they deemed it necessary. By the end of the sixteenth century, the Jesuits were directing 36 schools in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, usually placing their colleges in the important centres of population.[9] As many as 23 schools were run in Ruthenia alone. From the 1570s to the first decades of the seventeenth century, no foundations providing tuition in philosophy and theology were available in the Ruthenian lands apart from the Jesuit schools, and only the Jesuits ran seminaries for the education of the clergy. During the reign of Sigismund III (1587-1632) the Jesuit expansion in the Commonwealth reached its apogee. More colleges came into operation in Lvov (1608), Lutsk (1609), Kamenets-Podol'sky and Orsha (1610), Przemysl (1617), and Ostrog

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[5] Ulianovs'kyi, *Istoriia tserkvy ta relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, II, p. 211. The 'seven liberal arts' or the *artes liberales* scheme included grammar, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music, rhetoric and dialectic.

[6] Siropolko, *Istoriia osvity na Ukraini*, pp. 23-24; Jablonowski, *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohilanska*, pp. 24-25.

[7] R. A. Houston, *Literacy in early modern Europe: culture and education, 1500-1800* (London, 1988), p. 36.

[8] At the end of his life Sigismund Augustus donated his own library to the Vilnius Jesuit College.

[9] Houston, *Literacy in early modern Europe*, p. 36.

(1624). Attempts to establish a Jesuit college in Kiev were remarkably unsuccessful. The first one, undertaken in 1620, failed. Instead, the college came into operation in Fastov, a town in the vicinity of Kiev, in 1623. In 1647, the college was moved from Fastov to Kiev, but its existence was aborted in 1648, with the beginning of the Cossack War (1648-1654)[10]

1. *The school at Ostrog*

Whatever the 'traditionalists' might say about the superiority of 'pure and simple' Orthodoxy over the 'pagan devices of the Latins', it was only too obvious in the late sixteenth century that no revival and indeed no steady development was possible for the Orthodox church without a cross-fertilisation of its Byzantine heritage with the achievements of Western civilisation. The Ostrog school, opened between 1578 and 1580, was the first attempt to combine the Orthodox purity and at least partial acceptance of the Western cultural and educational pattern in a broad sense. This involved an attempt to extend the curriculum beyond the traditional scheme including reading, writing and church chanting; the invitation of teachers with a Western education, and exploitation of the possibilities provided by printing.

From 1574, Ostrog was the capital-city of Prince Ostrozhsky's hereditary principality. Like many other grand lords of the period, Ostrozhsky was determined to create a circle of learned men at his court. Scholars of diverse nationalities and creeds were assembled in Ostrog, having made it into 'a great centre of liberal learning and cosmopolitan intellectualism'.[11] Among them were the writer Gerasim Smotritsky (died 1594); the printer Ivan Fedorov; the Protestant Marcin Broniewski, supposedly the author of the Αποκρισις[12]; Jan Latosz, sometime professor of medicine at the Cracow Academy; the future Constantinopolitan patriarch Cyril Lukaris and several other

[10] On the foundation of Jesuit colleges and residences in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth see Demianovich, 'Iezuity v Zapadnoi Rossii', 207; Savych, *Narysy z istorii kul'turnykh rukhiv na Vkraini ta Bilorusi*, pp. 79-100; J. J. Santich, *Missio Moscovitica: The role of the Jesuits in the Westernization of Russia (1582-1689)*, (New York, 1995), pp. 52 et sqq.
[11] Sydorenko, *The Kievan Academy in the seventeenth century*, p. 9.
[12] See Chapter II.

learned Greeks arrived later, in the 1590s.[13] The fact that Ostrozhsky never tried to have the school officially recognised by the Polish authorities may indicate that it was a 'secondary product' of the activity of the learned circle at his court rather than Ostrozhsky's main objective in itself.[14]

The Ostrog school is sometimes referred to as an 'academy' in some sources and in historiography.[15] However, to attribute such status to Ostrozhsky's foundation is a mistake. In contemporary parlance the word 'academy' could also signify a scholarly circle gathered around the printing press and supported by a powerful patron.[16] Apparently, this was the case with the Ostrog school. Unfortunately, very little is actually known of the school's curriculum. In a panegyric published in 1600 and dedicated to the city of Ostrog, the foundation was called a *trilingue lycaeum*.[17] There exists one other contemporary comment about Ostrozhsky and his school: 'is zelum vel maximum ruthenici schismatis tenuit conservandi. Inde Ostrogiae liberali effuso aere non Slavonicae duntaxat linguae, sed graecarum juxta et latinarum artium erexit palaestrum, in qua ruthenam multam, qua nobilem, qua plebejam aluit juventutem'.[18] Collating these two pieces of evidence, one comes to the conclusion that the three languages taught in Ostrog were Church Slavonic, Greek and Latin; that the school was apparently supposed to provide instruction in the 'seven liberal arts'; and that it was open for all estates. It is possible that by creating a circle of scholars, a printing press and a school for children at his court Ostrozhsky tried to provide a response to the Jesuit Skarga's well-known acrimonious remark in his work 'On the unity of the Church of God' that there 'has not been and never will be a single academy where theology, philosophy and other liberal arts were taught in any other language [than Latin and Greek], and moreover nobody can be a scholar using the Slavonic tongue [i. e. Church Slavonic]. This language does not have any rules or grammar,

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[13] Kharlampovich, *Zapadnorusskie pravoslavnye shkoly*, pp. 263-270.
[14] See Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, p. 126.
[15] See N. Grunsky, 'Natsional'naia shkola v iugo-zapadnoi Rossii v XVI i nachale XVII vekov', *Russkaia shkola*, 10 (1908), 31; Kharlampovich, *Zapadnorusskie pravoslavnye shkoly*, pp. 244-246; Sydorenko, *The Kievan Academy in the seventeenth century*, p. 9.
[16] Grunsky, 'Natsional'naia shkola v iugo-zapadnoi Rossii', *Russkaia shkola*, 11 (1908), 21.
[17] Simon Pecalidus, *De bello Ostrogiano ad Pianctos cum Nisoviis, Libri IV* (Cracow, 1600), n. pag.

and indeed cannot have them. There is no one able to understand it nowadays, and therefore it is only too natural that nobody [in Ruthenia] speaks this language the way it was used in [their] books'.[19] If the foundation at Ostrog was indeed intended to prove the scholarly merits of Church Slavonic, it seems to follow that the importance attached to the teaching of Latin at the Ostrog school was quite insubstantial.

All this does not allow us to regard the Ostrog school as an educational institution, comparable, for instance, with Jesuit academies. The fact that the members of the Ostrog circle were fine scholars, some of them well-versed in Latin and others known as the authors of theological treatises, does not mean that Latin was intensively taught at the school, or that theology was ever intended to be read there, as some historians argue.[20] A few disciples of the Ostrog school are known to have later distinguished themselves as outstanding cultural and ecclesiastical figures. It is also noteworthy that they mostly represented the party of 'moderate conservatives' within the Orthodox church (for instance, Job Boretsky and Zakhariia Kopystensky).[21] The only possible former pupil of the Ostrog school who proved to be an exception was the 'apostate' Melety Smotritsky: he openly converted to the Union in 1628.[22]

In general terms, Ostrozhsky's success appears to be impressive and yet at the same time incomplete. In publishing terms, much was achieved: between 1578 and 1612, 28 titles of books were issued by the Ostrog printing press. Among the 14 titles in Church Slavonic there was the first ever complete Church Slavonic translation of the

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[18] Quoted in Grunsky, 'Natsional'naia shkola v iugo-zapadnoi Rossii' (10), p. 33.
[19] Quoted in Siropolko, *Istoriia osvity na Ukraini*, pp. 27-28. For more details on Skarga's book see Chapter II.
[20] For instance, Grunsky, 'Natsional'naia shkola v iugo-zapadnoi Rossii' (10), 33.
[21] See K. Kharlampovich, 'Ostrozhskaia pravoslavnaia shkola', *Kievskaia starina*, 57 (1897), 386-387; also Kharlampovich, *Zapadnorusskie pravoslavnye shkoly*, pp. 270-276. Although there are grounds for believing that contemporary cultural trends coming from the West were not unknown to those people, they at times tried to deliberately distance themselves from associating with Western knowledge. For instance, Boretsky used a lot of Latin words and phrases in his work: see his 'Protestatsiia', *Pam'iatky brats'kykh shkil na Ukraini (kinets' XVI- pochatok XVII st.): teksty i doslidzhennia*, ed. V. Nychyk et al. (Kiev, 1988), pp. 313-327. Kopystensky, in contrast, refused to recognise any merits to the neo-scholasticism and 'pagan' rhetorical devices in his panegyric to Elisei Pletenetsky: see Chapter XII. This shows, however, that he knew about their existence.
[22] Apparently, Smotritsky had started his education in Ostrog, but continued it at the Vilnius Jesuit Academy, and he may have attended lectures at the University of Leipzig later: see D. Frick, *Meletij Smotryc'kyj* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), pp. 30-37.

Bible (1581), and there were 14 polemical treatises in Ruthenian.[23] However, as far as the school was concerned, it began showing signs of decline as early as 1592. At that time Ostrozhsky complained that the number of teachers was inadequate, and the standard of those available unsatisfactory.[24] In 1595, a Catholic academy was established in Zamosc, a Polish city close to the Ruthenian lands. The founder, Chancellor Jan Zamoyski, intended it to attract the Ruthenian youth, and succeeded in achieving this goal quite effectively.[25] Ostrozhsky died 1608. The printing press and the school ceased to exist at Ostrog in 1612. In 1624, Ostrozhsky's Catholic grand-daughter re-opened the school as a Jesuit college.[26]

2. *Brotherhood schools*

The anonymous author of a polemical treatise entitled 'A forewarning' (*Perestoroga*; c. 1600) bitterly reprimanded his noble contemporaries: 'Having established and generously endowed many churches and monasteries with possessions, gold, silver, pearls and jewels... you have overlooked what was much more, and vitally important: you did not found... schools... Had we not been so ignorant and foolish, we would not have come to see such a disaster'.[27] With the beginning of the Catholic Reformation and the 'secession' of the Ruthenian noble elite from the ancestral religion and culture after the Union of Lublin, the non-noble estates anxious to preserve their faith had to see to it themselves. Clearly, not all of them were in a position to do so. The bulk of the rural population stubbornly clung to Orthodoxy, being unable to give any reasons for it other than the necessity of keeping to the 'old ways'. However, burghers in the cities in the western parts of Ruthenia, particularly the inhabitants of Lvov, were alive to the problems within the church, of which corruption, simony and

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[23] Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, p. 125.
[24] See Grunsky, 'Natsional'naia shkola v iugo-zapadnoi Rossii' (10), 33.
[25] Jablonowski, *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohilanska*, p. 22. Such prominent churchmen as Kassian Sakovich, Isaiah Trofimovich-Kozlovsky and Sylvester Kossov studied at Zamosc: Siropolko, *Istoriia osvity na Ukraini*, p. 26.
[26] P. Sotnichenko, 'K istorii biblioteki Ostrozhskoi shkoly', *Fedorovskie chteniia (1981)* (Moscow, 1985), p. 149.
[27] *Akty, otosiashchiesia k istorii zapadnoi Rossii, sobrannye i izdannye Arkheograficheskoiu*

ignorance of the clergy were the gravest; they knew how to deal with the state authorities in pursuing their ends; and by the 1580s they were culturally and morally prepared to mount a response to the offensive Counter-Reformation drive.

It is noteworthy that the socially and politically active period of the brotherhoods' activity from the sixteenth century onwards fully coincided with the period of their involvement with education. The Lvov Dormition Church Brotherhood was the first Orthodox confraternity of laymen in Poland-Lithuania to start this process and hold out an example to all the other Orthodox brotherhoods established throughout the Ruthenian lands between 1586 and the late 1610s. The 1586 statute of the Brotherhood, approved by Joachim, Patriarch of Antioch, on his visit to Lvov, did not mention the school. However, the Brotherhood later argued that its school was already run at the time of Joachim's sojourn in 1585-1586, and indeed it was no later than 1587 that the existence of a school and a printing press under the auspices of the Dormition Brotherhood was authorised by the Constantinopolitan patriarch, Jeremiah Tranos.[28]

The earliest surviving text of the school's statute was worked out between 1586 and 1588. Its introductory part states that the new establishment was instituted as 'a school of Greek and Slavonic letters' (*uchilishche grecheskago i slavenskago pisaniia*). Apparently, from the outset the school was not supposed to teach Latin, as any mention of it is absent from the statute. At the same time, great emphasis was put on the study of Greek, and it was usually taught by native speakers of the language.[29] The 20 chapters of the statute extensively describe the duties of teachers and the routine business of running the school.[30] According to chapter Four, the school was open for all estates without exception.[31] Chapter Nine states that all pupils of the school had to be divided into three groups: the first learning characters and syllabic division of words; the second learning to read and memorise texts; and the third 'reading and exposing the

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komissieiu, IV (St. Petersburg, 1851), p. 23.

[28] See Ulianovs'ky, *Istoriia tserkvy ta relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, I, pp. 202-205.

[29] See Ulianovs'ky, *Istoriia tserkvy ta relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, II, p. 73.

[30] Published in *Pam'iatky brats'kykh shkil na Ukraini*, pp. 37-42. Remarkably, every single chapter of the statute is concluded with a relevant quotation from the Scriptures.

[31] *Pam'iatky brats'kykh shkil na Ukraini*, p. 39.

material, trying to understand it and to be able to hold a discussion'.[32] Chapter Twelve reveals the schools' curriculum, which is put in a somewhat abstract fashion: 'The teacher is to give instruction and provide in writing materials concerning grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, music and other [secular arts?], and also extracts from the holy Gospel and from the Acts of the Apostles'.[33] Most probably, subjects from the range of 'secular arts' were taught to the pupils of the third group, where active understanding and participation were required.

The statute mentions three kinds of teaching aids, namely the Psalter, the Greek and Church Slavonic Grammars, and lecture notes, written down by the pupils themselves on special 'tables' (*tablitsy*). The teacher had to provide junior pupils still unable to write with 'tables' specially written for them.[34] Ulianovs'kyi adds several titles to the list of teaching aids. According to him, primers (the Lvov edition of 1574, and two Ostrog editions of 1578 and c. 1580); the *Breviary*; the *Heirmologion*; the *Catechism*; and John Damascene's *Dialectic*, translated from Greek by the learned circle of Prince Andrei Kurbsky in Volhynia and published in Vilnius in 1586, were also used.[35] In 1592, the Lvov school was officially granted the title of *schola tractandis liberalium artium* by King Sigismund III, which gave it the right to teach the 'seven liberal arts' and Latin.[36] The first documented mention of the study of Latin in the Lvov Brotherhood school is dated 1604, though it is difficult to state how extensive its teaching was.[37] Orthodox Ruthenians with an adequate knowledge of Latin to teach at the school were few, and the Brotherhood was more than reluctant to employ instructors of other creeds.[38] However, the fact that the first professors of

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[32] *Pam'iatky brats'kykh shkil na Ukraini*, p. 39.

[33] The phrase in square brackets appears somewhat obscure. The original reads: 'Povinen budet didaskal uchiti i na pis'me im podavati ot grammatiki, retoriki, dialektiki, musiki *i ot prochikh vneshnikh poetov*, i ot sviatogo Evangeliia, i ot knig apostolskikh': *Pam'iatky brats'kykh shkil na Ukraini*, p. 40.

[34] *Pam'iatky brats'kykh shkil na Ukraini*, p. 40.

[35] Ulianovs'ky, *Istoriia tserkvy ta relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, II, pp. 73-76.

[36] Grunsky, 'Natsional'naia shkola v iugo-zapadnoi Rossii' (10), 38; Savych, *Narysy z istorii kul'turnykh rukhiv na Vkraini ta Bilorusi*, p. 147. In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth the 'seven liberal arts' and Latin could only be taught according to the king's privilege.

[37] See *Pam'iatky brats'kykh shkil na Ukraini*, p. 33.

[38] Grunsky, 'Natsional'naia shkola v iugo-zapadnoi Rossii' (11), 15.

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[34] *Pam'iatky brats'kykh shkil na Ukraini*, p. 40.
[35] Ulianovs'ky, *Istoriia tserkvy ta relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, II, pp. 73-76.
[36] Grunsky, 'Natsional'naia shkola v iugo-zapadnoi Rossii' (10), 38; Savych, *Narysy z istorii kul'turnykh rukhiv na Vkraini ta Bilorusi*, p. 147. In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth the 'seven liberal arts' and Latin could only be taught according to the king's privilege.
[37] See *Pam'iatky brats'kykh shkil na Ukraini*, p. 33.
[38] Grunsky, 'Natsional'naia shkola v iugo-zapadnoi Rossii' (11), 15.

Mohyla's College in Kiev were teachers at the Lvov Brotherhood school, and several youths whom he sent to continue education abroad were also disciples of the Lvov school, may testify to a fairly high standard of the study of Latin there.[39] It was not unusual for the Lvov Brotherhood to send its teachers to other places where brotherhood schools were short of qualified staff.[40]

The *liberalium artium* scheme is too broad a notion, however, to be unconditionally applied to the curriculum of the Lvov Brotherhood school. One has to agree with Grunsky who asserted that the study of 'secular arts' was maintained at an elementary level rather than in depth, and on practical rather than theoretical grounds.[41] It is interesting to look at the catalogue of books found in the library of the Lvov Brotherhood in 1601. Out of the total of 115 entries in the list, there are 64 Slavonic books, manuscript along with printed ones; 7 Greek volumes (*knigi gretskie*); and 25 Polish titles (*knigi liadskie*). The rest 19 are 'Latin' books (*knigi latinskie*): three Latin grammar books; a dictionary; a bilingual Latin-Polish *Psalter*; seven editions of classical authors: Plutarch, Ovid, Cicero, Valerius Maximus, Virgil and Horace; a 'book of Menan's dialectic and rhetoric',[42] possibly two volumes bound as one; a collection of Latin phrases compiled by Manutius; a bilingual Greek-Latin edition of a certain 'Nikiphoros'; a *Chronography*; a book on music; Sabelius's 'history of the Venetian war'; and one obscure title.[43] The scope of Latin books in the Brotherhood library, therefore, shows that although the teaching of Latin may have been quite extensive, the study of rhetoric could not have gone beyond giving a few examples of eloquence from the classical authors and Manutius's collection of Latin phrases. To all

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[39] For more details see Chapter VI.
[40] For instance, see the correspondence between the Przemysl and the Lvov brotherhoods concerning assistance with the teaching staff, published in Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, Appendices, pp. 32-35.
[41] Grunsky, 'Natsional'naia shkola v iugo-zapadnoi Rossii' (11), 16.
[42] To all appearances, the author's name was not 'Menan', but Menander, the Greek rhetorician of the third century A. D., famous for his commentaries on Demosthenes.
[43] The title reads 'two testament [testamental?] registers' (*testamentovykh reestrov dva*), and I have not managed to identify it with anything in particular. The catalogue is published in *Pam'iatky brats'kykh shkil na Ukraini*, pp. 30-33. On the library of the Lvov Brotherhood see I. Isaievych, 'Biblioteka L'vivs'koho bratstva', *Bibliotekoznavstvo ta bibliohrafiia*, 3 (Khar'kov, 1966), pp. 126-132.

appearances, the library helped the teachers, providing them with necessary material for their lessons, at the same time remaining inaccessible to the pupils, grammars and Psalter being the only books they were allowed to use themselves.[44]

Following the example of their counterpart in Lvov, other brotherhoods began to establish schools: in Rohatyn (1589), Horodok (1591), Przemysl (1592), Kamenets-Podol'sky (c. 1600), Kiev (1615), Chelm and Lutsk (both c. 1617), Nemyrov (1626), and Vinnitsa (c. 1630). Even this short and incomplete list of newly-established brotherhood schools shows that their movement from western to eastern parts of the region was gradual and relatively slow. Two main reasons for this were a lack of good teachers as well as a difference in mentality determining the eagerness to accept the new. To many the few existing parish schools and a working knowledge of *Psalter* and prayers still seemed to be enough for a good Christian. In the 1620s, Kassian Sakovich, then the Rector of the Kiev Brotherhood school, and later a convert to the Union, wrote: 'We are now in greater need of schools than we are of many churches without schools. Really, it happens now and then that ten to fifteen churches could be found in some localities, but not a single school. Where are good deacons, scribes, choir singers, and also proficient priests supposed to come from if the schools do not exist?'[45] The new schools' statutes, as a rule, closely resembled the statute of the Lvov school.[46] Consequently, their curricula and teaching techniques were most probably similar as well. However, some new items of information can be found in the statutes of newly-established schools. So, for instance, the first statute of the Lutsk school (c. 1617) contains a most interesting statement that the pupils 'should not bring any arms, or tools... or books describing other creeds' beliefs and practices, or heretical books, for such books would distort their apprehension, and divert them from the true [Orthodox] faith'.[47] The second statute of the Lutsk Brotherhood school prescribes the

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[44] See the analysis of the Lvov Brotherhood school's statute above in this chapter.
[45] K. Sakovich, 'Arystotelevs'ki problemy abo Pytannia pro pryrodu liudyny', *Pam'iatky brats'kykh shkil na Ukraini*, pp. 339-340.
[46] Cf. the second (1624) statute of the Lutsk brotherhood school, published in *Pamiatniki, izdannye Kievskoiu komissieiu dlia razbora drevnikh aktov*, I-II (Kiev, 1898), pp. 47-54.
[47] 'Ne maiut'... zhadnykh ryshtunkov voiennykh albo iakikh inakshogo remesla instrumentov, krome shkol'nykh, meti, a ni knizhok inoverskikh i geretitskikh, dlia nabytia i zakhovania istotnykh tsnot,

predominant use of Greek and Church Slavonic by the students (the vernacular or *prosta mova* could be used occasionally), stating that the study of dialectics and rhetoric should only be conducted with the help of teaching aids translated into Slavonic.[48] No mention of Latin is to be found in the Lutsk statute. One gains the strong impression that the attitude to the study of Latin grew less favourable and more circumspect as the brotherhoods spread further east.

The brotherhoods were fairly prolific publishers of textbooks, particularly grammars. The first Church Slavonic grammar was published in Vilnius (1586), and a bilingual Greek – Church Slavonic grammar *Adelphotes* was printed in Lvov (1591).[49] The study of Ruthenian was not encouraged in the brotherhood schools, and there were no grammars or primers of this language.[50]

The Epiphany Brotherhood school in Kiev opened in 1615, apparently the year when the Brotherhood itself was established. Its first rector, Job Boretsky (1615-1619), had studied at Ostrog, then at the Cracow Academy, had taught Greek and Latin at the Lvov Brotherhood school, and had been its rector for several years. The range of textbooks used at the Kiev school was the same as in other brotherhood foundations: the *Psalter*; the *Breviary*; Church Slavonic and Greek grammars. In addition, Pamvo Berynda's 'Slavonic-Russian lexicon with the interpretation of words' (*Leksikon sloveno-rosskii i imen tolkovanie*) was printed in Kiev in 1627. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the school's curriculum and teaching plan is very incomplete and fragmentary, as very few documents from the seventeenth century have survived.[51]

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kotoryi sia na pravoi vere funduiut, khovati': *Pamiatniki, izdannye Kievskoiu komissieiu dlia razbora drevnikh aktov*, I-II, pp. 45-46. Special attention should be drawn to the equating of books with arms and tools.

[48] 'Pristupaiuchi k dialektitse i retoritse, kotorye nauki poslovensku perevedennye; ruskim iazykom spisano dialektiku, i retoriku, i inye filosofskie pisma, shkole nalezhachie': *Pamiatniki, izdannye Kievskoiu komissieiu dlia razbora drevnikh aktov*, I-II, p. 54.

[49] Once again, as in the case with the Caves Monastery editions (see Chapter II), no data exists as to what were the runs of these books. However, considering the great need for teaching aids for the Orthodox schools in Ruthenia one may assume that the output could have amounted to hundreds of copies. In addition, brotherhoods seem to have applied a flexible approach to the printing of grammars in particular. When the stock of copies available for sale and distribution dwindled, a new run was issued.

[50] The only known Ruthenian grammar written by Ivan Uzhevych in 1643 never achieved publication.

[51] To all appearances, historical documents of the Kiev Epiphany Brotherhood were kept in the Mohyla Academy archives, which were destroyed by fire together with the Academy library in 1780.

The only contemporary evidence available dates from 1630-1631, that is – the final years of the Brotherhood foundation before its merger with Mohyla's Latin school in 1632.[52] It is found in the memoirs of Ignaty Ievlevich (Iewlewicz), who had studied at the Brotherhood school, at around the age of twelve. According to Ievlevich, the school ran four classes: (1) the Russian school (*szkola ruska*); (2) *infima*; (3) *grammatica*; and (4) *syntaxima*.[53] Pupils were promoted to higher grades as soon as they had mastered the programme of the preceding grade.[54] Ievlevich's memoirs provide us with some information about the teachers. All of them were laymen and some at least had received higher education.[55]

As the names of the classes suggest, the first one was dedicated to the study of Church Slavonic, probably beginning with the basics and including arithmetic and church chanting. The names of the three following classes correspond with the stages of teaching classical languages in contemporary European schools: elementary, intermediate and final grades respectively. It seems fairly certain that Greek was taught at the Kiev school. In 1617 Boretsky acquired a number of copies of Greek Grammar for the school,[56] and a document of 1625 calls the foundation a 'school of Church Slavonic and Greek letters and other subjects'.[57] Whether Latin was included among the 'other subjects' or not is not at all clear. According to Sylvester Kossov's *Exegesis* (1635), there had been attempts at teaching Latin in Kiev before the foundation of Mohyla's College, but they had met with only very limited success.[58] However, this evidence is rather too vague to attribute the teaching of Latin specifically to the

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[52] See Chapter VI.
[53] S. Golubev, *Istoriia Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii: period do-mohylianskii*, I, Appendices (Kiev, 1886), p. 75.
[54] See Golubev, *Istoriia Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii*, Appendices, pp. 75-76.
[55] The instructor of the 'Russian school' was a certain Muscovite by the name of Feodor. Jacob Memlovich (Miemlowicz), the teacher of *infima*, was appointed proto-priest at Pereiaslav in the 1640s. At that time proto-priests were chosen among the educated clergymen (see Chapter V). Not much is known about Sava Andreevich (Andrzeiowicz), the teacher of *grammatica* and a native of Mohilev. About Basil Berezetsky (Berezecki), the teacher of *syntaxima*, Ievlevich informs that he was a son of the Kievan proto-priest, and was later employed as a lawyer (*jurista*) at the Crown court: Golubev, *Istoriia Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii*, Appendices, p. 75.
[56] Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, Appendices, p. 217.
[57] See Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, pp. 289-290. More about the document see below in this chapter.
[58] *Exegesis Syl'vestra Kossova*, ed. [S. Golubev], (Kiev, 1874), pp. 7,9.

brotherhood school. Anyway, even if Latin was present in the curriculum, its study must have been considerably inferior to the study of Greek. Ievlevich does not mention any other subjects taught at the school. This leads us to the conclusion that the Kiev Brotherhood foundation was below the level of contemporary secondary schools, which ended their education with the study of rhetoric.

In 1625, the Kiev Brotherhood wrote to the Russian Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich: 'We Christians of different estates and crafts, having come together in love and communal spirit have founded a school for the Orthodox children in order to strengthen piety and our ancestral apostolic Orthodox faith, and also to withstand heresies. We have established this school of *Church Slavonic and Greek letters and other subjects* [my italics] at great expense lest our children [should acquire their knowledge] from alien sources, expose themselves to the mortal poison of Western schism, and become apostates [by converting] to the dreadful Roman creed'.[59] All the fears of the Orthodox and all their hopes concerning the business of education seem to be brought together in this passage. Apparently, in late sixteenth-century Ruthenia high-quality secondary educational facilities available to the Orthodox without real or imagined danger to their faith were scarce, and no post-secondary schools existed. Although they had flourished throughout Ukraine in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century and provided a certain improvement in educational standards, the brotherhood schools did not show signs of vitality. A general decline in the brotherhood schools is observed by the 1640s, but the first indications of brotherhoods' limitations in the business of education were already visible in the earlier stages. In Grunsky's view, this change in attitude was manifested in the brotherhoods' increasing involvement with the reconstruction and redecoration of their churches and other practical matters.[60]

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[59] 'Na utverzhdenie blagochestiia i pravoslavnyia apostolskiia i otecheskiia very, takozhde na tverdeishee otrazhenie i otognanie eresei... my khristiane razlichnykh sanov, dostoinstv i uprazhnenii sushche, v edinstve liubve i v tozhdestve Dukha... sovokupl'shisia... uchilishche otrochatom pravoslavnym... iazyka slovenorusskogo, ellinogrecheskogo i prochikh diskalov, velikim izhdiviniem ustroikhom: da ne ot chuzhdogo istochnika piiushche, smertonosna iada zapodniia skhizmy upivshiia, ko mrachno-temnym rimlianom ukloniatisia': quoted in Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, pp. 289-290. The letter invited donations from the tsar.

[60] Grunsky, 'Natsional'naia shkola v iugo-zapadnoi Rossii' (11), 19-20.

In comparison with their Latin counterparts, the range of knowledge provided by the brotherhood schools was limited and lacked systematisation, the level of teaching Latin was generally low with only a few and temporary exceptions, educational facilities were scarce, and the teaching staff inadequate. On the one hand, to know too much Latin and 'pagan devices' of rhetoric and dialectic appeared to be hazardous, as it brought one too close to the danger of 'apostasy'. On the other hand, not to know Latin meant to lose in many senses: in knowledge, in prestige, and sometimes even in everyday life. Kossov left this testimony in his *Exegesis*: 'Look at a poor Ruthenian who goes into the court of justice, to the diet or the dietine. He just looks around himself unhappily, popping his eyes as a falcon now to the jury, now to the barrister, now to the deputy, not understanding a word of what they say. As often as not the result may be that he pays fines without being indeed guilty (*bez laciny, placi winy*)!'[61]

To put themselves on a par with contemporary European educational foundations without departing too far from their traditional values was an enormous and indeed hardly attainable task. Traditional values were connected with Byzantium and everything 'Greek'. Yet in the sixteenth century an educated Greek usually meant a Greek who had studied at a Catholic University in Italy or a Protestant University in Germany.[62] Moreover, the difference between things 'Greek' and 'Latin' was traditionally and unduly exaggerated in the imagination of the East Slavs.[63] The decision that seemed to be a 'middle way' was to know some Latin, to try and develop the Church Slavonic into a scholarly language, to study 'pagan devices' mainly in translations and without plunging into dangerous depths, and so on. However, the scheme did not work, or if it did, success was invariably partial and short-lived. Contemporary European education presented a complex and elaborate system,

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[61] *Exegesis Sil'vestra Kossova*, p. 50.

[62] So, for instance, Cyril Lukaris, one of the leading figures of the scholarly centre in Ostrog, had studied at the Universities of Venice and Padua, and was condemned for his pro-Calvinist tendencies later in his career: Grunsky, 'Natsional'naia shkola v iugo-zapadnoi Rossii' (10), 31.

[63] To preserve the traditional system of world-view, they had to have artificial distinctions created, which often had nothing to do with truth. For example, at some point Zakhariia Kopystensky came

incomparably more advanced than anything that existed in Ruthenia at that time, and to pick up little bits of it, leaving basic things aside, proved to make little sense. Restrictions turned into bonds, hindering further movement. Late in the 1620s, the 'apostate' Smotritsky caustically commented on the ignorance of the Orthodox and the futility of everything they did in striving to educate their youths: 'Your schools were wretched before, but now they are still worse... They make smoke but produce no heat; the only benefit the children receive is that from calves they are turned into oxen'.[64] Most importantly, brotherhood schools failed to discourage the Orthodox youth from going into Catholic education. Their range of knowledge being insufficient, the boys who began their education in brotherhood schools often had to continue it in Jesuit academies.

There are no serious grounds for doubting Lewitter's statement that the school of Kiev Brotherhood, in particular, 'did not in any way differ from other schools of the same type and would no doubt have shared their destiny by sinking into decline in the 1630s had not the efforts of Peter Mohyla determined its happier fate'.[65] The 'Baroque Kievan milieu' of Peter Mohyla consisted entirely of those who, like their leader himself, brought their knowledge from the West.

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round to the idea that Plato and Aristotle belonged to the Orthodox Church, because they had been *Greek* philosophers: see Ulianovs'ky, *Istoriia tserkvy ta relihiinoi dumky v Ukraini*, II, p. 79.

[64] Quoted in Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, p. 224.

[65] Lewitter, 'Poland, the Ukraine and Russia' , 171.

Chapter IV

THE JESUIT EDUCATION

> *It is of the utmost importance that one's faith be unshakeable to such an extent that one did not hesitate to throw oneself to the sea with only a piece of timber at hand should there be no ship around.*
>
> Ignatius Loyola

According to the educational historian, James Bowen, it was in the sixteenth century that 'Western education began to assume its modern character... It came to be appreciated as a highly important social process, especially after the stimulus given by Erasmus and Luther, who argued very persuasively that the propagation and maintenance of religious beliefs – and hence political loyalty – could be controlled to an appreciable extent through the school and the procedures of education'.[1] The contemporary educational model was based on Aristotle's postulate that the human mind possesses an internal receptive capacity, which 'enables it to accept and order logically, in a parallel mental structure, the phenomena of the external world. This model of the mind became increasingly incorporated into Western thinking... in the early sixteenth century with the appearance of printed books, for these were, *par excellence*, the medium for logical organisation and presentation'.[2] Applying this model to education in practical terms, Erasmus in his treatise *De ratione studii* elaborated a system in which studies gradually progressed 'from an elementary grammar through a series of Latin and Greek texts to the study of selected passages of classical and Christian literature, with an emphasis on

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[1] J. Bowen, *A history of Western education*, III (London, 1981), p. 4. Bowen argues that it was Erasmus of Rotterdam who gave the original impetus for all the subsequent development in this sphere, both for the Protestants and the Catholics. He states that Erasmus's model of education was based primarily on the 'Neoplatonist version of Logos Christianity with its central doctrine that the Word is contained within words': Bowen, *A history of Western education*, p. 7. This point of view is now generally accepted. However, it is never a sin to be extremely cautious when the 'origins' and 'roots' are concerned. As Aldo Scaglione explains in his study of the Jesuit schooling system, the 'humanistic' outlook and educational practices similar to those later applied by Erasmus and his disciples can be traced back to the Middle Ages and found, for instance, among the Brethren of the Common Life (Hieronymites) in the Netherlands, France, Germany and Poland in the 1380s. They were influenced by Italian humanism: A. Scaglione, *The Liberal Arts and the Jesuit college system* (Amsterdam, 1986), pp. 12-17.

[2] Bowen, *A history of Western education*, p. 8.

grammatical, syntactical and textual exegesis'.[3] The Jesuits applied this humanist scheme in their educational practices, adapting it to the ends of individual edification and spiritual perfection.[4]

The Society assumed a highly hierarchical structure in which the superior was to be ultimately regarded as an authority over the inferior. The ideology of this structure was set out in Loyola's famous dictum taken from his *Exercitia Spiritualia*:

> If we wish to proceed securely in all things, we must hold fast to the following principle: What seems to me white, I will believe black if the hierarchical Church so defines. For I must be convinced that in Christ our Lord, the bridegroom, and in His spouse the Church, only one Spirit holds sway which governs and rules for the salvation of the souls. For it is by the same spirit and Lord who gave me the Ten Commandments that our holy Mother Church is ruled and governed.[5]

Hence, probably, the reverent attitude to authority in Jesuit epistemology. An idea could be sanctified only if got confirmation in a trustworthy source, be it the Scriptures, the Church Fathers, the Council of Trent or Aristotle.

The cardinal modernising element that made the Society of Jesus different from other late mediaeval monastic orders, was their emphasis on an active life of Christian service rather than contempt for the world and withdrawal from it. 'They favoured an active, ongoing spirituality in place of the traditional monastic life in retreat... They encouraged a more personal and individual piety than had been customary in older religious communities. And while they remained very traditional in educational philosophy, they attached a new importance to education and required for admission into the Society the successful completion of a definite programme of study'.[6] As A. Lynn Martin observed,

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[3] Bowen, *A history of Western education*, p. 8.

[4] Lewis Spitz points out that, though extraordinarily effective 'in polemics, education and politics', the Jesuits have come to be regarded 'too exclusively as a force to combat Protestantism rather than an institution first designed for mission work': L. W. Spitz, *The Protestant Reformation: 1517-1559* (London, 1987), p. 303. In the same vein, the American theologian Carter Lindberg claims that 'the common attribution of an anti-Protestant motivation to Loyola for the founding of the Jesuits is misleading' and that, therefore, the Society should not be defined primarily in relationship to the Reformation: C. Lindberg, *The European Reformations* (Oxford, 1996), p. 345. This extremely controversial issue cannot be discussed here.

[5] *Obras completas de San Ignacio de Loyola: Edicion manual*, ed. I. Iparraguirre (Madrid, 1952), p. 237.

[6] S. Ozment, *The age of reform 1250-1550: An intellectual and religious history of late mediaeval and Reformation Europe* (New Haven, 1980), pp. 413-414.

'quite obviously Loyola did not believe that education was an end in itself; as always he was concerned with means and ends and accordingly wanted Jesuit education to be useful'.[7] No surprise, therefore, that Jesuit colleges were, from the very start meant to have a much wider impact than just on their own students: 'A Jesuit college would be the focus for the revitalisation of faith and the reformation of morality for the entire community'.[8] Having criticised the Jesuits for their superstitions and ardent pro-Catholic zeal, Francis Bacon gave them due credit adding that they, 'partly in themselves and partly by the emulation and provocation of their example, have much quickened and strengthened the state of learning'.[9] In some areas of Europe (Portugal, Spain, Austria and Poland, for example) the terms 'secondary education' and 'Jesuit school' had come to be synonymous.[10] The Jesuits 'did not merely resurrect and restore old ideas, but reanimated them with their own peculiar spirit and purpose, and by subjecting them to the test of personal knowledge and experience, formulated a code of education that betrays the multiple influence of other systems, yet is not a slavish imitation' of what existed before.[11]

1. *The Jesuit educational system*

Loyola outlined the full course of Jesuit education in distinct classes, graded at the capacity of the scholars, beginning with the study of Latin and Greek and proceeding to the *studia humanitatis* (i. e. poetics and rhetoric). 'When the scholars are sufficiently advanced in these studies, and if they wish to begin another course, let the college provide the philosophy course for them and finally theology, even as they do in Paris'.[12] Putting *studia humanitatis* at the core of the whole structure of Jesuit education, Loyola acted in

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[7] A. L. Martin, *The Jesuit mind: The mentality of an elite in early modern France* (Ithaca, 1988), p. 31.
[8] Martin, *The Jesuit mind*, p. 63.
[9] F. Bacon, 'The advancement of learning', in *'The advancement of learning' and 'New Atlantis'*, ed. A. Johnson (Oxford, 1974), p. 42.
[10] R. A. Houston, *Literacy in Early modern Europe: Culture and education, 1500-1800* (London, 1992), p. 26.
[11] A. P. Farrell, *The Jesuit code of liberal education: Development and scope of the Ratio Studiorum* (Milwaukee, 1938), p. 359.
[12] *Obras completas de San Ignacio de Loyola*, p. 806.

accordance with the system of St. Thomas Aquinas which 'contended that secular means could be sanctified to attain spiritual ends'.[13] Understandably, Loyola's model for teaching humanities would be imbued with a Christian rather than a semi-pagan secular humanism. He warned his disciples 'against humanist and Protestant undercutting of church tradition by a direct reading of Scripture and antiquity'.[14] Jesuit education was to be given free, save for the colleges for the nobles who were supposed to pay at least partially for tuition.[15]

Ignatius gave the first impetus to the codifying of Jesuit schooling by his *Constitutions* of 1552 in which a separate part, one of the ten, is dedicated to the matter of education within the Order.[16] According to Oskar Garstein, 'this section of the book became the first study plan of the Jesuit order, and in its turn gave rise to *De studiis Societatis Jesu*, outlined by Jeronimo Nadal between 1548 and 1552; to the versions of 1586 and 1591; and finally after approximately fifty years of experimentation and discussion to the *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Jesu* of 1599 published in Naples'.[17] In Farrell's estimation, this definitive edition was 'immediately promulgated and made mandatory in approximately 245 schools'.[18] Being, in its simplest term, a handbook on how to teach, the *Ratio Studiorum* 'was basically a handbook that grew up out from the experience of Jesuit teaching and a very rapid expansion of Jesuit teaching in the last years

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[13] O. Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia: Jesuit educational strategy, 1553-1622* (Leiden, 1992), p. 40.

[14] Ozment, *The age of reform*, p. 303. At the same time, it is difficult to deny the influence of humanism and humanists on Loyola himself: for instance see A. H. T. Levi, 'Erasmus, the early Jesuits and the classics', *Classical influences on European culture, A. D. 1500-1700: Proceedings of an international Conference held at King's College, Cambridge, April 1974*, ed. R. R. Bolgar (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 223-238.

[15] The Jesuit colleges existed primarily thanks to the endowments of lands, buildings, and money donations from the pious and rich, which, in Scaglione's words, 'kept coming in quick succession': Scaglione, *The Liberal Arts and the Jesuit college system*, p. 69.

[16] See *Obras completas de San Ignacio de Loyola*, pp. 440-481.

[17] Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia*, pp. 41-42. As is emphasised by Martin, 'Jesuit epistemology had a strong element of empiricism'. Notably, in his observation, Jesuits 'in their correspondence... frequently used the phrases "experience shows that", "experience demonstrates that"': Martin, *The Jesuit mind*, p. 233.

[18] Farrell, *The Jesuit code of liberal education*, p. 338.

of Ignatius's life and for a few decades after his death'.[19] Four chief elements of Jesuit education – administration, curriculum, method, and discipline – were set out in the *Ratio*.

> ...Administration, inasmuch as it defines the function, interrelation, and duties of... [Jesuit] officials [engaged in education]... curriculum, inasmuch as it outlines and places in their proper sequence and gradation courses of study in theology, philosophy, and the Humanities; method, because it sets forth in detail how to conduct the lessons and exercises of the classroom; and discipline, because it fixes for the students norms of conduct, regularity, and good order.[20]

In this way, the *Ratio Studiorum* offered a fully and minutely organised system of education, which determinined the practice of conducting classes, courses to be taught, the application of classroom method, books to be used, and authors to be read. An important feature of the *Ratio* is the standardisation and classification of the Jesuit education model in general terms, regardless of the country where the educational establishment came into operation.

Here arises a twofold problem. On the one hand, the *Ratio* did not prove to be an altogether inflexible system, since, as Garstein observes, its 1599 version does not provide an 'adequate picture of life in every Jesuit college or seminary'. To him, the existence of custom books called the *Consuetudinarium* or the *Domesticae Leges* in some Jesuit colleges stands for the fact that, having got a general outline in the *Ratio*, each particular college usually accommodated the details to local conditions (though generals reserved the right to approve of the amendments or reject them).[21] On the other hand, the Polish Jesuit scholar Ludwik Piechnik takes a somewhat less optimistic view on the flexibility of the *Ratio*. He cites a telling example from as early as the end of the sixteenth century. In the course of discussions over the final version of the *Ratio Studiorum* launched in 1586, the Polish province expressed the view that absolute conformity to St. Thomas's doctrine in teaching theology would be limiting. More flexibility was proposed in the form of providing guidelines for the professors of theology, which they could implement and elucidate themselves through referring to other authors. The response from Rome was far

[19] D. Letson, and M. Higgins, *The Jesuit mystique* (London, 1995), p. 141.
[20] Farrell, *The Jesuit code of liberal education*, pp. 339-340.
[21] Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia*, p. 43.

from sympathetic. General Aquaviva wrote rather curtly to the Provincial Paul Campano that no other province had dared to offer such an opinion: 'We regard it as inconsiderate, and regret that the privilege of contributing to corporate decision-making brought about such liberties from your side'.[22] It is true that Loyola's advice to the members of the Order was to adapt Jesuit activity to particular places, times, habits, persons of authority and other circumstances. However, Martin offers a very relevant explanation of what had taken place in reality: 'As time went by... as the Society grew in size, as it developed its educational mission... such flexibility and freedom became less and less possible'.[23]

The provincial played an important part in the running of Jesuit schools in the whole province: he employed teaching staff, supervised courses of study, regulated the main financial issues of the colleges' existence, and assumed special responsibility for the moral and spiritual aspects of Jesuit schooling within the province. The main officials at a Jesuit school were the rector and the prefect of studies.[24] The rector, though responsible to the provincial, could be appointed or removed only by the general of the Order.[25] The rector and the prefect of studies dealt with the mundane issues, such as attending public scholastic functions, seeing that the rules of the *Ratio* were duly observed by the staff and the students, and supervising examinations and public exhibitions.[26]

Jesuit education consisted of two main parts, one called the *studia inferiora* (covering three grammarian grades and the *studia humanitatis*; 'sub-university level', in

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[22] L. Piechnik, 'Dzialnosc Jezuitow polskich na polu szkolnictwa (1565-1773)', in *Jezuici a kultura polska: Materialy symposjum z okazij Jubileuszu 500-lecia urodzin Ignacego Loyoli (1491-1991) i 450-lecia powstania Towarzystwa Jesusowego (1540-1990)*, eds. L. Grzebien and S. Obirek (Cracow, 1993), p. 249.

[23] Martin, *The Jesuit mind*, pp. 107-108.

[24] There could be two or three prefects in larger colleges: the prefect of studies was responsible for studies in philosophy and theology; another looked after the lower grades; and the third presided over discipline. The latter two were always subordinate to the prefect of studies.

[25] The same scheme was applied, when the prefect was appointed by the provincial, but was subordinate to the rector.

[26] For the duties of the provincial according to the *Ratio Studiorum* see *El sistema educativo de la Compañia de Jesus la 'Ratio Studiorum'*, ed. E. Gil (Madrid, 1992), pp. 66-89; the duties of the rector: ibid., pp. 90-99; the duties of the prefect of studies: ibid. pp. 100-111; the duties of the prefect of the lower studies: ibid. pp. 156-178; and the duties of the prefect of the academy (i. e. boarding students): ibid. pp. 280-281.

Garstein's definition), and the other – the *studia superiora* (providing the arts course, that is philosophy, in the first instance; and meeting full contemporary university standards with theology, in the second instance).[27] There existed three types of Jesuit educational establishments: 'some of the smaller schools... offered only the humanities, but many carried the full arts curriculum [i. e. taught philosophy], and a few, chiefly universities, added the theological sciences'.[28]

The three grammatical classes – lower (*infima*), middle (*grammar*) and upper (*syntax*) – opened the programme of a Jesuit college as the preparatory stage of the *studia humanitatis*. These grammatical classes involved the mastering of Latin morphology and syntax, the basics of Greek, and the beginning of familiarising oneself with the considerable body of classical literature offered at the Jesuit school. Cicero's speeches and extracts from his letters, selected texts of Terence, the catechism in Greek, and the *Tabula* of Cebes were beginners' compulsory first steps in this process. By the end of their grammatical studies students had mastered Cicero's *De amicitia*, *De senectute*, the *Paradoxa*, and his more important letters (*Ad Familiares*, *Ad Atticum*, *Ad Quintium Fratrem*); Virgil's *Georgics* and at least some parts of his *Eclogues*; Ovid's *Tristia* and the *Epistolae ex Ponto*; the histories of Caesar, Sallust, and Quintius Curtius Rufus. Literary texts of Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius and Horace's *Odes*, according to the *Ratio Studiorum*, needed special preliminary selection and were sometimes even to be excerpted.

The study of Latin was at once a cornerstone and the principal tool of Jesuit education. Garstein makes a noteworthy observation: 'The names given to the various "schools" or classes [of the lower grades of Jesuit *studia inferiora*] were not a coincidence. Firstly, they reflect stages in the tuition of Latin, which was the official language not only of the Jesuit colleges, but also of the academic and ecclesiastic world at

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[27] Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia*, p. 44. As a rule, it was only in the *studia superiora* that every professor taught his own subject. In the *studia inferiora*, the teacher usually progressed from one grade to another together with his class.
[28] Farrell, *The Jesuit code of liberal education*, p. 339.

large. Consequently, Latin was spoken in the classroom and outside it'.[29] For the Jesuits education was not an abstract notion. Faithful to the humanistic idea of *pietas litterata*, they sought to become 'the schoolmasters of Europe', regarding their work as a spiritual mission in the deepest Christian sense.[30] Latin was the official and sacral language of the Catholic Church, and as such was emphasised in conscious opposition to the Protestant adherence to vernaculars.[31] From year to year a pupil of the Jesuit school approached the stage when his command of Latin and of the literary material from the classics reached the level of 'writing Latin' (as well as speaking it) rather than 'writing *in* Latin' (and speaking *in* it).[32]

The aim of poetics and rhetoric was to lay the foundations for eloquence, putting to use what had been acquired by students in grammar classes. The whole Jesuit pedagogical programme came to be centred on rhetoric.[33] The study of theoretical works by classical authors – Horace's *Ars poetica*, Cicero's *Tusculanae Disputationes*, and the *Rhetorics* of Cyprian Soarez – was introduced and accompanied by the 'routine' reading of Cicero; the historians Caesar, Sallust, Livy and Curtius; the poets Virgil and Horace. In addition, the study of Erasmus's *De copia verborum* and *De conscribendis epistolorum*, was assumed. By the time the student had mastered poetics and came to study rhetoric, he was expected to be able to cope with Aristotle.

As follows from the *Ratio Studiorum*, the study of Greek was subordinate to that of Latin; however, it does not seem to have been neglected. The study of Greek started as early as the lower classes of grammar, and this was combined with readings from Aesop and Aristophanes. About one hour each day, together with some portion of the Saturdays reviews, was to be devoted to Greek. By the rhetoric grade, a student had to have 'put behind him a formidable amount of Greek classics both in prose and in verse, besides some

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[29] Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia*, p. 44.
[30] Bowen, *A history of Western education*, p. 6.
[31] S. Gaukroger, *Descartes: An intellectual biography* (Oxford, 1995), p. 45.
[32] Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia*, p. 45.
[33] Scaglione, *The Liberal Arts and the Jesuit college system*, p. 56.

of the writings of the Greek authors: Plato, Demosthenes, Thucydides, Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Isocrates, Phocylides, Theognis, Aesop, Synesius of Cyrene, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Basil the Great, and St. John Chrysostom'.[34] But the standard of teaching Greek varied from one school to another, depending on the competence of teachers as well as on the attitude of the superiors.[35]

According to the system of study and exercise, by the time the student was on the point of completing the study of humanities he would normally have become an experienced debater, besides having acquired considerable knowledge of the renowned authors of antiquity. Disputations proved to be immensely popular in Jesuit colleges, and became one of the primary techniques of education.[36] What the recipient of Jesuit education attained as a result of *studia humanitatis* with all its moral, aesthetic and formal implications, is aptly defined by the formula *civilis cultura*: 'although extreme value was attached to the mechanism of oratory and the characteristics of eloquence, the "praelectio"... was a method of learning and of expounding the erudition of that day. Everything was included: poetry, history, numismatics, geography, natural history, popular customs and manners, etc.... The teaching of that time was in the image of life where all is related and interdependent'.[37]

Studia humanitatis prepared students for embarking on the higher degrees in philosophy and theology, which made up the programme of Jesuit *studia superiora*.[38]

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[34] Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia*, p. 46.

[35] Ignatius's early companions seem to have shared the view that, being strongly associated with humanism, knowledge of Greek smelt of heresy: see Levi, 'Erasmus, the early Jesuits and the classics', pp. 230-231. For instance, Nicholas Bobadilla 'abandoned his plan of studying Greek [at the University of Paris] when he noticed that in many cases "qui graecizabant, lutheranizabant"': H. Chadwick, *St. Omers to Stonyhurst: A history of two centuries*, (London, 1962), pp. 76-77.

[36] In Farrell's view, 'the insistence on oral expression in class recitation, repetitions, competitions, and declamations, coupled with equal emphasis on written work based on the authors, was directed to attaining the *eloquentia* which was the unifying aim of the humanistic studies': *The Jesuit code of liberal education*, pp. 356-57. On disputations in Jesuit schools see Chadwick, *St. Omers to Stonyhurst*, p. 75; also Gaukroger, *Descartes*, p. 44.

[37] G. de Bernoville, *The Jesuits* (London, 1937), p. 172.

[38] As is emphasised by Scaglione, 'Loyola would not consider law and medicine': *The Liberal Arts and the Jesuit college system*, p. 69. I have already stated above that the aim of Jesuit education was not to provide its alumni with a professional qualification, but to bring up devout Catholics. As long as a knowledge of

Jesuit philosophy took three years to complete, and embraced logic, natural philosophy (physics), metaphysics, ethics and mathematics, all based on the philosophy of Aristotle 'in agreeable interpretations'. The first year of study covered logic and the introduction to physics; the first and second books of Aristotle's *Peri hermeneias* were analysed, mostly in summary. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the study of logic consisted of dialectics (*summa*, *summula*, compendium of logic) and the study of the commentaries on Porphyry's *Isagoga* and Aristotle's *Organon*, the latter being regarded as the instrument of science and scientific reasoning. Dialectics was chiefly taught from textbooks written by the Jesuits Francis Toletanus and Peter Fonseca.[39]

The second year of the philosophy course was dedicated to the general study of inorganic nature: cosmology, physics, physiology, and the study of the human mind. Teaching was based on the eight books of Aristotle's *Physics*, the first book of his *De generatione et corruptione*, and the treatises *De caelo*, *Meteorologica* and *De anima*. Sometimes Aristotle's minor works such as *Parva naturalia* were also read and commented upon. All the forementioned works of Aristotle dealt with his 'conception of cosmology, theory of evolution, and the forces controlling the aetiology of the events that occur in the realm of the four elements inferior to the ether'.[40] Mathematics was taught in the second year as well, its study based on both the theoretical and applied mathematics. Besides, the course embraced some essentials of geography and astronomy, which the *Ratio* denotes as 'aliquid Geographiae, vel Sphaerae, vel eorum, quae libenter audiri solent'.[41] It should be noted, however, that a somewhat sceptical or even scornful attitude towards the sciences was characteristic of many contemporary Jesuit professors.[42]

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law and medicine did not appear to be essential for attaining this goal, Loyola and his followers were not interested in promoting these disciplines at Jesuit schools.

[39] R. Darowski, 'Filozofia Jezuitow w Polsce od XVI do XVIII wieku – proba syntezu', *Jezuici a kultura polska*, p. 52.

[40] Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia*, p. 50.

[41] *El sistema educativo de la Compañia de Jesus*, p. 155.

[42] Chadwick, *St. Omers to Stonyhurst*, pp. 77-78.

The third year of philosophy continued with the study of the mind. The student first got acquainted with the Aristotelian conception of the stages of animate life, including the human soul (*De Anima* and the second book of *Generatione*), and then shifted to his *Metaphysics* dealing with ontology, the nature of existence. The third year of Jesuit philosophy also covered moral philosophy divided into 'proper' (individual) ethics, politics and economics, and it was based on Aristotle's *Nicomachean ethics* and *Politics*, as well as the pseudo-Aristotelian *Economics*.[43]

Those students who were willing to study theology and were regarded as fit for it by the superiors, were permitted to progress to this, the last and most sublime stage of Jesuit education. The theological curriculum took four years to complete, and embraced four branches: scholastic theology (taught for four years), moral theology and casuistry (two years), Sacred Scripture (two years), and a course of Hebrew (one year). Scholastic theology presented a step-by-step process of familiarising oneself with different parts and questions of St. Thomas's *Summa Theologica*. In compliance with the ruling of the Council of Trent, the professor who taught the Scriptures 'was to base his exegesis on the text of the Vulgate, but he should also take into consideration the varied readings of the Hebrew text and of the Septuagint, besides the Chaldaic and Syriac versions and the translations into Greek of the Old Testament by Theodotion [sic], Aquila, and Symmachus'.[44] The conventional method of proving Catholic dogma consisted in referring first to the Scriptures, then to the Church Fathers, the Canons of the Ecclesiastical Councils, and papal bulls.[45]

The Jesuit method prescribed the educational process fully and in detail. There were four principal forms of instruction: *lectio*, *repetitiones*, *sabbatinae disputationes*, and

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[43] On philosophy taught in Jesuit colleges see Darowski, 'Filozofia Jezuitow w Polsce od XVI do XVIII wieku', pp. 51-75; Farrell, *The Jesuit code of liberal education*, p. 343; Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia*, pp. 49-51; Gaukroger, *Descartes*, pp. 51-61.

[44] Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia*, p. 52.

[45] On the Jesuit course of theology see Farrell, *The Jesuit code of liberal education*, pp. 342-343; Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia*, pp. 51-53.

menstruae disputationes.[46] The method also included regulations on the organisation of competition inside the class. In Farrell's opinion, the Jesuit method of education was 'undoubtedly the most... original element of the *Ratio*'.[47] Academic competition in Jesuit schools was one of the pivotal points of their pedagogy, and was 'encouraged within the framework of authoritative texts and under close supervision'.[48] Jesuit pupils were not graded in the modern sense; rather, their names were placed on a list according to their progress in study. A system of rewards was instituted to encourage students to perform better. The class was divided into two groups called the 'Romans' and the 'Carthaginians', with the best pupils of each group called the consuls at the head, and those who followed them in the list known as the 'praelectors'.[49] Each boy in a group had a counterpart in the other one. If, upon being asked a question during the Saturday reviews, a pupil was unable to answer, the teacher turned to his fellow in the rival group. According to the final result of the day, the winners were allowed to leave the class and amuse themselves on the playground, while the losers had to stay indoors repeating their lessons again. The opposite to the lucky and the shrewd were those who proved to be dull, lazy, or broke the rules by speaking in the vernacular instead of Latin at school. For those latter the notorious *calculus* was in operation.[50]

Here the Jesuit method met with Jesuit discipline. Its first principle was that 'order depended on the observance of the school ordinances'.[51] The rules and regulations for the pupils were to be posted in conspicuous places in each classroom, and were to be read

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[46] Gaukroger, *Descartes*, pp. 43-44.
[47] Farrell, *The Jesuit code of liberal education*, p. 353.
[48] J. de Lamar, *Reformation Europe: Age of reform and revolution* (Lexington, Mass., 1992), p. 204.
[49] Gaukroger, *Descartes*, p. 42. The number of pupils in the class was usually large, especially at the lower degrees where they could number up to 100. Some authors see it as a serious shortcoming of Jesuit schooling. Indeed, the fact that in 1600, twelve professors taught 800 students at the Vilnius Academy, and five teachers gave instruction to 400 pupils in Lublin, makes it difficult to dispute this point: see Kharlampovich, *Zapadnorusskie pravoslavnye shkoly*, pp. 101-102.
[50] *Calculus* was originally a small board on which the name of the last pupil caught either by the teacher or by his own mates speaking the vernacular was written. The main task for the unfortunate boy was to get rid of the *calculus* before the end of the day, by passing it on to some other defective student: the one who had slept overnight with it, was due to be punished the next Saturday. The division of classes into two competing parties, the *calculus*, and the Saturday reviews existed in the Kiev College: see Chapter VI.
[51] Farrell, *The Jesuit code of liberal education*, p. 354.

aloud to the classes about once a month. The second principle held that moral hinges such as the hope of honour or the fear of blame were to be 'the great corrective in discipline and in studies'.[52] Teachers were instructed to keep a reasonable balance between being either too hasty in punishments or too lenient with obvious violations of rules. Corporal punishment was generally frowned upon in the Jesuit schools.[53] When it did come to corporal punishment, the teacher was not supposed to carry it out himself – a special person, the 'corrector' was appointed for the task.[54] The students were to grasp a most important idea that their duty to the superiors consisted not only in diligent study, but also in striving after virtue, in growing up to be true and conscientious Christians.

Extra-curricular activities such as drama and music could be regarded as an intrinsic part of Jesuit education in particular, and of Jesuit operations in general. Classical drama and plays by Jesuit authors were used as a platform for missionary activity all over the world. Around 100,000 stage performances were produced by the Jesuits between 1650 and 1700 alone.[55] School plays were mentioned in the *Ratio Studiorum* and sanctified for godly purposes: 'Tragoediarum et Comoediarum, quas nonnisi Latinas, ac rarissimas esse opportet, argumentum sacrum sit, ac pium'.[56] The importance of Jesuit drama went far beyond entertainment. In Manfred Fleischer's opinion,

> the Jesuits proclaimed in and through their schools to the people of the world the redemptive conjunction of God and man in Christ by a special emphasis on drama. Every... aristocrat who went through the Jesuit school system came out as an actor... Ideally, he knew how to improvise his roles, sing, dance, fence, and employ the fine arts. He knew how to bear himself with perfect ease and presence of mind before the throne of Caesar, or at the side of a hanged man... He had learned to 'play his part' in the political arena of the divine comedy, as the priest did in the drama of redemption. The whole culture was oriented toward ritual participation in a cosmic conjunction: the union of spirit and flesh, God and the world, Church and the State.[57]

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[52] Farrell, *The Jesuit code of liberal education*, p. 355.
[53] Gaukroger, *Descartes*, p. 42.
[54] Farrell, *The Jesuit code of liberal education*, p. 355.
[55] See Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia*, p. 49.
[56] *El sistema educativo de la Compañia de Jesus*, p. 94.
[57] M. P. Fleischer, 'Father Wolff: The epitome of a Jesuit courtier', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 64 (1978), 591-592.

It would not be an exaggeration, therefore, to speak of the 'theatrical' quality of Jesuit education.[58]

No survey of the Jesuit educational system would be complete without mention of the Marian Congregations, or Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin Mary established at the Jesuit schools.[59] The influence of the sodalities was supposed to be extended to the 'hosts with whom... [the students] lodged and even to their families, to confirm them all in the Catholic faith, and to instruct them in the holy things of the Christian life'.[60] By the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century most Jesuit colleges, if not all of them, had one or more sodality. As their popularity increased, the original idea of sodalities as associations 'of carefully selected persons voluntarily dedicating themselves to a more perfect way of life' gave way to that of a student organisation embracing all students within a school.[61] In most cases all members of a sodality were divided in two groups, called the Senior and the Junior Congregations, for students of lower and higher grades respectively. At the regular meetings, usually held more than once a week, subjects concerning the 'avoidance of sin, or good conduct... or the study of Christian doctrine' were introduced for discussion and skilfully directed by the teachers.[62]

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[58] On Jesuit theatre and music see Chadwick, *St. Omers to Stonyhurst*, pp. 125-140.

[59] The first organisation of this kind was founded in Rome by the Jesuit Jean Leunis in 1563: L. Châtellier, *The Europe of the devout: The Catholic Reformation and the formation of a new society* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 5. As Chadwick explains, Leunis's idea 'was to assemble some of his more devout [external] pupils before they returned home... for the purpose of honouring... the Mother of God by certain pious exercises': Chadwick, *St. Omers to Stonyhurst*, p. 90. In 1584, all sodalities were placed under the official charge of the general of the Jesuit Order.

[60] Châtellier, *The Europe of the devout*, p. 14. The Jesuit Antonio Possevino wrote that the Sodalities 'speciem religiosae familiae prae se fert: quandoquidem certis legibus ad pietatem constitutum facit, ut ad perfectionem aspirent. Id vero fit per Sodalitates, siue Beatissimae Virginis, siue aliorum, quibus curae est in Coelis patrocinium nostrum': A. Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta qua agitur de Ratione Studiorum: In historia, in disciplinis, in salute omnium procuranda* (Rome, 1593), p. 408.

[61] Chadwick, *St. Omers to Stonyhurst*, p. 92.

[62] Chadwick, *St. Omers to Stonyhurst*, p. 93. About a replica of the Jesuit Marian Congregation, established at the Kiev College by Peter Mohyla in the opening stages of its existence see Chapter VI.

2. *The Jesuit attitude to books and libraries*

The Catholic Reformation fostered a notably reverent attitude towards the book. As a modern Jesuit scholar, Father François de Dainville, put it, 'L'importance du livre dans la pédagogie depuis le seizième siècle est quelque chose d'extraordinaire. En lui se trouve condensée conservée la civilisation intellectuelle dont l'enfant doit nourrir son esprit'.[63] This seems to be quite in tune with the viewpoint of Peter Canisius, one of the sixteenth-century forefathers of Jesuit pedagogy, who is known to have said that it is better to have a college without its own chapel than a college without its own library.[64] Apparently, the library system used in Jesuit colleges was twofold. First of all, it included the so-called 'school' and 'class' libraries, containing books accessible to the students. In addition, every Jesuit institution had its own study library reserved for scholarly use, some of which were of fair size.[65] The Jesuits' appreciation of the power exerted by the written word is demonstrated by their conviction of the value of reading and libraries, this outlook permeating Jesuit schooling and being an indispensable part of their neohumanistic pedagogy. According to the *Ratio*, the provincial was responsible for the annual acquisition of a sufficient number of books for the library of each college under his supervision.[66]

The Jesuit disciples were certainly not allowed to read whatever they wanted. The *Ratio Studiorum* provided rather strict instructions concerning, for instance, what it referred to as *libri inhonesti* . Those responsible should take care to see that the books of

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[63] F. de Dainville, 'L'explication des poètes grecs et latins au seizième siècle', in *L'éducation des jésuites, XVI^e – XVIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1978), p. 167

[64] See Vladimirov, *Vseobshchaia istoriia knigi*, p. 194.

[65] H. J. de Vleeschauwer, *History of the library science since the French Revolution* (Pretoria, 1966), pp. 33-34; also see Chapter IX. I have not managed so far to find a single work specially dedicated to Jesuit librarianship. Scattered pieces of information can be found here and there in general works on library history, such as that of Vleeschauwer. Therefore, I am unable to draw the line between the 'school' and the 'class' libraries and define their functions. The twofold library system was most probably inherited by the Jesuits from the Paris University, where two libraries called *libraria magna* and *libraria parva* are known to have co-existed from the mid-thirteenth century: see B. Kosmanowa, *Ksiazka i jej czytelnicy w dawnej Polsce* (Warsaw, 1981), p. 53. A similar method was apparently enacted in the Kiev College under Mohyla's guidance. See Chapter IX for further details.

[66] See *El sistema educativo de la Compañia de Jesus*, p. 84.

poetry read by the pupils were of a moral nature, and did not include any indecent words or ideas. They had to see to it that if such words were present in the texts, they were expurgated in advance of the pupils' reading them. In the event that a text proved to be completely unsuitable, and not amenable to bowdlerising, as, for instance, some works of Terence, it was prohibited to use it at schools.[67] The distribution of other books also proved quite selective. Students of theology and philosophy should have only those books approved by the rector and professors for them to read, first of all St. Thomas's *Summa Theologica* and Aristotle's philosophy with some selected commentaries for their private study. All students of theology should also have *Tridentium Consilium* and a volume of the Bible once they are well acquainted with them. Patristic works can be obtained at the rector's discretion.[68]

In 1593, there was published a voluminous work of Antonio Possevino called *Bibliotheca Selecta... de Ratione Studiorum*. It not only comments on a great number of authors and books recommended for use in Jesuit educational establishments, but also explains in no small detail the ideology behind the selection of literature. Possevino's work provides an overview of Jesuit opinion on the importance of the book and the ways to employ the many opportunities which it offers. In particular, he tells us how books should be read and appreciated; why some of them should be corrected, amended, expurgated and censored; and to what ends books should be written, published and disseminated.[69]

A special section is dedicated to the storage and classification of books in library holdings.[70] Possevino states that volumes should be classified 'ex partitione materiarum,

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[67] *El sistema educativo de la Compañia de Jesus*, p. 84. This is how Possevino explained the need for the correction, emendation and expurgation of texts: 'Iam libri corriguntur, emendantur, purgantur. Correctio et emendatio adhibetur potissimum, ubi contextus male vel descriptus, vel excusus est: purgatio ad sensus inuersionem, ad haereses, ad foeditates tollendas. Emendationem itaque iuvant tum antiqua saniora exemplaria, et quae nouissime a Catholicis prodierunt editiones superiorum permissu. In Latinae autem linguae, uti et in ceterorum idiomatum, quae incidunt, erratis emendandis, Antiquitatis et linguarum notitia, iudiciumq[ue] peracre necessarium est: Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta*, pp. 56-57.

[68] *El sistema educativo de la Compañia de Jesus*, p. 110.

[69] Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta*, pp. 56-62.

[70] A number of simple and sensible operations are recommended to preserve books from damage: 'Opportunum igitur locum nactus, libros locet quam ordinatissime, quos suo tepore excuti, et a puluere, tineis, humore seruari curet. Addunt alii, credere se, idem posse praestari, si e foliis cedrinis exsiccatis

quam in singulis disciplinis observavimus, suos quisque poterit libros disponere', and divided into seven sections: theology, philosophy, medicine, jurisprudence, secular history, rhetoric and grammar, and *apparatus* (encyclopaedias, lexicons and various dictionaries).[71]

A brief analysis of the surviving catalogues of five Jesuit libraries that existed in Hungary in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (at Kassa, Pozsony, Sárospatak, Turók and Ungvár) shows that their librarians remained generally faithful to Possevino's scheme throughout the seventeenth century and at least up to the early eighteenth century. Subject classification complying with Possevino's scheme was applied at Kassa, Pozsony and Turók libraries. Within separate divisions books were distributed in alphabetical order. However, in some cases a different classification scheme was applied, as, for instance, in Sárospatak and Ungvár. It can be easily explained in the case of the Sárospatak library, which contained less than 100 volumes in 1686, and around 150 titles in 1707. Applying subject classification to such a small quantity of books would have made little sense. At the same time, the modest Turók library – comprising little more than 200 volumes – did have a subject classification. It is not altogether clear why the books in the relatively large Ungvár library comprising about 1,100 volumes were not classified according to their subjects. As can be gauged from the catalogue, the books were divided by size, starting from *folio* and ending up with *octavo*.[72] However, even this division was not strict, and sometimes books of different sizes seem to have been mixed.[73] It is difficult to say why the

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puluis conficiatur, quo et intrinsecus libri conspergantur, et extrinsecus confricentur. Glutinum certe, quo libri compingendi sunt, e farina et aceto, atque ex aeris rubigine compositum, excoctum sit oportet. Nam aut non excoctum, aut farina tantum et aqua commixtum tineas edit': Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta*, p. 63. On the care of books at the library of the Kiev Mohyla Academy see Chapter IX.

[71] Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta*, pp. 63-64.

[72] The Ungvár catalogue is apparently a shelf-list, reflecting the way the books were arranged on shelves at the library premises. About shelf-lists see Chapter IX.

[73] The method of dividing the library stock according to subjects of books had been applied throughout Europe since the Middle Ages. From about the sixteenth century, with the number of books growing rapidly due to the advent of print, it was often used in combination with another method, assuming the division of books by size: volumes arranged by size were classified according to their subjects within single size divisions. For more details about classification of books in college and univerisity libraries in the period under discussion see Chapter IX.

Ungvár Jesuit librarians decided to ignore subject classification. Interestingly, as the catalogue testifies, not all library books could be found at the library, for a significant number of them were kept at the rector's place or in the rooms of other Jesuits.[74] Apart from books, Jesuit libraries often hosted collections of globes, maps and various scientific instruments.

Undoubtedly, the Jesuits fully appreciated the powers of the printed word. It was estimated that by 1940 (the 400th anniversary of the Society), around 115,000 titles of books had been published by the Jesuits.[75] Peter Canisius's catechism, first published in 1565, went into 130 editions.[76] From the late 1560s to the end of the sixteenth century, 286 titles were printed in the Polish Commonwealth alone, and in the seventeenth century, the number of Jesuit printing presses and their output further increased.[77] A considerable number of Jesuit colleges in the Commonwealth were particularly renowned for their rich collections of printed books.[78] The library catalogue of the first Polish Jesuit college in Braniewo (Braunsberg), compiled in 1570 and revised in 1605, numbered as many as 1,353 volumes, 'including a few titles of manuscript codices'.[79]

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[74] See the 1639-1663 catalogue of the Jesuit library at Pozsony in *Magyarországi Jezsuita könyvtárak 1711-ig: I. Kassa, Pozsony, Sárospatak, Turók, Ungvár*, ed. G. Farkas et al. (Szeged, 1990), pp. 87-235; the 1660-1682 catalogue of the Jesuit library at Kassa ibid., pp. 1-86; the 1686 and 1707 Sárospatak Jesuit library catalogues ibid., pp. 237-245; the 1704 catalogue of the Jesuit library at Turók ibid., pp. 247-255; and the 1707 catalogue of the Ungvár library ibid., pp. 257-282. For Klára Jakó's reconstruction of the Jesuit library in Kolozsvár (Hungary) see her *Erdélyi könyvesházak: I. Az elsö kolozsvári egyetemi könyvtár története és állományának rekonstrukciója 1579-1604* (Szeged, 1991). Published catalogues of Jesuit libraries are very rare, and therefore those existing are valuable sources of information on the make-up of their collections.

[75] D. Mikhnevich, *Ocherki iz istorii katolicheskoi reaktsii (iezuity)* (Moscow, 1953), p. 70.

[76] M. R. O'Connell, *The Counter-Reformation, 1559-1610* (New York, 1974), p. 229.

[77] M. Bednarz, 'Jezuici a religijnosc Polska (1564-1964)', *Nasha przeszlosc: Studia z dziejow Kosciola i kultury katolickiej w Polsce*, 20 (1964), 171. The famous Jesuit formula *ad majorem Dei gloriam* concluded every work published by a member of the Order. It is noteworthy that the same dictum is found in the last page of a great number of printed and manuscript books written by the professors of Mohyla's establishment.

[78] The Vilnius, the Grodno and the Pinsk Jesuit colleges in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, as well as the Lvov and the Kamenets-Podol'sky colleges in the Ukrainian lands: Savych, *Narysy z istorii kul'turnykh rukhiv na Vkraini ta Bilorusi*, pp. 79-86, 89-91, 94-97.

[79] J. Trypucko, 'Proba rekonstrukcji biblioteki kolegium jezuickiego w Braniewie, wywiezionej w r. 1626 do Szwecji', *Dawna ksiezka i kultura: Materialy miedzynarodowej sesji naukowej z okazji piecsetlecia sztuki drukarskiej w Polsce*, eds. S. Grzeszczuk, and A. Kawecka-Grzyczowa (Wroclaw, 1975), p. 211.

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Constituting a part of the value-forming elite of their age, the Jesuits, in Martin's opinion, 'were also a social elite; their background was primarily middle class, with a significant proportion coming from the nobility'.[80] I will show in the subsequent chapters that just as education was not seen as the ultimate end in itself by Loyola, neither did Peter Mohyla have educational objectives alone in mind when he established his College in Kiev. It is no coincidence that St. Thomas's system played an instrumental part in the organisation of both the Jesuit schools and that of Mohyla's. Reason, the power of knowledge and the readiness for adaptation inherent in the Jesuit outlook were to be substituted for the archaic mystical ways of Old Rus'.

[80] Martin, *The Jesuit mind*, p. xi.

Chapter V

THE FOUNDER: A BIOGRAPHY OF PETER MOHYLA

Même après les nombreuses recherches... la vie de Pierre Moghila, surtout dans sa première partie, reste enveloppée de bien des obscurités'.

M. Jugie[1]

1. *Family background and early years*

Peter Mohyla was born in Moldavia, on 21 December 1596 or 1597, into the family of Simeon Mohyla.[2] The contemporary political situation in the sixteenth-century Moldavia was complicated. Moldavia had become a vassal of Poland in 1402.[3] However, late in the fifteenth century the Turks established their suzerainty over the country, having accepted its dependence upon Poland in so far as an alliance with the latter was necessary to keep the Habsburgs at bay. At the same time, Moldavia served as a buffer-state, on whose territory the two great powers withstood

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[1] *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique,* X, 1 (Paris, 1929), col. 2063.

[2] Here and subsequently all dates accord with the Julian calendar. Rumanian historians, whose contribution to the research into Peter Mohyla's family background is especially significant and is usually supported by first-hand documentary evidence, maintain that he was born on 21 December 1597: M. Cazacu, 'Pierre Mohyla et la Roumanie', *HUS*, 8 (1984), 202. At the same time, most Russian and Ukrainian historians traditionally believe that the year of Peter's birth was 1596. This argument is based on the information taken from the memoirs of Joachim Jerlicz, an Orthodox nobleman and Mohyla's contemporary. According to him, Peter Mohyla had lived 'the full fifty years': J. Jerlicz, *Latopisiec, albo kroniczka*, I (Warsaw, 1853), p. 59. Mohyla died on New Year's Eve 1646, which would suggest that the year of his birth was 1596. However, it is not impossible that Jerlicz could have been mistaken by a year. A special section of Jerlicz's work, written in the 1650s, is dedicated to Mohyla, then already deceased: Jerlicz, *Latopisiec, albo kroniczka*, pp. 56-59. Given the general scarcity of documentary materials on Mohyla's biography, Jerlicz's memoirs are regarded as a valuable source of information. However, they should be treated with caution, as Jerlicz had been unreservedly critical towards Mohyla, and his comments are anything but free from bias. I shall return to Jerlicz's work later in this chapter. Jablonowski suggested that Jerlicz could possibly have studied at the Kiev Brotherhood school: Jablonowski, *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohilanska*, p. 74.

One more version of Peter Mohyla's date of birth has been suggested by Oles' Bilodid on the basis of his analysis of a silver plaque found during the excavations of the Dormition Church at the Kiev Caves Monastery in 1982. The plaque had been attached to Peter's coffin and bears his coat of arms, an epitaph and a date inscribed in letters of the Slavonic alphabet. Bilodid claims that the date should be read as '1574', which, in his view, stands for the actual year of Mohyla's birth, and therefore shifts the major events of his life more than twenty years back in terms of his age, and also explains why Peter's portraits of a later date present a person looking older than 50: O. Bilodid, *Zagadka Petra Mohyly* (Kiev, 1997), pp. 25-39. However, this version is very improbable. Peter's parents Simeon Mohyla and Marghita-Melania were married about the year 1590, and Peter was their third son. His elder brothers were Michael, born in 1591 or 1592, and Gabriel, whose exact year of birth is not known: M. Cazacu, 'Pierre Mohyla et la Roumanie', 202. For further argument discarding Bilodid's view see V. Klimov et al., *Fenomen Petra Mohyly* (Kiev, 1996), pp. 40-48; I. Haiuk, 'Dylemy biohrafichnykh poshukiv', *P. Mohyla: bohoslov, tserkovnyi i kul'turnyi diiach*, eds A. Kolodnyi and V. Klimov (Kiev, 1997), pp. 108-113.

[3] I. Shevchenko, 'The many worlds of Peter Mohyla', *HUS*, 8 (1984), 12.

the Tatars and the Cossacks without jeopardising too much their existing armistices with Muscovy and the Habsburg Empire, respectively.[4] As a result, Moldavian *hospodars* (rulers) were hard put to manoeuvre even with the utmost skill in order to preserve their power. This led to an uncertainty of loyalties, plotting and ongoing conflicts between powerful clans and their sub-divisions.

The predominantly Orthodox Moldavia maintained strong cultural and religious ties with Galicia, and the main language of the church and administration was Church Slavonic. Polish, too, was introduced and used not only in the *hospodars'* communications with the Polish authorities, but also in their correspondence with the Lvov Brotherhood. 'Religious polemical literature of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, written in Ruthenian and Polish... reached Moldavia, largely through the L'viv Confraternity. In turn, many *hospodars* were benefactors of the Confraternity, as they were of other Orthodox establishments outside their frontiers, for instance, the Monasteries of Mount Athos and the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai'.[5]

The information about Peter's parents and indeed his ancestry now available to us is rather fragmentary. The first representative of the Mohylas is mentioned as a courtier in the service of the Moldavian *hospodars* in 1490.[6] In the mid-sixteenth century, Peter's paternal grandfather John apparently excelled in the service of the *Hospodar* Alexander Lapusneanu, but he is thought to have taken monastic vows ca. 1563.[7]

The accession of Jeremiah Mohyla, Simeon's elder brother and Peter's uncle, to the Moldavian throne in 1595 under the suzerainty of Poland marked the beginning of the Mohylas' dynastic rule, which gave Moldavia eight *hospodars* and lasted 26 years altogether.[8] That period is characterised by the greatest political, cultural and

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[4] Cazacu, 'Pierre Mohyla et la Roumanie', 192.
[5] Shevchenko, 'The many worlds of Peter Mohyla', 12.
[6] Cazacu, 'Pierre Mohyla et la Roumanie', 195.
[7] It is suspected that he was forced to take the habit. Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, p. 38; Cazacu, 'Pierre Mohyla et la Roumanie', 197.
[8] Cazacu, 'Pierre Mohyla et la Roumanie', 190.

economic influence of Poland. Early in the 1620s the situation began to change due to the decline of Poland, facing the Cossack revolts, the raids of the Tatars, the ongoing conflicts with Muscovy and increasing problems with Poland's own nobility.[9] Moses Mohyla, Peter's youngest brother, compelled to leave the country for Poland in 1634, was the last of the Mohylas to occupy the Moldavian throne.

The Mohylas maintained family relations with noble Polish families through intermarriage from the mid-sixteenth century.[10] The daughters of Jeremiah Mohyla were married into wealthy and influential aristocratic families of the Wisniowieckis, the Potockis and the Koreckis.[11] These family connections endowed the Mohylas with the rights of the indigenous Polish nobility, enabling them to possess land within the Commonwealth, from 1593.[12]

Peter's other uncle, his father's eldest brother George, became the Orthodox Metropolitan of Suceava in 1588, and was reputed to have had a strong inclination towards finding common ground with the Apostolic See.[13] At the time of Peter's birth Simeon Mohyla was the Moldavian *hetman* under Jeremiah's rule; he became the *hospodar* of Wallachia for a short period of time between 1601 and 1602; and he replaced the deceased Jeremiah on the Moldavian throne in 1606. Simeon died on 14 September 1607. It is suspected that he was poisoned by plotters, one of whom was Catherine, Jeremiah's widow, who was anxious to install her own son Constantine on the throne.[14]

From what is known of the brothers Jeremiah and Simeon Mohyla, one gets the impression of ambitious and short-tempered men, probably well-educated and broad-minded rulers and pious Orthodox believers. According to a 17th-century Polish historian, Szymon Okolski, Jeremiah Mohyla recognised the political sovereignty of Poland, but remained resolute as far as the freedom of confession for

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[9] Cazacu, 'Pierre Mohyla et la Roumanie', 192.
[10] Cazacu, 'Pierre Mohyla et la Roumanie', 196.
[11] Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, p. 44.
[12] Jablonowski, *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohilanska*, p. 78; Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, pp. 37, 40.
[13] Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, p. 39.
[14] Cazacu, 'Pierre Mohyla et la Roumanie', 205.

the Orthodox was concerned: 'usum religionis Graecae liberum intactumque habere debet'.[15] In the 1606 instruction to the papal nuncio Simonetto sent from Rome, Simeon Mohyla was referred to as 'a truly devoted Orthodox, who is, at the same time, quite sympathetic to the Catholics, even as his [late] brother Jeremiah, whom Simeon succeeded to the [Moldavian] throne'.[16] Jeremiah and Simeon Mohyla were renowned as benefactors to the Lvov Brotherhood. Their charity in aid of the construction of the new Dormition Church in Lvov (1598-1630), was commemorated by the inscription in its main dome, where the brothers were styled as the 'founders' (*ktitory*) of the church.[17]

After the death of Simeon, his eldest son Michael succeeded him on the Moldavian throne. Michael's rule lasted just a few months before he was expelled to Wallachia where he died on 27 January 1608.[18] The attempt of Princess Marghita, Simeon's widow, to enthrone another of her sons, Gabriel, failed.[19] Since the new *Hospodar* Constantine, son of Jeremiah and Catherine, was hostile to the late Simeon's family, Princess Marghita and her children probably felt quite insecure in Moldavia.[20] They left the country in or shortly after 1608 and moved to Dziedzilow, a

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[15] S. Okolski, *Orbis Polonus*, II (Cracow, 1641), p. 230.

[16] Quoted in Jablonowski, *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohilanska*, p. 78.

[17] The church was called the 'Wallachian Church' by the townspeople. Apart from Jeremiah and Simeon Mohyla, King Sigismund III of Poland was mentioned in the inscription as the sovereign in whose reign its construction began and was finished; the Russian Tsar Fedor Ivanovich – as its benefactor (*blagodatel'*); and Miron Bernovsky Mohyla, the *hospodar* of Moldavia (1626-1629, 1633) and Peter's cousin – as the donor who contributed to the completion of the church (*svershitel'*): S. Golubev, *Materialy dlia istorii zapadno-russkoi tserkvi*, I (Kiev, 1891), p. 47. It was in this church that Peter Mohyla was consecrated as the Metropolitan of Kiev in 1633: Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, p. 45. For more details see below in this chapter.

[18] F. J. Thomson, 'Peter Mohyla's ecclesiastical reforms and the Ukrainian contribution to Russian culture: A critique of Georges Florovsky's theory of *the pseudomorphosis of Orthodoxy*', *Slavica Gandensia*, 20 (1993), 79.

[19] Cazacu, 'Pierre Mohyla et la Roumanie', 205-206. Gabriel (died 1635) was later installed as ruler in Wallachia with the help of the sultan, but was dethroned in 1620: Thomson, 'Peter Mogila's ecclesiastical reforms', 79; Cazacu, 'Pierre Mohyla et la Roumanie', 207. Paul, the fourth son of Simeon and Marghita, whose existence some historians have disregarded (cf. Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, p. 6; Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, p. 39) died as a boy on 27 May 1607: Cazacu, 'Pierre Mohyla et la Roumanie', 199. Peter's youngest brother Moses succeeded in being installed as *hospodar* in Moldavia twice for brief periods: 1630-1631 and 1633-1634: Cazacu, 'Pierre Mohyla et la Roumanie', 210. We also know about two daughters of Simeon and Marghita, Theodosia (died 1596) and Ruxanda (mentioned in 1607): Cazacu, 'Pierre Mohyla et la Roumanie', 199.

[20] Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, p. 41.

Polish town belonging to Stanislaw Zolkiewski (1547-1620), one of the Mohylas' Polish relations.[21]

We have no positive information about Peter's whereabouts from that time until 1621.[22] It can be assumed, however, that when the family left Moldavia, Peter, who was eleven or twelve years of age, would already have completed what could be called a primary education privately at home and he had probably been sent to continue his education elsewhere. It is known that at the family's settlement in Dziedzilow the sons of Princess Marghita were taught by 'teachers and a professor' from Lvov. On 7 August 1614 she dispatched a letter, by which she expressed her mistrust of them, 'because they proved to be familiar not only with the truth, but also with the lies', and sent them back to Lvov.[23] Although the boys mentioned in Marghita's letter were probably Peter's younger brothers rather than Peter himself, it allows us to assume that all the sons of Simeon received private tuition at home, and it is likely enough that they were instructed by teachers sent from the Lvov Brotherhood school.[24]

It was very much a matter of fashion for wealthy noble youths in seventeenth-century Poland to go and be educated abroad. Mohyla's writings of his adult years leave no doubt that his education went far beyond anything that the teachers of the Lvov Brotherhood school could offer him. Discussions on the possible place (or even

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[21] Cazacu, 'Pierre Mohyla et la Roumanie', 206.

[22] It is believed, however, that Peter was in Moldavia in September 1610, attending the ceremony, when his father's old servant Stephan took the monastic habit at the Sucevita Monastery. The Monastery was founded by Jeremiah and Simeon Mohyla in 1583-1586 and was the family burial place: Cazacu, 'Pierre Mohyla et la Roumanie', 195, 207.

[23] Quoted in Cazacu, 'Pierre Mohyla et la Roumanie', 206. In Cazacu's view they could have been accused of heresy. Although little is actually known about Princess Marghita, she appears to be a woman of great character, to whom political intrigue was not unknown. Cf. Cazacu' s statement: 'De [Dziedzilow]... Marghita assista à la chute de la branche de Ieremia en Moldavie et aux guerres turco-polonaises qui leur succédèrent': ibid., 206-207.

[24] It is much more probable that Peter and his brothers, like other boys from the noble and wealthy families of the period were educated at home than that they attended a school. Peter's affiliation with the Brotherhood school is unanimously accepted in historiography due to the connections of the Mohylas with the Lvov Brotherhood, although it has not been documented : Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, p. 16; Medlin and Patrinelis, *Renaissance influences and religious reforms in Russia*, pp. 130-132; A. Joubert, *De Luther à Mohila: La Pologne dans la crise de la Chrétienté, 1517-1648* (Paris, 1974), p. 368. It is noteworthy that it was from the Lvov brotherhood school that Peter Mohyla later invited first teachers for his Kievan college: see Chapter VI.

places) where Peter could have studied have been engaged in by historians for many years, but are for the most part quite inconclusive.[25]

The available information about Peter's education is basically of a secondary nature. The only direct testimony given by Mohyla himself apparently gives us the name of one of his teachers, Khristofor Volkovidny. This information comes from Mohyla's presentation inscription in a surviving book that he donated to the Grushevsky Shcheplovsky Monastery in Galicia in 1636. According to the text of the inscription, Volkovidny had been a hieromonk at the monastery, was already dead by the time of the donation, and was buried there.[26] Unfortunately, the inscription does not disclose where and when precisely Volkovidny had taught Peter. However, if, as I think, the word 'teacher' (*uchitel'*) is to be understood in its direct sense rather than as a 'spiritual guardian', Volkovidny could have been affiliated with the Lvov Brotherhood school at the time of providing instruction to Mohyla.

There exist two references to Mohyla's education definitely made in his lifetime by other people. One is a passage in a letter of Smotritsky, stating that at a young age Peter 'studied Latin and Greek' (*y po lacine y po grecku uczyl sie*).[27] Another is found in the panegyric by Theodosius Bajewski, presented for Mohyla's birthday in 1645. Bajewski wrote that Peter 'spent his younger years studying the liberal arts and in military service... to King Sigismund III of Poland'.[28] This seems to indicate that military service immediately followed Peter's studies, and leaves us with

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[25] For a concise survey of the question see Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, pp. 41-46.

[26] The full text of the inscription reads: 'V pamiat' sebe i roditeliam svoim i svoego uchitelia Khristofora Volkovidnogo ieromonakha v monastyr' Grushevsky Shcheplovsky i dezhe pogreben est' dana siia kniga Petrom Mohyloiu arkhiepiskopom mitropolitom Kievskim Galitskim i vseia Rosii arkhimandritom Pecherskim v leto 1636 Aprilia 21 dnia': quoted in O. Kolosovs'ka, *Doslidzhennia ta kolektsionuvannia starodrukovanoi kyrylychnoi knyhy v Halychyni (kinets' XVIII – persha polovyna XX st.)* – Dissertation for the degree of Candidate in History, submitted at the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine (Kiev, 1998), p. 130. This valuable piece of information came to my knowledge only very recently, courtesy of Mrs. Svetlana Bulatova from Kiev, and I had no opportunity to research into this matter thoroughly while in Cambridge. Further information may be obtained after thorough research in Ukrainian archives, above all those in Lvov. For other surviving books which Mohyla gave to different monasteries and churches throughout the Ukrainian lands see Chapter VII.

[27] Quoted in Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, p. 18. On Smotritsky see in Chapter III.

[28] T. Bajewski, *Sancti Petri metropolitae Kijoviensis Thaumaturgi Rossiae... Petrus Mohila* (Kiev, 1645), *n. pag*. This publication is very rare. I found one copy bound together with other minor printed works in the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in the city of Kiev: fond 739, op. 1, no. 50.

the period of about ten years between 1608 and the late 1610s, when his studies could have taken place. The reliability of the other two sources is more or less questionable.[29] The first source is the so-called *Catalogue of Kievan Metropolitans*, an eighteenth-century work stating that young Peter was 'sent *by his father* [my italics] to study at the University of Paris and other foreign universities'.[30] Finally, another document, entitled *Magna ars disserendi de qualibet materia* and apparently shedding light on Mohyla's education, was found by Vasyl Shchurat in the archive of a parish church in the Przemysl diocese. Shchurat dated it to the seventeenth century. The unknown author, who was seemingly trying to demonstrate Mohyla's high standard of education, wrote: 'Per summum nefas vituperatur. Varonem enim praeceptorem habebat eminentissimum'[31]. This information, however, seems to raise more problems than answers. The most important question is who was this 'Varro', and where he could have taught the young Peter.[32]

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[29] See Thomson, 'Peter Mogila's ecclesiastical reforms', 79; Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, p. 43.

[30] See E. Bolkhovitinov, 'Opisanie Kievo-Sofiiskogo sobora i Kievskoi ierarkhii', in *Vybrani pratsi z istorii Kyeva* (Kiev, 1995), ed. T. Anan'eva, pp. 154-155; also [Metropolitan Evgeny Bolkhovitinov], *Slovar' i-storicheskii o byvshykh v Rossii pisateliakh dukhovnogo china greko-rossiiskoi tserkvi*, II (Leipzig, 1971), p. 156. Obviously, this is a late source, but we do not know what kind of documents were available to the compiler of the *Catalogue* in the eighteenth century.

[31] Quoted in V. Shchurat, *Ukrains'ki zherela do istorii filosofii: istorychno-filosofichnyi nacherk* (Lvov, 1908), p. 29. The use of the present passive tense in the first sentence may indicate that the document was written in Mohyla's lifetime.

[32] 'Varonem' is the accusative of 'Varro'. A person who, as Shchurat himself argues, may fit the chronology of Peter's biography is the Jesuit François Véron, who taught logic, physics and metaphysics at the Jesuit College at La Flèche in France from 1609 into the 1610s, but not later than 1620: C. de Rochemonteix, *Le Collège Henri IV de La Flèche*, IV (Le Mans, 1889), pp. 51-52; *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, XV, 2 (Paris, 1950), col. 2699. From what is known of the Father Véron (1575-1649) he appears to be a person of great learning: an anti-Protestant controversialist of some renown, the author of about 76 works, and quite an eccentric. In 1620, he quit the Society of Jesus 'pour être plus libre dans son apostolat': *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, XV, 2, col. 2699. The College offered instruction up to and including philosophy, and the full course of study took nine years to complete. Descartes, who had studied at La Flèche, later gave credit to the College as 'one of the most celebrated Schools in Europe': R. Descartes, 'Discourse on the method', in *'Discourse on the method' and 'Meditations on first philosophy': The texts and essays by W. T. Bluhm et al.*, ed. D. Weissman (New Haven, 1996), p. 5. Shchurat's hypothesis received a generally positive response from some scholars: see, for instance Khizhniak, *Kievo-Mohylianskaia akademiia*, p. 58; and Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, pp. 42-43. It remains quite unclear, however, why the anonymous author of the document would have called a person apparently only so moderately renowned as Father Véron, *eminentissimus*. At the same time, the man in question may have been someone as remote from the seventeeth century as Marcus Terentius Varro, one of Rome's greatest scholars and writers. The author of the document found by Shchurat may simply have used Varro's name to show that Mohyla received a classical education, and this clue does not lead us anywhere in particular.

Leaving aside Mohyla's inscription mentioning Volkovidny, the four other pieces of evidence collated do not seriously contradict each other, but rather add up to what may well be a more or less complete picture of Peter's higher education. It was in accordance with the wishes of his father that Peter was sent to study abroad; it is not altogether impossible that he went to France first; but he also could have continued his studies elsewhere later. The only element, which seems to be definitely out of place is the location of Peter's studies at Paris. It can, however, be explained by a not unusual association of the country, France, with its capital by the eighteenth-century compiler of the *Catalogue*, trying to show off his 'erudition' in geography.

All this seems to agree with a number of important aspects of Mohyla's life. Firstly, Cazacu points out that due to the existence of two elder brothers, Peter's parents could have decided to give him an education that would have enabled him to pursue a political career as well as to join the church.[33] Secondly, the 'liberal arts', mentioned by Bajewski, constituted the curriculum of all contemporary Jesuit colleges. The 'Latin and Greek', mentioned by Smotritsky were languages the study of which was compulsory with the Jesuits. Furthermore, Mohyla's later innovations in the Kiev College testify to his deep absorption of Jesuit methods, following their example in minute details. In addition, if Peter did study at a Jesuit college, it may well explain the unwillingness of even his close associates – who must have known his educational background – to link Mohyla to the Jesuits in any fashion; they might well have preferred to keep silent about it.

Theoretically, Peter might have continued his studies by going to a 'university' in the precise sense (cf. the mention of 'other foreign universities' in the *Catalogue*). However, if he wished to proceed with theology after completing his philosophical studies, a serious difficulty was that no European Catholic establishment would have accepted a non-Catholic to the higher degree in theology, unless he had converted. Could Peter have gone on to study theology at a Protestant university? And did he study theology at all? These and other questions concerning

Mohyla's education cannot be answered until reliable documentary evidence comes to light. However, even a superficial acquaintance with his work – its language, its classical allusions, its symbols, and the general ease with which Mohyla operated with the ideas and concepts germane to Western philosophical tradition, but practically non-existent in the contemporary language and system of thinking of the East Slavs – shows that his educational background is most likely to have embraced at least a full course of philosophy.

When young Polish noblemen approached twenty years of age, they came under the protection of one of the great lords, usually as wards at their courts. Peter Mohyla is thought to have arrived at the court of Stanislaw Zolkiewski, the Crown Hetman (1613-1620), late in the 1610s.[34] In 1620, Zolkiewski died in the battle of Cecora, where the Polish army suffered a disastrous defeat by the Turks.[35] It is not known whether Peter was also there. In 1621 Peter took part in the battle of Chocim against the Turks at the side of Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, the Lithuanian Grand Hetman (from 1605).[36] Some authors believe that at that time Peter put forward his rights to the Moldavian throne.[37]

The year 1622 brought two distressing events: the military expedition to Moldavia led by Chodkiewicz and probably aimed at installing one of the Mohylas as

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[33] Cazacu, 'Pierre Mohyla et la Roumanie', 205.

[34] Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, p. 52.

[35] The Turkish military commander Iskender-Pasha is said to have received the severed head of Zolkiewski on a pike: Davis, *God's playground*, I, p. 460.

[36] See Haiuk, 'Dylemy biohrafichnykh poshukiv', p. 112. After much bloodshed the Poles (aided by the Cossacks under Hetman Sahaidachnyi) and the Turks eventually made peace among themselves: Davis, *God's playground*, I, p. 461.

[37] See, for instance, Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, pp. 48-49; Cazacu, 'Pierre Mohyla et la Roumanie', 207-208. The information about Peter's dynastic claims is found in two sources. One of them is a poem called 'The Chocim war' (*Wojna chocimska*) and written by Waclaw Potocki (1621-1696) in the second part of the seventeenth century. The text of the relevant passage reads: 'When Zolkiewski, who was his [Mohyla's] faithful patron died, [Peter] joined Chodkiewicz aspiring to restore his ancestral rights [for Moldavia]' (Skoro zginal Zolkiewski, jego wierny patron. Przygnal do Chodkiewicza: bowiem zmierzal na tron Dziedziczny kiedykolwiek): W. Potocki, *Wojna chocimska* (Cracow, 1924), p. 74. The Potockis were related to the Mohylas by intermarriage, and Waclaw Potocki might have known about Mohyla's aspirations from the senior members of his family. The second source is an anonymous manuscript account of the battle of Chocim, found at the family library of the Czartoryskis, one of the leading Polish noble families of the period: see Cazacu, 'Pierre Mohyla et la Roumanie', 208. However, the evidence provided by the two sources is too thin to be taken unreservedly.

ruler of the country proved unsuccessful,[38] and Peter's mother Princess Marghita died in Transylvania.[39] That same year Mohyla undertook his first pilgrimage to Kiev, and after that he paid regular visits to the city for the celebration of the Dormition of the Mother of God in the years 1624-1627. Also at that time Peter acquired landed property in the vicinity of Kiev.[40] During his sojourns in the city he established a close relationship with Metropolitan Job Boretsky.[41] The profundity of this relationship is demonstrated by the fact that in 1631 the dying Boretsky entrusted the future of his daughter Evpraksiia and his sister Minodora to Peter Mohyla whom he called 'my great benefactor' in his testament.[42] It is reasonable to suggest that from that time onwards Mohyla took an active part in the ecclesiastical life of Kiev.[43]

At the end of 1627 Mohyla was ordained archimandrite of the Kiev Monastery of the Caves. There are grounds for believing that Peter was still a layman when elected as archimandrite on 16 September 1627, and that he did not take the habit before 29 November when King Sigismund III issued a decree confirming him in this status.[44]

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[38] Joubert, *De Luther à Mohila*, p. 367; *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, X, 1, col. 2064; *New Catholic encyclopedia*, IX (New York, 1967), p. 998.

[39] According to her last will, Princess Marghita was buried alongside her husband Simeon at the Monastery of Sucevita: Cazacu, 'Pierre Mohyla et la Romanie', 210.

[40] Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, p. 55.

[41] Boretsky was the head of the 'clandestine' Orthodox hierarchy restored in 1620 after the split of the Ruthenian Orthodox community into the 'united' Greek Church (i. e. the Greek Catholics, subjected to Rome) and the 'disunited' Orthodox (those who preserved their allegiance to the Patriarch of Constantinople) in 1596. For more details see Chapter I.

[42] Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, Appendices, p. 397.

[43] Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, p. 50.

[44] Thomson, 'Peter Mohyla's ecclesiastical reforms', 80. The appointment of a layman to an ecclesiastical position was not unusual in Mohyla's time. According to the *stauropegion* status of the Kiev Caves Monastery, its archimandrites were elected to the office by the clerics and the lay representatives together, but the election had to be approved by the king who exercised the right of patronage: see Chapter I. For more details on the election of Peter see *Arkhiv iugo-zapadnoi Rossii*, I, 6 (Kiev, 1883), p. 586; for the decree of Sigismund III confirming Mohyla's election see Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, Appendices, pp. 296-297. The dating of Peter's taking the habit back to 1625 ([Bolkhovitinov], *Slovar' i storicheskii*, p. 156; Joubert, *De Luther à Mohila*, p. 367; Shevchenko, 'The many worlds of Peter Mohyla', 12), or even 1622 (Medlin and Patrinelis, *Renaissance influences and religious reforms in Russia*, p. 130), is, to all appearances, incorrect. Golubev has shown that Mohyla did not permanently reside in Kiev during 1626-1627: Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, p. 55; and Athanasius Kalnofojski mentioned in his Τερατουργημα that Mohyla became archimandrite without having been a simple monk: A. Kalnofojski, Τερατουργημα, *lubo cuda, ktore byly tak w samym swiatocudotwornym monastyru Pieczarskim Kiiowskim* (Kiev, 1638), p. 44. Melety Smotritsky's writings testify that Mohyla was still a layman when they met in Kiev in September 1627, but already archimandrite of the Caves Monastery in March 1628: Frick, *Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, pp. 124-125.

2. *Peter Mohyla as archimandrite of the Monastery of the Caves*

All speculation as to why Peter made up his mind to join the church is futile, mainly because there is no decisive evidence. Was it because he was a devout believer, brought up in a pious Orthodox family long renowned for its manifold participation in ecclesiastical matters? Or did he simply long for the power and benefits that church offices brought to their holders? Did he only turn to the church after his hope of the Moldavian throne faded away? Or did Cecora and Chocim pave his 'road to Damascus'? Taken separately, these assumptions lead us nowhere. A combination of some of them can probably be helpful, but which shall we choose?

There are indeed grounds for believing that Mohyla made great efforts to become archimandrite.[45] At the same time, it is important that he was evidently a suitable candidate from the point of view of the authorities. Sigismund III had previously refused to confirm the monk Theophanes Boiarsky, who had been elected as archimandrite shortly after the death of Zakhariia Kopystensky in March 1627. This made the faithful look for another candidate. As Thomson observes, Mohyla's 'unswerving loyalty to the Polish Crown... earned for him the confidence of the Polish authorities which others would not have enjoyed'.[46]

Anyway, Peter's great desire to become archimandrite may provide only an indirect and partial explanation of his intentions, seeing that to be a monk and to pursue a career in the church were not quite one and the same thing. This subtle distinction, however, is usually overlooked in historiography.[47] Mohyla the 'prince of the Moldavian lands', as he invariably styled himself throughout his life, had every right to obtain any senior position in the church corresponding with his aristocratic status and glorious ancestry. At the same time, Mohyla the abbot's monastic ideals

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[45] Mohyla himself spoke about the 'lobbying' for his case undertaken by his Polish relations, particularly Chancellor Tomasz Zamoyski (1594-1638), in his preface to the Τριωδιον (1631): Τριωδιον... *si est tripesnets sviatoi velikoi piatidesiatnitsy Pentikostarion... narechennyi* (Kiev, 1631), *n. pag.* The preface teems with the classical allusions and references to classical authors. Zamoyski, being 'a scholar of some distinction' (Davis: *God's playground*, I, p. 379), was probably supposed to especially appreciate such a learned dedication.

[46] Thomson, 'Peter Mohyla's ecclesiastical reforms', 80.

were very high, as can be seen from the manuscript notes on the sanctity of monastic life found in Peter's commonplace book of the late 1620s and early 1630s and obviously not intended for publication. Their sincerity does not seem to be undermined by the usual amount of rhetoric.[48] Mohyla's monastic ideal is the apostolic life, its main feature is the renunciation of all earthly possessions, as 'there are two faces of love... the love of God, and the love of objects. And these two will never come together... That is why a greedy monk is an enemy of God'.[49] To Mohyla, 'love of objects' is the ultimate obstacle to attaining grace, as the monk who cannot renounce his earthly attachments is incapable of self-denial. 'The ultimate and complete self-denial in a holy man is the rejection of one's own will... and absolute obedience to the abbot in everything, as to Christ himself'.[50] This is not unusual for Christian monastic tradition, but the theme of abandoning one's own will and that of the full acceptance of the will of a superior were especially important in Mohyla's era. They were not only central to Jesuit ideology, but also momentous at a time when Orthodox dissidents, suspicious of their church hierarchs, tried to free themselves from their authority, not altogether without success.[51] It is obvious that for the traditionalist Mohyla the idea of the church obtained its true significance only if understood as a single organism, where every member had his proper place, and no one should ever attempt to supplant the head, namely the clergy.[52] To him monastic life was 'the summit of Christian life',[53] but monastic life and that of a pious layman must have shared some basic ideas, such as that of proper hierarchy.

One of the surviving books from Mohyla's library may provide us with a glimpse of his state of mind before he took the habit. The book is the second volume of John Cassian's *Opera omnia* (Douai, 1616), edited by the Jesuits and containing not only Cassian's renowned *Collationes Patrum xxiv*, but also a series of

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[47] See Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, pp. 50-56.
[48] Original IM VNLU, 367/676 s, fols. 2-6v; published in *Arkhiv iugo-zapadnoi Rossii*, I, 7 (Kiev, 1887), pp. 171-180. For more on Mohyla's commonplace book see Chapter VII.
[49] *Arkhiv iugo-zapadnoi Rossii*, I, 7, p. 173.
[50] *Arkhiv iugo-zapadnoi Rossii*, I, 7, p. 175.
[51] For instance lay confraternities in the cities: see Chapter I.
[52] Compare with Mohyla's constant emphasis on the importance of the clergy in most of his works.

commentaries by Dionysius of Chartres, Prosper of Aquitaine, Henry Cvykius and Peter Ciaconius, as well as the *Statuta duarum Congregationum, sive Capitulorum generalium Ord. D. Benedicti*, and two poems on the godliness of monastic life. Peter's earlier ownership inscription reads 'From the books of His Excellency Lord Peter Mohyla, the Prince of the Moldavian Lands' (*Z xieg J[...M...]: P: Piot[ra] Mohily [...] [woiwodycza?] Ziem Moldawskich*), thus testifying that the book belonged to him before he was consecrated archimandrite (see Figure 1).[54] Unfortunately, the inscription is not dated, but the period when Mohyla could have acquired the book can be roughly deduced from the publication data. The volume was published in Douai, a Belgian town with a Jesuit College which ran a relatively small printing press. Its appearance in the Polish book market is, of course, not impossible, but somewhat surprising. Did Peter buy it during his studies in Western Europe? If so, he may have thought about joining the church even before his return to Poland late in the 1610s. Jesuit editors recommended Cassian as the one 'quem alii eremitam, alii abbatem nuncupant', on the title page, and indeed the *Collationes* is serious reading primarily intended for monks, and not very likely to be read out of sheer curiosity.[55] At the same time, we cannot rule out the possibility that Mohyla bought Cassian's book in Poland shortly after the death of Kopystensky, when the position of the Caves Monastery archimandrite became vacant. Anyway, Cassian's appearance in Peter's library shows that his attitude to monasticism was serious enough.

Unlike Cassian and Loyola, Mohyla has not left us a considerable body of treatises fully expressing his attitude to such important issues of monasticism as the relative merits of life in the monastery as against the eremitic life, and feats of

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[53] *Arkhiv iugo-zapadnoi Rossii*, 1, 7, p. 171.

[54] I have not come across a single occasion when Mohyla failed to indicate his ecclesiastical status clearly in his signature. Characteristically, his later ownership inscription in Cassian's book, dated 1639, duly styles him as metropolitan and archbishop .

[55] First 'published' in A. D. 419-429, the *Collationes*, presenting a general idea of the problem of the spiritual life, diverse arguments of spiritual theology and basic ascetic problems, remained of importance as late as the seventeenth century. The great influence of Cassian on the long-run development of Catholic theology is testified by Alcuin, Rabanus, Peter Damian and St. Thomas Aquinas, by the authors of the *Devotio Moderna*, and by Ignatius Loyola: *New Catholic Encyclopedia*,

mortification. Cassian had thought that hermits possessed special grace of God, but that very few monks were fit to become hermits. Therefore, they had to be cautious lest their desire to do so was dictated by the worst of deadly sins – pride. Loyola and the Jesuits professed active ongoing spirituality, stating that no member of their order could allow himself a life in retreat, however holy such a life might be, at a time when the practical needs of the church were so great. Both Cassian and the Jesuits were against excesses in fasting and mortification. Only one passage in Mohyla's notes on monastic life specifically touches upon the subject of the necessity of solitary life and penitence for a monk. He wrote: 'Only in seclusion can [a holy man] fully devote himself to godly contemplation... [He should] fast, spend his nights in vigils and prayer, prostrate and kneel, and take penance by humility and obedience'.[56] In his later writings Mohyla often turned to subjects such as the blessedness of the priestly vocation and duties of good Christians, but hardly ever mentioned the specific subject of monastic life again. It is not impossible that his views underwent a change towards a less austere attitude to monastic life after his earliest period as archimandrite. Mohyla's later life as an ecclesiastic seems to prove that his ideal was rather close to that of the Jesuits, being aimed at attaining spiritual ends through practical activities such as education, publishing and reforms within the church.[57]

Having taken up the position of archimandrite, Mohyla had to face the issue of the reduction in the Caves Monastery possessions. Its landed properties had been systematically devastated by neighbouring gentry. After the Union of Brest, the Polish authorities were indifferent to the problems of the Orthodox, and the Monastery had lost a not insignificant proportion of its possessions by the late 1620s. Despite all their efforts, archimandrites Tur, Pletenetsky and Kopystensky were mostly unsuccessful in

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III (New York, 1967), pp. 181-183. For more on Cassian and the *Collationes* see O. Chadwick, *John Cassian* (Cambridge, 1968).

[56] *Arkhiv iugo-zapadnoi Rossii*, I, 7, pp. 178-179.

[57] No mention of mortification is found in Mohyla's work. The author of the late eighteenth-century biography of Mohyla wrote about his vigils spent in tears and prayer and great feats of mortification. However, the nature and abundance of this very specific information may indicate its hagiographical rather than historical character: IM VNLU, fond I, no. 4084, fol. 1 et sqq. According to the historian P. Lebedintsev, this biography was compiled about the year 1770 by Jakob, the Abbot of the Kiev

their attempts to recover properties and claim damages by means of lawsuits. Mohyla took up the matter more energetically. He did not always wait for the decision after formally bringing a case to the authorities. Instead he armed the Monastery people and took the looted properties back by force. Such a course of action certainly did not add to his popularity among the neighbours, but this combined effort bore fruit: the Monastery won several lawsuits, and the nobles had to think twice before looting its properties.[58]

Among Mohyla's other accomplishments as archimandrite was the refurbishment of the Caves Monastery, which had lost some of its splendour owing to financial problems in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. According to Golubev, in 1628 he applied to certain individuals and establishments such as the Russian Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich Romanov and the Lvov Brotherhood for financial help, and it was not long before the Monastery received considerable endowments. That same year Peter redeemed at his own expense precious church vessels and liturgical vestments pawned by his predecessors. [59]

Early in the seventeenth century the reputation of the Orthodox Church was very low in the Polish Commonwealth. Both the Catholics and the Protestants mocked its superstitions, the notoriously low standard of priests' education, and the lack of uniformity of its dogma, liturgical practices and organisation. It is to these problems that Peter Mohyla dedicated his utmost efforts in the spiritual domain during his twenty years as church hierarch. In his commonplace book he wrote: '[O Lord], heal the wounds and soothe the pain of... humiliation that our church suffers from the faithless and the apostates, those merciless wolves bringing it turmoil and destruction. We shall pray for deliverance, and do not you leave our pleas unheeded, o Lord!'[60] Wishing to prove the sanctity of the Orthodox Church and its sacred objects, Mohyla

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Vydubitsky Monastery. Lebedintsev published its fragments under the title 'Petr Mohyla, mitropolit Kievskii', *Kievskie gubernskie vedomosti*, 43 (1859), 297-300.

[58] For the complaints against Mohyla see *Arkhiv iugo-zapadnoi Rossii*, I, 4 (Kiev, 1883), pp. 602-604, 618-620.

[59] Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, p. 337.

began collecting miraculous tales about the Caves Monastery and its relics.[61] In 1629, he compiled and published a new Λειτουργιαριον.[62] During the first five years of Mohyla's rule as archimandrite, 1628-1632, no less than fourteen titles of books were published at the Monastery printing press.[63] In 1631, a 'Latin' school along Western lines was established in the Monastery.[64]

3. *'Petrus Mohyla, Metropolita Kiiowiensis '*

On 30 April 1632, there died King Sigismund III, known for his ardent pro-Catholic zeal. The parliamentary struggle for the restoration of the 'ancient rights and liberties' of the Orthodox lost after the Union of Brest had intensified in the period between 1620 and 1632, but brought practically no results.[65] Therefore, the Orthodox were determined to exploit the interregnum to raise the question of the recognition of the Orthodox Church by the state. In a letter of 9 June 1632 to the participants in the Convocation Diet (opened in Warsaw on 22 June 1632) dedicated to the forthcoming election of a new king, the Cossacks forthrightly demanded that the religious crisis should be finally resolved and that 'the Ruthenian people should be... left free to exercise their ancient rights and liberties secured at the price of their blood... [that] the Union be abolished, [that] parishes and all the benefits granted to the holy [Orthodox] church by its pious devotees should be recovered [from the Uniates]... lest they [the

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[60] 'Rany, zausheniia, oplevaniia i ponosnaia unichizheniia tserkvi... ot volkov khishchnykh nyne vozmushchennuiu i ot bezbozhnykh otstupnik gonimuiu, tuiu nyne ot sikh zlodeistva izbavi i voskre i umiri – molitimtisia, Gospodi, uslyshi i pomilui': *Arkhiv iugo-zapadnoi Rossii*, I, 7, p. 170.

[61] See Mohyla's commonplace book: *Arkhiv iugo-zapadnoi Rossii*, I, 7, pp. 49-132; fragments translated into Ukrainian were recently published in Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, pp. 257-275.

[62] For more on the Λειτουργιαριον and Mohyla's other writings see below in this chapter.

[63] Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, pp. 400-410. Late in 1632 or early in 1633, Mohyla acquired Latin types for the Caves Monastery press. Thirteen more titles, ten of them in Polish and one in Latin, were issued during Mohyla's tenure as metropolitan (1633-1646). It is noteworthy that the systematic publishing of Polish and Latin books stopped almost at once after Mohyla's death, and only four titles of importance (apart from a couple of brochures) appeared in print at the Caves Monastery press during the almost ten years of rule of Joseph Trizna, Mohyla's successor to the office of archimandrite. All of them were new editions of books in Slavonic published at the Caves Monastery between 1629 and 1646: see IM VNLU, fond 175, no. 73, fols. 284, 298.

[64] See Chapter VI.

[65] Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy*, pp. 143-144.

Cossacks] should be forced to seek other ways to soothe their conscience'.[66] In return the Cossacks' loyalty was promised to the prospective elected king.[67] The same demands and arguments were addressed to the Polish senators who gathered in Warsaw for the Election Diet (opened 27 September), and to Prince Wladyslaw, son of the late King Sigismund III and principal candidate for the Polish throne.[68] The mention of the 'other ways' and 'loyalty' was a blunt yet effective move of Cossack 'diplomacy', which acquired special significance when Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich took advantage of the interregnum to invade and besiege Smolensk. Apart from the fact that the Crown badly needed the Cossacks' military support in the new war (1632-1634), it would have been dangerous for the Polish to have formidable Cossacks in their rear and liable to strike at a critical moment.

No other politically-conscious stratum of the Ruthenian population – the burghers, the nobility and the Orthodox high clergy, including Mohyla himself – remained outside the struggle for the official restoration of their Church hierarchy. The Orthodox participants in the Election Diet had refused to take any part in the proceedings before their demands were taken into consideration.[69] This stand eventually bore fruit, as a special Commission for the reconciliation of the people of 'Greek Faith' (i. e. the Orthodox and the Uniates) was created with Prince Wladyslaw at the head. By 30 October the Commission had elaborated the so-called *Puncta pacis*. The document was, with some alterations and additions, made public on 1 November. The *Puncta* granted the Orthodox freedom of confession and permitted them to build churches, schools and printing presses; dioceses, churches and ecclesiastical property were to be divided between the Orthodox and the Uniate Churches; the re-establishing of four bishoprics was promised to the Orthodox. All churches and monasteries of Kiev were to be eventually transferred to the Orthodox.

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[66] Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, Appendices, p. 405.
[67] Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, Appendices, p. 407.
[68] The letters of 4 and 5 September 1632 respectively: Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, Appendices, pp. 450-452 and 452-453.
[69] Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, p. 79; Thomson, 'Peter Mohyla's ecclesiastical reforms', 81.

There were to be two metropolitans, one for the Orthodox and another for the Uniates. Literary controversy between the parties was to be brought to an end.[70]

On 3 November 1632 Mohyla was elected Metropolitan of Kiev by the Orthodox nobles participating in the Election Diet.[71] He was also supposed to keep his office as archimandrite for life to provide for his expenses.[72] The way by which Mohyla was elected as metropolitan was indeed unusual. However, the special circumstances of this election should be taken into account. The canonical procedure would have been to have the Metropolitan chosen by the acting bishops. But the existing Orthodox bishops were not recognised by the state, and therefore the candidate chosen by (or among) them would be automatically regarded as unacceptable to the king. The fact that the patriarch of Constantinople gave his blessing to Mohyla as metropolitan elect shows that the appointment did not altogether contradict the Church canons. Prince Wladyslaw was elected King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania on 13 November.

The delicacy of the situation, however, consisted in the fact that the metropolitan see in Kiev was not vacant. Job Boretsky had died on 2 March 1631 and was succeeded by Isaiah Kopinsky, one of the bishops consecrated by Patriarch Theophanes in 1620, who enjoyed the Cossacks' support. At the same time, the argument that Mohyla simply employed his great influence in order to pull down the ageing 'clandestine' Metropolitan Kopinsky and to take his place, maintained more or

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[70] For the original versions of the *Puncta* brought forward by the Uniate and the Orthodox parties, and the versions of 30 October and 1 November 1632 collated see Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, II, Appendices, pp. 3-9; for the analysis of the *Puncta* see ibid., I, pp. 528-532.

[71] He was one of the two possible nominees but apparently the principal candidate for the office.

[72] Fixed income was to be established for metropolitans who would succeed him in the future. An extract from the Diary of the Election Diet containing this information is quoted in Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, II, Appendices, p. 3. Interestingly, the arrangement whereby the office of metropolitan of Kiev and that of the Caves Monastery archimandrite were combined, was a repetition of a similar condition established by the Union of Brest, when due to 'the precarious financial situation of the Ruthenian hierarchy... the famous Monastery of the Caves in Kiev was united with the metropolitan see in order to increase its limited income': Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, p. 340. However, the Uniates were unable to exploit the arrangement, since they never succeeded in their attempts to wrest control over the Caves Monastery from the Orthodox. The two 'clandestine' Orthodox metropolitans Boretsky (1620-1631) and Kopinsky (1632-1633) were at the same time abbots of the Kiev St. Michael Golden-Domed Monastery, which provided for their expenses when their metropolitan title brought them no remuneration.

less explicitly by a number of authors, is incorrect.[73] Back in 1620, when Poland was at war with the Ottoman Empire, for a newly-restored Orthodox hierarchy to be consecrated by a subject of the sultan was a most inauspicious start. At that time Theophanes's action was regarded not only as a *lèse-majesté*, but also as an attempt to undermine the inner political situation in the Commonwealth.[74] Therefore, the newly-appointed metropolitan and bishops automatically became accomplices of a 'Turkish spy' and enemies of the state, and for Wladyslaw to agree and confirm any of the 'clandestine' Orthodox bishops to the office, would have been to insult the memory of his late father.[75] A middle course seems to have been found in replacing the existing hierarchy altogether, the Orthodox Church being officially restored as a legal entity under a trustworthy metropolitan, loyal to the crown. At the same time, Kopinsky's position may have been even more questionable given that he had probably not been consecrated to the office by the patriarch of Constantinople.[76]

At the end of 1632 two of Mohyla's representatives left for Constantinople to seek a charter of consecration for him. They were received by Patriarch Cyril I Lucaris (1620-1638) who not only granted Mohyla his blessing and honoured him with the title of 'Exarch of the St. Apostolic See of Constantinople', but also deposed Kopinsky by a special charter.[77] Mohyla received these favourable tidings early in April 1633, and chose Lvov as the site of his consecration, which took place on 28

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[73] See, for instance, S. Golubev, 'Udalenie Isaii Kopinskogo iz Kievo-Mikhailovskogo monastyria: k kharakteristike otnoshenii mezhdu Petrom Mohyloi i Isaiei Kopinskim', *Kievskie eparkhial'nye vedomosti*, 1 (1874), 11; Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, p. 82. Jerlicz wrote that Mohyla was elected 'by his cronies', but this, like most of his other statements, should not be taken uncritically: Jerlicz, *Latopisiec, albo kroniczka*, I, p. 56. Later, in his fundamental work on Mohyla Golubev took a more balanced view, assuming that to replace the Church hierarchy was a realistic decision of the Orthodox representatives at the Diet: Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, pp. 535-536. One has to agree fully at this point with Thomson who has shown that the attempt to present Mohyla's election as 'an uncanonical machination does not bear scrutiny': Thomson, 'Peter Mogila's ecclesiastical reforms', 82-83.

[74] Thomson, 'Melety Smotritsky i uniia s Rimom', p. 185.

[75] Most probably, it was not due to the 'old age and feebleness' of Kopinsky, as Golubev claimed, but because of his fear of arrest and prosecution that Kopinsky did not participate in the Convocation and the Election Diets in Warsaw. Instead he 'sent Mohyla as a representative of the Orthodox church': Golubev, 'Udalenie Isaii Kopinskogo iz Kievo-Mikhailovskogo monastyria', 11. Moreover, Kopinsky simply did not rank as a church hierarch in the eyes of the Polish authorities, and consequently could not deal with them in this capacity.

[76] N. Kostomarov, 'Petr Mohyla pered sudom issledovatelei nashego vremeni', *Vestnik Evropy*, 5 (1874), 431.

[77] Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, pp. 543-544.

April 1633.[78] He stayed in Lvov for about two months dispatching letters about his re-election as metropolitan, on a basis of three-fold legitimacy: 'the inspiration by the Holy Ghost who moved the heart of His Majesty King Wladyslaw IV; the blessing of the holy apostolic capital of Constantinople; and the will of the whole of the Ruthenian nation'.[79] July 7 became the day of Mohyla's triumphal arrival at Kiev, and on 12 July he took solemn possession of St. Sofia Cathedral.[80]

Meanwhile, the problem with Kopinsky's status had yet to be resolved.[81] To all appearances, he declined solicitations to abdicate voluntarily from the metropolitanate, and thus provoked coercion on the part of the short-tempered Mohyla. According to Jerlicz's testimony, which for once seems to be difficult to discard, Mohyla's accomplices seized Kopinsky at the Kiev Golden-Domed Monastery of St. Michael, where he was abbot. They put the ageing man, 'wearing only a hair shirt, across the saddle like some sack', in Jerlicz's poignant comment, and brought him to the Caves Monastery.[82] There are grounds for believing that Kopinsky soon resigned in writing his claims to the metropolitanate and was allowed to return to his monastery.[83] He stayed there until 1635, when a new stage in the conflict

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[78] It is possible that he was unwilling to provoke an unnecessary stir among Kopinsky's supporters, the Cossacks and the townspeople, during the ceremony in Kiev. Apart from the fact that the general atmosphere in Lvov was ever favourable to him as a scion of the family of pious benefactors to the Dormition Brotherhood, Peter's receiving his consecration in the Dormition Church in Lvov had special spiritual implications for him, as the construction of the church was generously supported by the Mohylas, and the name of Simeon Mohyla, Peter's father, was commemorated by the inscription in its main dome: see above.

[79] See Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, II, pp. 21-28. This formula looks very much like a subtle way for Mohyla to demonstrate his 'scale of priorities', whereby the king's benevolence counted immediately after the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, but preceded the blessings granted by the patriarch of Constantinople.

[80] Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, p. 87; Thomson, 'Peter Mogila's ecclesiastical reforms', 82. On the take-over of St. Sophia from the Uniates on 2 July 1633, just five days prior to Mohyla's return to the city, see below.

[81] Inasmuch as the Orthodox population including the Cossacks had accepted Mohyla's appointment as a *fait accompli*, Kopinsky could hardly be a rival for Mohyla. To all appearances, Kopinsky must have clearly understood that his claims for the metropolitan title were doomed to fail, especially after Mohyla's consecration by the patriarch of Constantinople. To complain to the Polish authorities would do no better than to evoke their wrath against himself. Characteristically, no mention of the lost metropolitan title was ever made by Kopinsky in his pleas to the king and authorities made in 1635-1637.

[82] Jerlicz, *Latopisiec, albo kroniczka*, I, p. 57.

[83] The document has not survived, but was mentioned in Mohyla's own contemporaneous dispatch to the Orthodox clergy and the faithful, reading in particular: 'Isaiah Kopinsky, deposed from the metropolitanate by the patriarch of Constantinople, has willingly resigned from the office and renounced his title as metropolitan': Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, II, Appendices, p. 25.

compelled him to leave it forever.[84] At about the same time, Mohyla managed to take the Gustynsky and the Mgarsky monasteries where Kopinsky was also abbot from him, thus virtually leaving him without any means for living and compelling him to an itinerant life.[85] After years of continual conflict, Kopinsky decided to move to Muscovy permanently in 1638, but was seized by Mohyla's accomplices and brought to Kiev, where he lived under arrest and eventually died on 5 October 1640.[86]

Mohyla's elevation to the metropolitan title provided him with great opportunities for the badly needed reform of the Orthodox Church. He did not have to start from naught, though. Mohyla the metropolitan in many senses elaborated upon what had already been set in motion by Mohyla the archimandrite, but on a larger scale. This included the recovery of church properties, the establishing of a clearly-defined ecclesiastical hierarchy and strengthening of discipline within the church, the furthering of educational reform and publishing.

According to the *Puncta pacis*, ecclesiastical properties of the 'Greek Church' were to be divided between the Uniates and the Orthodox. The Uniate Metropolitan Joseph Rutsky protested to Rome, and on 1 January 1633 Pope Urban VIII dispatched letters to Wladyslaw IV and leading Polish nobles urging that the *Puncta* should not be ratified. The situation in and around the Commonwealth made it impracticable to comply with the Pope's demand, and the Diet that met for the coronation of Wladyslaw on 6 February 1633 agreed to most of the *Puncta*, but without formal ratification.[87] At the Diet King Wladyslaw again showed his eagerness to keep to the arrangement set by the *Puncta pacis*. Two commissions were established, one for Poland, another for the Grand Duchy, in order to resolve the problem of the division

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Another testimony of Kopinsky's abdication that took place in different circumstances and involved the Cossacks was found by Hrushevs'kyi. It seems to be a report by an eye-witness and tells how in the summer of 1633 Mohyla and Kopinsky met in the Cossack camp and made peace, whereby Kopinsky promised never to apply the metropolitan title to himself again, and Mohyla pledged in return to leave Kopinsky in peace in the Kiev Golden-Domed Monastery, in accordance with the king's decree: Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, VIII, pp. 186-187. The decree of Wladyslaw IV mentioned above and apparently containing some kind of arrangement for the deposed Kopinsky has not survived.

[84] Golubev, 'Udalenie Isaii Kopinskogo iz Kievo-Mikhailovskogo monastyria', 13.

[85] Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednisty tserkov*, p. 89; Thomson, 'Peter Mogila's ecclesiastical reforms', 82.

[86] Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednisty tserkov*, p. 90.

of properties in practical terms. The commissars went to particular places in the Commonwealth to decide on the proportion of properties that were to be returned to the Orthodox. Almost everywhere they met with bitter opposition from the Uniate clergy and the faithful.[88]

The old and 'effective' method of taking over churches by force was applied by the Orthodox in many places. In Kiev alone several churches, above all St. Sofia, were recovered in this fashion within half a year of the king's agreement to the *Puncta pacis* and Mohyla's elevation to the metropolitan title. The take-over of the Metropolitan St. Sofia Cathedral, the oldest of all existing Christian churches of Rus', occurred during Mohyla's absence from Kiev, but significantly it was attributed to the metropolitan by his contemporaries and later biographers, whose writings express the importance of the event in the eyes of the Orthodox. The recovery of St. Sofia from the Uniates was seen as its ultimate restoration to 'pure' Christianity.[89]

Parallel to the taking back of the churches went their restoration and re-decoration.[90] Some of the ancient Kievan churches were in need of considerable

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[87] Thomson, 'Peter Mogila's ecclesiastical reforms', 82.

[88] Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednisty tserkov*, pp. 91-93.

[89] See for instance Kalnofojski, Τερατουργημα, p. 197; IM VNLU, fond I, no. 4084, fols. 2v-3. The fact of recovering a church from the believers of another faith and especially – an alternative Christian creed has a profound symbolic meaning in the context of Orthodox culture. The occupation of a church by another Christian creed was equated with putrefaction, since in popular thinking other confessions, which had 'perverted' the 'true' Christianity were no better than the pagans: I. Lotman, B. Uspensky, 'Binary models in the dynamics of Russian culture (to the end of the eighteenth century)', in I. Lotman, L. Ginzburg, B. Uspensky, *The semiotics of Russian cultural history* (Ithaca, 1985), pp. 37-38. Hence, probably, the extraordinary comments of Mohyla's contemporaries and later biographers on the deplorable state of the Cathedral in which the Orthodox found it in 1633: it was empty, its roof and walls were partially ruined, there was debris inside and a huge padlock outside: Kalnofojski, Τερατουργημα, p. 196; S. Kossow, Πατερικον, *abo Zywoty ss. Oycow Pieczarskich* (Kiev, 1635), p. 181. The history of the 'abandonment' of St. Sofia was put in a most straightforward fashion in the inscriptions in its dome made in 1634 on Mohyla's request: 'This holy church was maintained by the pious Eastern metropolitans in perfect care until the year of 1596 [when it passed to the Uniates]. The apostate Metropolitan Mikhail Ragoza let it stand desolated and barren until 1631 [sic], when it was recovered by the Orthodox': quoted in Bolkhovitinov, 'Opisanie Kievo-Sofiiskogo sobora', p. 60. Kalnofojski also attributed a remarkable prophecy to Job Boretsky, whom he reported to have said in 1625: 'When this holy church is recovered by the Orthodox, God will comfort the Orthodox people'. The prophecy, in his view, had come to be finally accomplished by Mohyla's efforts: Kalnofojski, Τερατουργημα, pp. 196-197. This tale conveys a very important message: Mohyla's rule as metropolitan marked the beginning of the promised period of comfort and peace for the Orthodox.

[90] The Uniates most probably did not ruin the roofs of the churches, as was reported by the Orthodox, or let the cattle in, but they could remove the church vessels, vestments and books when they went away. At the same time, one has to be cautious even with the reports that the Uniates left churches stripped of all decorations and vessels on their departure, as there is evidence that the Orthodox,

repair. Apart from the redecoration of St. Sofia, Mohyla undertook the restoration of several Kievan churches: the Church of St. Nicholas the Tithe, the Church of St. Basil or Church of the Three Patriarchs (*Triokhsviatitel'skaia*), the Church of the Transfiguration of Christ at Berestov, and the Church of St. Michael of the Kiev Vydubitsky Monastery. Characteristically, all these churches were then thought to be the oldest in Rus' and some were supposed to have been built by St. Vladimir.[91]

Mohyla, however, must have been aware of the fact that the future glory of the church could not be maintained by restoration of church buildings alone. Much attention was paid by the metropolitan to the urgent problems within the church. The deplorable state of training and morals among the Orthodox secular priesthood had become a laughing stock for its adversaries who, probably, had not greatly exaggerated in saying that soup was sometimes substituted for the wine of the Eucharist in parish churches, and that semi-pagan rituals took the place of Christian rites.[92] Mohyla set high moral standards for those willing to become priests: 'anyone who was a bigamist, or widowed and married again, arrogant, greedy, immoral, lustful, a drunkard, a speculator or a moneylender, not skilled in the Scriptures or,

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particularly, Mohyla himself, often simply threw them away, since they were regarded as unclean: see *Arkhiv iugo-zapadnoi Rossii*, I, 6, pp. 740-741.

[91] Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, II, pp. 411-459; Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednisty tserkov*, pp. 94-96. Mohyla's special attention to the Christian heritage of Old Rus' and especially such aspects of it as were connected with St. Vladimir is remarkable. Kalnofojski tells how in 1636, during the reconstruction work at the Church of St. Nicholas the Tithe, Mohyla discovered two *sarcophagi*, in which, according to the inscriptions, lay the remains of St. Vladimir and his wife: Kalnofojski, Τερατουργημα, p. 53. He left the *sarcophagi* and their contents intact and concealed where they had been, but took Vladimir's head with him and put it in the sanctuary of the Caves Monastery Dormition Church: see Bolkhovitinov, 'Opisanie Kievo-Sofiiskogo sobora', p. 41. As Maria Pliukhanova explains, 'a "severed head" as a symbol bears important implications of historical perspective... A found or re-discovered head is a prophecy about the bright future of a given region, country or people. The head is a symbol of power, and the... re-discovered head professes the coming of the Golden Age': M. Pliukhanova, *Siuzhety i simvoly Moskovskogo tsarstva* (St. Petersburg, 1995), p. 90. Baroque culture was especially fond of symbols. Here again we come across Mohyla's rather obvious desire to have his name strongly associated not only with the nascent present and future glory of the Orthodox church and the capital city of Kiev, but also with their celebrated past. On Mohyla's plan to build 'Vladimir's memorial' in St. Sofia Cathedral see N. Nikitenko, 'Volodymyrs'kyi memorial u Sofii Kyivs'kii chasiv Petra Mohyly', *P. Mohyla: bohoslov, tserkovnyi i kul'turnyi diiach*, pp. 159-167.

[92] For more about the situation within the Orthodox Church see Chapter I.

worse still, unable to read them properly, and those who did not confess twelve times a year, should not be admitted as a priest'.[93]

Centralisation of ecclesiastical authority at all levels was the principal aim of Mohyla's rule as metropolitan. His idea of the Church was that of a structure where every inferior element paid strict obedience to the superior, and educated clerics were placed in all positions of authority. Some elements of the structure of church hierarchy established by Mohyla had existed before, but it had not been so clearly defined as a whole. In Mohyla's scheme priests were supervised by 'proto-priests' (*protopopy* or *protoierei*) chosen among the most responsible parish priests. Proto-priests were controlled by overseers (*vizitatory*) elected from among the educated monks. Two provincial governors, one for Poland, another for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, supervised the overseers. They were appointed by the metropolitan and directly subjected to him.[94] Apart from this system of individual authority, there existed a parallel structure of ecclesiastical power in the form of annual diocesan councils, especially popular in Mohyla's time. Ideally, all priests were to take part in them, reporting on their work, and being examined on their proficiency and the lawfulness of their consecration to the priesthood. Consultations on complicated questions of canonical practice were provided.[95] The institution of an ecclesiastical Consistory (metropolitan council) based on the Catholic model was introduced by Mohyla in 1634 or 1635. From that time, the clergy were no longer legally subjected to the civil authorities. All cases of clerical misdemeanour were to be investigated and tried by the Orthodox Consistory comprising very learned and experienced monks who were directly subordinate to the metropolitan.[96]

Mohyla was clearly determined to bring to an end the situation where, in Kassian Sakovich's derogatory comment, 'non clerus populum, sed populus clerum

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[93] The original text is quoted in Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, II, pp. 484-485.
[94] Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednisty tserkov*, p. 97.
[95] Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednisty tserkov*, p. 98.
[96] Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednisty tserkov*, p. 99.

dirigit'.[97] This mainly concerned the brotherhoods and their *stauropegion* rights. Mohyla prohibited them from contacting the Eastern patriarchs directly and warned that any kind of privilege received over the head of metropolitan would be considered invalid.[98] Censorship of all ecclesiastical publications was introduced in order to prevent the multiplication and distribution of imperfect copies and corrupt texts.[99] However, Mohyla's treatment of the brotherhoods was rarely precipitate, as his ever amicable relationship with the Lutsk and the Vilnius Brotherhoods shows.[100] Mohyla gave the brotherhoods due credit for their labours in opposing the religious, social and political oppression of the Orthodox before and after the Union of Brest. At the same time, he was set to substitute the hierarchy of educated clerics for the anarchical order of independent lay communities that had been a defining feature of the Orthodox church for almost fifty years before him. Characteristically, as soon as such a hierarchy began taking shape, the importance of the brotherhoods to more general matters such as education and publishing activity began steadily to decrease. Now that a strong metropolitan provided the Orthodox with good schools and well-edited books, and the bishops could be trusted by their flocks, the historical mission of lay confraternities seemed to be fulfilled. The main focus of their activity was to be brought back to their own churches and local matters.[101]

One other major issue of Mohyla's activity as metropolitan is his hypothetical participation in the preparations for a new union with Rome in 1645-1646. Since 1596, the Orthodox and the Uniates had never come to terms with each other. Mutual offences, intimidation and even homicide made the rupture between the two churches

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[97] Sakovich, a sometime Rector of the Kiev Brotherhood school, had converted to the Union later in the 1620s, but soon grew disappointed and tried to convert to Catholicism. For more about Sakovich and his book disclosing the errors of the 'disunited Greek Church' see below.

[98] See Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, Appendices, p. 557.

[99] In 1637, Mohyla come into conflict with the Lvov Brotherhood over their attempt to reprint his Λειτουργιαριον (1629). Early in the 1640s, another stage of this conflict began when Mohyla gave permission to a private printer, Mikhail Sliozka, to open an independent press in Lvov: Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednisty tserkov*, p. 100. On Mohyla's excommunication of Sliozka in 1646 for the unauthorised reprint of the Λειτουργιαριον see Chapter II.

[100] On Mohyla's skilled diplomacy with the Brotherhood in Kiev over the establishment of 'Latin' school see Chapter VI.

[101] About the decrease in the brotherhoods' importance in the first quarter of the seventeenth century also see Chapter III.

ever worse as time passed. If there was a solution, it had to be applied with such skill as to make it generally acceptable. Given Mohyla's reputation as a man in whom devotion, great ambition and 'Westernism' were remarkably combined, it is not surprising that his name has come to be connected with one of the most promising yet unfulfilled union projects. Mohyla's 'readiness' to find common ground with the Roman Catholic Church was commented upon by some of his contemporaries. For instance, the Catholic Volhynian Palatine Prince Adam Alexander Sangushko wrote in 1635: 'Referendum est Sanctissimo Domino Nostro quod Mohila metropolita Kioviensis schismaticus, est intrinsece inclinatus ad unionem, et libentissime vellet illam una hora videre, sed propter metum Kosachorum (quod tamen minus est) aperte non audet'.[102] However, this and similar statements are personal opinions only; they are coloured by the subjective views of their authors and cannot be used as definitive proof of Mohyla's inclination towards a union of the churches.

An anonymous document bearing the title *Sententia cuiusdam Nobilis Poloni Graecae Religionis* and dated 1645 has been known to historians for many years, and its authorship used to be attributed to a number of persons active at that time.[103] In 1952, the Basilian Athanasy Welykyi put forward a well-grounded hypothesis attributing its authorship to Metropolitan Mohyla.[104] No direct evidence in favour of the hypothesis has been discovered to date.[105] At the same time, it has been received with great enthusiasm by some historians.[106]

It is appropriate to touch upon the contents of the document. It consists of two principal parts: one revealing the erroneous nature of the Union of Brest, and the other offering possible ways of reaching a compromise. The author's approach to the problems presented by the Union is flexible and judicious. According to him, its

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[102] Quoted in Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, p. 128.
[103] See Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, II, p. 210; A. Welykyi, 'Anonimnyi proekt Petra Mohyly po z'iedynenniu ukrains'koi tserkvy 1645 r.', *Svitla i tini ukrains'koi istorii (Prychynky do istorii ukrains'koi tserkovnoi dumky)* (Rome, 1969), pp. 56-57.
[104] Welykyi, 'Anonimnyi proekt Petra Mohyly', pp. 57-62.
[105] See Thomson, 'Peter Mogila's ecclesiastical reforms', 83-85.
[106] See Joubert, *De Luther à Mohila*, pp. 395-400; P. Iarots'kyi, 'Petro Mohyla i problemy unii', *P. Mohyla: bohoslov, tserkovnyi i kul'turnyi diiach*, pp. 76-77.

inconsistency lay in the faulty concept of union. He wrote: 'Accord (*unio*) and union (*unitas*) are two essentially different things; union excludes two-sidedness, whereas accord amalgamates two in one without ruining them, as has happened several times in history, lastly in Florence, when the Latins and the Greeks managed to strike a balance between themselves. Conversely, the Union of the Ruthenians with the Latins [concluded in 1596] has been the very opposite of such a concord. It did not allow for the preservation of the Orthodox faith, but attempted the mere substitution of the Latin confession for the Greek one. That is why it has not been a success'.[107]

The author's position is equally well-balanced in the second part of the project, suggesting a policy of reconciliation. The Union of Brest should not be mentioned again. All personal distinctions obtained as a result of the Union should be renounced. In the author's view, it was a major mistake of the Union of Brest not to incorporate the Orthodox nobility into the process. In 1596, the nobility had been left outside the process, and therefore most of them opposed the Union. Good-will towards church union should be expressed by the whole 'nation' (surely in the sense of the noble *natio Polonica*) at the synod of all Ruthenians. To assure such willingness, the process should be started at the provincial diets, where local representatives, two from each province, should be elected. After a special set of regulations for the future synod has been elaborated at the state diet, the specific time and place of the synod should be fixed. At the synod, the clergy and the nobility would consider church union, each from their own vantage point, after which these views should be collated so that a middle ground could be found. Finally, the state diet would confirm the decision of the synod.[108]

The absence of discussion of the liturgical differences between the Orthodox and the Catholic churches is noteworthy. Moreover, not all the traditional questions of dogma (such as the use of leavened or unleavened bread, the *Filioque*, the individual

[107] Quoted in Welykyi, 'Anonimnyi proekt Petra Mohyly', pp. 63-64.
[108] Welykyi, 'Anonimnyi proekt Petra Mohyly', pp. 64-65.

inconsistency lay in the faulty concept of union. He wrote: 'Accord (*unio*) and union (*unitas*) are two essentially different things; union excludes two-sidedness, whereas accord amalgamates two in one without ruining them, as has happened several times in history, lastly in Florence, when the Latins and the Greeks managed to strike a balance between themselves. Conversely, the Union of the Ruthenians with the Latins [concluded in 1596] has been the very opposite of such a concord. It did not allow for the preservation of the Orthodox faith, but attempted the mere substitution of the Latin confession for the Greek one. That is why it has not been a success'.[107]

The author's position is equally well-balanced in the second part of the project, suggesting a policy of reconciliation. The Union of Brest should not be mentioned again. All personal distinctions obtained as a result of the Union should be renounced. In the author's view, it was a major mistake of the Union of Brest not to incorporate the Orthodox nobility into the process. In 1596, the nobility had been left outside the process, and therefore most of them opposed the Union. Good-will towards church union should be expressed by the whole 'nation' (surely in the sense of the noble *natio Polonica*) at the synod of all Ruthenians. To assure such willingness, the process should be started at the provincial diets, where local representatives, two from each province, should be elected. After a special set of regulations for the future synod has been elaborated at the state diet, the specific time and place of the synod should be fixed. At the synod, the clergy and the nobility would consider church union, each from their own vantage point, after which these views should be collated so that a middle ground could be found. Finally, the state diet would confirm the decision of the synod.[108]

The absence of discussion of the liturgical differences between the Orthodox and the Catholic churches is noteworthy. Moreover, not all the traditional questions of dogma (such as the use of leavened or unleavened bread, the *Filioque*, the individual

[107] Quoted in Welykyi, 'Anonimnyi proekt Petra Mohyly', pp. 63-64.
[108] Welykyi, 'Anonimnyi proekt Petra Mohyly', pp. 64-65.

Last Judgement, etc.) seem to enjoy equal importance in the eyes of the author.[109] His explanation of such a position is quite remarkable and reminds one of Mohyla's rather manifest distaste for the Protestant teaching: 'Now all educated Ruthenians are well aware that those who deny the worship and the glory of saints... the necessity of prayers for the dead and Purgatory, are heretics rather than the [true] Orthodox'.[110] It is the issue of primacy within the church that the author makes as the cornerstone for the whole complex of religious problems. He notes that it was a major point of controversy at the Council of Florence. His way of resolving the problem of primacy is fairly original: the authority of the patriarchs of Constantinople should not be denied altogether; in order to be partners in the movement towards the universal union of churches, they should free themselves from the authority of the infidels. Meanwhile those who are free should display a true example of concord.[111] The Ruthenians would acknowledge unity of faith with Rome and the primacy of the pope as *primus inter pares.* No separate patriarchate is to be created in Ruthenia. The metropolitans of Kiev would seek confirmation neither from Constantinople, nor from Rome, but would be elected and consecrated by the council of bishops.[112]

It is noteworthy that if the project had ever been brought to life exactly as its author, who styled himself as a *Nobilis Polonus*, envisaged it, the Ruthenian church would have acquired an extraordinary degree of autonomy, having become a strong and independent institution in the state of Polish noble 'Golden Freedom'. The author's handling of ecclesiastical matters may appear almost careless, and this can be

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[109] For instance, the author proposes that the procession of the Holy Spirit should not be treated as a matter of crucial importance. At this point he once again skilfully and deliberately sidesteps discussion by saying that this issue is too subtle and complicated to be understood by all, whereas there is nothing unclear in it for those entitled to know: Welykyi, 'Anonimnyi proekt Petra Mohyly', p. 66. The author was obviously one of those who were 'entitled to know', but preferred to keep his opinion to himself.
[110] Quoted in Welykyi, 'Anonimnyi proekt Petra Mohyly', p. 66. For more on Mohyla's criticism of the Protestants see below.
[111] The dependence of the Ruthenian Orthodox Church upon the Eastern patriarchs was one of the burning issues of religious controversy of the time. The main stance of the Uniates, spelled out by Metropolitan Mikhail Rahoza, was that they 'preferred to break away from the captive and suffering patriarchs and link themselves with the free and independent pope': quoted in H. Goldblatt, 'Notes on the text of Ivan Vishens'kyj's *Epistle to the renegade bishops*', *HUS*, 18 (1994), 62. Vishensky tried to discard this argument by saying that in so doing the Uniates have 'gone from the humble to the proud, from the streamlets of the Gospel to the river of Hell': quoted in ibid., 57. Here the author of the *Sententia* once again suggests a balanced solution between the two extreme points.

seen as the laxity of a layman as well as the broadmindedness of a churchman. Attention should be drawn to an interesting passage in the project that explains that unless the nobility is included in the process of religious reconciliation, it is doomed to fail again, 'even if it is directed by *a high ranking person and great church hierarch* [my italics]'.[113] The text of the *Sententia cuiusdam Nobilis Poloni Graecae Religionis* betrays several other points that very closely approach Mohyla's own concerns and views. At the same time, some of his contemporaries could have held similar opinions. Although it is very likely that Mohyla was the author or at least a co-author of the *Sententia*, the question remains open for want of further evidence.

4. *Mohyla's writings*

The body of Mohyla's published work can be divided into three categories: (1) his own writings of diverse kinds; (2) Greek religious books and a didactic treatise, translated or edited by him; (3) prefaces to a number of books published by the Caves Monastery Press.[114] Apart from five fundamental works, the writings of the first category include Mohyla's early moralistic treatise entitled 'A golden book about the [human] soul' (*Kniga dushi, narytsaemoe zloto*, [1628?]; and two homilies: 'The Crucifix of Christ the Saviour and of every man' (*Krest Khrista Spasitelia i kozhdogo cheloveka...*; 1632), and 'A talk on spiritual matters dedicated to the nuptials of Janusz Radziwill' (*Mowa duchowna przy sluzbie Janusza Radziwila*; Kiev, 1645). The character of the 'Golden book' is reminiscent of Mohyla's notes on monastic life. It is dedicated to the subject of avarice and humility, and to the necessity of withdrawing from the vanities of the world and abandoning one's own will.[115] The 'Crucifix' invites attention, first of all, for its formal structure obviously borrowed from the

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[112] Welykyi, 'Anonimnyi proekt Petra Mohyly', pp. 65-69.
[113] Quoted in Welykyi, 'Anonimnyi proekt Petra Mohyly', p. 64.
[114] All the books were published by the Caves Monastery Press.
[115] The 'Golden book' has survived only in one manuscript copy, now kept at the Manuscript Division of the Stefanyk Library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Lvov. For more details see Klimov et al., *Fenomen Petra Mohyly*, pp. 207-210.

Catholic preachers.[116] In this homily Mohyla dwelt at considerable length on the fallacies of the Protestants, whom he called 'heretics', with regard to the adoration of the Cross.[117]

The works translated or edited by Mohyla include the 'Hortatory chapters by Agapetus' (*Liubomudreishego kyr Agapita diakona... glavizny pouchitel'ny*; Kiev, 1628); 'A book of thanksgiving prayers' (*Akafisty*; Kiev, 1629); the Τριωδιον (Kiev, 1631); and the *Anthologion* (Kiev, 1636). The 'Hortatory chapters' is a sixth-century Byzantine 'mirror of princes' known in Slavic translations from as early as the eleventh century.[118] According to Golubev, Mohyla made the translation late in 1627, probably before his consecration as archimandrite.[119] For the purposes of this edition Mohyla collated the Greek text with the two Slavic versions.[120] It is important, however, that, as Shevchenko shows, the Greek version used by Mohyla was a Western edition of 1509, 1518 or 1592.[121] By the seventeenth century, the 'Hortatory chapters' had been popular among the East Slavs for about four centuries and were mostly used as a source of political ideology.[122] At the same time Shevchenko explains that the intention of Mohyla's edition was moralistic and not political.[123] Collating our knowledge of Mohyla's preoccupation with monastic and hermitic matters in the late 1620s with a characteristic phrase on the title page, stating that the

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[116] Published in *Arkhiv iugo-zapadnoi Rossii*, I, 7, 1, pp. 386-421. It consists of a preface, a main part and a conclusion, and takes as its 'text' (*tema* or *fundament*) a quotation from the New Testament stated at the beginning. All these features, and especially the three-fold division into *exordium*, *narratio* and *conclusio* were characteristic of Jesuit homiletical practices, from which the traditional Orthodox concept of preaching was fundamentally different: see F. Ternovsky, *Iuzhno-russkoe propovednichestvo XVI i XVII veka (po latino-pol'skim obraztsam)* ([Kiev?], s. a.); also Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, p. 409.

[117] *Arkhiv iugo-zapadnoi Rossii*, I, 7, 1, pp. 393-405. It is noteworthy that, according to the preface of the 'Crucifix', this homily was the first to be publicly preached by Mohyla, more than three years after he became archimandrite: see *Arkhiv iugo-zapadnoi Rossii*, I, 7, 1, p. 388. For Golubev's analysis of the homily see *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, pp. 401-409.

[118] See I. Shevchenko, 'Ljubomudrejshij kyr" Agapit Diakon: On a Kiev edition of a Byzantine *mirror of princes*', in *Byzantium and the Slavs in letters and culture*, pp. 498-499.

[119] Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, p. 400.

[120] Shevchenko, 'Ljubomudrejshij kyr" Agapit Diakon', pp. 510, 514.

[121] See Shevchenko, 'Ljubomudrejshij kyr" Agapit Diakon, pp. 514-519.

[122] Shevchenko, 'Ljubomudrejshij kyr" Agapit Diakon, pp. 503-505. For the impact of Agapetus on political thinking in Muscovy see I. Shevchenko, 'A neglected Byzantine source of muscovite political ideology', *Harvard Slavic Studies*, 2 (1954), 141-179.

[123] Shevchenko, 'A neglected Byzantine source', p. 176.

edition was destined for 'all those who righteously seek to rule over their passions', it is possible to agree with Shevchenko.

The Caves Monastery editions for which Mohyla wrote prefaces are the *Nomokanon* (Kiev, 1629) and the 'Didactic Gospel' (*Evangelie uchitel'noe*; Kiev, 1637). The 'Didactic Gospel' was a popular set of sermons in Church Slavonic (translated from a Greek original). In 1616, Melety Smotritsky's Ruthenian translation was published in Vievis. According to Frick, the 1637 Kiev edition was a 'corrected' re-print of the Vievis version, which had been edited by the 'apostate' Melety Smotritsky. It is no surprise, therefore, that the 1637 edition was published 'without any mention of the first translator'.[124]

A short analysis of Mohyla's five major works: the Λειτουργιαριον, the Λιθος, *The Orthodox confession of faith*, the *Catechism* and the Ευχολογιον will be presented below. A thorough analysis of these works is not possible here, and I shall limit my discussion to a brief reference to the circumstances in which each of the books was written, its principal purpose and the main identifiable sources used by Mohyla.

The 'Λειτουργιαριον or Missal, composed from the liturgies of St. Basil, John Chrysostom and other saintly fathers' (Λειτουργιαριον, *si est' Sluzhebnik ot liturgii sv. Vasiliia, Ioanna Zlatoustogo i prezhdesviashchennykh... rechenyi*) was published in 1629, several months after the *Nomokanon.* As Valeria Nychyk observes, the sequence of the *Nomokanon*, the Λειτουργιαριον, the *Catechism* (ca. 1640) and the Ευχολογιον (1646) was not accidental: 'they were separate yet complementary links of one programme aimed at the unification and systematisation of canon, liturgy, dogma and ritual of the Orthodox Church'.[125] By the early seventeenth century, Orthodox missal books were full of mistakes, misinterpretations and apocryphal additions that seriously undermined both the form and the sense of the Orthodox

[124] Frick, *Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, p. 258. Mohyla had already 'tarnished' his reputation in the eyes of the Orthodox faithful by his friendly connections with Smotritsky shortly before the scandalous disclosure that Smotritsky was a covert Uniate early in 1628.
[125] V. Nychyk, *Petro Mohyla v dukhovnii istorii Ukrainy* (Kiev, 1997), p. 153.

liturgy.[126] Mohyla's Λειτουργιαριον, 'checked against the Greek originals', not only included a full and authenticated description of the Orthodox liturgy, but also contained a considerable amount of necessary comments, explanations and practical recommendations. The edition was made convenient to use. The parts of its text that were supposed to be read aloud or sung were printed in black and in large bold script. All explanations and recommendations were in red ink, the size of characters depending upon the importance of a particular comment.[127] In 1629, Mohyla submitted his Λειτουργιαριον to the synod in Kiev. The hierarchs found the book 'pure and free from any fault, accepted it unanimously, kissed it and praised it' and authorised the Λειτουργιαριον for subsequent use by the Orthodox clergy.[128]

In 1642, a manuscript Latin version of 'The exposition of faith of Little Russia [i. e. Ruthenia]', presumably written by Mohyla and Isaiah Trofimovich-Kozlovsky in collaboration, was submitted to a synod in Jassy (Moldavia).[129] Prior to the synod of Jassy, the 'Confession' was approved by the Kievan synod. To be accepted as canonical, it had to be authorised by the patriarchs of the Ecumenical Orthodox Church. At Jassy the 'Confession' was translated into Greek and had several important alterations made to it. Two passages were omitted, one accepting the existence of purgatory, and the other concerning the possibility of baptism by affusion instead of immersion. A passage stating that transubstantiation occurs in the Eucharist when the epiclesis is spoken was added.[130] All amended passages replaced the issues of doctrine that conformed with the Catholic dogma with those corresponding to the teaching of the Orthodox Church. The 'corrected' Greek version was sent to Constantinople for further consideration under the title 'The orthodox confession of

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[126] Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, p. 374.
[127] Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, p. 378.
[128] Quoted in Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, p. 378.
[129] See A. Malvy et M. Viller, *La confession Orthodoxe de Pierre Moghila, Métropolite de Kiev* (Paris, 1927), p. L; Thomson, 'Peter Mogila's ecclesiastical reforms', 93. About Trofimovich-Kozlovsky see in Chapter VI. Since the original draft of the 'Confession' composed in Kiev has not survived, it remains unknown whether it was originally composed in Latin, translated from Slavonic, or drawn up in both Latin and Slavonic: Thomson, 'Peter Mogila's ecclesiastical reforms', 93.
[130] Thomson, 'Peter Mogila's ecclesiastical reforms', 96. The three issues are central questions of dogma, treated differently by the Catholics and the Orthodox.

the [Orthodox] Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ'.[131] On 13 March 1643, the 'Confession' was approved as being in agreement with the dogmas and canons of the Church by the four Greek Patriarchs.[132] Apparently, Mohyla was unhappy with the changes, as in 1645 an abridged version of the 'Confession' entitled 'A shorter collection of articles explaining the Orthodox confession of faith' (the so-called 'Small catechism') was published in Kiev in Polish and Ruthenian versions.[133] Most of the alterations made at Jassy were omitted in both these versions. Baptism by affusion was allowed, and the words of institution were considered to be the time of transubstantiation.[134] All modern authors agree that the *Catechismus Romanus* compiled at the council of Trent (first published in Rome, 1566) and *Summa doctrinae Christianae* by the Jesuit Peter Canisius (first published in Vienna, 1554) were among the principal sources used by the authors of the 'Confession'.[135] It is noteworthy that the tripartite division of the 'Confession' and the *Catechism* goes back to St. Augustine.[136]

The polemical work 'Λιθος, or Stone hurled from the sling of truth of the Holy Orthodox Ruthenian Church by the Father Eusebius Pimen' (Λιθος, *albo Kamien z procy prawdy Cerkwie Swietej prawoslawnej ruskiej... Wypuszczony przez... ojca Euzebia Pimina*) was published in 1644.[137] It was written in response to the work of the then Catholic convert Sakovich entitled 'Επανορθωσις, or Perspective for revealing of the faults, heresies and prejudices of the Greek Russian Disunited

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[131] Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, p. 154.
[132] Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, p. 154; Thomson, 'Peter Mogila's ecclesiastical reforms', 96.
[133] Polish 'Zebranie krotkiey nauki o artikulach wiary prawoslawno-katholickiey chrzescianskiey', and Ruthenian 'Sobranie korotkoi nauki o artikulakh very pravoslavno-kafolicheskoi khristianskoi': Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, p. 157.
[134] Thomson, 'Peter Mogila's ecclesiastical reforms', 99. The issue of *filioque* conformed with the doctrine of the Orthodox Church both in the 'Confession' and in the *Catechism*: Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, p. 157.
[135] Malvy et Viller, *La confession Orthodoxe de Pierre Moghila*, pp. XCVII-CV; Thomson, 'Peter Mogila's ecclesiastical reforms', 97. The Russian historian and theologian Evstafy Cherviakovsky dedicated a very detailed study to comparison of the 'Confession' with the *Catechismus Romanus*: E. Cherviakovsky, *Rimskii katekhizis i pravoslavnoe ispovedanie Petra Mohyly: opyt kritiko-bibliograficheskogo issledovaniia* (Warsaw, 1889). A Polish edition of the *Catechismus Romanus* is found among the surviving books from Mohyla's private library: see Chapter VII.
[136] Thomson, 'Peter Mogila's ecclesiastical reforms', 97.

church' (Επανορθωσις, *albo Perspektiwa y obiasnienie bledow, herezyej y zabobonow w Grekoruskiej cerkwi Disunitskiej*; Cracow, 1642). Composed in a mocking and derogatory manner, the Επανορθωσις, nonetheless, presented contemporary problems within the Orthodox Church with a sufficient degree of accuracy. Although the Λιθος is mainly dedicated to controversy with Sakovich and is not a theological work, a number of essential questions of Orthodox liturgy, dogma and ritual are touched upon in the course of the polemic.[138] We find an interesting passage at the end of the Λιθος, generally converging with the ideas about church union spelt out in the *Sententia cuiusdam Nobilis Poloni Graecae Religionis*: 'Our Eastern Church is praying to the Lord about the union, but not such a union as we have now, which forces people to "come together" with the help of the rod, prisons, unjust lawsuits and other kinds of intimidation. Such a union can only bring us discord'.[139] The sources used by Mohyla for the Λιθος included a great body of theological and religious literature: Orthodox and Catholic missals, writings of Eastern and Western Fathers, works on church history, hagiographical writings, works of scholastic and neo-scholastic authors, and minor works such as homilies and sermons.[140]

In the first half of the seventeenth century the situation with the Orthodox service-books was much the same as with the missals: no standardised version existed, and those in use contained numerous mistakes and unauthorised additions. Mohyla's 'Ευχολογιον, or a book of service, or ritual' (Ευχολογιον, *al'bo Molitvoslov, ili Trebnik*) was published shortly before his death, in December 1646.[141] The Ευχολογιον consists of three parts: the first and principal one instructs the clergy on the administering of the seven Sacraments and provides extensive comments and

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[137] Euzebius Pimin is a 'Good Shepherd' in Greek.

[138] For a very detailed analysis of the Λιθος see Golubev's extensive preface to his edition of the work: S. Golubev, 'Litos – polemicheskoe sochinenie, vyshedshee v Kievo-Pecherskoi tipografii v 1644 godu', in *Arkhiv iugo-zapadnoi Rossii*, I, 9 (Kiev, 1893), pp. 1-147.

[139] *Arkhiv iugo-zapadnoi Rossii*, I, 9, p. 412.

[140] Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, II, pp. 366-367.

[141] At the beginning of the Ευχολογιον is Mohyla's coat of arms and a stanza praising his celebrated ancestry, well-known for great military accomplishments as well as for godliness and clemency.

explanations on the nature of the Christian ritual; the second is dedicated to various occasions of giving blessings to water, churches and church vestments, monasteries, houses, wells, bells and so on; the third part contains prayers for different occasions.[142] The Ευχολογιον includes a description of 126 rites altogether, of which 37 were not in any previous Orthodox service-books, Greek or Slavonic alike, but were now adapted for Orthodox use from the Catholic ritual.[143] The Ευχολογιον provided a breakthrough development for the reception of converts from different religions and Christian creeds, directly borrowing from Catholic practices. Maintaining that three sacraments – baptism, confirmation and consecration – have an indelible character and cannot be repeated twice in a life-time, Mohyla changed the existing rule that not only the Protestants and Catholics, but also the Orthodox who have apostatised to another Christian church had to be re-baptised and re-confirmed. According to the Ευχολογιον, only the former Socinians and Anti-Trinitarians, who did not believe in the Trinity and whose baptism was considered invalid, were to be baptised and confirmed. The Protestants from other sects only received confirmation, whereas the Catholics, the Uniates and those who were born into the Orthodox church merely had to abjure their errors and repent.[144] Among the principal sources for Mohyla's Ευχολογιον were Greek service-books and the *Rituale Romanum* of Pope Paul V, first published in Rome in 1615.[145]

Our brief analysis of Mohyla's five major works shows an apparent tendency to minimise the existing differences between the Catholic and the Orthodox churches.[146] A formal way of doing so was to collate the Catholic practices with the fundamentals of Eastern Christianity so that their essential common features came to

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[142] A. Zhukovs'kyi, 'Analiza Trebnyka Petra Mohyly', in *Trebnyk Petra Mohyly* (Canberra, 1988), pp. 25-29.
[143] Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, p. 164; Thomson, 'Peter Mogila's ecclesiastical reforms', 87.
[144] Zhukovs'kyi, 'Analiza Trebnyka Petra Mohyly', pp. 30-31; Thomson, 'Peter Mogila's ecclesiastical reforms', 90-91.
[145] Zhukovs'kyi, 'Analiza Trebnyka Petra Mohyly', p. 30; Thomson, 'Peter Mogila's ecclesiastical reforms', 87. It is interesting to note that the confession of faith for Protestants being received into the Orthodox church was an 'emended translation of the [1564] *Professio fidei Tridentina*... by Pope Pius IV... and included the doctrines of transubstantiation and a third intermediate state for dead souls distinct from heaven or hell': Thomson, 'Peter Mogila's ecclesiastical reforms', 90.

explanations on the nature of the Christian ritual; the second is dedicated to various occasions of giving blessings to water, churches and church vestments, monasteries, houses, wells, bells and so on; the third part contains prayers for different occasions.[142] The Ευχολογιον includes a description of 126 rites altogether, of which 37 were not in any previous Orthodox service-books, Greek or Slavonic alike, but were now adapted for Orthodox use from the Catholic ritual.[143] The Ευχολογιον provided a breakthrough development for the reception of converts from different religions and Christian creeds, directly borrowing from Catholic practices. Maintaining that three sacraments – baptism, confirmation and consecration – have an indelible character and cannot be repeated twice in a life-time, Mohyla changed the existing rule that not only the Protestants and Catholics, but also the Orthodox who have apostatised to another Christian church had to be re-baptised and re-confirmed. According to the Ευχολογιον, only the former Socinians and Anti-Trinitarians, who did not believe in the Trinity and whose baptism was considered invalid, were to be baptised and confirmed. The Protestants from other sects only received confirmation, whereas the Catholics, the Uniates and those who were born into the Orthodox church merely had to abjure their errors and repent.[144] Among the principal sources for Mohyla's Ευχολογιον were Greek service-books and the *Rituale Romanum* of Pope Paul V, first published in Rome in 1615.[145]

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the fore. At the same time, a great number of direct borrowings took place where some necessary elements of ritual were wholly lacking from the Orthodox practices. Moreover, in a number of cases Mohyla substituted Catholic practices for already existing Orthodox ones, which he apparently regarded as corrupted.

At least two other great publishing enterprises of Mohyla were never implemented. They were a Slavonic edition of the 'Lives of Saints' that was planned to be translated from Symeon Metaphrastes's work in Greek, and an illustrated Bible. The work on the woodcuts was in progress in the last year of Mohyla's life.[147]

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Mohyla died on New Year's Eve 1646. Nine days earlier he had composed his testament, a document in Polish, including his credo of faith, concluding his life, drawing further lines for development for his associates and dividing his fortune among those for whom he felt responsible: the College he had founded, several Kievan churches, monasteries and asylums, and his youngest brother Moses. In less than two years a violent war would sweep through the Ukrainian lands, tearing them apart and leading to the decline of Poland. Twenty-four years after Mohyla's death Lazarus Baranovich wrote: 'We are unable to lament Mohyla sufficiently, for he was a good father and beloved shepherd to us. That beloved one was eagerly accepted in Heaven, but we need another Mohyla'.[148] This proved to be both a deserved homage and a sad prophecy.

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[146] See Malvy et Viller, *La confession Orthodoxe de Pierre Moghila*, p. 186.

[147] See D. Stepovyk, 'Ukrains'ka knyha i hraviura pry Petri Mohyli', *Peter Mohyla: bohoslov, tserkovnyi i kul'turnyi diiach*, pp. 90-92.

[148] L. Baranowicz, *Lutnia Apolionowa* (Kiev, 1671), p. 499.

Chapter VI

Development of the Kiev Mohyla Academy

In 1631, Peter Mohyla launched one of the most important projects of his life, the foundation of a school along Western lines at the Caves Monastery. Not much evidence about this school exists. Some authors suggest that a school, established not later than 1615, already existed at the Caves Monastery by the time of Mohyla's appointment as archimandrite. However, there is no effective testimony to such a fact.[1] That some 'schools' had previously existed in Kiev might appear from Mohyla's own statement in his preface to the *Anthologion* that at the foundation of the Kiev College he tried to restore 'a *gymnasium*, that is the Kievan schools',[2] as well as from Kossov's testimony in the Πατερικον that Mohyla 're-established... those Kievan schools that had been founded long before him'.[3] But this is a misinterpretation, as the word *gymnasium*, used in the singular by Mohyla, clearly indicates. In the seventeenth century every single class, which formed part of an educational establishment, was called 'a school' (cf. 'the school of rhetoric', 'the school of philosophy', etc.). Therefore 'the schools' mentioned by Mohyla and Kossov amounted to the Brotherhood foundation alone rather than several different institutions, of which our sources remain remarkably silent.

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[1] The historian Petr Lebedintsev stated that the school had been founded at the Caves Monastery as early as 1589: P. Lebedintsev, 'Po voprosu o nachale Kievskoi akademii (Otvet S. T. Golubevu)', *Kievskaia starina*, 2 (1885), 268-281. Golubev thought the date 1615 more probable: Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, pp. 279-281; S. Golubev, 'Drevnie i novye skazaniia o nachale Kievskoi akademii', *Kievskaia starina*, 1 (1885), 85-116. However, such arguments lack substantiation: cf. Golubev's suggestion that a man so concerned about Orthodox culture as Elisei Pletenetsky, could hardly have overlooked the educational needs of his fellow-believers, and therefore 'must have had a school founded in the Monastery': Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, p. 280.

[2] *Prilozheniia k pervomu tomu issledovaniia Fedora Titova*, p. 317.

[3] Kossov, Πατερικον, p. 181.

1. *Mohyla's Caves Monastery school and its merger with the school of the Kiev Epiphany Brotherhood, 1631-1632*

To all appearances, Mohyla made up his mind to open a school at the Caves Monastery only some years after he had taken on the office of its archimandrite, as the idea does not seem to have assumed a definite shape before 1631. On 1 March 1631, the dying Metropolitan Boretsky directly addressed Mohyla in his will, praying, under the threat of his curse, that no other school apart from the brotherhood foundation should ever be established.[4] It is possible that Boretsky, who maintained a close friendly relationship with Mohyla, already knew of his intention to open a school at the Caves Monastery; he would have been aware that this school would be of Western orientation, and that Mohyla would provide it with the best teachers and considerable financial support. Such a foundation would have presented a serious rival to the Brotherhood school, which seems to have been crisis-stricken at that time. This can be understood from Mohyla's remark in the *Anthologion* that the 'Kievan schools' he restored had been 'in decline, with only a few pupils left'.[5] Apparently, Boretsky wanted Mohyla to put his weight behind the Brotherhood foundation rather than to eventually destroy its educational prestige and take the rest of the pupils from it.

It is unknown what was Mohyla's immediate reaction to the plea of Boretsky. It is not impossible, however, that he was resolved to have his way and open a school at the Caves Monastery. About two months later Mohyla left Kiev for Lvov for the consecration of a new Dormition Church of the Lvov Brotherhood, founded and generously endowed by his family. There, on 15 July 1631, he made this declaration of intent:

> I, Peter Mohyla... having recognised the great distress of the Orthodox Church brought forth by the clergy's ignorance and lack of enlightenment among the youth... bid to overcome this deficiency... I have resolved to found schools, so that the youth may be properly enlightened in piety, virtuous habits, and the liberal arts.

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[4] Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, Appendices, p. 396

[5] 'Shkoly v Kieve otchasti iuzh oupalyi i opustelyi': *Prilozheniia k pervomu tomu issledovaniia Fedora Titova*, p. 317.

This I vow not for my own profit or fame, but only for the glory and honour of the Holy Trinity... and for the benefit and enjoyment of true believers.[6]

Mohyla came to a final agreement with the Lvov Brotherhood that its teachers Isaiah Trofimovich-Kozlovsky and Sylvester Kossov would come to Kiev to teach at his Caves Monastery school 'or wherever he himself or the teachers [Trofimovich-Kozlovsky and Kossov] would hold it necessary'.[7] It was probably about this time that Mohyla decided to send several talented young monks to study abroad. We are for the most part ignorant of their identity, as only one of these 'scholars' can be named with a degree of certainty – Innocent Gizel', later archimandrite of the Monastery of the Caves.[8] Between July and November 1631, Mohyla initiated the exchange of premises occupied by the monks of the Holy Trinity Hospital Cloister, which was situated in the territory of the Caves Monastery. He intended these premises to be used for the new school, and offered the monks their equivalent in terms of 'land, buildings, orchard and garden' elsewhere within the precincts of the Caves Monastery.[9] On 18 November 1631, Mohyla asked for a blessing from Patriarch Cyril I of Constantinople 'to establish schools in Kiev and give instruction in the liberal arts, Slavonic and Latin languages and Eastern piety'.[10] It is very likely that the letter was dispatched when the school was already a *fait accompli*.[11]

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[6] 'Ia, Petr Mohyla... vidiachi v tserkvi pravoslavnoi, dlia neumetnosti dukhovnykh i dlia netsvichen'ia molodezhi velikuiu utratu na dushakh liudskikh... khotiachi zabechi tak velikoi utraty... umyslilem fundovat' shkoly dlia togo, aby molodezh vo vsheliakoi pobozhnosti, v obychaekh dobrykh i v naukakh vyzvolionykh tsvichena byla, a to ne v zhadnyi pozhitok a ni tezh v slavu moiu, tol'ko v slavu sviatyia Troitsy... v pol'zu i utekhu roda pravovernogo': *Pamiatniki, izdannye Kievskoi komissiei dlia razbora drevnikh aktov*, I-II, pp. 410-411.

[7] *Pamiatniki, izdannye Kievskoi komissiei dlia razbora drevnikh aktov*, I-II, p. 411. Both Trofimovich-Kozlovsky and Kossov had studied at the Jesuit college in Lublin and in the Zamosc Academy.

[8] See the document quoted in Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, p. 70.

[9] See IM NLU, 444/179 s, fols. 104v-107. A set of documents concerning the exchange of premises exists in several copies that mention the year of 1631, but do not include any exact dates.

[10] IM VNLU, 444/ 179 s, fols. 101-104v.

[11] It is often maintained that Mohyla did have the intention to follow the last will of the late metropolitan and friend, as on 11 March 1631 he supposedly joined the Kiev Brotherhood: see, for instance, Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytaniia iednosty tserkov*, p. 71; Z. Khizhniak, 'Osvita, ii rol' v relihiinykh, kul'turnykh, politychnykh diianniakh Petra Mohyly', *P. Mohyla: bohoslov, tserkovnyi i kul'turnyi diiach*, p. 130. The basis for this argument is provided by an extant copy of the Kiev Brotherhood's register, which dates Mohyla's joining the Brotherhood to 11 March 1631 (the original of the document does not survive). At the same time, according to Golubev, the copy of it is not full and abounds in mistakes. He also argues that the dating of Mohyla's inscription in the register to 1631

The school began with about a hundred pupils enrolled.[12] Isaiah Trofimovich-Kozlovsky was appointed its rector.[13] Just before Easter 1632, the pupils of the class of rhetoric, guided by their teacher Sofrony Pochasky, presented Mohyla with a panegyric, entitled 'The Ευχαριστηριον, or Gratitude to... Peter Mohyla, a Prince of the Moldavian lands, the great Archimandrite of the Holy... Kiev Caves Monastery' (Ευχαριστηριον *albo, Vdiachnost'... Petru Mohyle, Voevodichu Zeml' Moldavskikh, Velikomu Arkhimandritovi Sviatoi... Lavry... Pecherskoi Kievskoi*).[14] Pochasky, who called himself Mohyla's 'spiritual son', was a monk of the Caves Monastery, and possibly once a pupil of the Kiev Brotherhood school. We also know the names of another instructor, Father Ivashkovsky, who taught grammar.[15]

The Ευχαριστηριον is the only extant literary work of the Caves Monastery school. Although the very genre of panegyric leads one to suspect that the work is studded with rhetoric and inevitable exaggerations, the Ευχαριστηριον presents a valuable source of information about the nature of Mohyla's foundation and also provides us with a glimpse of the contemporary situation around the school.[16]

The panegyric consists of two sets or cycles of poems entitled 'Helicon, or the First Garden of knowledge' (*Gelikon, to est' sad oumietnosti pervyi*) and 'Parnassus, or the Second Garden of knowledge' (*Parnas. Albo, sad oumietnosti vtoryi*). The first cycle principally deals with the 'eight roots of the liberal arts': the seven branches of the *trivium* and *quadrivium* – grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, and

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must have been a mistake, and the actual date was 11 March 1632: Golubev, *Istoriia Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii*, p. 41. This view is supported by another important piece of evidence, not mentioned by Golubev. Mohyla's inscription in the register is followed by the signatures of people who are known to have been teachers at of the Caves Monastery school, including Trofimovich-Kozlovsky and Kossov, whose move to Kiev from Lvov was only agreed in June 1632, and who, therefore, could hardly have become members of the Kiev Brotherhood before that date: see Golubev, *Istoriia Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii*, Appendices, pp. 3-4.

[12] Golubev, *Istoriia Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii*, Appendices, p. 77.

[13] Golubev, *Istoriia Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii*, Appendices, p. 76.

[14] See Ευχαριστηριον *albo, Vdiachnost'*: A facsimile, *HUS*, 8 (1984).

[15] Golubev, *Istoriia Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii*, Appendices, p. 77.

arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy, ultimately crowned by theology. A short poem is dedicated to every art, explaining its importance and the benefits it provided for the cause of Orthodoxy. Theology is described and hailed as 'the root and crown of all knowledge'. This, however, does not provide any grounds for believing that all the eight disciplines were taught at Mohyla's school in 1631-1632. Most probably, the 'Helicon' presents the general programme of study conceived by Mohyla as encompassing the seven arts of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, with theology being only a desirable end of that study which could be attained sometime in the future.[17] The absence of a single poem in Latin in the Ευχαριστηριον must be a sign that, although almost certainly studying the language in Mohyla's school, its pupils were as yet unable to produce anything in that language that could be presented to their patron. This also supports some of our earlier assumptions about the educational situation in and around Kiev.[18] It is reasonable to suggest that senior pupils of the Caves Monastery school, such as those in the class of rhetoric, had studied elsewhere, for instance, at the Kiev Brotherhood school, before enrolling in Mohyla's foundation.[19] Therefore, whereas the elements of poetry and rhetoric probably constituted part of the curricula of contemporary Orthodox schools, the study of Latin was mostly neglected. Apparently, the majority of the 23 pupils who signed their names in the Ευχαριστηριον belonged to the Ruthenian nobility: the Polubinskys, Miklashevskys, Zaretskys, Sushchansky-Proskuras, Kreslovskys, Negrebetskys, and others. This may point to the sort of person whom Mohyla himself meant to attract to his school, and also to those who proved eager to respond.

The foundation of a Latin school in a city full of religious controversy aroused suspicion among the Kievan townspeople and the Cossacks. Unfriendly rumours were spread about what was being taught there, and the teachers of the school were accused

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[16] About the Ευχαριστηριον as a literary monument, and its various allusions see N. Pylypiuk, '*Eucharisterion. Albo, Vdiachnost*': The first panegyric of the Kiev Mohyla school', *HUS*, 8 (1984), 45-70.

[17] See Shevchenko, 'The many worlds of Peter Mohyla', p. 27; Sydorenko, *The Kievan Academy in the seventeenth century*, p. 28.

[18] See Chapter II.

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[17] See Shevchenko, 'The many worlds of Peter Mohyla', p. 27; Sydorenko, *The Kievan Academy in the seventeenth century*, p. 28.

[18] See Chapter II.

of pro-Uniate leanings. As was later reported by Sylvester Kossov in his *Exegesis*, the Kievans were tempted 'to feed the Dnieper sturgeons with the teachers of [Mohyla's] school', or 'to have them all killed by sword or fire'.[20]

Deliberations about the merger of Mohyla's school with that of the Epiphany Brotherhood started in December 1631. The Brotherhood charter of 30 December 1631 demonstrated its desire and willingness to have the whole of the faculty of Mohyla's school transferred to their own foundation in the Podol district of Kiev 'as more suitable for study'.[21] In return Mohyla would become 'a lifetime supervisor and patron of all the Brotherhood's properties [including] the [Epiphany] Monastery and the Brotherhood schools'.[22] The decree of Metropolitan Kopinsky 'and other Orthodox bishops' issued on 5 January 1632 blessed Mohyla's intention to accept the offer of the Kiev Brotherhood.[23] Finally, a letter from the Cossack Hetman Ivan Petrizhitsky of 12 March 1632 expressed the Cossacks' support for the merger of the two foundations.[24] Some authors believe that Mohyla surrendered to overwhelming pressure from the Orthodox zealots, and direct threats from the Kievan lower classes and Cossacks.[25] However, Sydorenko's view that the merger of the two schools was Mohyla's 'major victory... [and] more than a purely personal triumph', seems more persuasive. He draws attention to a passage in the brotherhood's charter where Mohyla is promised

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[19] See IM VNLU, Dis. no. 2066, p. 57.

[20] *Exegesis Sylvestra Kossova*, p. 7. Drowning someone (for which 'feeding the sturgeons' is a euphemism) was traditionally regarded as a most ignominious kind of death, and was a clear indication of nefarious deeds committed by the person. So, for instance, in 1623, the Uniate archbishop Josaphat Kuntsevich was drowned by the townspeople of Vitebsk. Cossacks are said to have put the traitors 'to drink water under the ice': Iakovenko, '"Cholovik dobryi" i "cholovik zlyi', *Mediaevalia Ucrainica*, p. 74.

[21] *Pamiatniki, izdannye Kievskoi komissiei dlia razbora drevnikh aktov*, I-II, p. 412. The estate with some buildings was originally donated to the Kiev Brotherhood by a benefactress, in 1615: M. Maksimovich, 'Zapiski o pervykh vremenakh Kievskogo Bogoiavlenskogo bratstva', in *Sobranie sochinenii*, II (Kiev, 1877), p. 176.

[22] *Pamiatniki, izdannye Kievskoi komissiei dlia razbora drevnikh aktov*, I-II, p. 413.

[23] *Pamiatniki, izdannye Kievskoi komissiei dlia razbora drevnikh aktov*, I-II, pp. 415-417.

[24] *Pamiatniki, izdannye Kievskoi komissiei dlia razbora drevnikh aktov*, I-II, pp. 416-421.

[25] See, for instance, Shevchenko, 'The many worlds of Peter Mohyla', 13; Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, p. 73.

that 'his counsel and will would not be opposed', but instead he would be obeyed as the 'elder brother'.[26] Sydorenko explains that in this way the Kiev Brotherhood

> in effect... surrendered all its administrative prerogatives – an unprecedented development in the history of the Ukrainian *bratstva* [brotherhoods]... First, Mohyla was given full sanction to promote... his brand of Latin scholasticism... Second, by wresting the control over education from the secular leadership of Kiev, Mohyla set a precedent which led to a virtual clerical monopoly over pedagogy. This ended a long conflict between the Orthodox hierarchy and the laity.[27]

Two facts seem to provide strong support for Sydorenko's opinion. Firstly, in the rhetoric of the Ευχαριστηριον, presented to Mohyla already after the decision about the merger of the two schools was made, the archimandrite was invariably represented and praised as a true victor whose efforts resulted in the revival of the fertility of the 'Ruthenian Minerva', said to have long been barren. Moreover, this was obviously regarded not as the end of Mohyla's labours, but rather a means to the ultimate *resurrection* of the whole of Orthodoxy. It should be borne in mind that the Ευχαριστηριον was composed to commemorate Easter, essentially the principal feast for the Orthodox, which considerably adds to our understanding of the message it conveyed. Furthermore, Mohyla was more than once begged by the authors of the Ευχαριστηριον to 'replace harshness with gentleness'. This hardly matches the view of Mohyla as supposedly harassed and finally overwhelmed by the Cossacks and the townspeople. It is true, as Natalia Pylypiuk explains, that 'the Ευχαριστηριον was written by or under the guidance of a man [Pochasky] who belonged to Mohyla's circle and who was probably assigned the task of propagating the circle's ideas and

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[26] See *Pamiatniki, izdannye Kievskoi komissiei dlia razbora drevnikh aktov*, I-II, p. 413; Sydorenko, *The Kievan Academy in the seventeenth century*, p. 29.

[27] Sydorenko, *The Kievan Academy in the seventeenth century*, pp. 29-30. In Jablonowski's opinion, having accepted the title of the Brotherhood's 'elder brother, supervisor and patron', Mohyla in effect received rights corresponding to those of a general of the Jesuit order. The rector of the new school, at the same time performing the duties of Archimandrite of the Epiphany Teaching Brotherhood Monastery, was immediately subjected to him, in turn supervising branch schools in Vinnitsa (Hoshcha) and Kremenets, thus corresponding to the Jesuit provincial. Interestingly, in a document composed in the Kiev Academy in 1766, Isaiah Trofimovich-Kozlovsky was indeed called 'the rector and *provincial* [my italics] of the colleges in Kiev and Hoshcha': see *ADOIKA*, II, 3 (Kiev, 1906), p. 249. Jablonowski concluded that Mohyla's ultimate purpose was the establishment of a scholarly teaching order following the example of the Jesuits: Jablonowski, *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohilanska*, p. 167. The assumption is ungrounded and somewhat too sweeping, but given Mohyla's apparent leaning towards Western models, it cannot be maintained that, having adapted their educational practices, he could never have thought of such an example of a wide-scale organisation as the Jesuit

aspirations'.[28] Had Mohyla really been hard put to unite his school with the Brotherhood foundation, Pochasky would scarcely have presented him as a triumphal winner over obscurity. Secondly, Sydorenko's argument is strongly supported by the fact that the early 1630s marked the beginning of a general shift of authority in religious, cultural and educational matters from laymen to ecclesiastics in Ruthenia, and particularly in Kiev. From that time on, all kinds of brotherhoods' activity that went beyond the care of churches with which they were affiliated underwent a gradual decline.[29]

As a result of the merger, the Kiev Mohyla College (*Collegium Mohilaeani Kiiouiensis*) was established. Its character was inherited from the Caves Monastery school rather than from the Brotherhood foundation. Its main features were a strong emphasis on Latin, and its administrative structure, curriculum and discipline. The latter were borrowed from the Jesuits as a unified system. Isaiah Trofimovich-Kozlovsky kept his office as rector, and Kossov became prefect of the College. Apparently, the rest of the teachers from Mohyla's Caves Monastery school (for instance, Pochasky) also followed them.[30] As he had pledged, Mohyla took great care about the College. In 1636, addressing the Orthodox youths, he wrote in the *Anthologion*:

> I have supplied, I supply, and I am going to assist... the schools with books, teaching staff and further means to support the poorest students... and other needy persons. At the same time, I am always anxious that not only pure disciplines should be taught, but also piety which, in my firm belief, must take root and flourish in your hearts, for otherwise any other worldly knowledge is but foolishness in the face of God, as it is justly called.[31]

2. *The early period, 1632 to 1648*

The new establishment was initially conceived by its founder as an 'academy', i. e. an institution of higher learning offering philosophy and theology courses and

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order.

[28] Pylypiuk, '*Eucharisterion*. Albo, Vdiachnost'', 47.

[29] For more details see Chapters I and V.

[30] In a personal letter dated 30 August, 1633, Isaiah Trofimovich-Kozlovsky wrote that at the beginning of a new academic year at the College, he himself would be the rector and teacher of philosophy, Kossov would be the prefect and give instruction in rhetoric, Patsevsky would teach poetics, 'and all the rest would remain with their schools, too': Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, Appendices, p. 539.

supervising branch schools. Apparently, Peter Mohyla put great effort into having the College recognised as an academy in its full right by the crown.[32] However, in Jablonowski's view, 'there could have been no question of it' at that time.[33] In Shevchenko's observation, the modest term *scholis* used of Mohyla's College in several charters issued by King Wladyslaw IV leads to the conclusion that 'an academy which would prepare an elite for service in Rus' was considered more inconvenient to the policies of the Catholic state than a re-established Orthodox hierarchy'.[34] Moreover in 1634 Wladyslaw IV ordered that all Latin schools supported by Mohyla, and Latin printing presses under his auspices be abolished altogether. The metropolitan was also forewarned that he should use the privileges granted him 'with moderation'.[35] However, Mohyla seems to have paid little heed to this decree, as he not only ignored it, but also opened a branch school in Vinnitsa next year. Another branch school in Kremenets was established in 1636, and about the year 1639 the Vinnitsa school was transferred to Hoshcha.[36] Wladyslaw's ensuing charter to the Orthodox of 18 March 1635, confirmed the College, but expressly prohibited the teaching of theology and a full programme of philosophy: 'in scholis etiam Kijoviensibus... graece et latine docere nonunitos permittimis, ita tamen, ut humaniora non ultra Dialecticam et Logicam doceant'.[37] Although it is not unlikely that the Kievan professors did not confine themselves to logic in their teaching of philosophy, it remains unknown whether any parts of theology were offered at the College before the late seventeenth century.

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[31] *Prilozheniia k pervomu tomu issledovaniia Fedora Titova*, p. 317.

[32] See Savych, *Narysy z istorii kul'turnykh rukhiv na Vkraini ta Bilorusi*, p. 165.

[33] Jablonowski, *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohilanska,* 92.

[34] Shevchenko, 'The many worlds of Peter Mohyla', 14.

[35] K. Titov, *Stara vyshcha osvita v Kyivs'kii Ukraini kintsia XVI – pochatku XIX v.* (Kiev, 1924), p. 95.

[36] In 1640, Mohyla sent Sofrony Pochasky with several alumni from Kiev to establish a college at Jassy (Moldavia). However, the project apparently proved to be short-lived: Jablonowski, *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohilanska*, p. 94. That same year, Mohyla dispatched a letter to Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich suggesting that a special teaching monastic congregation modelled after the Kiev Epiphany Brotherhood Monastery be founded, and promising to provide teachers for it: *Akty, otnosiashchiesia k istorii iuzhnoi i zapadnoi Rossii, sobrannye i izdannye Arkheograficheskoi komissieiu*, III (St.-Petersburg, 1861), p. 39. To all appearances, the offer was not accepted.

[37] N. Petrov, 'Kievskaia Akademiia vo vtoroi polovine XVII veka', Appendix 1, *TKDA*, 12 (1895), 589.

A number of authors maintain that the difficulties befalling the College in its early years were brought about by the Jesuits who presumably ran their own college in Podol and were supposedly jealous of Mohyla's institution.[38] This, however, is very improbable. No Jesuit school existed in Kiev before 1647, when a Jesuit college functioned in the city for a very brief period of time.[39]

In time, Mohyla's College became a success. From an early period of its existence, it was often referred to as an 'academy' by visitors to Kiev, which may testify to its great prestige among contemporaries. For instance, Guillaume le Vasseur de Beauplan (c. 1600-1673) who travelled in Poland and Ukraine in the 1640s, wrote in his *Description of Ukraine* (first published at Rouen in 1660): 'The Roman Catholics have four churches in... [Kiev], which are the Cathedral, that of the Dominicans... the Bernardines... and of late years the Jesuits... The Greek Russians may have about ten churches... one of which is near the Town Hall, where is an University or Academy, called by them [the Brotherhood Church]'.[40] By the very act of founding their own 'academy' and due to its rapid success in the sphere of education, the Orthodox Ruthenians made an important step towards the advancement of their prestige. They could no longer be regarded as the uncouth 'Cinderella-nation' in the 'Commonwealth of the Two Peoples'.

From its very origins, Mohyla's College was closely connected with the community of the Caves Monastery and that of St. Sofia. When the movement for the spiritual and cultural renovation of the Orthodox Church started at Kiev late in the sixteenth century, the Monastery of the Caves stood at the centre of this development. Mohyla's rule of the Monastery undoubtedly served to foster its reputation as a major cultural centre of the Orthodoxy.[41] With the foundation of the College in 1632,

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[38] See, for instance, Bolkhovitinov, 'Opisanie Kievo-Sofiiskogo sobora', p. 160. Most probably this information originated from a document entitled 'A list of abbots of the Kiev Brotherhood Monastery' (*Spiski igumenov Kievo-Bratskogo monastyria*), composed in Kiev between 1759 and 1768. It is published in Petrov, 'Kievskaia Akademiia vo vtoroi polovine XVII veka', Appendix 2, 591.
[39] For more details see Chapter III.
[40] [G.] de Beauplan, 'A description of Ukraine, containing several provinces of the Kingdom of Poland', in *A collection of voyages and travels*, eds. A. and J. Churchill, I (London, 1704), p. 573.
[41] For more details see Chapter II.

practically all its teachers and professors were churchmen, most of them in one way or another associated with the Caves Monastery. After the restoration of St. Sofia to the Orthodox many of its monks also came to teach at Mohyla's foundation.[42] Finally, when the College produced its first graduates, movement in the opposite direction began, as its alumni took monastic vows and went on to take positions of authority at the Caves Monastery and the Metropolitan Consistory.[43] In this way, all three institutions laid foundations and contributed to the formation of a 'westernised' Kievan intellectual milieu.

2. 1. *Administration*

As in the Jesuit establishments, the top administration of the Kiev College consisted of a rector and a prefect,[44] usually chosen from the members of the teaching congregation. However, there are grounds for believing that Peter Mohyla as the first patron of the College initially saw to it that the metropolitan of Kiev was the principal authority whose opinion was decisive for all appointments and other vital questions of College life.[45] The rector of the College was at the same time the abbot of the Epiphany Monastery, thus being in charge of its properties. He appointed the prefect and could employ teachers or shift their positions, provided that these measures were approved by the metropolitan. He was also in charge of the branch schools. Within the College, the rector was responsible for the curriculum, saw to it that the professors' and students' conduct conformed to the rules and had control over the finances. In the early stages rectors combined these duties with the teaching of philosophy. Later, when

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[42] For more details about the take-over of St. Sofia Cathedral and Monastery from the Uniates see Chapter V.

[43] St. Sofia was the principal church of the Kiev Metropolitanate, and in this way the ranking monks of the Monastery often had a hand in the running of church affairs in the Metropolitanate. On the creation of the Metropolitan Consistory by Mohyla see Chapter V. For more details on the interaction particularly between the Mohyla College and the Monastery of the Caves see S. Kahamlyk, 'Do istorii Kyievo-Pechers'koi Lavry ta Mohylians'koi Akademii', *Arkhivy Ukrainy*, 4-6 (1995), 96-108.

[44] See Chapter IV.

[45] The situation was changing with the gradual loss of Ukrainian autonomy and centralisation of Russian imperial power by the late eighteenth century, when all aspects of the College's existence had to be considered by the emperor.

theology took a permanent place in the curriculum, rectors shifted to teach theology in the senior grades.

The prefect was responsible for the teaching process, supervised students' conduct and welfare, and resolved conflicts between teachers and students. The prefects of the Kiev College performed a role similar to that of a Jesuit prefect of studies. They taught rhetoric in the early stages, and came to give instruction in philosophy after rectors began to teach theology. The third official in the College, whose position was considerably inferior to the rector and the prefect, was the superintendent, whose duties were limited to the supervision of student hostels (*bursa*).[46] His function is comparable to that of a Jesuit prefect of *academia*.[47] In this way, the administrative structure of the College appears to be very similar to that of the Jesuit establishments.

2. 2. *Curriculum*

The academic year started on 1 September and finished about mid-summer.[48] Students were generally free to come and leave, so not infrequently freshmen would appear in the class as late as December or even in spring. According to a long-established tradition dating back to the times of the Epiphany Brotherhood school, the Kiev College was open to all estates. The tuition was free, as it was with the Jesuits. Apparently, there were no age limitations.

The languages taught in Mohyla's College were Polish, Church Slavonic, Greek and Latin. Ruthenia being a part of the Polish Commonwealth, the majority of the Ruthenian population and especially the *szlachta* and the burgers were naturally bilingual. Therefore, at the Kiev College Polish was taught as a literary language, with examples of poetry and fine writing provided. The presence of Church Slavonic in the curriculum was dictated by its function as a sacral language of Orthodoxy, for one of

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[46] Khizhniak, *Kievo-Mohylianskaia akademiia*, p. 145-146.
[47] See Chapter IV.

Mohyla's purposes in establishing the College was the education of clergy. The persistence of Greek in the curriculum seems to have had a twofold reason – first as a language of the learned circles (it must be borne in mind that this second aspect was also appreciated by the Jesuits); second as a tribute to the Orthodox tradition of reverence for that language. However, the language that had priority at the College was Latin. This bespeaks of Mohyla's foresight both in the secular and the ecclesiastical spheres. Latin was not only the *lingua franca* of contemporary learned Europe but also the second state language of the Commonwealth, used at the court of justice and diet assemblies along with Polish.[49] Kossov in his *Exegesis* explained the stance of Mohyla's circle in respect of teaching Latin at the College thus: 'We will have Greek *ad chorum*, and Latin *ad forum*'.[50] However, it should be borne in mind that the *Exegesis* was a popular edition, aimed at defending the College from accusations of confessional impurity on the part of its teachers. Therefore one should not be too eager to accept Kossov's statement that Latin was not meant to be used for church purposes. The fact that Mohyla's 'Orthodox confession of faith' may have been either written directly in Latin, or may have had parallel texts in Latin and Church Slavonic, makes one suspect that Kossov simply used this argument in order to convince his adversaries rather than expressing the real intentions of Mohyla's circle.

The curriculum of the College was based on the liberal arts and organised into five grades. An introductory grade (*analog* or *fara*) was devoted to reading, writing and elementary Latin, Polish and Church Slavonic. It preceded the three lower grades: *infima*, *grammatica* and *syntaxis*. These grades were essentially concerned with grammar and taught Latin based on Emmanuel Alvarez's *De Institutione Grammatica, Libri III*, the standard textbook adopted by the Jesuits, Greek, and

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[48] The exact date when the academic year started – 1 September, was mentioned in the already quoted letter of 1633 by Trofimovich-Kozlovsky: see Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, Appendices, p. 539.
[49] See Chapter III.
[50] Quoted in Kharlampovich, 'Bor'ba shkol'nykh vliianii v do-petrovskoi Rusi', 40.

readings from Cicero, Ovid, Catullus, Virgil, Tibullus and Aesop. Each grade took a year to complete and included some instruction in catechism, arithmetic and chanting.

The intermediate level consisted of two grades, in which a student began to compose Latin prose and verse. The first, poetics, took one year and provided a grounding in the theory and practice of literature and close study of the writings of Caesar, Sallust, Livy, Curtius, Martial, Virgil, Horace, Ovid. Due respect was paid to the masters of Polish Baroque and Neo-Renaissance poetry, particularly Jan Kochanowski, Samuil Twardowski and Kazimierz Sarbiewski. The two-year rhetoric grade completed the secondary school programme. Cicero and Aristotle's *Poetica* were studied as a step towards mastering the rules of elegant composition. In both grades students absorbed much information in prose and verse about secular and biblical history, mythology and classical geography. The students' skills in fine composition were displayed in numerous panegyrics, lamentations and festive speeches.[51]

Kievan instructors, like their Catholic prototypes, prepared their own Latin manuals of poetry and rhetoric.[52] Surviving examples show that although each course quite naturally reflected the preferences and abilities of the instructor, their authors remained faithful to the Jesuit example and closely imitated it. The earliest known manuscript textbook of rhetoric in Latin, entitled *Orator Mohileanus*, was written by Joseph Kononovich-Gorbatsky about the year 1635. The author of a similar manual of poetry composed in Kiev, the *Liber artis Poeticae anno Domini 1637*, is unknown.[53] In 1659, Ioanniky Galiatovsky published a textbook on the art of fine composition under the title 'The art, or the way of composing a sermon' (*Nauka albo sposob zlozheniia kazania*).[54]

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[51] Khizhniak, *Kievo-Mohylianskaia akademiia*, 85.

[52] 127 manuscript manuals of poetic and rhetoric and 56 of philosophy are extant. Of these respectively 32 and 23 are dated from the seventeenth century: I. Stratii et al., *Opisanie kursov filosofii i ritoriki professorov Kievo-Mogilianskoi akademii* (Kiev, 1982), p. 4.

[53] See Petrov, 'Kievskaia Akademiia vo vtoroi polovine XVII veka', Appendix IV, 597.

[54] *Nauka albo sposob zlozhenia kazania* was originally published as an appendix to the collection of Galiatovsky's own sermons called 'The key to understanding' (*Kliuch razumeniia*). Ioanniky Galiatovsky (1620-1688) studied at the Kiev Mohyla College, finished his studies in 1649, taught there from 1655, and was appointed rector in 1657-1665.

The exact scope of the philosophical programme in the College in the early stages of its existence is not very clear. Apparently, a course of philosophy normally lasted for three years.[55] The 'Aristotelian' philosophy taught in the College was derived from Aristotle himself as much as from his mediaeval interpreters, and it was supplemented with the works of St. Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scot and William of Ockham, later humanist writers, and the Jesuit neo-scholastics. The earliest surviving manuscript courses of philosophy are the 1639-1640 *Subsidium Logicae* by Joseph Kononovich-Gorbatsky, and the 1646 *Opus totius philosophiae* of Innocent Gizel'.[56] In spite of the prohibition, elements of theology may have been taught in the 1640s, probably as a part of the philosophical curriculum.[57]

2. 3. *Method and discipline*

As is commonly accepted, a spiritual basis for school discipline was laid down by Peter Mohyla in the *Anthologion*, a collection of prayers, which included Mohyla's instructions for youth, published in Kiev, in 1636. Its pervading spirit was that of bringing up good Christians and devoted Orthodox believers. It insisted that boys went to bed and woke up at regular hours, and never slept for more than seven hours. Before going to sleep they must draw up an account of how they had lived that day, drawing useful conclusions from these reflections.

The educational process rested on a competitive basis. As in the Jesuit schools, the class was divided in two parts, called the 'Romans' and the 'Greeks' (significantly, the first was regarded as superior). The best pupils in each group were called 'dictators' or 'consuls', and they were followed by the 'praelectors'.[58] It was prohibited to speak

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[55] Khizhniak, *Kievo-Mohylianskaia akademiia*, p. 94.

[56] For a brief description of the two courses see N. Petrov, *Opisanie rukopisnykh sobranii, nakhodiashchikhsia v gorode Kieve*, I, (Moscow, 1892), pp. 232-233. It is interesting that when they referred to Aristotle, Kievan philosophers seldom mentioned him by name, usually calling him 'the Philosopher'.

[57] On the curriculum of the Kiev College in Mohyla's lifetime see S. Golubev, 'Kievo-Mohylianskaia kollegiia pri zhizni svoego fundatora, kievskogo mitropolita Petra Mohyly', *TKDA*, 12 (1890), 543-550.

[58] M. Linchevsky, 'Pedagogiia drevnikh bratskikh shkol i preimushchestvenno drevnei Kievskoi Akademii', *TKDA*, 8 (1870), 463.

any language but Latin at school: as with the Jesuits, the *calculus* system was in operation.[59] Corporal punishments were regarded as a routine part of the College discipline and were conducted by specially appointed 'calefactors'.[60]

Disputations and public recitations, so popular among the Jesuits, were among the principal characteristics of the Kievan education. They were highly esteemed by Peter Mohyla, who introduced them. Such 'public performances' were meant to pursue varying aims at different stages of study. So, in lower and intermediate grades up to the class of rhetoric they mainly served to develop the pupils' fluency in Latin and eloquence. Disputations in the sense of intellectual contests began in the class of philosophy, where they substituted for the weekly repetitions and sometimes even routine lessons. Philosophical disputations were usually conducted on Saturdays and followed a set procedure: the subject, usually some philosophical statement allowing for controversy, was chosen and offered to a student to defend by the professor. Another student, the opponent, had to put forward arguments against this statement, the rest following the discussion. Sometimes there were several opponents. Students had to demonstrate their erudition, but the main emphasis was on their ability to build up a formal logical structure for their argument. The professor participated in general discussion, helping to keep it to the mainstream of the topic, and it was permissible to criticise his opinion during the disputations. Apart from regular disputations, there were the so-called 'public' ones, held about twice a year, one normally taking place at the end of the academic year. Such disputations were regarded as festive events. Elaborate posters were hung up on the College gate, informing people of the date of the forthcoming disputation, its subject and the main theses. Linchevsky draws attention to their 'theatrical' nature: disputations usually consisted of several 'acts' and were accompanied with music and chanting. The presence of a chorus not only elevated the whole event, but also filled in gaps if difficulties with argumentation appeared during

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[59] About the application of the *calculus* system in the Jesuit schools see Chapter IV, n. 50.
[60] For comparison with the Jesuit schools see Chapter IV.

the disputation.[61] Those students who continued their education abroad had to take an extraordinary exam in the form of disputation upon their return, in order to demonstrate that their confessional purity remained intact.

It is remarkable that the major checking up on the material studied during the week was conducted on Saturdays and called *sabbativa*. This was also the day for administering punishments. With the Jesuits, this habit was based on the Catholic interpretation of Saturday as a day of taking responsibility in the face of God (*dies irae*).[62] The same would obviously not apply at an Orthodox institution. This is one more example of scrupulous imitation of Jesuit example in the day-to-day practice of the Kiev Mohyla College.[63]

2. 4. *Extra-curricular activity*

From the late sixteenth century, the cult of Virgin Mary spread throughout Ruthenian provinces of the Polish Commonwealth, establishing itself among the Catholics, the Orthodox, and the Uniates alike. In Shchurat's estimation, about 40 centres of the Marian cult existed among the Ruthenians, the Orthodox and the Uniates altogether, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In his view, such rapid growth of the Virgin's popularity may be explained by the striving of the Orthodox to mount a response to the Catholic offensive.[64] As so often, this 'response' looks very much like an imitation. The so-called 'junior congregation' (*detskoe bratstvo*) was organised at the Kiev Epiphany Brotherhood for the pupils of the Brotherhood school by Patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem in 1620.[65]

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[61] Linchevsky, 'Pedagogiia drevnikh bratskikh shkol', 541-544, 559, 561; Khizhniak, *Kievo-Mohylianskaia akademiia*, pp. 154-155.

[62] Linchevsky, 'Pedagogiia drevnikh bratskikh shkol', 440; see also IM VNLU, Dis. no. 2066, p. 181.

[63] On the discipline in the Kiev College see Golubev, 'Kievo-Mohylianskaia kollegiia pri zhizni svoego fundatora', 551-552.

[64] V. Shchurat, *Mariins'kyi kul't na ukrains'kykh zemliakh pol's'koi derzhavy* (Lvov, 1910), p.19; see also *Pam'iatky brats'kykh shkil na Ukraini*, p. 531.

[65] Bolkhovitinov, 'Opisanie Kievo-Sofiiskogo sobora', p. 248.

The tradition was followed at the College, where the so-called *Societas* or *Sodalitas Mariana*, founded by Mohyla, kept the students united outside their studies.[66] The use of the word *sodalitas*, the same as was applied by the Jesuits for their own student congregations, is suggestive. Among the Catholics the Virgin Mary was the patroness of the seven liberal arts.[67] It is remarkable that in the Ευχαριστηριον the Mother of God replaces Apollo and the Muses on Parnassus as the patroness of 'all sciences'. Just as with the Jesuit Marian sodalities, the purpose of its Kievan counterpart was to cultivate confessional piety and a communal spirit.[68] Apparently, membership was voluntary rather than compulsory, but it was greatly encouraged.

Unfortunately, very little direct information exists about the early period of the Marian Sodality in Mohyla's lifetime. However, the data from a later period reveal some more details. In the 1690s, we find the sodality divided into two congregations: one for junior, and another for senior students, respectively the *Congregatio Minora* and the *Congregatio Majora*. A specially appointed monk called *Pater Congregationis* was in charge of each one and kept its seal.[69]

Another important kind of extra-curricular activities was presented by the school theatre.[70] The 'official' school theatre was a clear replica of Jesuit school performances based on biblical plots. As Paulina Lewin explains, 'sometimes biblical events served

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[66] See *Prilozheniia k pervomu tomu issledovaniia Fedora Titova*, p. 317.

[67] M. D. Allen, *The medievalism of Lawrence of Arabia* (University Park, Pa., 1991), p. 27.

[68] See Chapter IV.

[69] See IM VNLU, Dis. no. 2015, pp. 29, 37, 42. Cf. the Jesuits' 'director of sodality', chosen among the professors of a college. For the publication of an early eighteenth-century document entitled 'The rules for new members of the Sodality' (*Nastavleniia novykh sodalesov*) see *Zapysky istorychno-filologichnogo viddilu*, 2-3 (1920-1922), 82-88; for a brief analysis of the document see V. Peretts, 'Novi dani dlia istorii shkoliars'kykh bratstv na Vkraini', ibid., 77-81.

[70] Sydorenko's speculation that the tradition of school theatre could be traced back to the old Rus' wandering actors (*skomorokhi*) (Sydorenko, *The Kievan Academy in the seventeenth century*, p. 105) must be dismissed, since the condemnation and persecution of the *skomorokhi* by the Orthodox Church was about as ancient as its history itself by the seventeenth century. It is necessary, however, to distinguish at this point between the 'official' school theatre and the students' Christmas performances in the town. These latter could have indeed embodied some old folk traditions and imagery, interlaced with the Christmas feast. These student 'performances', aimed at the collection of alms, were not initiated by the College administration, and were tolerated only as a means for the poorest students to earn a living. The singing of Christmas carols by the students was called *mirkovanie*, from the first line of a popular carol which began with words *Mir Khristov da vodvoriaetsia v serdtsakh vashikh*

only as a nucleus for action originating in the playwright's or director's creative imagination, as happened in mediaeval West European mystery plays. At other times, however, not only did the authorised, canonical books of the Bible chart the course of action, but so did the Apocrypha, known from the Septuagint, Vulgate, and early Christian writings'.[71] Baroque imagery of the school theatre fused piety and entertainment, thus producing an extraordinarily impressive phenomenon. As Vladimir Rezanov showed, the two authors whose distinct influence can be traced in all major works on the theory of theatre written by the Kievans, to the point of literal quoting of whole paragraphs, are the Jesuits Jacob Pontanus and Aelius Donatus.[72]

2. 5. *Mohyla's bequest*

By his last will declared a few days before his death, Peter Mohyla left a great part of his possessions to the College which he called the *unicum pignus meum* in the testament. He wrote:

> The foundation of schools in Kiev [was] an embodiment of the rights and liberties of the Ruthenian people, the manifestation of His Royal Majesty's great benevolence... as well as the realisation of my own humble pledge and desire [to promote education] that Christ Our Lord has blessed in his infinite grace. It has become apparent already in the days of my life how much benefit comes from those sciences to the [Orthodox] Church, since a great number of learned and pious men are brought up to foster the cause of the Church. Desiring to strengthen the College... for the times to come, I am... giving and leaving [to the College], first, my money that is presently held by his lordship Adam Kysil' of Brusilow... and the annual income from the sum of fifty-five thousand *zloty* [Polish silver money] that [the aforementioned person] has pledged to pay as is... stated in his promissory note. Second, I [desire] that my estates Mukhoedy and Opachychy [and their income]... be left with the Fathers-collegiate of the Kiev Brotherhood [Monastery], on condition that if my successor [as metropolitan?] wished to take these possessions from them, he should pay them back twenty thousand *zloty* as a reward. I also leave six thousand Polish *zloty* in cash to the College, as well as my [metropolitan] mitre of silver and gold... and all my library [of books] in different languages that I collected throughout my life, which is at present stored [at St. Sofia Cathedral] and entrusted to its deputy-Dean. I have [already] passed the catalogue of the library, signed by myself, to the fathers-collegiate. [A number of valuable church vessels and decorations were also left to the College.] In return for my benefactions *I demand that in the times to come the teaching in the College be*

('Let the peace that Christ brought us be in your hearts'). From that time, the word *mirkovanie* became generally understood as 'begging'.

[71] P. Lewin, 'Drama and theatre at Ukrainian schools in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: The Bible as inspiration of images, meanings, style, and stage productions', *HUS*, 8 (1984), 111.

[72] See V. Rezanov, *Iz istorii russkoi dramy: shkol'nye deistva XVII-XVIII vv. i teatr iezuitov* (Moscow, 1910), p. 26.

run... on the same lines and according to the same rules designed by myself as... in my lifetime [my italics].[73]

Special attention should be drawn to the last passage of Mohyla's testament, which has a number of important implications. Firstly, it is understood that during his lifetime Peter Mohyla provided his foundation not only with financial means and appropriate staff, but also with a complete set of regulations, which apparently covered all spheres of its existence: administration, curriculum, discipline, and extra-curricular activities. The earliest existing Academy instructions date to 1734, but it is not unlikely that in their basic aspects they repeated what had been laid down in the earlier regulations dating back to the seventeenth century. Secondly, in his will Mohyla explicitly stated that in future the College had to be run according to the foundations laid by himself, thus prohibiting his followers from introducing changes. As has been shown above, the educational model of Mohyla's College was fully borrowed from the Jesuit schools. On the one hand, in my view, it is precisely this feature that accounts for the College's success, as the system was workable only in the event of the full adaptation of its closely interconnected elements. The survival of the basic elements of Jesuit education practically intact until as late as the mid-eighteenth century serves to support this assumption. On the other hand, the wholesale nature of this imitation possibly preconditioned its inherent shortcomings, as it appeared to be impossible to introduce selective changes without violating other constituent parts of the closely woven scheme, or even endangering its fundamental principles. After all, the Jesuit model, like all cultural borrowings, was a 'translated' system for the Kievites, and the adaptation was less amenable to updating than the Jesuits' educational structure proved to be.[74] One has the strong impression that in the case of Kievan scholars the main stance was 'preservation' rather than 'adaptation'. However, up to the early eighteenth century, these shortcomings remained negligible.

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[73] *Pamiatniki, izdannye Kievskoi komissiei dlia razbora drevnikh aktov*, I-II, pp. 430-431. Interestingly, the word 'rules' in the text is rendered as a polonised form of the Latin *regulae*: *regul[y]*.

[74] About the theory of cultural interaction as translation see Chapter II.

The memory of the founder was treated with great reverence in the Kiev Mohyla Academy. A ceremony in commemoration of Peter Mohyla was held annually on the day of his death, 31 December until 1918.[75]

3. *Kiev Mohyla College, 1648 to 1686*

Only the years immediately following the death of Peter Mohyla were relatively peaceful for the College. In 1648, the Cossack War under the leadership of Bogdan Khmelnitsky began, and Kiev was in the area of warfare several times in the 1650s and 1660s. After the Dominicans were banished from the city in conformity with the terms of the 1649 Zborov Treaty between Khmelnitsky and Poland, some of their estates were transferred to the College. However, very soon the resumption of hostilities made the Treaty of Zborov a dead letter. A series of defeats at the hands of the Polish army made Khmelnitsky seek support from the Russian tsar. The 1654 Pereiaslav Treaty put Ukraine under Russian control. It is noteworthy that Sylvester Kossov, Mohyla's former associate and his successor to the Kiev metropolitan see, at first refused to swear allegiance to the tsar, but later yielded to Khmelnitsky's direct pressure. In 1658, the College grounds were heavily bombarded during the siege of Kiev by the Polish army. Its estates were continually looted.

The 1658 Treaty of Hadiach between Poland and Hetman Ivan Vygovsky was an attempt to free Ukraine from a dangerous partnership with Russia. The terms of the agreement effectively made Ukraine the third partner to Poland and Lithuania in the Commonwealth. According to them, the Kiev College was to be elevated to the status of an academy and granted privileges equal to those of the Cracow Academy. It was assumed that all schools of other confessions in Kiev would be abolished. Another

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[75] It is noteworthy, however, that towards the end of the eighteenth century the name of Peter Mohyla came to be gradually omitted from the Academy's official title. This, combined with the fact that no entry on Peter Mohyla is found in the 'Dictionary of the most remarkable... figures, Orthodox hierarchs... writers and scientists of the Russian land', clearly manifests the attitude of the Russian imperial government to his personality and legacy: see D. Bantysh-Kamensky, *Slovar' dostopamiatnykh liudei russkoi zemli, soderzhashchii... zhizn' i deianiia znamenitykh polkovodtsev, ministrov i liudei gosudarstvennykh, velikikh ierarkhov pravoslavnoi tserkvi, otlichnykh literatorov i uchenykh*, in 5 vols. (Moscow, 1836).

Orthodox academy was to be established on the same lines wherever the Orthodox deemed it appropriate.[76] However, the Treaty of Hadiach was never implemented. During the 'Ruin' period of the years 1657-1687, the College suffered from very grave financial difficulties. Occasional donations did not remedy the situation. Although the College administration was increasingly preoccupied with survival, Paul of Aleppo who passed through Kiev in 1656, accompanying Patriarch Macarius of Antioch on his way to Muscovy, commented on the high standard of learning of its clergy. He wrote: 'Some of... [the abbots of their monasteries]... are... skilled in rhetoric, in logic, and in the various branches of philosophy. They have questions among them under discussion of great depth and research'.[77]

After Kiev came under Muscovite control in 1654, the College administration kept petitioning the tsar asking for financial aid. Instead of granting support, Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich, irritated by the wavering loyalty of the Ukrainians, wrote to the Kievan governor (*voevoda*) Peter Sheremetiev: 'I wish these schools did not exist at all'. Only Sheremetiev's opinion that 'the closing of schools would be a great insult to the people of Kiev' prevented the tsar from making his wish come true.[78] By the terms of the 1667 Treaty of Andrusovo, the Left Bank Ukraine (i. e. the region to the east from the Dnieper river) and the city of Kiev came under the rule of Russia, whereas the Right Bank Ukraine remained under Polish control. Consequently, the Kiev College lost all its properties situated to the west of the Dnieper, and was prohibited from accepting students from the 'Polish side'. Finally, the 'Eternal Peace' between Russia and Poland concluded in 1686, added considerable parts of the Right Bank to Russia. In return, the Polish side got money and Russian help against the Turks. Furthermore, the year 1686 completed the subjugation of the metropolitan see of Kiev to the

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[76] Bolkhovitinov, 'Opisanie Kievo-Sofiiskogo sobora', p. 250; Jablonowski, *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohilianska*, p. 135. For more about the treaty of Hadiach see A. Kaminski, 'The Cossack experiment in *szliachta* democracy in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: the Hadiach (*Hadziacz*) Union', *HUS*, 1 (1977), pp. 186-197.

[77] *The travels of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, written by his attendant Archdeakon, Paul of Aleppo*, transl. F. C. Belfour, I (London, 1829), p. 222.

[78] S. Golubev, *Kievskaia Akademiia v kontse XVII i nachale XVIII stoletii* (Kiev, 1901), p. 3; Savych, *Narysy z istorii kul'turnykh rukhiv na Vkraini ta Bilorusi*, p. 166.

patriarchate of Moscow. This development certainly affected the College: no longer being free, the traditional protectorate of the metropolitans of Kiev was subject to internal interference that increased as time passed.

4. *The Kiev Mohyla College/Academy, 1686 to 1747*

From the late 1680s, a period of relative stability replaced the time of trouble in Kiev. More or less sound finances returned alongside this stability. At the same time, the Moscow patriarchate, generally distrustful of the 'Kievan learning' and fearful of the impact of educated Kievan monks on Muscovite affairs, soon began its offensive against the 'Latinised Ukrainians'. In 1690, the Kievans were confronted in a dispute over the sacrament of the Eucharist.[79] As Sydorenko puts it,

> Specifically it focused on the Kievan rationalistic interpretation of Transubstantiation... The technical aspects of the dispute were... involving a difference in interpreting the precise moment when the sacramental bread and wine were miraculously transformed into the flesh and blood of Christ. In this case, the Kievans were... accused of following Catholic practice... Thus, through the instrument of a church council held in Moscow, the Patriarch [Joachim] condemned the teachings of the Kievans and compiled an index of forbidden books. The list included nearly all the important Kievan publications.[80]

The undercurrents of the Muscovite 'old ways' and the Kievan 'new ways' finally led to open conflict. The struggle lasted for many years with varying success and ended up with a consensus whereby some of the Kievan practices were rejected, but others were adopted in so far as they supposedly corresponded with the Orthodox tradition: 'what is new usually wins its way by disguising itself as the old'.[81] From the late seventeenth century the Kiev Academy systematically supplied the intellectual leadership for the East Slavonic peoples, and made major contributions to the reforms of Tsars Aleksei Mikhailovich and Petr Alekseevich Romanov.[82]

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[79] The Kievans' views on the precise moment of transubstantiation in the Eucharist were published by Mohyla in his 'Small cathechism' and accorded with the Catholic doctrine. For more details see Chapter V.

[80] Sydorenko, *The Kiev Academy in the seventeenth century*, 58.

[81] C. S. Lewis, *The allegory of love: A study in Medieval tradition* (Oxford, 1979), p. 11.

[82] The literature on this question is positively abundant. See, for instance, Horak, 'The Kiev Academy: a bridge to Europe in the seventeenth century', 133; M. J. Okenfuss, 'The Jesuit origins of Petrine education', *The eighteenth century in Russia*, ed. J. G. Garrard (Oxford, 1973), pp. 121-122; Korchmaryk, *Dukhovni vplyvy Kyeva na Moskovshchynu*, p. 89.

Meanwhile, Kievan scholars, arriving in Great Russia, particularly in Moscow, contributed to an improvement in the standard of learning and helped boost its prestige among the foreigners. The Jesuit Francis Emilian who spent several years on the *Missio Moscovitica* at the turn of the seventeenth century, met several Kievan professors in Moscow and took part in theological disputations held between the Jesuits and the learned Ruthenian monks. He developed rather peculiar views about Kiev and its College. One of his letters of 1699 'informed' the recipient: 'Kyoviae unum totum monasterium est unitorum, qui dexterrime sciunt eludere technas hujatium, passim tamen ab hujatibus [the Muscovites] vocantur haeretici'.[83] He went on to praise his opponents obliquely: 'hinc Kioviae et in vicinia ejus plurimi sunt uniti, quia ibi studia vere in flore sunt etiam altiora, illuminato enim intellectui facile est invenire veritatem'.[84] The monastery which Father Emilian 'labelled' as Uniate was, in fact, none other than the Brotherhood Monastery in Kiev. Faithful to the traditionally scornful Jesuit attitude towards the Orthodox, he thus tried to explain away his opponents' thorough learning. The majority of contemporary Catholic writers held the more or less explicit opinion that all 'true' knowledge could be possessed only by the Catholic Church. That the Uniates could be well educated was conceivable only by assuming they had studied at Catholic schools. The very nature of Father Emilian's mistake indicates that he recognised his Kievan adversaries as people of the same intellectual cast and his equals in a scholarly argument.

From 1689 full courses of philosophy and theology (essentially, Aristotelian philosophy and Thomist theology) were introduced to the College. As with the Kievans' Jesuit prototypes, the philosophical curriculum consisted of three parts: logic, physics, and metaphysics. The theology curriculum at the Kiev College paid attention mainly to the speculative and polemical aspects, but they were much less interested in

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[83] *Pis'ma i doneseniia iezuitov o Rossii kontsa XVII i nachala XVIII veka*, ed. F. Dvorsky (St. Petersburg, 1904), p. 234.
[84] *Pis'ma i doneseniia iezuitov o Rossii*, p. 236.

casuistry, moral theology, canon law and Hebrew, the four aspects greatly cherished by the Jesuits.[85]

In 1690, an inventory of all the Brotherhood Monastery's legal possessions was compiled and acknowledged by Hetman Ivan Mazepa and the authorities in Moscow, whereby the properties lost during the calamities of the 1650s and 1660s were officially restored.[86] In 1694 and 1701, two important tsarist charters were issued to the Kiev College recognising, respectively, its *de facto* and *de jure* status as an academy, granting immunity from the military and civil authorities and a rather symbolic grant from the state, as well as lifting the ban on the recruitment of students from regions under Polish control.[87]

The years 1693-1709 witnessed the 'golden age' of the Academy, largely due to the benevolence and generosity of Hetman Ivan Mazepa. Apart from major grants of land and estates within the city, as well as a substantial annual grant of money from the Cossack treasury, a new academic building was erected in 1703-1704, and a new stone church was built with Mazepa's endowments. The unprecedented rise in enrollment resulted in a total of about 2,000 students by the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century.[88] As a tribute to Mazepa's beneficence, the Academy assumed the name of the Kiev Mohylo-Mazepian Academy at that time. Unfortunately, the 'golden age' came to an abrupt end with the Poltava disaster of 1709, when Mazepa's defection to Charles XII of Sweden put the Kievans under not wholly unfounded suspicion from the tsar and the conservative party in Moscow. The Academy lost its powerful protector and had to struggle for survival again. An atmosphere already uncongenial for normal studies was aggravated by the epidemic of typhoid of 1709-1711 and the danger of

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[85] For the titles of the courses of theology, composed by the Academy professors, see Petrov, 'Kievskaia Akademiia vo vtoroi polovine XVII veka', Appendix IV, 602-604; also see Sydorenko, *The Kiev Academy in the seventeenth century*, p. 130.

[86] The Brotherhood Monastery owned real estate in the city and in the Kievan region, mainly acquired through donations and bequests. The Monastery lent its properties to laymen and used the income to provide for the expenses of the monastic community and the teachers' emoluments. For more details see Bolkhovitinov, 'Opisanie Kievo-Sofiiskogo sobora', pp. 248-250, n. 2.

[87] See *Pamiatniki, izdannye Kievskoi komissiei dlia razbora drevnikh aktov*, I-II, pp. 488-497.

[88] *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, II, p. 547.

famine. As a result, in 1711, enrollment fell to 161.[89] Rampant poverty among students was much more of the norm than the exception. In 1719 under the rectorship of Rafail Zaborovsky, a new student hostel (*bursa*) was built, as the conditions of life in the old premises were getting unbearable even for the poor and undemanding. Unlike their fellows, for instance, in the Moscow Academy, granted a modest state support (3-4 kopecks per day), the Kievan students wholly depended on themselves. The problem was solved in a number of ways: physical work, tutoring or itinerant teaching in the summer to collect money for a forthcoming academic year, begging, or robbery. 'Town and gown' conflicts were part of everyday life in Kiev throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Occasional grants of even significant sums of money do not seem to have improved the situation much.[90]

A collection of state ordinances entitled 'Reglamentation or regulations of the Spiritual Board' (*Reglament ili ustav Dukhovnoi Kollegii*), the so-called 'Spiritual Regulation' elaborated by Feofan Prokopovich was published in 1721. It defined the status of the Holy Synod, the highest ecclesiastical authority in the Russian Empire that replaced the institution of the Moscow Patriarchate and put ecclesiastical issues under the direct control of the tsar. A number of articles of the 'Spiritual Regulation' dealt at great length with the rules for establishments providing theological training, thus immediately affecting the Kiev Academy. Thus priests were ordered to send their sons to ecclesiastical schools under the threat of fines or even loss of their parishes.[91] In 1728, the monasteries throughout the Russian Empire were prohibited from accepting donations of real estate and undertaking any further purchases of immovable property.[92]

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[89] *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, II, p. 547.

[90] When in the mid-eighteenth century Metropolitan Samuil Mislavsky suggested hiring at his own expense a laundress to wash the students' undershirts, the answer was that as long as the majority of students had no underwear at all, the money would be better spent on buying shirts than on employing a laundress: Khizhniak, *Kievo-Mohylianskaia akademiia*, p. 183.

[91] See *ADOIKA*, I, 1, pp. 62-66.

[92] Bolkhovitinov, 'Opisanie Kievo-Sofiiskogo sobora', p. 250, n. 2.

A German Protestant priest Christoph-Wilhelm Hegelmeier left an interesting account of his stay in Kiev in the second half of the 1730s.[93] His work entitled 'An unbiased description of different remarkable places of the Russian Empire' was not exactly 'unbiased', revealing a certain degree of arrogance towards the adherence of the Orthodox to what Hegelmeier called the 'old realm of scholasticism' as opposed to 'enlightened' German theology. Although containing some obvious mistakes, his notes provide a most interesting description both of the intellectual atmosphere and the outward appearance of the Academy and its people. It seems appropriate to quote him at length here.

> There is a famous teaching monastery in this city [Kiev], which is named the Kiev Mohylo-Zaborovskian Academy after its founders[94]... [It occupies] a large beautiful stone building... The Academy provides enough opportunities for study. There are nine professors here [teaching]... theology... philosophy... rhetoric... poetics... Greek and Hebrew... syntax... grammar... *infima* [the first grade of grammarian stage]... [and] *analog* [elementary preparatory grade]... All these... professors are monks... There are grounds for believing, however, that they do not go too far in fasting... They are dressed in long black cassocks... When they go for a walk, they usually carry rosary beads, just like the Catholics... *[In my opinion] what those professors really need is good [new] books* [my italic]... [They were greatly interested to read] philosophical works of Clericus and Buddeus [that I brought with me], and I gladly presented them... They hold disputes here, according to the fashion of German universities... Their discussions sometimes sound unbecomingly offensive, and [to my mind] this does not contribute to their pursuit of truth. I told them that they should depart from their obscure scholastic terminology, and be more lucid and consistent in their argumentation. Then they would not need to call each other names... The [man who is] the professor of theology here [Hieronym Mitkevich] is full of scholastic chimeras, so that there is no place left for really important... things. He diligently reads even Greek Fathers in Latin translations, trying to find justification there for his own erroneous views. [95]

Hegelmeier promised to write more about the Academy library and administration, as well as to provide information concerning education in Moscow, Khar'kov, Chernigov and especially St. Petersburg, but apparently his work was not continued.

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[93] Hegelmeier was the confessor to count Minich, the Chief-Commander of the Russian troops quartering in Kiev during the Russian-Turkish War of 1735-1739. Hegelmeier's book was published in Eislingen in 1739: O. Dziuba, 'Kyievo-Mohylians'ka akademiia ochyma nimets'koho pastora (1739 r.)', *Kyivs'ka starovyna*, 2 (1994), 93; the fragments of his book relating to the Kiev Mohyla Academy are published ibid., 96-99.

[94] Hegelmeier thought that Mohyla and Zaborovsky together established the Academy just a few years before his own arrival at Kiev.

[95] Dziuba, 'Kyievo-Mohylians'ka akademiia ochyma nimets'koho pastora', 96-99.

The rule of Metropolitan Zaborovsky (1731-1747) marked the last period of the Academy's relative well-being.[96] One more time, to commemorate its patron's generosity, the Academy incorporated his name into its own, thus having styled itself as the Kiev Mohylo-Zaborovskian Academy. In 1734 a new codification of the Academy regulations, the *Leges Academicae docentibus et studientibus observandae* was issued. Its somewhat pedantic spirit revealing the presence of a strong idea of hierarchy among the members of the *academia* and a notable similarity with the Jesuit school regulations allow one to conclude that the 1734 rules were probably just a slight elaboration of the already existing instructions dating from the seventeenth century.[97] In 1738 the teaching of German and Hebrew was introduced.[98] Due to Zaborovsky's care of the Academy and his administrative talents, enrollment rose again. So, for instance, 1,243 students attended in 1742, 1,160 – in 1744, and 1,135 – in 1746.[99]

5. *Kiev Mohyla Academy/Kiev Academy in the 1750s-1770s*

From the mid-eighteenth century, the number of students decreased steadily, mainly owing to the foundation of new educational institutions throughout the Empire. At that time, modern philosophical concepts began gradually to replace Aristotle in teaching philosophy. So, after 1755, the Academy adopted Christian Wolff's philosophy explicated by his disciple Baumeister.[100]

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[96] Zaborovsky held the office of Metropolitan of Kiev for a long period between the years 1731 and 1747, but nominally in 1743-1747. After its temporary abolition in 1718, the office of metropolitan was not re-established before 1743. Between 1718 and 1743 the archbishop, appointed by the Holy Synod, exercised the highest ecclesiastical authority in Kiev. Zaborovsky became Archbishop of Kiev in 1731.

[97] *ADOIKA*, I, 1, pp. 214-219. For an English translation of the *Leges academicae* see Sydorenko, *The Kiev Academy in the seventeenth century*, Appendix I, pp. 163-165.

[98] Vishnevsky, *Kievskaia akademiia v pervoi polovine XVIII stoletiia*, p. 92.

[99] Jablonowski, *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohilianska*, p. 234; also IM VNLU, fond 160, no. 172, fol. 584v. In 1754, seven years after Zaborovsky's death, the enrollment fell to 869.

[100] See *ADOIKA*, II, 2, (Kiev, 1905), pp. 175-181. Notably, Gregory Konissky, one of the alumni of the Academy, wrote in 1755 that the course of philosophy he himself had been taught as a student, had been based on the 'rubbish [produced] by the interpreters of Aristotle' (*na smettiakh interpretov Aristotelevykh*), and he had only wasted his time on studying their writings: ibid., p. 179.

At that time, the teachers of languages in the Academy preoccupied themselves with composing new manuals meant to replace the largely outdated Alvarez for Latin and Gretzer for Greek. J. J. Korn in Bratislava was commissioned to publish I. H. Michaelis's manual of Hebrew entitled *Hebraica Grammatica... in Academia Kijowomohylozaborowsciana* in 1748. *Grammatica Latina... Usibusque Juventutis Parvae Russiae in Academia Kijoviensi excolendae* was issued by the Kiev Caves Monastery press in 1765, and a text-book of Greek under the title *Institutionum Linguae Graecae Liber... ex variis auctoribus collectis... instructus et exhibitus in Academia Kijowomohylozaborowsciana* was published by W. G. Korn in 1768.[101]

On 1 May, 1764, detailed new instructions for the Academy were approved by Catherine II.[102] They were elaborated upon by members of the teaching congregation during the preceding year, and then commented upon by the Kiev ecclesiastical authorities. The very structure of the Instructions, as well as the large number of almost literal correspondences betray the influence of the *Ratio Studiorum*.[103] For instance, professors of theology were instructed to rely, firstly, upon the Scriptures, secondly, upon patristic works, and thirdly, upon the Canons of the Ecumenical and local Ecclesiastical Councils.[104] This was a verbatim repetition of similar Jesuit instructions in teaching theology.[105] Great attention was paid to philosophical disputations, still supposed to be held on Saturdays.[106] Likewise, junior pupils had to know their weekly recitations of Latin lessons by heart every Saturday.[107]

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[101] Father and son Johann Jacob and Wilhelm Gottlieb Korn were repeatedly commissioned by the Academy, particularly to publish the works of its professors: see A. Mendykowa, *Kornowie*, (Wroclaw, 1980), pp. 48, 75-76; also *Slownik pracownikow ksiazki Polskiej*, ed. I. Treichel (Warsaw, 1972), pp. 442-443. For more details see the chapter on the history of the collections of the library of the Kiev Mohyla Academy.
[102] *ADOIKA*, II, 3, pp. 50-95.
[103] See Chapter IV.
[104] *ADOIKA*, II, 3, p. 79.
[105] See Chapter IV.
[106] *ADOIKA*, II, 3, p. 83.
[107] *ADOIKA*, II, 3, p. 88.

A German traveller by the name of Hildenstedt left a short account after his visit to Kiev in October, 1774. His description of the Kiev Academy gives a sad picture of past glory in decline.

> All subjects but mathematics are taught in Latin... They often hold philosophical and theological disputations here. This establishment does not deserve the name of a university, indeed it is no more than a second-rate secondary school. At the same time, it is the only establishment in Little Russia [i. e. Ukraine] where they teach sciences. All other schools that are attached to every church both here in Kiev and throughout the country only teach how to write in Russian, to read the Gospels, and to know a few poems by heart.[108]

Obviously, the Academy's educational model was getting more and more archaic in comparison with most of the institutions of higher learning throughout the Empire. Aristotelian physics could no longer satisfy scientists, and a knowledge of Latin could no longer provide the key to all knowledge. Latin was gradually losing its function of universal medium for the well-educated whereas the importance of modern languages grew. With the need for clarity in academic reasoning increasing, allusions to classical authors, elaborate poetic figures of speech, and logical syllogisms became unnecessary and ludicrous. The Aristotelian philosophy was rapidly losing its hegemony and the Aristotelian-based Thomist cast of theology, the loom of Mohyla's education, had to give way to pragmatic Protestant trends, favoured by the centralised state. Attempts to update the existing curriculum by the introduction of new subjects did not prove to be more than cosmetic measures, and indeed such attempts served only to shake the already weakened structure. Above all, the Academy, qualified to give instruction in the old 'scholastic' matters, proved mostly helpless as far as the teaching of new subjects was concerned, since, in contrast to Mohyla's time, no curriculum that would have brought them together into a system was established, and no appropriate staff was trained to provide it.

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[108] *ADOIKA*, II, 4 (Kiev, 1907), p. 184.

Chapter VII

The library of Peter Mohyla

The history of Peter Mohyla's book collection is complicated. Neither the date of its foundation nor a relatively full picture of its formation during Mohyla's lifetime nor even its fate after the founder's death has been established clearly in the historiography. So, for instance, opinions vary as to whether this book collection was destroyed together with the College library in the 1650s-1660s.[1] However, as follows from a short note on the contents of the Academy library compiled between 1772 and 1776, a considerable amount of books from Mohyla's collection were still in the Academy library in the 1770s: 'There are 3,304 volumes in the library of the Kiev Academy... all have been contributed by the... Metropolitans of Kiev, namely: *2,131 books donated by Peter Mohyla...* [my italics]'.[2] If valid, this is testimony to the fact that Mohyla's collection cannot have been seriously damaged in 1658 and 1665, and that it survived basically intact up to the 1780 fire.[3] Therefore the quoted figure of 2,131 volumes will be taken as a conditional quantitative starting-point for our discussion of Mohyla's private library. However, an important qualification should be made at this point. The collection, already partially dissolved by the 1770s (as we shall see later in this chapter) would have been considerably larger had it been kept intact.

Due to the paucity of documentary sources about Mohyla's book collection, every available piece of evidence must receive close attention. In the first instance, the surviving remnants of the library provide important data about the nature of Mohyla's books (a wide range of authors, subjects, dates and places of publication), as well as a great variety of provenance evidence (ownership inscriptions and stamps, notes about purchasing books, binding stamps, etc.). In addition, thirteen volumes of printed books and a manuscript

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[1] See the Introduction.
[2] *ADOIKA*, ed. N. Petrov, II, 4, p. 66.

codex donated by Mohyla to various monasteries and churches should also be mentioned here. Although, strictly speaking, they were not part of the collection at the time of Mohyla's death in 1646, and therefore could not have become the property of the College, they were owned by Mohyla for a time. Secondly, there exist the lists of two significant purchases of books made by Mohyla in 1632 and 1633. These two lists have survived in the original, in Mohyla's commonplace book. Thirdly, at the turn of the century, several books from Mohyla's collection were found in different places and mentioned by a number of authors in their works. Although the majority of these, unfortunately, appear to have since been lost, the information about them still can be used to make the picture more complete.[4]

Mohyla's commonplace book is an important document that must have belonged to his personal archive. The commonplace book presents a collection of records of a varied nature – from sermons and pious meditations to household notes – and it is known in historiography as 'The notes of Peter Mohyla, the Metropolitan of Kiev'. Early in the 1820s, Metropolitan Evgeny (Bolkhovitinov) mentioned it as lost.[5] However, in 1878, Golubev referred to Mohyla's commonplace book as being held at St. Sofia Cathedral, and published the two already mentioned lists of books purchased by Mohyla in 1632 and 1633, in an article dedicated to his library.[6] Finally, in 1887, the entire text of Mohyla's commonplace book was published in a collection of historical documents relating to the

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[3] At least two late nineteenth-century authors paid attention to this fact: Golubev, 'O sostave biblioteki Petra Mohyly', p. 257; Ikonnikov, *Opyt russkoi istoriografii*, p. 749.

[4] In his article on the library of Peter Mohyla, Golubev offers one more way for the reconstruction of its contents, namely, to consider those books, used and quoted by Mohyla and his milieu in their works, as a part of his book collection: Golubev, 'O sostave biblioteki Petra Mohyly', pp. 258, 266. Though important for the reconstruction of the intellectual atmosphere of the period under discussion, this method does not seem feasible, since such a great degree of 'approximation' is difficult to accept. Golubev's other suggestion that at least some of the books bearing the ownership inscriptions of Mohyla's closest associates, such as Joseph Trizna and Innocent Gizel', originally belonged to Mohyla himself, should be rejected on the same grounds: see Golubev, 'O sostave biblioteki Petra Mohyly', p. 260.

[5] Bolkhovitinov, 'Opisanie Kievo-sofiiskogo sobora', p. 165.

[6] Golubev, 'O sostave biblioteki Petra Mohyly', pp. 263-265.

territory of present-day Ukraine.[7] Since that time, all references to the document have cited these two publications, while the original seems to have receded into oblivion. I have managed to locate it in the collection of manuscripts from St. Sofia, presently held at the Institute of Manuscript of the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine in Kiev. It is a volume *in secundo*, comprising 116 fols. of records, primarily in Mohyla's own hand.[8]

1. *The surviving books*

From the mid-nineteenth century, a varying number of books from Mohyla's collection were reported by different authors to have survived: one by Bulgakov;[9] three by Ikonnikov;[10] eight by Krylovsky;[11] 'about ten' by the historian Dmitry Vishnevsky;[12] and finally, ten printed volumes, one manuscript, and a Gospel donated to one of the Kievan churches, by Golubev.[13] I have discovered altogether 43 volumes (47 titles, some bound together) of printed books, and two manuscript codices, which once belonged to Peter Mohyla. As already mentioned, thirteen printed volumes and a manuscript were donated by Peter Mohyla to seven monasteries and churches in Kiev and Galicia. The remaining 30 printed volumes and one manuscript might be considered to have belonged *de jure* to the library of the Kiev College as a part of Mohyla's bequest of 1646.[14]

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[7] *Arkhiv iugo-zapadnoi Rossii*, I, 7, pp. 49-189.

[8] IM VNLU, 367/676 s. The manuscript is described in *Opisanie rukopisnykh sobranii nakhodiashchikhsia v gorode Kieve*, ed N. Petrov, III (Kiev, 1904), p. 123. Mohyla's commonplace book is bound in dark-brown leather over cardboard, with a very simple geometric design cut on both covers. According to the Kievan historian of bookbinding, Dr. Elena Gal'chenko, the binding was crafted in Kiev in the first half of the seventeenth century, most probably in or shortly before the early 1630s. Here and subsequently all references to Dr. Gal'chenko are made on the basis of information that was kindly provided to me orally.

[9] Bulgakov, *Istoriia Kievskoi Akademii*, p. 61.

[10] Ikonnikov, *Opyt russkoi istoriografii*, p. 749.

[11] IM VNLU, fond 184, no. 67, fols. 1v-2v.

[12] Vishnevsky, *Kievskaia Akademiia v pervoi polovine XVII st.*, p. 285.

[13] Golubev, 'O sostave biblioteki Petra Mohyly', pp. 258-263.

[14] See Chapter VI.

1. 1. *Early acquisitions: books with the stamp of Simeon Mohyla*

In Mohyla's own words from his testament, he 'had gathered his library throughout all his life'.[15] No information exists about a tradition of book collecting in the Mohyla family. However, two of Mohyla's surviving books may appear to show that Peter's father Simeon was a book collector of some refinement. Both of the volumes in question, the Jesuit Francis Costerus's *Universae sodalitatis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae, Libri V* (Antwerp, 1591), and the already mentioned second volume of John Cassian's *Opera omnia*,[16] bear Simeon's small round stamp in black ink (see Figure 2).[17] The stamp was obviously not originally intended to be used to indicate book ownership, but rather as a personal seal of Simeon when he was Hetman of Moldavia in the later 1590s. The date of publication of Cassian's book, 1616, clearly indicates that it could not have belonged to Simeon Mohyla, who died in 1607. This, and the presence of Peter's early ownership inscription of his pre-archimandrite period on the title page,[18] allow us to conclude that the stamp was put in the book by Peter himself. Whether it should be explained by his search for 'politically meaningful' identity in approaching maturity, is a question that may be asked but can hardly be answered.

The second volume bearing Simeon's stamp, Costerus's *Universae sodalitatis*, presents a more complicated case, since the book, published in 1591, could theoretically have belonged to Peter's father. However, the *Universae sodalitatis* is a specific kind of reading, aimed mainly at a Catholic ecclesiastical, or more particularly a Jesuit, audience.[19] It would have been most surprising if an Orthodox layman kept a volume like this in his library. That Simeon Mohyla, even if he had a command of Latin enabling him to enjoy the original, would have been interested in the Jesuit sodalities, seems unlikely. That Peter,

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[15] *Pamiatniki, izdannye Kievskoi Komissiei dlia razbora drevnikh aktov*, I-II, p. 431.
[16] See Chapter V.
[17] For more details about this stamp see Chapter XI.
[18] See Chapter V.

whose appreciation of the subject later manifested itself in the creation of a minute copy of the Jesuit sodality at the Kiev College, would have purchased the *Universae sodalitatis* for himself, is much more convincing. Unfortunately, the front page of the volume is missing; consequently we do not have Peter's ownership inscription (as a rule, it was on the first printed page of a book, usually the front page, that he designated his ownership). Apparently, the page was lost thereafter, thus making it impossible for us to deduce even approximately the time when the volume could have come into his possession. However, it is reasonable to suggest that both volumes bearing Simeon Mohyla's stamp were among Mohyla's book acquisitions made before 1627; therefore neither of them had actually belonged to Peter's father. Most probably, the stamp was used by Peter to indicate book ownership after Simeon's death, but before he became archimandrite of the Caves Monastery.

1. 2. *Books with Mohyla's ownership inscriptions dated 30 May 1639*

A great number of the surviving books from Mohyla's library, 22 of the total of 31, including one manuscript, bear his ownership inscription dated 30 May 1639. Its presence in the book of Cassian, mentioned above, along with Mohyla's earlier inscription, does not allow us to assume that 30 May 1639 was their date of purchase by Mohyla. One may suggest, however, that Mohyla could have had some kind of stock-taking of his library, possibly in connection with the compilation of a new catalogue, at that date.

In 1631, the dying Metropolitan Boretsky bequeathed all his 'Greek and Latin books... [written] by different authors to his Excellency Lord [Peter Mohyla], Father Archimandrite of the Kiev Caves Monastery'.[20] Unfortunately, not a single book of this bequest appears to have survived until the present. At the same time, three volumes that

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[19] On the Jesuit sodalities see Chapter IV. On their Orthodox counterpart created by Mohyla in his College see Chapter VI.

[20] At the same time, all Slavonic and Polish books were left to the Kievan Church of the Archangel Michael of the Vydubitsky Monastery, where Boretsky ordered himself to be buried.

formerly belonged to Tarasy Zemka, a Kievan scholar, monk and typographer to the Caves Monastery printing press, are found among the surviving books. I have not managed to find any documents that could explain the presence of Zemka's books in Mohyla's library. However, it not impossible that Zemka, who died in 1632, also left his books to Mohyla, who was renowned as a great book collector of his time.[21] All three books are of a theological nature. The first, Petrus Besseus's *Conciones sive conceptus theologici*, was published in Cologne, in 1611. Apparently, the first owner of the volume was a certain Jacobus 'Sabinj', whose barely legible undated ownership inscription has been crossed out. Next came Zemka's inscription, also undated. Mohyla's inscription, dated 30 May 1639, precedes two inscriptions testifying that the book belonged to the library of the Kiev Academy. Neither of them is dated, but the first one: 'Ex bibliotheca Mohilana' may have been made in the seventeenth century, while the second: 'Ex Bibliotheca Academiae Kijoviensis', updating the status of the institution as an academy as of 1701, must be dated to the eighteenth century. The second book, Laurentius Beyerlinck's *Promptuarum morale super Euangelia Festorum totius anni* (Cologne, 1618), also bears several ownership inscriptions, the first of which belongs to Zemka, and the second to Mohyla. The third inscription may serve as a proof that Mohyla indeed supplied the College with books from his own library. It reads: 'Ex Biblioth. collegii Mohilaeani Kiiouien. A° 1639 Maj 30'. The third volume, Johann Andreas Coppenstein's *Bibliotheca Concionatorum sive Discursus Exegetici reales* (Mainz, 1627), was first owned by a certain Ioannicus Wolkowicz, who left two inscriptions on the title page. The second one, which is dated, reads: 'Bibliotheca concionatorum com[parata?] per me Ioannicus Wolkowicz Monachum Ordine Sancti Magni Basilij Jaroslavici Anno 1630° tempore Nu[ndinarum?], et in album librorum meo[rum] exposita'. The inscription made by Zemka follows: 'Quam ego Jeromonachus Tarassius

[21] This was tentatively suggested by Petr Sotnichenko in his early work on the philosophical literature in the Academy library: Sotnichenko, 'Biblioteka Kyievo-Mohylians'koi akademii: filosofs'ki dzherela', p. 50; and he later maintained this idea as an established fact, though no evidence seems to have been

Zemca ab [ill.] emi. Anno 1631 Februarij [1]'. Next comes Mohyla's inscription dated 30 May 1639, and two inscriptions made by the College/Academy librarians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

There are two sets of post-incunabula books among the volumes with Mohyla's ownership inscriptions dated 30 May 1639. The first includes Urbanus Rhegius's *Catechismus minor puerorum generoso puero Ottoni Furster dicatus* (Halle, 1536), *Formulae quaedam, caute et citra scandalum loquendi de praecipuis Christianae Doctrinae locis* (Wittenberg, 1536) of the same author; and two works by Antonius Corvinus: *Breves Expositiones super ea Euangelia quae in praecipuis Festis Sanctorum praedicari solent* (Halle, 1537), and *Passio Christi in sex conciones*, without publication data. The second set comprises Rodolphus Agricola's *De inventione dialectica, Libri III* ([Cologne], 1538), Erasmus Sarcerius's *Dialectica multis ac variis exemplis illustrata* (Leipzig, 1540), and the *Orationes Philippicae latinae sanctae* of Demosthenes (Hagenau, 1535).

One other set of items bound together, bearing an inscription dated 30 May 1639, includes two works of Rodolphus Gualtherus: *Archetypi Homiliarum in Acta Apostolorum per D. Lucam descripta* (Zurich, 1601), his *Archetypi Homiliarum in Omnes Apostolorum... epistolas* (Zurich, 1599), and the oration *De Pace et Concordia Ecclesiastica* (Zurich, [1601]), a tribute to Gualtherus, by Rodolphus Simlerus who styled himself as a *Medicus Tigurinus*.

Three volumes of selected commentaries and notes to Cicero's orations, *In omnes M. T. Ciceronis orationes selecta commentaria notae, scholia et annot. virorum doctissimorum Italiae, Galliae & Germaniae* (Cologne, 1621) could have been

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found: Sotnichenko, 'K istorii biblioteki Kievo-Mogilianskoi akademii', p. 91; also see Khizhniak, *Kievo-Mohylianskaia akademiia*, p. 136.

purchased by Mohyla from a Cracow book-dealer in 1633.[22] Mohyla's ownership inscription is dated 30 May 1639. As a part of his book collection, the three volumes could have arrived at the Academy library shortly after 1646. However, the presence of another inscription: 'Ex Bibliotheca Collegii Mohilouiani Kiiouiensis [cum obitarum?] Pieczariensis', testifies that they apparently did not come there directly, but through the bequest from an unnamed person, possibly a monk at the Caves Monastery, who may have 'borrowed' them from among Mohyla's books shortly after his death. As we shall see later, such a development was not unusual, as many of Mohyla's books are known to have been found in locations other than the College/Academy library. Three volumes of works by Basil the Great, published in Basel in 1565, are bound as one and bear a very similar, but somewhat extended inscription: 'Ex Biblioth. Collegii Mohilaeani Kiiouiensis [Cum] obita[r]um Pieczariensium translatoru[m]... ad Confraternitam'.

Another of Mohyla's books with the ownership inscription dated 30 May 1639 is found in the collection of St. Sofia. It is a volume of Byzantine theological works translated into Russian and published in Ostrog in 1607. Entitled 'A medicine for the dormant human mind, and especially for human hearts hardened by this world and the sins committed, being an address of the Divine John Chrysostom to Theodore the Monk, and in his person to everyone who is familiar with sins',[23] it also includes the 'Testament of Caesar Basil the Greek to his son, Prince Leo the Philosopher, already crowned Caesar of the same empire, written in the year 886'.[24] Widely known among the East Slavs, both works were translated into Russian several times. In accordance with contemporary trends towards the purification of texts from later interpolations and mistakes, the Ostrog publishers corrected the texts from the Greek originals. The volume has no ownership inscription testifying that it ever belonged to the library of the Kiev College, which probably means that it never was

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[22] See later in this chapter.

[23] 'Lekarstvo na ospalyi umysl chelovechii, a osoblive na zatverdelye serdca liudskie, zavedennye svetom al'bo iakimi grekhami, Bozhestvennogo Ioanna Zlatoustogo do Fedora Mnikha, a v osobe ego do kozhdogo cheloveka, kto znakom kol'vek est' grekhu'.

there. As follows from Mohyla's testament, by the time of his death, his library was stored at St. Sofia and was entrusted to its deputy father superior.[25] No surprise, therefore, that a number of books could have remained there after the whole collection was moved to the Brotherhood Monastery. The same goes for a fine manuscript codex from Mohyla's collection that includes Russian translations of John Damascene's 'Confession of faith' (*Izlozhenie very*), his *Dialectics*, and Andrei Kurbsky's 'Collection of stories' (*Skazaniia*) about Damascene. The manuscript bears two ownership inscriptions: that of Mohyla, and another attributing it to the library of St. Sofia Cathedral.

Apart from the three volumes that had belonged to Zemka, four books among those dated 30 May 1639, bear inscriptions testifying to the fact that they belonged to other people before reaching Mohyla. The earlier ownership inscription in George Barthold Pontanus's *Aureum Breviarium Concionatorum Sive Sermones Breves in Dominicos et Festos Dies Totius Anni* (Cologne, 1609) has been erased, so the name of the previous owner cannot be determined. The second book, Stanislas Socolovius's *De verae et falsae discrimine* (Cracow, 1583), bound in a specially ordered fine binding with the binding stamp of its previous owner on the back cover, bears the name of Matthias Kwasniowicz on the front page. Matthias Kwasniowicz (Maciej Kwasniewicz; died 1633) was a well-known Polish humanist, professor of the liberal arts and later of philosophy at the Cracow Academy. He was a famous bibliophile of his time, having gathered a significant library between the years 1594 and 1622.[26] Another person whose book is found among Mohyla's surviving books, is Simon Simonidis (Szymon Szymonowicz; 1558-1629), one of the leading Polish poets of the period. A volume containing the second part of Bartholomaeus Keckermannus's *Systema logicae* (Hanover, 1612), bears

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[24] 'Testament Vasiliia Tsezaria Kgretskogo do syna svoego iuzh koronovannogo L'va Filozofa dedicha i tsezaria togo zh tsesarstva roku... 886 napisannyi'.

[25] *Pamiatniki, izdannye Kievskoi Komissiei dlia razbora drevnikh aktov*, I-II, p. 431.

[26] M. Sipayllo, *Polskie superexlibrisy XVI-XVIII wieku v zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersytetskiej w Warszawie* (Warsaw, 1988), p. 140. A special reference to this binding is made in Chapter XI.

Szymonowicz's ownership inscription. It is known that upon Szymoniwicz's death his library remained unattended, and its subsequent fate is obscure. To all appearances, it was sold off, and the book of Keckermannus from Mohyla's library is but one fragment of the dispersed collection. Andrei Muzhilovsky, a proto-priest from Slutsk, later a monk at the Caves Monastery, was one of those who constituted the 'Mohylean circle'. His name is found on the title page of Thomas Stapleton's *Promptuarium morale super Euangelia Dominicalia totius anni, Pars Hyemalis* (Mainz, 1610). As it was later crossed out, it might be assumed that he sold the book to Peter Mohyla whose inscription, dated 30 May 1639, comes next.

The remaining three volumes bearing the date 30 May 1639, now held at the Vernadsky Library, are Joannes Ludovicus Vivus's *De veritate Fidei Christianae, Libri V*; part one of *Postilla, seu Conciones habitue*, by a certain Korbochius (the front pages of both books are absent); and 'The Roman catechism that is Christian doctrine as it is put by the Council of Trent' (*Katechism Rzymski to iest Nauka Chrzescianska za roskazaniem consilium Trydentskiego*; Kalisz, 1603) in Polish translation.[27]

One more book with Mohyla's ownership inscription dated 30 May 1639 has been found recently at the library of the Khar'kov State University. Paulus Bottbachius's *Concionum Sacrarum ex Vetustioribus, Orthodoxis, Approbatisque auctoribus* was published in Cologne, in 1633.[28] It is not difficult to postulate how this book could have reached Khar'kov. In 1726, a college was established in Khar'kov, and, as usually happened, the Kiev Academy alumni and professors went forth bringing their knowledge and experience. They also brought books from the Academy library. The book is mentioned in the 1828 catalogue of the library of the Khar'kov College.[29]

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[27] This book is named as one of the sources of Mohyla's 'Orthodox confession of faith', see Chapter V.
[28] The Department for Rare Books and Manuscripts of the Central Scientific Library of the Khar'kov State University, RK 197320.

1. 3. *Acquisitions of 1645-1646*

Three surviving volumes from Mohyla's library bear inscriptions testifying that they were acquired in 1645 and 1646. The book entitled *Elucidatio in omnes psalmos* (Paris, 1540) had once belonged to Andrei Muzhilovsky. Later, his ownership inscription was crossed out, and Mohyla's inscription in Polish appeared: 'Peter Mohyla, Archbishop and Metropolitan of Kiev, purchased this book from Anatoly Muzhilovsky [Andrei's brother], in the year 1645'. An interesting later history of the book can be traced: after Mohyla it passed to Innocent Gizel, the rector of the College in 1645-1656, and the Caves Monastery archimandrite in 1656-1683, who stated the fact of his ownership on the front page. His name was crossed out soon afterwards, and another inscription appeared: 'Ex Bibliotheca Collegii Mohilaeani Kiiouiensis'. Later the volume was 'borrowed' from the library again, and a new inscription was made: 'Ex Libris Athanazii [Mislavsky – L. Ch.] Archimandrit Peczariensis'. Finally, the volume came to the library of the Caves Monastery, and it remains in that collection today.

The inscriptions of two books bought by Mohyla in 1646: Adam Opatovius's *Tractatus de sacramentis in genere et specie* (Cracow, 1642), and Heremias Drexelius's *Opera omnia* (Antwerp, 1643), state the fact of purchase and prices (18 florins, 9 groshes, and 27 florins respectively[30]), but give no details about the sellers.

1. 4. *Undated ownership inscriptions*

The rest of the surviving books from Mohyla's library bear undated inscriptions simply stating that the volumes belonged to his library, and sometimes naming other

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[29] CSHAU(K), fond 711, op. 2, no. 1490, fol. 38v.

[30] Hungarian and Czech florins were in circulation in Poland from the fourteenth century. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the word 'florin' signified a sum of 30 silver coins, *groszy*, that equalled the value of the gold Hungarian florin (*florenis rubens* or *czervony zloty*). The florin originally contained approximately 3.53 g. of gold, and the correlation of weight between gold and silver was 1 to 11: V. Zvarich, *Numizmaticheskii slovar'* (Lvov, 1978), p. 174. In the mid-seventeenth century, the Polish

obscure owners. These are *Contra octuaginta haereses opus, Libros III* of St. Epiphanius of Constantia (Basel, 1560); *Summa de exemplis et rerum similitudinibus locupletissima* by one 'Frater Ioannes' (Antwerp, 1597); *De arte bene moriendi, Libri II* of the Jesuit Robert Bellarmin (Cologne, 1621); Gabriel Inchino's *Conciones de quatuor hominis novissimis* (Cologne, 1632); and finally a set of works of the famous Jesuit preacher Peter Skarga, all bound as one. The latter includes two works in Polish: 'The Sunday and festive sermons for the whole year' (*Kazania na niedziele y swieta calego roku*; Cracow, 1609), 'Important sermons, and other minor works' (*Kazania przygodne, z inemi drobieyszemi pracami*; Cracow, 1610), and Skarga's *Pro sacratissima Eucharistia Contra haeresim Caluinianam et Andream Volanum [in Lithuania Archimandritum]* (Cracow, s.a.). According to the ownership inscriptions, apart from Mohyla, the volume had also belonged to the priest Jacob Memlovich. His two inscriptions provide some curious information. Calling himself a 'humble presbyter', Memlovich states that this book is the eleventh one in his collection, and that he bequeaths it to the Mohyla College library, pleading for prayers for his soul. Although neither of Memlovich's inscriptions is dated, it is reasonable to suggest that he was the first owner of the volume, which came in Mohyla's possession later.[31]

1. 5. *Books donated to monasteries and churches*

Apparently, donations of books, especially liturgical ones, to Orthodox monasteries and churches formed part of Mohyla's usual beneficent practices. Thirteen volumes (six titles) of the surviving books bear inscriptions testifying to the fact of such contributions. Two copies of Mohyla's Λειτουργιαριον (Kiev, 1629) were given to the Grushevsky Shcheplovsky Monastery in Galicia, on 21 April 1636, and to the Church of St. Michael

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zloty was equivalent to about 8.15 g. of silver: see *The memoirs of Jan Chryzostom z Goslawic Pasek*, transl. and ed. M. Swiecicka (New York, 1978), p. 339.

the *Arkhistratig* of the Kiev Vydubitsky Monastery, on 23 November of the same year.[32] Mohyla usually provided his presentation copies with a donation inscription in the form of *skrepa*.[33] According to them, both volumes were given in memory of Mohyla and his parents, and the first one was also especially dedicated to the memory of Peter's teacher.[34]

Three copies of the 'Didactic Gospel, or homilies for every week and the great feasts of the year' (*Evangelie uchitel'noe, al'bo kazania na kazhduiu nedeliu y sviata urochistye*; Kiev, 1637), were donated: first – to the Church of the Erection of the Holy Cross of the Caves Monastery, on 15 January, 1638; second – to the Vydubitsky Monastery, on 27 November, 1638; and the third – to the Kiev Golden Dome St. Michael's Monastery, on the same date. All three inscriptions are in Mohyla's hand.

On 5 July 1640, Mohyla presented a copy of the Τριωδιον (Kiev, 1640) to the Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God in Lvov.[35]

A beautifully decorated volume of the Gospels: 'Ευαγγελιον, that is the Blessed News announced by the God- inspired Evangelists' (Ευαγγελιον *sirech' Blagovestie Bogodukhnovennykh Evangelist*), issued by the Lvov Dormition Brotherhood (1636), was donated to the Church of the Lord's Transfiguration at Berestovo, in 1641.[36] The book did not retain its original binding, but all its decorations were carefully kept in place after restoration work. The front cover of the book is ornamented with gold-plated silver medallions representing the four Evangelists (placed at the corners), the Transfiguration of Christ (in the centre) and Mohyla's coat-of-arms (above in the centre). A gold medallion below in the centre bears the donation inscription engraved in Church Slavonic: 'The

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[31] Memlovich used to be the teacher of the *infima* (the lowest grammarian grade) at the Kiev Brotherhood school just before its merger with Mohyla's Caves Monastery school, see Chapter III.
[32] Kolosovs'ka, *Doslidzhennia ta kolektsionuvannia starodrukovanoi kyrylychnoi knyhy v Halychyni*, p. 130.
[33] *Skrepa* (Rus.) is an ownership or donation inscription, usually written at the bottom of a number of pages at the beginning or in the middle of the book.
[34] For more details see Chapter V.
[35] Kolosovs'ka, *Doslidzhennia ta kolektsionuvannia starodrukovanoi kyrylychnoi knyhy v Halychyni*, p. 130.

Gospel is given to the Church of Our Lord's Transfiguration, in Christ's glory, and in memory of himself and his parents, by Peter Mohyla, Archbishop and Metropolitan of Kiev, in the year 1641, November 1'.

Six volumes of a full collection of the Greek *Menaion* for the whole year, each volume including two months' books bound as one, published in Venice, in 1624-1629, were given to the Caves Monastery in 1641.

Finally, a fine manuscript of the Orthodox service and ritual (*Sluzhebnik i Trebnik*), 'corrected by Job Boretsky in 1632', as the front page states, was given to St. Sofia Cathedral. To all appearances, the manuscript was specially commissioned for this purpose by Mohyla. The date of this donation has not been specified, but it could not have happened before 1633. The book *in folio* has three page-size water-colour illustrations representing St. Basil the Great, St. Gregory the Theologian, and St. John Chrysostom.[37] The name of the scribe, 'Lavrenty Iatskovich' is mentioned on the front page.[38]

Of all the books donated by Mohyla, only the six volumes of the Greek *Menaion* and the manuscript, just mentioned above, have retained their original bindings. All of them have a binding stamp on the front cover, comprising Mohyla's coat-of arms and Slavonic letters placed around it: 'ПМ / ПА / МК / ЕК / АП' (see Figure 3).[39] One may assume that all presentation copies originally had such bindings, which were replaced during restoration work.

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[36] CSHAU(K), fond 739, op. 1, no. 43.

[37] It has been suggested that Mohyla himself was portrayed as St. John Chrysostom. For more details see P. Popov, 'Nevidomyi pryzhyttievyi portret Petra Mohyly', *P. Mohyla: bohoslov, tserkovnyi i kul'turnyi diiach*, pp. 193-197.

[38] For more details about the manuscript see Chapter XII.

[39] The letters stand for 'Peter Mohyla, the Orthodox Archbishop, Metropolitan of Kiev, Exarch of the Constantinopolitan Apostolic See, Archimandrite of the Caves Monastery' (*P[etr] M[ohyla]/ P[ravoslavnyi] A[rkhiepiskop]/ M[itropolit] K[ievskii]/ E[kzarkha] K[onstantinopol'skii]/ A[rkhimandrit] P[echerskii]*).

The texts of all donation inscriptions are almost uniform. A full variant usually includes: (1) Mohyla's name and his status; (2) a statement that the book is given 'in memory of himself, his parents', and occasionally also some other individuals; (3) the name of the monastery or church, to which the book is given; (4) a kind of anathema on those who would dare to remove the book from this place; (5) the date; (6) Mohyla's signature. The Gospels, the Greek *Menaion*, and the manuscript of the Orthodox service and ritual bear somewhat shorter inscriptions, excluding some of the above elements.

According to the information from a Kievan book historian, Svetlana Bulatova, one more book, a collective donation from a group of churchmen, where Mohyla's name is mentioned, is now held in the *Biblioteka Jagiellonska* in Cracow. The volume of *Defensio quinque capitum* by Gennadius II Scholarus (Rome, 1637), bears a curious inscription: 'Per me M. T. Ch. et P. Ab. urbe et osculo Patris rimeantem III^{mo} et R^{mo} Petro Mohilae nuncupato Metropolitano Kijoviensi, Totique eius Confraternitati offert Anno humanae Redemptionis supra 1644'.[40]

1. 6. *Some conclusions on the surviving books*

The evidence of the surviving books testifies to the fact that Mohyla did not have any 'collector's' preferences as far as the sizes, style of bindings or any other visual aspects were concerned. For instance, the sizes of his books vary from a large *folio* to a small *sextodecimo*, the first usually being reserved for books used in liturgy, such as those he gave to the monasteries and churches. The bulk of his books are handy *octavos*, which, however, seems to be less the result of the owner's selection, but rather what the publishers regarded as the most convenient size for scholars. The same indifference to appearances is present in the bindings style (where Mohyla's books retained their original

[40] This information was obtained orally. Unfortunately, I made an irksome mistake in my article on the library of Peter Mohyla, by stating that the book was discovered at the *Biblioteka Narodowa* in Warsaw: L. Charipova, 'The library of Petro Mohyla', *The Ukrainian Review*, 44 no. 4 (1997), 69.

covers). Specially commissioned decorated bindings are seen only on the presentation copies, and the only other surviving book from Mohyla's collection that has a distinctive binding with the binding stamp of its owner, had come into Mohyla's hands previously bound.[41]

Likewise the places where the books were published vary. The leading centres of European printing seem to have supplied Mohyla with his reading: Cologne and Halle, Basel and Hagenau, Paris and Venice, Antwerp and Hanover, Zurich and Mainz, Leipzig and Cracow. The broad character of Mohyla's interests determined the rather eclectic nature of his library, bringing together different views, and various sources of knowledge.

Another notable feature observed when Mohyla's surviving books are analysed is the absence of *incunabula*. In his time, these earliest printed books had already turned into expensive rarities, maybe immensely longed for by collectors, but of moderate importance for the scholars who could buy new, amended and corrected editions, relatively free from those faults that sometimes marred the *incunabula*. However, as the number of Mohyla's surviving books is modest in comparison with what was originally in his library, this observation should be treated with caution.[42]

Finally, attention should be drawn to the language of Mohyla's inscriptions. Arguments as to which language he might have regarded as his 'native' one (which is different from the question of Mohyla's language abilities), acquired a degree of popularity among historians.[43] In most cases the language of his ownership inscription matched the language of the book: Latin, Polish, Church Slavonic, or Greek. However, the earliest Mohyla's inscription on a Latin book was made in Polish.[44] There is also a curious slip into Polish in the ownership inscription in the volume comprising the September and October parts of the Greek *Menaion*. Its Church Slavonic text in Cyrillic characters has

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[41] See earlier in this chapter.
[42] In fact, there is not a single *incunabulum* among all the surviving books from the Academy library.
[43] For an account on these arguments see Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*, pp. 19-21.

been suddenly 'interrupted' by a Polish word: *Petr Mohyla Arkhiepiskop Mitropolit* Kiiowski *v leto* αχμα.[45] The inscriptions in the rest of the six volumes of the *Menaion* keep the 'normal' Church Slavonic text. At the same time, a very personal note, apparently in Mohyla's handwriting, made on a flyleaf of Opatovius's *Tractatus de sacramentis*, is in Church Slavonic.[46] It reads: '[A section] on page 406 is very important to me, and is very much to my heart' (*Na liste 406 zelo mne polezno i podobno mne*). On p. 406, next to the ink mark *Vide* on the margin, we find a passage from the decrees of the Council of Trent: 'Si quis dixerit eum qui post baptismum lapsus est, non posse per Dei gratiam resurgere anathema sit'. This is one more first-hand example of Mohyla's reverent attitude towards Catholic doctrines.

2. *Two purchases of books made in Warsaw and Cracow (1632 and 1633)*

Having come to Warsaw to take part in the Election Diet late in 1632, Mohyla used the opportunity to make considerable purchases of books there. His original list enumerated 66 titles, of which 22 were crossed out, and the rest 44 apparently were bought.[47] The books in the list are remarkable for their variety of subject-matter. Among the names of the authors we find Plautus, Tertullian , Juvenal, Seneca, Martial, Propertius, Clement of Alexandria, Gregory the Theologian, St. Bernard, Prudentius, Machiavelli, Calvin, Lipsius, Bodin, the Jesuits Causin and Higronius, as well as books on Arab history and politics, the famous early sixteenth-century satire *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*,

[44] See Chapter V.
[45] 'Peter Mohyla, Archbishop and Metropolitan of Kiev, in the year 1641'.
[46] For more details see later in this chapter.
[47] The original of the list is in IM VNLU, 367/676 s, fols. 19v-20v; published with some mistakes by Golubev: 'O sostave biblioteki Petra Mohyly', pp. 263-265; more accurately in *Arkhiv iugo-zapadnoi Rossii*, I, 7, pp. 186-188.

Bartholomaeus Pitiscus's *Trigonometriae sive de dimensione triangulorum*, and poetry of Sarbiewski.[48]

Neither the places nor the publication dates are mentioned in the list. However, the bulk of the books have prices mentioned. Prices are quoted in florins and groshes, and differ considerably: from 1 florin, 10 groshes to as many as 35 florins (equivalent to about 285 g. of silver). Judging by the manner of crossing out the entries (the intensity of the feather pressure, the ink colour etc.), the process of selection was not executed all at once. For instance, the position no. [53] (*Coppensteini Bibliotheca Concionatorum*) may have been crossed out because a copy of the book had been already obtained from Zemka by that time.[49] This may mean that some of the entries were deleted after Mohyla looked through the books and realised that some of them would have doubled the copies he had already had in his library.

Mohyla took another opportunity to supply his library with new books during his sojourn in Cracow at the time of Wladyslaw's Coronation Diet, when another purchase was made. The second list of purchases is also rather varied in its contents, and originally included 31 entries, with two titles crossed out later.[50] Such names as Avicenna, Jacob Pontanus, Ovid, Horace, Martial, Cicero, Manutius, St. Ambrose and St. Jerome are mentioned in the list, as well as two volumes of Cnapius's Latin lexicon. Prices vary from 1 to 45 florins (the equivalent of about 370 g. of silver). The nature of the books bought by Mohyla on this occasion allows us to think that at least some of them were meant for educational purposes. The purchase of Cicero, Ovid, *Martiales cum Scholiis*, and

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[48] Concerning the entry no. [64] in the list: 'Tuba nouissima', Nychyk connects this topic with the idea of heliocentrism and argues that it should have been a book on optics, particularly on the invention of telescope: Nychyk: *Petro Mohyla v dukhovnii istorii Ukrainy*, p. 15. However, the book in question was, most probably, Johann Matthaeus Meyfart's work on the Four Last Things: Death, Judgement, Heaven and Hell, under this title. I owe this important bit of information to Mrs. Vera Rich of *The Ukrainian Review* editorial board, who has pointed it out for me.

[49] For more details see above.

[50] The original of the list is in IM VNLU, 367/676 s, fols. 21-21v; published by Golubev: 'O sostave biblioteki Petra Mohyly', pp. 265; also in *Arkhiv iugo-zapadnoi Rossii*, I, 7, pp. 188-189.

Pontanus's textbooks of poetry may have been a practical implementation of Mohyla's promise to support the College.[51]

As there are surviving books from Mohyla's collection that obviously did not have their front pages intact at the moment of purchase (therefore, Mohyla had to put his inscriptions on the first existing pages), it seems credible to assume that he bought second-hand as well as brand-new copies of books. However, to tell which of the books included in the 1632 and 1633 lists were new and which were second-hand is impossible.

3. *Mohyla's books mentioned by different authors (other than surviving books)*

A number of books from Mohyla's library, mentioned by different authors in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, have not survived. The 'Systematic catalogue of the library of the Kiev Theological Academy', compiled by Krylovsky and published in 1892, mentions a book that belonged to Peter Mohyla, entitled Δαμασκηνου μοναχου στουδιτου του Θεσσαλονικεως Βιβλιον ονομαζομενον Θησαυρος (Venice, 1562). According to an earlier ownership inscription, mentioned by Krylovsky, the book had once belonged to Stefan Kopystensky, a nephew of Zakhariia Kopystensky, Mohyla's predecessor as the Caves Monastery archimandrite.[52] Further information about the book is found in Golubev's article on the library of Peter Mohyla. According to him, Mohyla's ownership inscription in the volume was dated May 30 1639.[53]

In a manuscript note about the history of the Academy library Krylovsky mentioned altogether eight titles of Mohyla's books which were in the book collection of the Kiev Theological Academy at that time. Four of these are absent from the collection now, one of them being Damascenos's book, just mentioned above. Three other titles are Zacharias

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[51] For more details on this edition see earlier in this chapter.
[52] [A. Krylovsky], *Sistematicheskii katalog knig biblioteki Kievskoi Dukhovnoi Akademii*, I, 2 (Kiev, 1892), p. 342, no. 5193.
[53] Golubev, 'O sostave biblioteki Petra Mohyly', p. 258.

Hogel's *Theolaos* νουθετουμενος *de tempore suo secundum Apocalipsim s. Johannis* (Erfurt, 1645); *Loci praecipui theologici* of Melanchthon (Leipzig, 1549); and Christophor Pezel's *Mellificium historicum, complectens historiam trium monarchiarum: Chaldaicae sive Assyricae, Persiae, Graecae* in three parts (Marburg, 1610-1611).[54]

Several other books are named in Golubev's article on the library of Peter Mohyla. The Ψαλτηριον τω Δαυιδ (Venice, 1607), with Mohyla's inscription in Greek: 'Πετρος Μογιλα αρχιεπισκοπος. 1639 Μαιι 30', and the Greek book of hymns with notation (*heirmologion*), also issued in Venice, were then held at the library of the Kiev Theological Academy.[55]

Of the three books of Mohyla held at the Caves Monastery library in Golubev's time, two have survived until the present. Surprisingly, Golubev mentions only one of the six volumes of the collection of monthly readings in Greek, namely, only the Βιβλιον του Ιαννουαριου μηνος (Venice, 1629). Firstly, he obviously overlooked the fact that the volume also included the February readings. Second, it is not clear why he did not mention the other five volumes (the whole set of six volumes is now held intact at the Vernadsky Library, in the Caves Monastery collection). Apart from those two, he also referred to the Ανθολογιον του ολου ενιαυτου πλουσιοτατον (Venice, 1587), which is now absent from the collection.[56]

Golubev also found a volume of Christophor Philalet's Αποκρισις, apparently, the Ostrog edition of 1598 with Mohyla's ownership inscription, in the library of the General Archive of the Russian Imperial Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Another unnamed book of Mohyla was then held at the library of the Meletsky Monastery in Volhynia.[57]

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[54] IM VNLU, fond 184, no. 67, fols. 1v-2v.
[55] Golubev, 'O sostave biblioteki Petra Mohyly', pp. 258-259.
[56] Golubev, 'O sostave biblioteki Petra Mohyly', pp. 259-260.
[57] Golubev, 'O sostave biblioteki Petra Mohyly', pp. 262-263.

All four books referred to by Golubev as being held in the library of St. Sofia Cathedral have been kept intact in the collection up to the present.[58] He also mentions a volume of the Gospels donated to the Kiev Church of the Saviour at Berestov, now held at the Central Historical Archive in Kiev.[59]

Bulgakov in his history of the Academy mentioned Mohyla's book, which he called *A Treatise on the Sacraments* of Thomas Aquinas, and stated that in the 1840s it was kept at the library of the Kiev Theological Academy.[60] Apparently, Golubev later 'modified' the title to 'The theological system of Thomas Aquinas', but stated that the book had now been lost.[61] However, it seems that both scholars were misled. The volume in question is, most probably, one of the surviving books from Mohyla's collection, and is now held at the Vernadsky Library. Its full title is *Tractatus de sacramentis in Genere et Specie* (Cracow, 1642), but the author is the Jesuit Adam Opatovius. Moreover, there is one more book of the same author, entitled *Tractatus theologicorum, Ex I[ma] p[arte] Doct. Angelici [Thomae Aquinati]* (Cracow, 1644). Most probably, Bulgakov confused the two titles (the two volumes look remarkably similar), which led to further misunderstanding. Golubev, in turn, probably 'corrected' the 'inaccurate' title of 'Aquinas's work' to the well-known *Summa Theologica.*

Vishnevsky mentions a book of Mohyla's found in the library of the Smolensk Theological Academy. It was brought to Smolensk by Gedeon Vishnevsky in the late 1720s, and left to the then Theological Seminary that he established, as a part of his own book collection. Vishnevsky found another of Mohyla's books at the Chernigov Theological Academy library.[62] Likewise, Lavrenty Gorka (1671-1737) who moved to Great Russia in 1722, brought several books from Mohyla's library to Moscow and Viatka

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[58] Golubev, 'O sostave biblioteki Petra Mohyly', pp. 261-262.
[59] Golubev, 'O sostave biblioteki Petra Mohyly', p. 263. For more details on this edition see earlier in this chapter.
[60] Bulgakov, *Istoriia Kievskoi Akademii*, p. 61.
[61] Golubev, 'O sostave biblioteki Petra Mohyly', p. 259.
[62] Vishnevsky, *Kievskaia Akademiia v pervoi polovine XVII st.*, p. 286.

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[58] Golubev, 'O sostave biblioteki Petra Mohyly', pp. 261-262.
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[60] Bulgakov, *Istoriia Kievskoi Akademii*, p. 61.
[61] Golubev, 'O sostave biblioteki Petra Mohyly', p. 259.
[62] Vishnevsky, *Kievskaia Akademiia v pervoi polovine XVII st.*, p. 286.

as a part of his own book collection. According to his testament, his book collection was divided between the Moscow Theological Academy and the Viatka Theological Seminary which he founded.[63] It seems quite likely that the blameworthy practice of taking away books from the Kiev Academy library by the professors, who left Kiev for other places, began before the 1720s. This serves to confirm the view that the number of books in Mohyla's library in its original state in 1646, was more than 2,131, and probably considerably more than that.

[63] Khizhniak, *Kievo-Mohylianskaia akademiia*, p. 216.

Chapter VIII

Formation of the Academy library collections between the 1630s and 1780

It has been emphasised earlier in this work that the dearth of primary sources on the history of the Kiev Academy library has to be accepted as a characteristic of this study, basically preconditioned by the destruction of the Academy archives by the fire of 1780.[1] Scattered pieces of evidence about the formation of the library collections of the Kiev Mohyla College/Academy over the years between the 1630s and 1780, can be extracted from primary sources preserved outside the Academy archives, such as wills, occasional letters and receipts, and also from contemporary literature. Another important source of information is provided by the surviving books. However, since the data they offer differs considerably from that obtained from narrative sources, the study of the surviving books is presented elsewhere, and my discussion in this chapter is effectively limited to analysis of the documentary sources enumerated above.[2] Secondary sources such as monographs and articles, touching upon the history of the library, are quoted occasionally.

1. *The origins of the library*

There exist no documents stating the precise date of the foundation of the library of Mohyla's College. Some authors maintain that its origins can be traced back to 1615, the time of the establishment of the Kiev Epiphany Brotherhood school.[3] In their view, the bulk of the collection consisted at that time of primers and grammars. It is not impossible that the Brotherhood school could have had some kind of a library, but it would be

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[1] See the Introduction.

[2] For analysis of the surviving books from the library of Peter Mohyla see Chapter VII; all the rest are discussed in Chapter X. Chapter XI is specially dedicated to the provenance evidence and bindings of the surviving books.

[3] See Khizhniak, *Kievo-Mohylianskaia akademiia*, p. 135; Sotnichenko, 'K istorii biblioteki Kievo-Mohylianskoi akademii', p. 89.

inaccurate to designate its collections as they were then as the library of the Kiev Academy or even its immediate ancestor. Sotnichenko asserted that all books produced by the printers of the Monastery of the Caves from 1616, when their first issue, the *Breviary*, was published, to 1632, must have also been available to the teachers and pupils of the Epiphany Brotherhood school.[4] There also exists a receipt of Job Boretsky, then the rector of the school, stating that an unspecified number of copies of a Greek grammar, published in Lvov, were acquired from the printers of the Lvov Dormitory Brotherhood for the Kievan school in 1617.[5] However, a collection of alphabet-books and grammars alone, or even combined with the seventeen titles published by the Monastery of the Caves in 1616-1632, could scarcely have added up to what was later known as the library of the Kiev Mohyla Academy. The Epiphany Brotherhood school and the Mohyla College were very different both in terms of aims and curricula. Likewise, their libraries, being intrinsic parts of each of the foundations, are most likely to have differed significantly.

In her monograph on the history of the Academy, Khizhniak puts forward the rather dubious thesis that, since the foundations of the Brotherhood school were laid by a group of scholars from within the Caves Monastery, possessing a rich library, the school could presumably have received a donation of books from that library.[6] This view is hard to accept. Primarily because such a 'contribution' would have been completely at odds with the contemporary 'official' practice of accumulating books rather than giving them away for whatever important purpose. And why should a 'group of scholars' have moved the books, which were appropriately tended and fully accessible at the Monastery, to a new and distant location where, apparently, no arrangements existed to facilitate their access to them? The idea makes little sense.

It is most likely that the true basis for the library of the Kiev Academy was laid when Peter Mohyla founded his school at the Caves Monastery in 1631. He would hardly

[4] For more details on the output of the Caves Monastery press between 1616 and 1632 see Chapter II.
[5] Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mohyla*, I, Appendices, p. 217.

have overlooked the vital need for a well-chosen library for an educational establishment of the kind he had in mind. The short period of several months, which separated the foundation of Mohyla's Caves Monastery school from its merger with the Brotherhood school and the resulting establishment of the Kiev Mohyla College, creates no serious contradiction between the argument mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph and the view of Metropolitan Bulgakov that the Academy library was founded 'as soon as Peter Mohyla became the Protector of the College, that is, in 1632'.[7] An important testimony to this is found in Sylvester Kossov's Πατερικον. He stated that Mohyla 're-established the Kievan schools... and *provided them with a sufficient library* [my italics]'.[8] There are other reasons for believing that Mohyla really did supply the newly-established College with teaching aids, books above all.[9]

According to one other argument concerning the date of the establishment of the Kiev Academy library, it was Mohyla's private book collection left to the College that laid the foundation for the Academy library.[10] This proves to be a delicate point, enticing on the one hand, yet questionable on the other. In terms of the sheer quantity of books, the acquisition of this rich and valuable collection, without doubt, made it a library in a full sense. However, it is hard to believe that a college of the kind Mohyla had in mind could have existed without a library for fifteen years before receiving the bequest.

It must be assumed that all the books that had constituted Mohyla's private library became College property after his death, in accordance with the clear statement in his testament.[11] The surviving volumes from Mohyla's collection, the two lists of book acquisitions, and the analysis of his writings allow one to see that the main feature of his

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[6] Khizhniak, *Kievo-Mohylianskaia akademiia*, p. 135.
[7] Bulgakov, *Istoriia Kievskoi akademii*, pp. 60-61.
[8] Kossov, Πατερικον, p. 181.
[9] See Chapter VI.
[10] See for instance Torbakov, 'Paleotipy biblioteki Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii', p. 117.
[11] About Mohyla's bequest of real estate, money and his private book collection to the College see Chapter VI. For more details about his library see Chapter VII.

library was versatility, generally characteristic of Baroque culture.[12] Although in contemporary Europe the first signs of dissatisfaction with the intellectual pattern, based on the Aristotelian philosophy and represented by the Jesuits, already began to show in the seventeenth century, for the Kievan intellectual milieu horizons broadened in a manner comparable only with the influx of Byzantine culture in the eleventh century. Moreover, this pattern was fully inherited by Mohyla's followers at the Kiev Academy in the later stages. As late as the second part of the eighteenth century, private libraries of its alumni show the same spread of subject matter. However, as we shall see later in this chapter, in the eighteenth century the implications of this breadth of interests appear to have been significantly different.

2. *Seventeenth-century acquisitions other than Mohyla's bequest*

The period after Mohyla's death in 1647 up to the early eighteenth century was extremely difficult for the College and hardly beneficial for its library. The Kiev College buildings were bombarded and partailly burned in 1658-1668.[13] Clearly, in such circumstances, when the main objective must have been to preserve the existing books, the College authorities and teaching staff were hardly able to think about acquiring new literature for the library.

It is unknown whether, and in what way, Mohyla envisaged the need to update the library stock. It is not impossible that the regulations for the College, mentioned in his testament, included some instructions concerning the acquisition policy of its library, just as the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum* determined it as part of the routine business of their schools.[14] At the same time, it is important that, apart from the Jesuits, acquisition policy of European college and university libraries still depended wholly on the private initiative of donors rather than institutionalised principles. People like Thomas Bodley and his less

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[12] See Chapter VII.
[13] See G. Gajecky, 'The Kiev Academy and the Hetmanate', *HUS*, 8 (1984), 85-86. Also see Chapter VI.

renowned contemporaries, who gave their books to educational institutions, also often added sums of money specially intended for purchasing of books, usually of a nature more or less strictly determined by the donors. Any provision concerning the acquisition of books for the College library is lacking from Mohyla's last will, his money being bequeathed directly to the College without indication of any concrete purpose.[15] It is reasonable to suggest that the absence of a developed book-market in and around the Kiev region was a serious obstacle to any systematic policy of book acquisition, and Mohyla must have been well aware of this.[16] The few surviving books that I tentatively categorise as seventeenth-century acquisitions are usually mute as to how they got to the library, and their inscriptions mention no dates.[17] What is beyond doubt is that private donations of alumni and professors must have remained the essential means of book acquisition for the College library during the period of instability and destruction of the second part of the seventeenth century and indeed well into the eighteenth century.

2. 1. *A single manuscript addition of 1641*

The only documented work in the College library which, according to the text of its ownership inscription, arrived at the library in 1641 – still in Mohyla's lifetime – but which bore no indication of having been donated by him, was a manuscript in Polish entitled 'The life-giving waters [flowing] from the Saviour's heart, that is... Christian meditations about death... derived from the Holy Scripture... translated from Latin into Polish by... Hieronym Krusinski, from the book written by Henry Kyspennigius, in the year 1624'.[18] The ownership inscription on its first page read: 'E (*sic*) bibliotheca Mohileana Ciovien. A°

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[14] For more details see Chapter IV.
[15] See Chapter VI.
[16] For more details see Chapter II.
[17] For more details see Chapter XI.
[18] 'Wody zywotne ze srzodel Zbawicielowych, to iest... Nauki z Ewangeliey o rozmyslaniu smierci... a pisma swietego plynace... przez... Ieronima Krusinskiego przelozonie, [Ksiega Henryka Kyspennigiusza], Roku Panskiego 1624'.

1641 Iuly 26'. The manuscript belonged to the library of St. Sofia Cathedral in 1901.[19] However, it is is no longer to be found in the Cathedral's manuscript collection, which is now held at the Institute of Manuscript of the Vernadsky National Library.

2. 2. *The 1676 donation of Epiphany Slavinetsky*

The only existing record of a seventeenth-century contribution to the library is the testament of Epiphany Slavinetsky, who died in Moscow in 1676. Slavinetsky taught Latin at the Kiev College around the 1640s.[20] Apart from the bequest of money and valuables to the Mohyla College, thirty-eight volumes of his books were sent.[21] The books are listed according to their size, from *folio* to *octavo*, and the description is very sparse. The authors' names are transcribed in Cyrillic characters, all the titles are either translated or transcribed into Russian, and publication data are altogether absent. Some entries contain only the name of the author, or alternatively only the book's title. Slavinetsky's library presented quite a variety of authors: Plutarch, Livy, Aristotle, John Scotus, Thomas Aquinas, and others. Judging by his books, the main points of Slavinetsky's interests seem to lie in scholastic philosophy and theology, biblical exegesis and linguistic studies, history and historical geography. Two of his books were bilingual Latin-Greek editions, and he had several Hebrew grammars and a dictionary of Hebrew and Chaldaeic languages. Slavinetsky had a surprisingly large number of books describing remote places such as Scotland, Denmark, Holland, Hungary, Turkey, Persia, and there was an obscurely described 'Latin book about the seas' in his collection. Two of Slavinetsky's books were collections of prayers in Church Slavonic, and one more, entered in the list as the 'Polish

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[19] It was described in Petrov, *Opisanie rukopisnykh sobranii*, III, p. 245, no. 601/257 s.

[20] V. Nimchuk, '"Leksikon latinskii" ta "Leksikon sloveno-latinskii" i ikh mistse v istorii staroi ukrains'koi leksykohrafii', in *"Leksikon latinskii" E. Slavynets'koho; "Leksykon sloveno-latinskii" E. Slavynets'koho ta A. Korets'koho*, ed. V. Nimchuk (Kiev, 1973), pp. 7-8.

[21] Slavinetsky's testament was found in the Synod Library (*Sinodal'naia biblioteka*) Archive in Moscow and published in the mid-nineteenth century: 'Raskhod knigam, ikonam, dengam zolotym i vsiakoi rukhledi startsa Iepifaniia', ed. V. Undol'sky, *Vremennik imperatorskogo Moskovskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh*, 5 (1850), 73-83.

book [called] Messiah', was probably Ioanniky Galiatovsky's polemical treatise entitled 'The True Messiah' (*Messiasz prawdziwy*), issued by the Caves Monastery press in 1672. Finally, there were three manuscript codices among Slavinetsky's books described as 'Latin Dialectic', 'Latin Rational Philosophy' and 'Latin Philosophy'. All three must have contained courses of dialectic and philosophy, taught in some scholastically-orientated educational establishments.

Special attention should be drawn to a number of curious titles in the list such as 'Egyptian symbols' (*Kniga Simvolika Egipetskaia*) and 'Natural magic' (*Kniga Naturalis Magia*).[22] The study of emblems and symbols was closely related to alchemy and mysticism, and was one of the most fashionable trends among seventeenth-century scholars, particularly the Jesuits. Their application of mystical knowledge went far and beyond the search for the Philosophers' Stone, which was capable of transmuting 'low' metals into pure gold. 'The empirical study of nature [took] place against a visionary and mystical background', and therefore could be applied to the interpretation of the mysteries of divine creation. Similarly, the use of emblems made it possible to break the 'grammatical bonds', which had held the Holy Spirit in captivity ever since the Babylonian corruption of the 'primeval' tongue.[23] Hermeneutics as the art of textual interpretation was the intrinsic part of hermetic knowledge, the study of wisdom.[24] It is no surprise, therefore, that biblical textual criticism of the seventeenth century intermingled with 'pagan' symbolism, and many European theological treatises employed language very similar to that used by the

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[22] The nature of Slavinetsky's books provides further grounds for questioning the popular stance of Russian historiography which attempts to present him as a leading representative of a 'Graecophile' school, who presumably disapproved of 'Latin knowledge': see, for instance, A. Panchenko, 'Literatura perekhodnogo veka', *Istoriia russkoi literatury*, 1 (Leningrad, 1980), pp. 334-335. This theme is touched upon in many works, published in the West to date, and there is no need to elaborate upon it here. For a relatively recent discussion of the topic see P. Bushkovitch, *Religion and society in Russia: The sixteenth and seventeenth century* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 152-160.

[23] A. Roob, *The Hermetic Museum: Alchemy and mysticism* (Cologne, 1997), pp. 12-14. For more about the application of emblems by the Kievan intellectuals see Chapter XII.

[24] Roob, *The Hermetic Museum*, p. 9.

followers of the mysterious Hermes Trismegistus. Slavinetsky's books on emblems and magic were not the only ones of that sort at the Academy library.[25]

3. *Eighteenth-century acquisitions through private donations*

From the turn of the seventeenth century, the stock of the Academy library continued to grow, mainly owing to contributions from both professors and alumni. According to a contemporary source, quoted by Bulgakov, 'a regular library' (*pravil'naia biblioteka*) functioned again only during the rule of the Kiev Metropolitan Varlaam Iasinsky (1690-1707).[26]

In 1731, there was put forward a project for transferring the substantial library of Stefan Iavorsky, the late Metropolitan of Riazan', to the Kiev Academy. Iavorsky had died in 1722 and had bequeathed his book collection to the Nezhin Annunciation Monastery that he had founded. Iavorsky planned to open a Graeco-Latin school at the monastery, and thought his books essential for the future educational establishment. However, the project was not implemented due to Iavorsky's untimely death. The books remained unclaimed and were stored in barrels in the monastery church, slowly rotting away. The Archbishop of Kiev Rafail Zaborovsky claimed the books for the Kiev Mohyla Academy. At the same time, the authorities of the newly-established College in Khar'kov petitioned Tsarina Anna Ioannovna for Iavorsky's library to be assigned to this institution. In October 1731, upon the recommendation of Feofan Prokopovich, the question was resolved in favour of the Khar'kov College.[27]

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[25] See Chapter X.

[26] Iasinsky was probably himself a generous contributor to the Academy library: Bulgakov, *Istoriia Kievskoi akademii*, p. 133. However, no existing documentary evidence supports this hypothesis, and there is not a single book bearing Iasinsky's ownership inscription among the surviving volumes. Bulgakov also named Feofan Prokopovich (1681-1736) as one of those who contributed to its library in the 1720s and 1730s: Bulgakov, *Istoriia Kievskoi akademii*, p. 132. No books with Prokopovich's ownership or presentation inscriptions are presently found among the surviving books; however, there are several editions of his works published during his lifetime.

3. 1. *Contribution of 1758 of Ilarion Grigorovich, the Bishop of Sarai and Podonie*

On 6 January 1758, Ilarion Grigorovich, then the Bishop of Sarai and Podonie, gave his private book collection to the Kiev Academy, of which he was himself an alumnus. The text of Ilarion's presentation statement is not extant, but this donation was mentioned in a letter, dated 31 January 1758, of the Academy Rector Manassiia Maksimovich to Arseny Mohyliansky, the Metropolitan of Kiev.[28] A full list of Bishop Ilarion's contribution, entitled *Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae domesticae Sanctissimae Synodi membri, illustrissimi Hilarionis, Episcopi Sarsensis et Podonensis, qui applicati sunt Bibliothecae Kiovomohyleanae*, was attached to this letter and it has survived in the Metropolitan archive. Nikolai Petrov, who published the collection of documents connected with the history of the Kiev Academy, included Manassiia's letter in this edition, but chose not to publish the *Catalogus*, explaining that it was partially decayed (actually, by fungus) and could not be restored in full. [29] However, Petrov's pessimistic view seems somewhat far-fetched, as the list has survived in quite an adequate condition until the present, and can mostly be read without difficulty.[30]

The catalogue is organised according to the sizes of books, ranging from *folio* to *octavo*. It contains 479 volumes (318 titles), mostly of books in Latin, but also in German (8 volumes), Polish (6 volumes), French, Italian, and Greek (one of each), as well as 17 titles of books in Russian. Only two volumes are indicated as manuscript codices. Apparently, some of the volumes contained several titles bound as one, but usually such details either passed unnoticed or were deliberately omitted.[31] Any publication data about the books are absent from the list.

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[27] See *ADOIKA*, II, 1, part 1 (Kiev, 1904), p. 176.
[28] For a copy of this letter see IM VNLU, DA/p. 221, fol. 151; published in *ADOIKA*, II, 2 (Kiev, 1905), p. 203.
[29] *ADOIKA*, II, 2, p. 204.
[30] IM VNLU, DA/p. 221, fols. 152-158.
[31] See Chapter IX.

Bishop Ilarion's books represent a great variety of authors and subject-matter, which is not surprising, given the generally versatile interests of the Kievan scholars. They include an extensive collection of patristic writings of both the Orthodox and the Catholic Fathers such as, for instance, St. Augustine and St. Jerome; a significant number of books on Byzantine history; several editions of the Bible, and a volume recorded as *Liber Mahumetis Sarracenorum principis vita*; works of Protestant authors such as Erasmus, Christopher Sturm, Justus Lipsius and Samuel Puffendorf; and the *Opera* of the Jesuit Robert Bellarmin. It is noteworthy that Jesuit writers seem to have been read quite extensively by Ilarion. Apart from two volumes of Bellarmin's collected works, he had several editions of Athanasius Kircher's books, and the *Exercitia Spiritualia* of Ignatius Loyola.[32] Books on Catholic theology and Aristotelian philosophy are represented in considerable numbers. Classical authors: Epictetus, Cicero, Julius Caesar, Ovid, Valerius Maximus and Cornelius Tacitus, as well as several theoretical works on rhetoric and poetry, collections of orations and proverbs, and a great number of different grammars and lexicons, have a significant place in the catalogue. Besides, the list of Ilarion's donations shows his interest in history, jurisprudence, politics, medicine and geography. Some curious titles such as, for example, *Historia Navigationis in Brasiliam*, highlight the broad range of his yearning for knowledge.[33]

3. 2. *Arseny Mohyliansky's donation of 1767*

On 23 February 1767, Arseny Mohyliansky, the Metropolitan of Kiev, contributed 27 'Latin books' to the library of the Kiev Academy. This is testified by the covering letter sent from the Metropolitan chancellery to the Rector Samuil Mislavsky, together with the

[32] Kircher was especially renowned for his interest in 'Egyptology', meaning the study of different rarities and oddities from ancient Egypt in general, and Egyptian 'cryptic' emblems in particular.
[33] About the surviving books from Ilarion's collection see Chapter X.

donated books.[34] The 27 volumes constituted three sets of multivolume editions: *Critici Sacri sive annotata doctissimorum virorum in Vetus ac Novum Testamentum* (Amsterdam, 1698) in ten volumes; *Thesaurus theologico-philologicus sive Sylloge dissertationum elegantorium ad selectiora et illustriora Veteris et Novi Testamenti loca* (Amsterdam, 1701) in two volumes; and *Magna bibliotheca veterum Patrum et antiquorum scriptorum ecclesiasticorum* (Cologne, 1618) in fifteen volumes. Interestingly, the letter states that while the first two sets of volumes were from Mohyliansky's private library, it was particularly for the Academy library that he bought the third one. This demonstrates that Mohyla's example of supplying the Academy with necessary books, either by giving away volumes from his own library, or by buying them specifically for this purpose, persisted in his establishment as late as the second half of the eighteenth century.

3. 3. *Varlaam Lashchevsky's bequest of 1776*

In 1776, there died Varlaam Lashchevsky, the Rector of the Moscow Slavonic-Graeco-Latin Academy, a graduate of the Kiev Academy, and its former prefect and professor of philosophy. He bequeathed a considerable sum of money and all his library including 827 volumes (618 titles) of books, to the Mohyla Academy. The catalogue of this donation survived and was published by Petrov in the collection of documents connected with the history of the Academy.[35] It is mentioned in the publisher's note that 'a number of mistakes in spelling the names and places of publication can be observed, as the copyists evidently took down the dictation and, therefore, could not have heard what was said perfectly well'.[36]

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[34] *ADOIKA*, II, 3, (Kiev, 1906), pp. 350-351.
[35] See *ADOIKA*, II, 4, pp. 206-233.
[36] *ADOIKA*, II, 4, p. 206.

The list of Lashchevsky's books includes 743 volumes in West European languages, mostly Latin, and 84 titles in Church Slavonic and Russian. According to the accepted custom of the period, the books in the catalogue are systematised by size, from *folio* to *octavo*. The entries of the catalogue often omit the authors' names, provide no publication dates, but usually mention places of publication. The analysis of the places of publication reveals quite an interesting picture: 152, about one-fifth of all the volumes in Lashchevsky's library were published in Britain (more precisely, 99 of them were issued in London, 32 in Oxford, 19 in Cambridge, and two more volumes were published in Glasgow and Dublin). This allows one to suggest that he might have had some special connections with the British book-market. There was not a single English-language volume among these books, however, as they were all in Latin. Moreover, there seems to be nothing special about the nature of these books: all of them present a familiar pattern of patristic and humanistic literature.[37]

In terms of its contents, Lashchevsky's collection does not differ significantly from the contemporary private libraries of other Kievan ecclesiastics, already mentioned and analysed in this study. There can be found a great number of patristic writings, theological and philosophical treatises, works of classical authors, books on history, geography, politics, literary theory, lexicons and grammars, Protestant and humanistic writings, numerous editions of the Bible, several Talmudic treatises, and as many as three editions of the Koran. One of the entries seems to be especially interesting, but it is not quite clear what kind of book it represents. It reads: *Vita Petri Mogilae, tom. I, graecus liber.*[38] Neither a printed book, nor a manuscript matching this description is known to exist so far. The range of Lashchevsky's Russian books is particularly heterogeneous: Bibles and prayer books, sermons, historical works, poetry, fiction, moralistic treatises for young

[37] About the surviving volumes from Lashchevsky's collection see Chapter X. Only three of the books published in Britain have survived. For details about the bindings of the two of them see Chapter XI.
[38] *ADOIKA*, II, 4, p. 220, entry no. 217.

persons, and even military ordinances. There were 8 manuscripts in Latin and 7 manuscript codices written in Russian and Church Slavonic among them.

3. 4. *Gavriil Kremenetsky's donation of books intended for the poorest pupils*

In 1768, the Archbishop of St. Petersburg Gavriil Kremenetsky, one more graduate of the Academy, sent 100 copies apiece of the recently published *Catechism* and another book vaguely termed 'dialogues' (*dialogismy*), to the Academy.[39] In addition, two calendars were sent.[40] In a letter of thanks from the Kiev Metropolitan Arseny Mohyliansky, it was stated that all the books would be distributed among the poorest pupils, which must have been the original idea of Kremenetsky's donation. One can assume that a number of copies, at least, were to be left in the Academy library. The Metropolitan also notified Kremenetsky that he was going to commission the printing of additional copies of these books for the Academy and other schools of the diocese 'if he were able to find a local publisher'.[41] To perform this, he had to have examples of these editions ready at hand.

4. *Bequests of money earmarked for the Academy library*

The habit of giving money to the Academy, usually in the form of bequests, was common enough among its alumni and professors. Moreover, there exists a piece of information indicating that later in the eighteenth century at least some of the donors set aside a certain sum from their bequests, which was earmarked for the needs of the Academy library. Metropolitan Gavriil Kremenetsky, who, in the estimation of Petrov,

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[39] To all appearances, the *dialogismy* were standard textbooks, sometimes also called 'school talks' (*razgovory shkol'nye*), containing dialogues in Latin, which the pupils were supposed to read aloud and learn by heart.

[40] The eighteenth-century popular calendars were no mere tables of dates. As a rule, they contained diverse information concerning important dates and events that were to take place during a particular year.

[41] *ADOIKA*, II, 3, p. 381.

gave a total of about 40,000 roubles to the Academy between 1777 and 1778, [42] specified in his letter of 1779 to the Rector Kassian Lekhnitsky that 500 out of approximately 2,000 roubles of interest, gained from this capital, were intended 'for the Academy library and hospital'.[43] However, the grouping together of such dissimilar institutions as the library and the hospital in the text of the document is noteworthy and may indicate that, although certainly not unimportant to the Academy, both of them were regarded as issues of secondary priority.

5. *Purchases of literature*

Attempts to broaden the curriculum in the mid-eighteenth century brought about need for new literature. This required some positive action on the part of the Academy authorities. With private donations still making up the bulk of the overall acquisitions to the Kiev Academy library, occasional purchases of literature were also undertaken. The earliest evidence of the Academy's contacts with book-traders, more particularly, the 'Silesian dealers', dates back to 1749.[44]

5. 1. *Purchases of literature on the orders of the highest ecclesiastical and secular authorities*

In the second part of the eighteenth century, occasional purchases of literature took place upon the recommendation of the highest ecclesiastical and secular authorities. A considerable proportion of such purchases was made on the direct orders of the Holy Synod. The Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg was an important centre of publishing in eighteenth-century Russia, providing, apart from academic publications, standard texts and other teaching aids for educational institutions throughout the Empire such as, for

[42] See *ADOIKA*, II, 4, pp. 40-41.
[43] *ADOIKA*, II, 4, p. 56.

example, academies and seminaries. So, on 25 May 1755, a decree was dispatched from the Holy Synod to Timofei Shcherbatsky, the Metropolitan of Kiev, with a recommendation to the Academy authorities to buy copies of the Latin grammar published in 1746 in St. Petersburg, and available at the Moscow Publishing Board, 'in any quantity that is necessary', to be distributed among the pupils of the four junior classes.[45]

A similar ordinance was received by all the academies and diocesan seminaries late in 1771. It concerned the Latin grammar, 'rendered into Russian by the translator Lebedev', and the elementary Latin-Russian dictionary, published in St. Petersburg, each to the amount of 1,200 copies.[46]

In this way, the imperial authorities managed to achieve several objectives. Firstly, providing schools with uniform teaching aids helped to reinforce their control over education. Secondly, the production of the Russian Academy of Sciences printing press was thus promoted (the Academy was a state-funded body). Thirdly, this process sometimes proved advantageous for the educational establishments themselves. As follows from the report of the Prefect David Nashchinsky to the Metropolitan Shcherbatsky submitted on 1 July 1755, Alvarez's *De institutione Grammatica* was then still the principal aid for teaching Latin in junior grades.[47] However, some of the Academy professors already regarded Alvarez's grammar as largely outdated and said that it presented the material by the way of explaining *obscurum per obscurum*.[48]

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[44] See *ADOIKA*, II, 1, part 1, pp. 398-399. This must have been a reference to the Korns, a dynasty of German book-traders and publishers, based in Breslau (Wroclaw). For more information about them see later in this chapter.

[45] *ADOIKA*, II, 2, p. 153.

[46] CSHAU(K), fond 1973, op. 1, no. 307, fol. 1.

[47] *De institutione Grammatica* by the Jesuit Emmanuel Alvarez was first published in 1572 and employed as the standard textbook for teaching Latin both in Jesuit schools and at Mohyla's College.

[48] *ADOIKA*, II, 2, p. 154. It is noteworthy that just a few years earlier, the Kiev Academy itself sold Alvarez's *Institutione Grammatica* and Latin primers, most probably published in Poland, to other educational institutions, such as, for instance, the College in Khar'kov, as follows from the imperial decree of 26 January 1751. According to its text, the Kiev Academy bought about 500 copies of this book, to give them to the pupils of junior grades 'in return for the cost due'. This done, an unspecified number of copies seems to have remained available for sale. The decree from St. Petersburg ordered the authorities of the Khar'kov College 'to buy the necessary number of books from the Kiev Academy, and distribute them

5. 2. *Purchases of literature through personal connections of the Academy professors*

There are reasons for believing that some of the rectors and professors of the Kiev Academy used their personal connections in the academic world for the purchasing of books, especially from abroad. For instance, Prefect Samuil Mislavsky wrote in 1758 to Christian Baumeister, then professor at the Brandenburg Academy: 'If there are some new books in any disciplines, may I ask that you send them [to Kiev], for the benefit of the Academy, including the payment of postage as well as service to the total'.[49]

Gregory Poletika, an alumnus of the Kiev Academy (graduated c. 1746) employed as interpreter and translator to the Holy Synod in St. Petersburg (1748-1764), is known to have bought books and teaching aids for the Mohyla Academy and several individuals in Kiev, such as, for instance, Metropolitan Arseny Mohyliansky, in the 1750s and 1760s.[50]

5. 3. *Purchases of 1771 and 1774*

One of the few extant files from the Kiev Academy archive indicates that a purchase of textbooks and other teaching aids was either planned or undertaken in 1771.[51] Another such file contains a set of documents testifying to the purchase of 64 titles of books for the Academy library in 1774. It contains the printed 'Catalogue of Russian books that are on sale in the book-store of the Moscow University and in St. Petersburg' (*Reestr rossiiskim knigam i sochineniiam, kotorye prodaiutsia v Moskve v universitetskoi knizhnoi lavke, a takozh v Sanktpeterburge*; Moscow, 1774); a list of the books selected,

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among the pupils as soon as possible, so that they spend no time without purpose': CSHAU(K), fond 1973, op. 1, no. 101, fols. 1-1v.

[49] *ADOIKA*, II, 2, p. 224.

[50] For instance, see Poletika's letter with a mention of the dispatch of 'two big packs of books' to the Academy rector in 1761: A. Lazarevsky, 'Chastnaia perepiska Grigoriia Andreevicha Poletiki (1750-1784)', *Kievskaia starina*, 40 (1893), p. 500. A receipt of 18 March 1758, from a book dealer by the name of Friedrich Asch states that he had been fully paid 'by his Honour Lord Poletika for the newspapers up to and including the year 1754, which he had sent to the Reverend Archbishop Arseny [Mohyliansky]': *ADOIKA*, II, 2, p. 213.

composed at the Kiev Academy; and also financial documentation connected with that purchase. The balance put forward for the books amounted to 110 roubles, eighty kopecks.[52]

The literature in the list of selected books falls into several categories: (1) bilingual (e. g. German–Russian) dialogues on pious topics, intended for young persons; (2) bilingual German-Russian and Latin-Russian lexicons; (3) manuals of poetry and rhetoric (4) pious moralistic treatises; (5) Russian translations of classical authors: Demosthenes, Seneca and Ovid; (6) Italian, German, French and Russian primers; (7) several editions on the martial arts; (8) a great number of odes composed on various occasions of imperial life; and (9) several titles obviously offering reading for leisure, such as, for instance, 'Fairy-tales about the magicians, with morals derived' (*Skazki o volshebnikakh s nravoucheniem*), 'Amusing, melancholic, and other stories' (*Zabavnye, pechal'nye i drugie istorii*), or Voltaire's 'The princess of Babylon' (*Princessa vavilonskaia*). There are also a few books on physics, astronomy, arithmetic, geometry, German grammar explained in Russian, jurisprudence, universal history, physiognomy and chiromancy.[53] The nature of the books is very varied. However, this gives the impression of a lack of consistency rather than of true breadth of interests. A list of titles like this would probably be normal for a domestic library, but hardly matches the image of the library as an academic institution.[54]. According to the receipts and disbursements book, it was not before 1776 that the books arrived at Kiev.[55]

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[51] CSHAU(K), fond 1711, op. 1, no. 9, fol. 1.
[52] CSHAU(K), fond 59, op. 1, no. 7521, fol. 28v.
[53] CSHAU(K), fond 59, op. 1, no. 7521, fols. 12-13v.
[54] The catalogue of books on sale in the Moscow University book-store provides important information about the late eighteenth-century book trade in the Russian Empire. Its eighteen pages are divided into three main parts, listing unbound books, bound ones, and books yet in print. The first section is the most extensive, containing about two hundred titles. There are only seven entries in the second part of the catalogue, and twenty-two titles of books in print. Understandably, unbound books were much cheaper than those in covers, and therefore, probably, more attractive for prospective buyers who, in addition, were left free to commission the style of binding they preferred or could afford, after the books were purchased. The catalogue also quoted prices that varied according to the place where books were sold. Prices for places other than Moscow were ten to twenty per cent higher, thus including expenses on transporting books (the more

5. 4. *Relations with foreign book-traders*

Apart from purchasing books from the printing works at Moscow and St. Petersburg, the Academy also maintained connections with foreign book-traders and publishers such as, for instance, those in Breslau, Bratislava and Leipzig.[56]

There is considerable circumstantial evidence about the Academy's relations with the Korns of Breslau. In particular, the pre-1780 collaboration was maintained with Johann Jacob Korn (1702-1756) and his son Wilhelm Gottlieb Korn (1739-1806). Their firm specialised in two main directions of publishing activity: one covered professional scholarly literature of a varied nature from theology and philosophy to medicine, mathematics and architecture; the other, more utilitarian, stream included textbooks, religious literature and miscellaneous popular editions.[57] Substantial runs of books were published according to orders from educational establishments. The Kiev Mohyla Academy was among them, at times commissioning the Korns to print the works of its graduates and professors, such as, for instance, collections of Feofan Prokopovich's Latin and Polish poetry, sermons and polemical works issued between 1743 and 1745, and two editions of Varlaam Lashchevsky's *Institutionum linguae graecae liber* (1746 and 1768). The Polish bibliographer Aleksandra Mendykowa suggests that it was through book-dealers in Leipzig that the contacts between the Kiev Academy and the Korn dynasty were originally established.[58] Apart from selling their own editions, the Korns were especially active in book-dealing themselves. Detailed subject lists and comprehensive catalogues of their book stock were regularly published.[59] A letter of 12 June 1767, from Konstantin

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expensive a book was, the more levy for its transporting was incurred). Costs for unbound books ranged from 30 kopecks to one rouble fifty kopecks: see CSHAU(K), fond 59, op. 1, no. 7521, fols. 30-48.

[55] CSHAU(K), fond 59, op. 1, no. 8391, fols. 7, 18, 38v.

[56] See *ADOIKA*, II, 3, p. 103.

[57] See about them *Slownik pracownikow ksiazki Polskiej*, pp. 442-443; and Mendykowa, *Kornowie*.

[58] Mendykowa, *Kornowie*, pp. 48, 75-76.

[59] For example, the 1742 *Catalogus auserlesener Auctorum Classicorum*, the 1743 Polish-language catalogue advertising recent acquisitions of new and second-hand French books, entitled 'A list of French

Kryzhanovsky, a priest in Romny, to Arseny Mohyliansky names Wilhelm Korn as an 'appointed dealer [*comissioner*] to the [Kiev] Academy', and mentions a recent purchase of books from him.[60]

6. *The establishment of a book-store at the Kiev Academy*

The Academy Instructions of 1764 stated that a book-store was to be founded forthwith on the lines of book-stores already existing in the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences and Moscow University, to satisfy the needs of students of all grades for books for study. The details of this episode reveal some interesting information about the Academy's relations with book-dealers and publishers. Firstly, it is clear that its contacts with foreign book-traders (particularly those in Bratislava and Leipzig), previously maintained through the brothers Stefan and Ivan Andreev, referred to as 'Kievan merchants' in the text of the 1764 Instructions, were intended to continue in the same way in the future. Secondly, it was planned to conclude written contracts with the foreign book-traders to the effect that they supplied the Academy with books direct and at moderate prices. It was specially emphasised that only the titles ordered in advance were to be sent, and by no means those picked at random, at the dealers' own discretion. Thirdly, under the terms of these contracts, book-traders were to provide the opportunity for the Academy to commission the publishing of necessary books in those printing presses, with which these book-traders collaborated themselves.[61]

The Academy book-store was supposed to be financially self-supporting. The sum of money needed for the purchase of the original stock of books for sale was to be borrowed from the Academy's joint funds, and gradually paid back. The retail price of books was to include a certain approved percentage of commission, and the sums gained

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books, old and new' (*Wykaz starych i nowych ksiazek francuskich*), and the 1746 *Catalogus librorum*: see Mendykowa, *Kornowie*, pp. 48, 90.

[60] The letter also states that two globes, one *caelestem*, and another *terrestrem* were bought from the Korns for 12 *chervontsy*: *ADOIKA*, II, 3, pp. 354-355.

from this commission were to make up the book-store's own financial basis in future. Detailed accounts of all the money transactions were to be kept in a special register and to be subject to annual audits. The book-store was to be managed by the librarian.[62] Unfortunately, no further information about the Academy book-store before 1780 exists, and we do not actually know whether it came into operation in the mid-1760s. The earliest extant archival files concerning the functioning of the Academy book-store date from 1800-1804, and cannot be analysed here.

7. *Local commissions for publishing books*

The need for the Academy to have a permanent printing press for publishing the necessary literature became evident. In 1753, Metropolitan Timofei Shcherbatsky floated a project for establishing the Academy's own printing press. His letter to the Holy Synod reveals his concern with the fact that 'every year significant sums of money go abroad on purchases of books for teaching and study from foreign book-traders', whereas they could have been printed at home, thus saving both expense and effort. Despite the permission granted by the Synod the same year, the printing press never came into operation due to lack of funds.[63]

In 1764, the Academy authorities decided to commission the reprint of a Latin grammar set out in Polish, recently published in Warsaw by the Piarists, at the Caves Monastery printing press. The permission of the Holy Synod being given in principle, it was, however, ordered that the Catechism included in this grammar should be omitted at the re-printing, because it contained a number of statements, 'seriously contradicting Orthodox doctrine'.[64] How many copies of the grammar were to be issued, remains

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[61] *ADOIKA*, II, 3, p. 103.
[62] *ADOIKA*, II, 3, pp. 103-104.
[63] *ADOIKA*, II, 2, p. 99.
[64] *ADOIKA*, II, 3, pp. 227-228.

unclear, but there are reasons for believing that the run was probably between 500 and 1,000 copies.[65] The work was completed by the end of 1765.[66]

8. *Some conclusions on the analysis of the formation of the library collections*

The facts enumerated above show that the Academy authorities did put some effort into updating the contents of its library in the second part of the eighteenth century. At the same time, this objective proved to be very difficult to attain. First of all, the Academy's constant shortage of funds prevented any consistent moves in this direction. For instance, in 1765 the Academy was unable to pay the Monastery of the Caves promptly for the printing of the Latin grammar. As a result, its archimandrite refused to deliver the printed copies before the balance was paid in full, and the Academy authorities had to take the money put aside for the repair of the roof to redeem them.[67] Secondly, by the time the Academy was able to set aside some money for purchasing books later in the eighteenth century, it was in a state of intellectual crisis, which occasional purchases of literature, the nature of which was in itself random and mostly unsatisfactory, could not repair. In this way, the state of the library may serve to register accurately the general situation within the Academy.

Throughout the seventeenth century and the first part of the eighteenth century, private donations seem to have been the principal means of adding books to the Academy library. This fact had significant implications: the Academy's alumni, nourished upon the 'scholastic' system of knowledge, created their own libraries, based on the same system and, having later given their books to the Academy, replenished its library quantitatively, but did not contribute anything essentially *new* in terms of subject-matter. In a way, the same versatility and intellectual polyphony that had determined the success of Mohyla's

[65] See *ADOIKA*, II, 3, p. 229.
[66] *ADOIKA*, II, 3, p. 228.
[67] *ADOIKA*, II, 3, p. 229.

foundation in the seventeenth century, gradually turned into the intellectual cacophony of the second part of the eighteenth century.

The political position of Ukraine as a part of the Russian Empire also created difficulties for the acquisition of literature. Having established contacts with a number of publishers and book-traders by the mid-eighteenth century, the Academy was still not free to select literature at its own discretion. Firstly, the introduction of new textbooks could only take place upon approval from St. Petersburg. Secondly, having been permanently short of funds, the Academy could not afford to conduct expensive deals with Western publishers on an extensive scale, and had to satisfy itself with purchases of cheaper books from the official printers of Moscow and St. Petersburg. The latter, in turn, were greatly limited in their choice of literature by the strictness of the imperial censorship, suspicious of anything that allegedly had to do with free-thinking and 'Masonic' ideas. It is noteworthy that printing presses in Russia would only publish Western authors in Russian translations, and if the Academy needed books in languages other than Russian, it had to turn westwards, to Poland and Germany. This, however, could bring trouble with the authorities, since the state tried hard to monitor closely the contents of books arriving from abroad.[68] For instance, the Decree of Tsarina Anna Ioannovna of 1738, concerning the calendar, 'published by Stanislaw Dunczewski, Doctor of Philosophy and Mathematics, in the Polish city of Lvov, and containing many indecent and highly offensive statements against the Russian Empire', ordered that all copies had to be collected from the townspeople of Kiev and other places and publicly burned by the city hangman. Those who dared to try and keep the prohibited calendar, were threatened with 'severe punishment', and the inhabitants of Little Russia were urged to buy and read only those calendars that were approved by the authorities and published in the Empire.

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[68] CSHAU(K), fond 1995, op. 1, no. 10, fol. 156v. Another example of the imperial censorship has been mentioned above: the Catechism, considered faulty from the point of view of confessional purity, had to be left out during the re-printing of the Latin Grammar commissioned by the Academy in 1764.

In the seventeenth century, the Kiev Mohyla College offered a crucial cultural and intellectual breakthrough for the Orthodox population of Ruthenia. For the most part, its success was predetermined by the consistency and coherence of the system of education employed by Mohyla, and faithfully preserved by his followers. In the eighteenth century, however, the same faithfulness to tradition turned into a trap, leading to an inability to introduce changes. Similarly, the Academy library, once a living source of knowledge that came to the students through the exertions of teachers and professors, turned into something of an 'old curiosity shop' in the later part of the eighteenth century.[69] This happened due to the excessive dependence of the library collections upon the nature of private donations and the failure regularly to update its stock with new literature appropriate to the status of the Academy as an institution of higher learning. The latter aspect was closely connected with the intellectual crisis within the Academy which deepened further as the eighteenth century drew to its close.

[69] On the role of the Academy library in the formation of Ukrainian intellectual milieu in the seventeenth century see Chapter XII.

Chapter IX

THE MAINTENANCE AND FUNCTIONING OF THE LIBRARY: A RECONSTRUCTION

The question of how the library of the Kiev Mohyla Academy was maintained and how it functioned is the least studied and indeed least documented aspect of its history. The only existing pre-1780 instructions, regulating the duties of the librarian and the use of the collections, date from 1761 and have only survived in a nineteenth-century copy.[1] And even this document, providing first-hand evidence about the pre-fire stock and maintenance of the Academy library, has never been referred to by any of the authors who mention the library in their works.[2] Unique as they are, the 1761 instructions merely give us a glimpse of the inside of the library in the second part of the eighteenth century, apparently leaving us in the dark as to its earlier history.

The darkness, however, may be less dense if several important factors are taken into account. Leaving aside private book collections, monastery and church libraries were the two principal kinds of libraries that existed in the East Slavonic lands in the Middle Ages. In the sixteenth century, a new type of library – the school library – began to be established in the brotherhood schools.[3] This means that by the turn of that century some elementary principles and techniques of librarianship are most likely to have developed.[4] However, these techniques could hardly have been applied in full by the Kiev College librarians. Firstly, after Mohyla's bequest the sheer quantity of books in the library stock must have exceeded 2,500 volumes, far more than any other East Slavonic library's

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[1] IM VNLU, fond II, no. 4226.

[2] I found a nineteenth-century manuscript copy of the 1761 instructions to a newly-appointed librarian in the Institute of Manuscript of the National Library of Ukraine in 1995. Later I realised that the text was published, with some minor mistakes and omissions, in a collection of official documentation of the Ukrainian Hetmanate as a sample of eighteenth-century bureaucratic style: *Dilova dokumentatsiia Het'manshchyny XVIII st.*, ed. V. Horobets' (Kiev, 1992), pp. 66-69. However, even after the publication it seems to have remained unnoticed by library historians.

[3] On the contents of the brotherhood school libraries see Chapter III.

[4] For a detailed survey of librarian practices among the East Slavs see M. Slukhovsky, *Russkaia biblioteka XVI-XVII vv.* (Moscow, 1973).

holding in the mid-seventeenth century. Secondly, it also stood apart in terms of its function as the library of a major educational institution, which was patterned after a model requiring extensive use of books and which did not rule out intellectual purposes in doing so.[5] Therefore the experience of running a library similar to that already developed in Western colleges and universities would have been more applicable to the Kiev College librarians than the conventional practices of handling and storing books in Orthodox monasteries and churches. The careful wording of the last sentence is intentional. In view of the lack of any positive information, I cannot usefully discuss the possibility of conscious adaptation of librarian practices from the West by Mohyla's first librarians. Moreover, 'similar problems are susceptible to similar solutions without deliberate imitation'.[6] What can be stated with a sufficient degree of certainty is that no experience of maintaining a library comparable to that of Mohyla's College had existed among the East Slavs in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. At the same time, if some Western practices of librarianship were indeed borrowed, then the Jesuit libraries in Poland will have been the closest and most accessible source of information for Mohyla and his librarians.

Taking these assumptions as a methodological basis and collating the information about seventeenth-century West European college and university libraries with the data provided by the 1761 instructions to the Academy librarian, I shall try to reconstruct a relatively full picture of the library's existence. Once established, libraries tend quickly to turn into conservative institutions, where serious changes are introduced reluctantly and slowly. Therefore, one may assume that practically every distinct feature, characteristic of

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[5] This was an important step away from the attitude to books and reading traditionally adopted at the Orthodox monastic houses. As Joan Hussey explains, to mediaeval Byzantine monks libraries were important 'not for any intellectual purpose, but for liturgical and devotional use in the community': J. M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1990), p. 340. Among the Orthodox monks in the Eastern Slavonic lands this attitude persisted at least until the early seventeenth century.

[6] P. Morrish, *Dr. Higgs and Merton College library: A study in seventeenth-century book-collecting and librarianship* (Leeds, 1988), p. 28.

seventeenth-century European librarianship and analogous to the practices that existed in the Kiev Academy in the later part of the eighteenth century, is most likely to have been there already in Mohyla's time.

1. *The library premises and the arrangement of books*

At the time of the fire of 1780, the Academy library was housed on the top floor of the Congregation Church of Sts. Boris and Gleb, situated in the Academy grounds.[7] A wooden church, named after Sts. Boris and Gleb and apparently built in Mohyla's lifetime, had stood on the same site, but burned down later in the seventeenth century.[8] A new building was erected in stone during the rule and due to the endowments of Ivan Mazepa, around the turn of the seventeenth century.[9] It is reasonable to suggest, therefore, that in the seventeenth century the library stock had been kept elsewhere, and was not moved to the Church of Sts. Boris and Gleb earlier than 1700.

Interestingly, the association of libraries with churches, particularly with church auxiliary premises such as sacristies, bell towers, spaces within the cupolas and galleries, was a traditional characteristic of Slavonic librarian practices.[10] At the same time, European college libraries of the seventeenth century were usually situated in close proximity to teaching rooms or living quarters of the staff, in order to facilitate the scholars' access to books. The construction of a separate building to house the library was at that time a very rare occasion both among the East Slavs and further to the West. It is not impossible that the original location of the College library was in one of the buildings intended for auditoriums or the teachers' cells, rather than in a church. In this way, the move of books to the Church of Sts. Boris and Gleb in the eighteenth century can be regarded as a return to the more conventional Slavonic way of storing books. The transfer could have happened

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[7] The top floor was usually a kind of tier or gallery at the apex of the church building.
[8] Bolkhovitinov, 'Opisanie Kievo-Pecherskoi lavry', in *Vybrani pratsi z istorii Kyieva*, p. 249.
[9] *ADOIKA*, II, 3, p. 256 (editor's note); Bolkhovitinov, 'Opisanie Kievo-Pecherskoi lavry', p. 252.
[10] Slukhovsky, *Russkaia biblioteka*, pp. 10-12

during the large-scale construction works in the Academy grounds in the first decade of the eighteenth century or later, in the 1730s, when the Academy buildings were considerably reconstructed due to the efforts of Rafail Zaborovsky. It is possible that, in order to preserve the books from destruction and looting during the tumultuous period of the 1650s-1660s, the library may have been removed from where it had been in the early 1650s to a safer place, most probably the cellar of a stone building or some other kind of underground construction. At the same time, judging by contemporary testimony that a 'regular library' was not maintained again before the turn of the seventeenth century, the move halted the normal business of the library for quite a long time.[11]

Another aspect, concerning the original location of the library stock, could have been connected with Mohyla's bequest of books. Whatever the size of the College library prior to the bequest, its old premises must have become inadequate after the arrival of Mohyla's collection, incorporating more than 2,000 books in different sizes. Whether the library was moved to another location, or whether its premises were extended by the allocation of an additional room or rooms, is impossible to say. What seems certain is that during the seventeenth and eighteenth century the library stock was moved from one place to another several times.

Some information about the arrangement of books in the library can be derived from the 1761 instructions. It is evident from the text that books were stored on bookshelves or in bookcases. No trunks containing books are mentioned in the text. One portion of the library had 'special bookcases with locks', whereas the other was presumably furnished with simple bookshelves.[12] To all appearances, space was rather restricted, as some books were even put 'under each window'.[13]

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[11] See Chapter VIII.
[12] On the division of the library stock into two collection see below.
[13] IM VNLU, fond II, no. 4226, fol. 1v.

The traditional way of storing books in Slavonic monasteries and church libraries was by keeping them in boxes (*korob'ia*) or trunks (*sunduki*) with or without locks.[14] It is noteworthy that not only the word for bookcase (*shafa* or *shkaf*), but also the very idea of using bookcases for keeping books, seems to have come to the East Slavs from the West, most probably through Poland.[15] Before that, a modest quantity of manuscript codices held in Slavonic libraries, seldom exceeding one hundred volumes at most, could well be accommodated in trunks.[16] At some institutions this practice was in use up to the late eighteenth century. Apparently, for the library of an educational institution like Mohyla's College, which held a significant number of volumes in constant use, this way of storing them was hardly applicable, since it would have created serious difficulties for librarians when it came to fetching books. Therefore, one may assume that the arrangement of books in the upright position on shelves was applied at the College library from a very early stage of its existence, and certainly from 1647, after the bequest of Mohyla's collection.

The arrangement of a significant number of books on shelves, in its turn, must have required a certain order. Virtually every Western college and university library of the period under discussion employed a combination of two basic methods of arranging books in stock: by size and by subject. The first method was dictated by the necessity of organising books in the most economical way in spatial terms. In the older European libraries larger books, such as folios, were usually chained and put in open book-stands, whereas smaller ones were kept in locked cabinets or trunks. In seventeenth century libraries, which rejected the system of chaining books, the division by size for the arrangement of all their stock on shelves (either including or excluding the manuscripts) was applied. Sizes such as *duodecimo* and less were usually united with the octavos, since the quantity of the former usually was relatively small. The second method of classification, the division of books by

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[14] Slukhovsky, *Russkaia biblioteka*, pp. 18-19.
[15] Slukhovsky, *Russkaia biblioteka*, p. 19.
[16] For instance, the number of books kept at the principal church of the Kiev Caves Monastery in 1554 was 84: see Chapter II.

subject, was used in conjunction with the size division, and was usually applied within single size sections. This oldest method of subject division, apportioning the stock into four main classes in accordance with the four mediaeval university faculties – theology, philosophy, medicine and law – was in use throughout Europe from the Middle Ages. As time passed, this division was further elaborated. For instance, the Jesuits adjusted it to the system of their academies by introducing four extra classes: sacred and secular history, rhetoric, grammar, and reference books.[17] It is remarkable that the 'size and subject' kind of division was not only preserved in the Academy library after the fire, but was, in fact, kept at the Theological Academy up to its close in 1918.[18] This, combined with the fact that the same system had prevailed throughout Europe for several centuries before the 1600s, allows one to assume that it could have been implemented at the foundation of the Kiev College.

Given the sizable number of books held, the so-called 'fixed' system of arranging volumes on shelves must have been adopted in the College library in order to facilitate the librarians' handling of them. According to the text of the 1761 instructions, each volume had a two-part call-mark, where the first figure, a character, must have indicated the size division, while the second, most probably, showed the order of a book.[19] Apparently, the books stood on the bottom edges, with their spines facing outwards, and had the class-marks put on their spines. The spines of all the surviving volumes bear traces of several layers of small paper labels which, apparently, had been glued one over another in the course of time. Most probably, these are the remnants of older call-marks which were removed during the subsequent re-arrangements of the library stock, especially after 1780, when the library stock was completely reconstituted and reorganised. Moreover, if the

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[17] For more details see Chapter IV. It is noteworthy that, following the traditional subject division, the Jesuits kept the classes of medicine and law in their libraries, even though there were no such faculties in their academies.

[18] Today the book collection of the Kiev Theological Academy held at the Vernadsky National Library still preserves its arrangement as of the time of the Academy's closure. For the 1791 catalogue of the Academy library, the first known post-fire catalogue of the collection see *ADOIKA*, II, 5, pp. 300-470.

subject division was indeed implemented in the library, a class-mark could have displayed a brief note of author and/or title or subject written under the class-mark. The remnants of what look like such notes can still be observed on the spines of some of the surviving books.

2. *The 'old' and the 'new' libraries*

Although I am continually referring to the 'library of the Kiev Mohyla Academy' in this work, there in fact seem to have been two of them, defined as 'the old library' and 'the new library' in the text of the 1761 regulations. The two libraries were in most cases managed by the same librarian and on the same principles, but apparently they were kept in different rooms.

The idea of the division of the library stock into two major parts can be traced back to the turn of the thirteenth century, when the system was first implemented at the University of Paris. Two collections, one called the *libraria magna*, and the other – the *libraria parva*, were established. Unfortunately, no consensus exists as to what was the reason for this division, and indeed what sort of books each of them held.[20] The main

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[19] IM VNLU, fond II, no. 4226, fol. 1v.

[20] The opinions of library historians vary considerably. For instance, John Clark stated that the *libraria magna*, 'or the common library, contained the books most frequently studied. They were chained, and could only be taken out under the most exceptional circumstances... The second division of the library, called the small library [*libraria parva*], contained duplicates, books rarely consulted, and generally all those of which the loan was authorised under certain conditions': J. W. Clark, *The care of books: An essay on the development of libraries and their fittings, from the earliest times to the end of the eighteenth century* (Cambridge, 1901), p. 165. Henry de Vleeschauwer assumes that the *libraria magna* was essentially what we may today call a reference library, i. e. one of importance both to the professors and the students of the Sorbonne, and the *libraria parva* was the library intended for research and only open for the scholars: H. J. de Vleeschauwer, *Libraria magna et libraria parva* (Pretoria, 1957), pp. 56-57. This view raises certain misgivings, however. Above all, the hypothesis considerably modernises the concept of the mediaeval library. In my opinion, the situation was the reverse of Vleeschauwer's view. In the system of mediaeval knowledge, theology was the summit of all knowledge, and indeed the only subject for the scholarly study in a proper sense. Therefore, the attribute *magna* must have indicated that the division of the library, with which it was associated, contained theological books rather than anything else, and was intended for the theologians, that is, professors and possibly also students of theology. In this way, it was the *libraria parva* that must have housed the more 'universal' kind of literature, i. e. that, which would have been used by the students and the professors alike. Vleeschauwer actually mentions this interpretation

objective of the division was apparently to separate the books for scholars from the books normally used for educational purposes. To all appearances, the Jesuits, who pledged to follow the 'Parisian mode' in their educational practices, faithfully preserved this twofold library system by establishing separate libraries for study and schooling in their colleges and academies.[21] The presence of the twofold system at the Kiev Academy library in the latter part of the eighteenth century may indicate the survival of a practice originally introduced by Mohyla in the 1630s.

It seems that some idea of what the composition of the 'old' library in particular could have been in the 1770s may be derived from a contemporary report on the composition of the Academy library. The passage, however, is ambiguous, since it is not at all clear whether Mohyla's books *alone* made up the 'old' library, or whether other churchmen's contributions were also included in its stock. The document states:

> There are 3,304 books in the library of the Kiev Academy... all have been contributed by the... metropolitans of Kiev, in particular there are 2,131 books in the old library that were donated by Peter Mohyla; 137 by Rafail Zaborovsky; 144 by Timofei Shcherbatsky; 166 by Arseny Mohyliansky; so far the present Right Reverend Metropolitan [Gavriil Kremenetsky] has given only 35; 595 books were contributed by His Grace Bishop Krutitsky Ilarion; 72 – by Cyril [Florinsky], Bishop of Sevsk; 24 – by Samuil [Mislavsky], present Bishop Krutitsky. This amounts to a total of 3,304.[22]

Neither interpretation is altogether impossible. In the former case, Mohyla's book collection dating from the seventeenth century would have been logically contrasted with the later contributions, all made in the eighteenth century, and therefore would have been accurately called the 'old' library. Thus the rest of the donations mentioned in the document would have constituted the 'new' library. However, if the latter interpretation is true, and

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in his work, but discards it on the rather shaky grounds that the *libraria parva* as a borrowing library was more suitable for research than the chained *libraria magna*: ibid., pp. 31-32.

[21] For more details see Chapter IV.

[22] 'V biblioteke, imeiushcheisia pri Kievskoi Akademii, chislitsia knig vsekh 3,304... kotorymi onuiu biblioteku snabdili Preosviashchennye mitropolity, a imenno: ot Petra Mohyly nadannykh knig v staroi biblioteke 2,131 chislitsia; ot Rafaila Zaborovskogo 137; ot Timofeia Shcherbatskogo 144; ot Arseniia Mohylianskogo 166; ot nyneshnego preosviashchennogo [Gavriil Kremenetsky] eshche tol'ko 35 dano; ot Preosviashchennogo Episkopa Krutitskogo Ilariona 595; ot Kirilla [Florinskogo] Episkopa Sevskogo 72; ot Samuila [Mislavskogo] nyneshnego Episkopa Krutitskogo 24, itogo vsego 3,304': *ADOIKA*, II, 4, p. 125.

all the contributions, including that of Mohyla's, made up the 'old' library, why was the 'new' library completely disregarded in the report? And most importantly, what was the nature of books in it? It is impossible to answer any of these questions at this stage, since the available evidence is insufficient. At the same time, a few remarks may be worthwhile.

Firstly, what was the reason for calling the two collections the 'old' and the 'new' libraries? It could be an attempt to mark out the time of acquisition, supposedly the seventeenth rather than the eighteenth century, as suggested above. Alternatively, it could reflect the Academy authorities' view on the character of books in each collection. Although unable to offer anything comparable with the introduction of the 'Jesuit model' by Mohyla more than a century earlier, quite a few of the Academy's alumni and professors came to see that model as inadequate.[23] To them, books like those coming from St. Petersburg and Moscow and imbued with a pragmatic Protestant spirit might have appeared as virtually 'new'. An interesting detail in this connection is that, according to the 1761 instructions, only the 'new' library was kept in the locked cabinets as being more valuable.[24] Seeing that the nature of the eighteenth-century *private* contributions to the Academy library did not essentially differ from the profile of Mohyla's collection, as I tried to show earlier,[25] uniting these later donations with that of Mohyla's in the 'old' library would have made sense if my hypothesis is true.

Secondly, one has the impression that the report on the composition of the Academy library for some reason does not present the whole picture. It only mentions private donations of metropolitans of Kiev and three other churchmen. However, we know that the Academy made purchases of books from book-dealers in Germany and Russia and that it commissioned the printing of the necessary literature, particularly by the Korns and at the Caves Monastery printing press.[26] It is not clear why the report should have

[23] See Chapter VI, n. 100.
[24] IM VNLU, fond II, no. 4226, fol. 1v.
[25] See Chapter VIII.
[26] For more details see Chapter VIII.

disregarded all these books that must have totalled at least some hundreds of volumes, if it really contained precise data of all the Academy library, the 'old' and the 'new' collections altogether. Moreover, the report also fails to mention the collection of books that apparently existed at the premises of the student hostels, the so-called *bursa* library that had been founded in 1768 and would have contained more than a thousand volumes in the 1770s.[27]

Thirdly, there is another problem, first referred to by Petrov, and still unresolved. The report of 1780 about the destruction of the Academy library gives a precise figure of 8,632 for the books that were burned. If we add 827 volumes, given by Varlaam Lashchevsky in 1776 to the figure of 3,304, quoted in the mid-1770s report on the composition of the Academy library, it leaves us with as few as 4,131 books.[28] A reasonable question is where could the remaining 4,501 have come from in a very short period between 1776 and early 1780? Certainly, it is impossible to exclude the possibility of other private contributions made during that time, of which we simply have no information. However, the figure is too substantial to assume that the library could have acquired more books in less than four years than during the century and a half of its history before 1780. It is also not impossible that the 1780 report could have exaggerated the loss in order to get more financial assistance from the imperial authorities. But again the 'added' number is too great for us to believe that the metropolitan, who signed the report, and the rector, who had provided the information, would have dared deceive the government to such an extent.

Taking these considerations into account, one may assume that the report of the 1770s, apparently concerning the composition of the Academy library, in fact contained information only about the 'old' library, for some unknown reason remaining silent about the 'new' collection. In a more general perspective, the existence of the two separate collections may indicate the survival of some old practice, most probably one that had been

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[27] About the *bursa* library see later in this chapter.
[28] *ADOIKA*, II, 3, p. 256.

introduced at the foundation of the College. In this way, the 'old' library would have performed a function similar to that of the Jesuit study or academic library, whereas the 'new' library would have contained texts, grammars, basic dictionaries and other kinds of literature to be used only for teaching purposes. A vague indication in the 1761 instructions may provide grounds for believing that this kind of books was distributed among the 'poorest students' through the mediation of a teacher, who was personally responsible for their safe return to the library after his course was finished. The passage that may be thus interpreted defines the nature of books that could be borrowed for the pupils, listing them in the plural: 'Greek and Hebrew grammars, *Pentateuchs*, Greek Testaments, French lexicons and samples of writing'.[29] In my opinion, this indicates that the library held such books in some numbers, apparently for distribution. Whether the 'old' library contained only books given by Mohyla or also included later donations, it is most unlikely that it contained that sort of literature in sufficient quantity. This, in turn, may tentatively support my other idea about the fundamental nature of the 'new' library as a collection of books intended strictly for educational purposes, corresponding with the functions of the Jesuit school library. It is noteworthy that serious attention must have been paid by the librarian to the avoidance of mixing the 'old' with the 'new' books. The instructions stipulated that they had to be kept separately, 'with respective numbers and letters being put on each one accurately'.[30]

3. *Library catalogues*

According to the 1761 instructions, the librarian had to provide a thorough description for every book in the stock. A standard clause for a book description consisted of: 'what it is' (that is, the name of the author and the title), the size ('*in folio* or *in quarto*, or *in octavo*, or less'); publishing data, the number of volumes or parts of a complete set

[29] IM VNLU, fond II, no. 4226, fols. 1-1v.
[30] IM VNLU, fond II, no. 4226, fol. 1v.

available; and details of physical condition. These data had to be entered in the 'clean catalogue' (*chistoi katalog*), apparently an updated version of the library catalogue.[31] The latter is also mentioned in the text of the instructions along with a certain 'old catalogue' that was consulted in case of uncertainty respecting the class-marks for the books.[32] The already quoted 1767 letter of thanks for presenting books, on the one hand, throws light on the attention paid to the importance of a thorough description of books by the Academy authorities. It also mentions the old and new catalogues, the compilation of the latter being still in progress, and it states that the attribution of class-marks to newly-acquired books was delayed until the new register was completed. On the other hand, it leads to the conclusion that the work of composing the new catalogue, started in 1761, was not yet finished by 1767. There is no clear indication as to the nature of the library catalogues, but I assume that they were the so-called shelf-lists, presenting books according to their order on the bookshelves, and most frequently encountered in contemporary European college libraries.[33] If, as suggested earlier, the books in the Academy library were arranged according to the 'faculty' or subject division, the shelf-list will have been essentially a subject catalogue.[34] It is noteworthy that, while indicating the existence of the 'old' and the 'new' collections, the instructions actually mention only one catalogue.

4. *Accessibility*

The 1761 instructions bear witness to the fact that the Academy library was open only to the teachers and professors. Moreover, even for them the conditions for borrowing books from the library seem to have been strict. It was impossible for a student to take a book out without the mediation of his professor, and even then borrowing was restricted to the range of books determined by the immediate needs of a certain subject. Books were

[31] IM VNLU, fond II, no. 4226, fol. 1.
[32] IM VNLU, fond II, no. 4226, fol. 1v.
[33] See Morrish, *Dr. Higgs and Merton College library*, pp. 37-38.

borrowed at the teacher's own discretion and full responsibility, and when a book was lost, it resulted 'in reimbursement levied on the teacher'.[35]

For a member of the teaching congregation to borrow a book from the library, preliminary permission had to be sought from the Rector and then an obligatory short note was extracted from the borrower in his own handwriting, stating the agreed term when 'books should be returned to the library, notwithstanding who took them and without accepting any excuses'.[36] Furthermore, measures that provided a still larger control over borrowing were undertaken, including the rule that two 'laced books should be kept in the library, which recorded, without any exceptions, one – the books taken from the library, and the other – those returned, or the reasons why they have been not yet returned'.[37] It is worth mentioning, however, that general practices of borrowing books, for instance, from college libraries in Europe, were in reality more liberal than the rules would suggest.[38] The same could well have been true of the library of the Kiev Academy. The quantity of books which had originally belonged to its holdings and were then found in a number of private and institutional libraries throughout the Russian Empire, may serve as proof of this.

A passage from the instructions states that 'no stranger should be let into the library... without special permission from the rector or the prefect'.[39] The next article of the document says that 'if a person of distinction were eager to see the library, the librarian should see to it that everything inside was clean and dusted'.[40] This, however, would not necessarily mean that even the high-ranking people were granted free access to the library. Apparently, the librarian held the keys to the library, and there is no evidence that there

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[34] It is noteworthy that the earliest post-fire catalogue of the Academy library composed c. 1791 did not depart from this practice, being essentially a shelf-list, structured according to the classification by subject.
[35] IM VNLU, fond II, no. 4226, fols. 1-1v.
[36] IM VNLU, fond II, no. 4226, fol. 1.
[37] IM VNLU, fond II, no. 4226, fol. 1v.
[38] See S. Bush and C. J. Rasmussen, *The library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1584-1637* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 35-37.
[39] IM VNLU, fond II, no. 4226, fol. 1v.
[40] IM VNLU, fond II, no. 4226, fol. 1v.

existed any kind of 'select readership', issued with keys 'by the head of the institution to allow use of the library at will', as was the case in some Jesuit foundations.[41]

The 1761 instructions do not mention any arrangements for reading books inside the library. If there was no reading room, there was equally no need to establish the opening hours for the library, and therefore the librarian's own attendance must have been left to his own discretion or conscientiousness.

5. *The librarians*

Very little is known of those who were appointed librarians to the Academy. In Sotnichenko's view, it was the prefect who was responsible for the library.[42] It is quite obvious, however, that the prefect's own duties were so manifold and time-consuming he could scarcely have combined them with those of a librarian. Petrov's opinion that 'the library had a librarian chosen from professors of the Academy' is more credible,[43] even though it needs an important correction: those from whom a librarian was chosen were teachers rather than professors. Generally, this practice was in tune with that adopted in contemporary European educational institutions: it presupposed the librarian's fellowship in the academic community as well as combining his duties as a librarian with teaching and secretarial work. Only eight names are so far known from documentary sources. The first is Dosifei Galiakhovsky, the teacher of the 'Senior Instruction', who was the Academy librarian until August 1749.[44] The second is Galiakhovsky's successor to the position,

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[41] Morrish, *Dr. Higgs and Merton College library*, p. 36.

[42] Sotnichenko, 'K istorii biblioteki Kievo-Mogilianskoi akademii', pp. 89-90.

[43] *ADOIKA*, II, 1, part 1, p. xxviii.

[44] IM VNLU, DA/p. 221, 1, no. 22, fol. 289; also published in *ADOIKA*, II, 1, part 1, pp. 398-399. The 'Junior' and 'Senior' Instructions were provided by the members of teaching staff for a greater audience, including not only the Academy students, but also the general public. The 'Junior Instruction', being essentially the instruction in catechism, was conducted by a specially appointed teacher of one of the junior grades every Sunday throughout the whole year. The 'Senior Instruction' was given by one of the professors, usually that of rhetoric, on great festive days, and consisted of the interpretation of one of the books of the Bible to the congregation: Bolkhovitinov, 'Opisanie Kievo-Sofiiskogo sobora', p. 253.

hierodeakon Manassiia Maksimovich, 'the teacher of languages'.[45] Two librarians worked concurrently, being responsible for the 'old' and the 'new' libraries: respectively Luka Korzhevich, the teacher of *Analog*,[46] and *hieromonk* Ruvim, the teacher of *Syntaxis*.[47] In July 1761, *hieromonk* Iasson, the teacher of the 'Junior Instruction', was appointed librarian to replace the forementioned two in managing both the 'old' and the 'new' libraries.[48] *Hieromonk* Shumlevich, the teacher of *Syntaxis*, was mentioned as the Academy librarian in September 1763,[49] but resigned in September 1764.[50] It was suggested that *hierodeakon* Dosifei Dakhovsky could replace Shumlevich as a librarian from that time. Dakhovsky was reported to have recently moved to the Brotherhood Monastery from the Kiev Vydubitsky Monastery to read for a higher degree in theology.[51] This shows that not only teachers but even students of senior grades could be appointed as Academy librarians. Interestingly, a certain *hierodeakon* Iasson was mentioned again as librarian as late as 1766.[52] However, it is not clear whether this is the same Iasson who had been mentioned as the librarian in 1761. Finally, *hieromonk* Amvrosy, who at that time supervised the *bursa*, was appointed the Academy librarian in 1772.[53]

Even this scarce evidence allows one to see that only persons of rather humble ecclesiastical standing were selected for the position of the librarian. They always combined this duty with teaching, usually in junior grades, and as a rule they did not stay in this position for long. It also seems likely that the appointment as librarian of Dakhovsky, a student of theology, was far from unique. The prestige of the job does not seem to have been especially high in the Academy hierarchy, and there are grounds for believing that the

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[45] *ADOIKA*, II, 1, part 1, p. 399.
[46] *Analog* was the first class of the grammarian grade.
[47] IM VNLU, fond II, no. 4226, fols. 1-2. *Hierodeakon* and *hieromonk* are positions in the Orthodox Church hierarchy. *Syntaxis* was the third class of the grammarian grade
[48] IM VNLU, fond II, no. 4226, fols. 1-2; also fond 160, nos 185-228 [bound as one], fols. 110v-111.
[49] *ADOIKA*, II, 3, p. 152.
[50] IM VNLU, fond 160, nos 185-228, fol. 111; also CSHAU(K), fond 127, op. 159, no. 68, fols. 1-3v.
[51] CSHAU(K), fond 127, op. 159, no. 68, fols. 3-3v.
[52] *ADOIKA*, II, 3, p. 226.

appointment was regarded as a kind of extra duty (*poslushanie*) for a novice. Most probably, this is why none of the forementioned librarians kept the position for long. No mention of remuneration for a librarian is made in the 1761 instructions. On the one hand, this does not unequivocally mean that there was none, but on the other, no evidence exists that the job actually was paid for. The situation generally corresponds with that of West European educational establishments of the same period. As Morrish sums it up:

> 'The status of the librarian of an academic community was vital and closely related to what initiatives and responsibilities he might be allowed. Clearly, only an inferior role and correspondingly low remuneration would be appropriate for one who was a menial or office clerk or *in statu pupillary*... Many librarians of seventeenth-century corporate institutions, academic and religious, might be described as 'colleague-librarians', not servants or officers but full members of the institutions... [who served] with or without special remuneration and responsible either to a committee of the governing body or to the whole body itself. This had been the tradition in religious houses and the Jesuits continued it. There were variations, of course'.[54]

All the Academy librarians we know about were members of the teaching congregation, the 'colleague-librarians', in Morrish's definition, and not externally hired employees. This means that they could be closely supervised and controlled by the Academy authorities. At the same time, it means that, because of their other duties, the time the librarians had for their work with the collections was, most probably, insufficient, and therefore the upkeep of the library must have been for the most part unsatisfactory. This impression is supported by the fact that the librarians changed often, and could hardly have mastered all the intricacies of their job by the time they quit it after only a matter of months. It is very likely that the general pattern of librarianship in the Academy was the same already in the 1630s and 1640s.

5. 1. *The upkeep of the library*

The 1761 instructions are rather thin in details about the upkeep of the library. They specify that the Academy librarian was responsible for airing books by the simple means of

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[53] See CSHAU(K), fond 1711, op. 1, no. 9, fol. 1.
[54] Morrish, *Dr. Higgs and Merton College library*, p. 36.

opening the windows when the weather was suitable. At the same time, he had to protect them from damp and from the rain or snow that could come through the open windows. He was also to take care 'that everything was clean inside, and the books were dusted'.[55] To all appearances, the Academy library did not have a specially-appointed janitor, and his functions were performed by the librarian.

These methods of caring for books, mentioned in the instructions, are rather primitive and were implemented throughout Europe, East and West. The Statute of Theodore the Studite, adopted in most Orthodox monasteries of the Middle Ages, threatened the librarian with a penance if he failed to keep the books dusted regularly.[56] In the West, as Morrish explains, 'many library statutes made a special point of cleanliness; librarians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were close to mediaeval anxiety for the value of books... One early manual of librarianship written in 1538 advised librarians to keep libraries clean and tidy, regularly air any volumes affected by mildew and damp, clean the floors and chairs as often as possible and the bookcases twice a year'.[57] Possevino in his *Bibliotheca selecta* stated that books in the library must be kept dusted and free from damp, and library premises were to be aired regularly. He warned that libraries, when kept shut all the time, acquired an unpleasant smell and humidity inside, and this eventually led to the destruction of the books.[58]

6. *The bursa library*

From 1768, a special library for the inhabitants of the Academy *bursa*, situated on-site, began to be formed. The initiator of that undertaking was Nikolai Bantysh-Kamensky (1734-1814), the Russian historian and writer, and himself a graduate of the Academy. He

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[55] IM VNLU, fond II, no. 4226, fol. 1v.

[56] *Patrologiae cursus completus... Series Graeca*, XCIX, ed. J.-P. Migne, (Paris, 1860), col. 1739. See also P. Lemerle, *Byzantine humanism: The first phase. Notes and remarks on education and culture in Byzantium from its origins to the 10th century* (Canberra, 1986), p. 143.

[57] Morrish, *Dr. Higgs and Merton College library*, p. 41.

[58] Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta*, p. 63.

contributed 154 books, among them a number of copies of different textbooks, mainly in Russian, basically intended for the students of primary and intermediate grades. A special book for registering further donations was added by him. On its cover Bantysh-Kamensky wrote: '15 October 1768, this record is sent by... Nikola Bantysh-Kamensky for cataloguing books presented to the *bursa* of the Kiev Academy by benefactors'. In addition, he organised a campaign of subscriptions in St. Petersburg for the benefit of the *bursa* library. Money raised was spent on purchasing textbooks and other printed matter, such as periodicals, which were then sent to Kiev.[59]

The original inventory of the *bursa* library exists and provides a full list of contributions.[60] One can see that the contributors to the *bursa* library were mostly Academy graduates who had themselves experienced the needs and shortages of student life. In my opinion, it must have been the almost complete inaccessibility of the main Academy library to students that led to the foundation of the *bursa* library by the Academy's former alumni. In contrast with the contributors to the main Academy library, all of whom were churchmen, many of the donors to the *bursa* library were laymen and representatives of professions that required advanced modern learning. Publication dates, sometimes mentioned by the compilers of the inventory, testify that the *bursa* library was an eighteenth-century collection. From a total of 1,167 books in the record, 942 (80.7 per cent) were published in the eighteenth century. In this respect it differed considerably from the main library stock, no less than half of which were books published in or before the seventeenth century. Moreover, unlike the primary stock of the Academy library, the bulk of the *bursa* library was made up of books in Russian. This may indicate that the donors to the *bursa* library were concerned not only to provide the students with fully accessible books, but probably also to change the profile of the literature they used.

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[59] Mykytas', *Davn'ioukrains'ki studenty i profesory*, p. 226.
[60] The original is now held in the Institute of the Manuscript of the Vernadsky National Library: 10/371 s. The document was published in *ADOIKA*, II, 3, pp. 386-416.

An epidemic of cholera in Kiev in 1770 claimed the lives some students and forced others to leave the city. In this way, the *bursa* library remained unattended in an empty building. Metropolitan Kremenetsky ordered that the *bursa* collection be moved to the main Academy library, provided that it be kept separately.[61] In this way, the *bursa* library is usually considered to have been destroyed by fire together with the primary book collection of the Academy. However, there are very serious grounds for doubting this argument. According to the surviving inventory of the *bursa* library, the last two contributions to the library were made in 1781, that is, a year *after* the primary stock of the library was burned. This means that the inventory was simply continued after the fire, without any note about the destruction of the *bursa* library. For this fact to make sense, it is reasonable to suggest that the collection survived: one can hardly imagine a librarian adding newly acquired books to those destroyed by fire in the same register. In addition, the fact that only the *bursa* library inventory has survived, unlike those of the main library, is also remarkable. Taken together, these facts indicate that the *bursa* library must have been shifted to a building other than the Church of Sts. Boris and Gleb. It could not possibly have survived had it been left in the *bursa* premises, as they were gutted by fire in 1775.[62] On the other hand, the fact that no entries were included in the inventory later than 1781, is an indication that the *bursa* library was added to the main Academy library stock in order to compensate for the severe losses caused by the 1780 fire.

[61] *ADOIKA*, II, 4, pp. 121-122.
[62] See CSHAU(K), fond 59, op. 1, no. 8216, fols. 3,7.

Chapter X

THE FIRE OF 1780 AND THE SURVIVING BOOKS

Before approaching the issue of the 1780 fire and its consequences for the Academy library, it is necessary to estimate the size of the collection prior to its burning. According to a contemporary report, '[all] the registers of books were destroyed' together with the library.[1] No comprehensive catalogue or inventory of the collections that could have survived elsewhere is known to exist. The only reference to the number of volumes held at the library before the fire is found in the contemporary report of Metropolitan Gavriil Kremenetsky to the Holy Synod, which states that the library, now 'completely destroyed', had contained 8,632 books.[2] There are no sufficient reasons to dispute the correctness of the Metropolitan's report. He could have exaggerated the loss, disregarding the survival of some hundreds of books, but it is quite unlikely that the Metropolitan would have tried deliberately to deceive the Synod about the contents of the library prior to its destruction. Moreover, the report quotes a very precise figure, apparently not even trying to round it up. Therefore, it should be accepted as a working assumption that early in 1780 the library housed in the region of 8,500 volumes.[3]

1. *The fire of 29 February 1780 and its consequences*

The causes of the fire have never been discussed before in the historiography. The police file I have recently discovered in a Kievan archive seems to explain what happened. It opens with the report submitted by the Academy Rector, Kassian, to the Superintendent of Kievan police on 2 March 1780, stating that some buildings in the Academy grounds were destroyed by fire. According to another report of the same

[1] CSHAU(K), fond 59, op. 1, no. 9679, fols. 2, 3.
[2] *ADOIKA*, II, 3, p. 256.
[3] Diverse figures for the number of books in the pre-fire library are suggested by different authors: from about 4,220 volumes by Petrov: *ADOIKA*, II, 3, p. 256, to around 12,000 by Bulgakov: *Istoriia Kievskoi Akademii*, p. 134. For more details about Petrov's calculations and my attempt to show that the numbers with which he operated may have represented the contents of only part of the Academy library see Chapter IX. Bulgakov's estimation lacks substantiation.

Kassian of 5 March 1780, 'nobody knew what was the cause of the fire'.[4] Exactly the same words were used in Metropolitan Kremenetsky's account sent to the Holy Synod in St. Petersburg on 9 March, which I shall quote in full:

> On 29 February [1780], at four o'clock in the afternoon, the wind blowing strongly, the central cupola of Sts. Boris and Gleb Church for some unknown reason caught fire. It soon spread to the two other cupolas. In this way, the Academy library located on the top floor of the same church, along with the cells of the Academy superiors, were completely destroyed by fire. The library consisted of eight thousand six hundred and thirty-two books in different languages.[5]

However, the cause of the fire was already known to the police by that date. It broke out through the negligence of a townsman, Gavriil Makhnenko, whose house adjoined the Academy grounds. 29 February was an unusually windy day. Therefore, when piles of straw and chips of wood kept in Makhnenko's courtyard caught fire, it instantly spread to his house and then to the cupolas of the Church of Sts. Boris and Gleb.[6] Apparently, under such circumstances it was immensely difficult to evacuate the library from the top floor of the church.

There exists no precise information as to how many books were burned. Given that more than 200 volumes from the Academy library stock have survived until the present, Kremenetsky's assertion that the collections were burned in their entirety may be taken as hyperbole, aimed at impressing the imperial authorities.[7] In contrast with Kremenetsky's report, an earlier account, submitted by the Academy rector to the metropolitan chancellery on 2 March, stated that '*a great number* of books [my italics] were burned'.[8] This allows one to assume that some of the books escaped destruction. The memoirs of Ivan Timkovsky who studied at the Kiev Academy in 1785-1789, state that the library 'was mostly burned'. Timkovsky's further testimony is somewhat surprising: 'those books that were rescued, were sorted at the main church of the

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[4] CSHAU(K), fond 59, op. 1, no. 9679, fol. 3.

[5] *ADOIKA*, II, 3, p. 256. The mention of the 'cells of the Academy superiors' apparently indicates that at least one other building must have been destroyed by fire, as it seems highly unlikely that they actually could have lived in the church.

[6] CSHAU(K), fond 59, op. 1, no. 9679, fol. 4.

[7] To guess the reasons for Kremenetsky's exaggerating the loss is not too difficult with regard to the Academy's permanent shortage of funds. In the dramatic circumstances of the destruction of much of the Academy's properties the Metropolitan could hardly avoid the temptation to stimulate the authorities to raise as many funds for the restoration as possible.

[Brotherhood] Monastery, on the wide gallery spreading from the walls to the pillars. There we [the pupils and students] were free to dig among the volumes'.[9] On the one hand, if Timkovsky was indeed an eyewitness rather than just relaying the observations of some other person, the attitude of the Academy authorities to the surviving part of the library appears to be little short of negligent. No less than five years had elapsed since the fire, but the books apparently had still not been re-arranged properly and were fully accessible to all, including even junior pupils. One can only imagine how many books could have been taken away and lost amid such a mess. The reason for such an attitude is not clear, and Timkovsky sheds no light on this, for example as to whether the books were damaged past repair. On the other hand, Timkovsky's statement that a number of books had been rescued serves to support other pieces of evidence indicating that a small part of the library, at least, did escape destruction.

2. *Books surviving until the present*

My search for the remnants of the Kiev Mohyla Academy book collection in the corpus of the library of the Kiev Theological Academy[10] has revealed 216 volumes (256 titles, some bound together) of printed books and 8 manuscripts that definitely belonged to the library of the Kiev Mohyla Academy.[11] In order to avoid wrongly attributing any post-fire acquisitions to the pre-fire stock, with only a few exceptions, only books which bear donation inscriptions made earlier than 29 February 1780 will be discussed in this chapter. There are grounds for believing that every volume held at the Academy library bore such an inscription.[12]

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[8] CSHAU(K), fond 59, op. 1, no. 9679, fol. 2.
[9] F. Timkovsky, 'Zapiski Ilii Fedorovicha Timkovskogo. Moe opredelenie v sluzhbu', *Russkii arkhiv*, 6 (Moscow, 1874), col. 1414
[10] The Kiev Theological Academy was opened in 1819, in place of the Mohyla Academy that had been closed down by the imperial authorities in 1817.
[11] More books were identified as part of the pre-fire stock during my most recent research in Kiev than is indicated in my article on the history of the library: 'A survey of the history of the library of the Kiev Mohyla Academy', p. 17.
[12] See Chapter XI.

2. 1. *The seventeenth-century acquisitions*

Among the surviving books two main groups of seventeenth-century acquisitions can be defined to date: volumes from Peter Mohyla's private collection, and others, acquired by the College between the 1630s and 1701, the year when the establishment procured its status as an academy. The ownership inscriptions in the books must have come to reflect this change. It is not impossible that some of the volumes from the second group might have been purchased by Mohyla in compliance with his pledge to supply the College with teaching aids. On the one hand, none of the inscriptions in the books mentions that any of them was specially purchased for the College as a part of Mohyla's beneficent practices. On the other, we still do not know what kind of inscription existed in books contributed by him directly to the College, and not through his own library.[13] As I tried to show earlier in this work, it is quite likely that Mohyla did provide the College with necessary literature prior to his bequest.[14] However, such questions as how regular his contributions were, and what was the number of books he had given, remain open.

2. 1. 1. *The seventeenth-century acquisitions other than Mohyla's bequest*

The group of surviving books that can be defined as seventeenth-century acquisitions other than Mohyla's bequest consists of 18 volumes (twenty titles) of printed books and one manuscript codex. A comparative analysis of books from this group indicates that in most cases only those obtained up to 1701 bear inscriptions mentioning the Kiev Mohyla College (e. g. *Ex Bibliotheca Collegij Mohilaeani Kiiouiensis; Ex Bibliotheca Collegij Kijouo Mohilaeana; Ex Bibliotheca Collegij Kijouiensis Mohilaeana; Post obitum Bibliothecae Collegii Mohilaeani Kiiouiensis applicatus*). Actually, only one inscription from this group does not mention the College verbatim. However, it is also one of the two dated inscriptions in

[13] One of the surviving books from Mohyla's private collection bears an inscription, which may indicate that it was transferred to the College library on 30 May 1639. For more details see Chapter VII.

[14] See Chapter VIII.

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[14] See Chapter VIII.

this group. The volume of Conradus Dinnerus's *Epithetorum graecorum farago locupletissima* (Frankfurt, 1589) actually bears three successive ownership inscriptions, two of them of special interest. According to the first one dated 1601, in Greek, the book belonged to Lavrenty Zyzany (c. 1550-1634), an outstanding churchman and writer of Greek origin. According to the second inscription, the book was left to the library of the Brotherhood Monastery (i. e. the Mohyla College) by an unnamed Bishop of Stagon and Meteora, who died at the Caves Monastery on 8 October, 1640. The bishop in question is, apparently, Abraham of Stagon, Bishop of Pinsk with Turov (1621-1640), one of the bishops of the illegally restored Orthodox hierarchy consecrated by Patriarch Theophanes in 1620.[15] The third inscription attests that the volume belonged to the Academy library.

As is testified by the ownership inscriptions, some of the books from the group of seventeenth-century acquisitions had belonged to relatively well-known individuals. So, the volume of Rodolph Clutius's *Sermones dominicales Dor Mi- Secure, vulgo nuncupati* (Cologne, 1625) was owned by the priest Jacob Memlovich, sometime a teacher of the Kiev Brotherhood school.[16] Two books were given to the College by Melety Dzik, the Rector in 1662-1665. The first, a volume of Melanchthon's *Loci principi theologici* (Leipzig, 1549), is a post-incunabula book.[17] The second volume contributed by Dzik is another copy of Adam Opatovius's *Tractatus de Sacramentis in genere et specie* (Cracow, 1642).[18] Neither of Dzik's inscriptions is dated, but the books must have been given before 1682, the year of his death.[19] *Historia Polonica* by Joannes of Dlugosz, published in Dobromil in 1615, was purchased for 12 florins by Joseph Kononovich-Gorbatsky, professor of philosophy at the Kiev College in

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[15] See Thomson, 'Melety Smotritsky i uniia s Rimom', p. 185. For more details on the restoration of the Orthodox Church hierarchy in Ruthenia in 1620 see Chapter I.

[16] Another volume that had belonged to Memlovich is found among the books from Mohyla's private collection. For more details see Chapter VII.

[17] Post-incunabula books are those published between 1500 and 1550.

[18] A copy of this work is found among the surviving books from Mohyla's private collection, see Chapter VII. One more copy was given in the second part of the seventeenth century by a certain Paissy Mohachevsky, see below.

[19] Bolkhovitinov, 'Opisanie Kievo-Sofiiskogo sobora', p. 257.

1639-1642.[20] According to the next inscription, he later bequeathed the volume to the College. The polemical work *Aduersus Valentini, et similium Gnosticorum Haereses, Libri quinque* by Irineus of Lyons presumably had been acquired by the Rector Cyril Filimonovich (1691-1693) from his late brother Maxim Filimonovich, and was donated to the College on 9 April 1692.

Other persons named in the inscriptions appear to be somewhat obscure. They are: Paissy Mohachevsky who, as it seems, bequeathed the book of the Jesuit Adam Opatovius *Tractatus de sacramentis in genere et specie* (Cracow, 1642) to the College;[21] Wladyslaw Howicz who owned Melchior Junius's *Orationes, Tomi III* (Strasbourg, 1606);[22] and Joannes Batcouius and Martin Wikinski who successively possessed a volume of *Sententiarum tertius* by Peter Lombard ([Cologne or Basel], 1516). Several other persons left only the names of their offices or social standing.[23] A volume of Polish Catechism (*Katechism albo nauka wiary y poboznosti Krzescijanskiey*; Cracow, 1568) was at some time owned by one of the Orthodox brotherhoods and probably later by a certain Reverend Father Mitrophan.

Two copies of the *Compendium seu Breviarium absolutissimum omnium meditationum*, the work of a Spanish Jesuit Luis de la Puente, have an interesting history that can be traced in their ownership inscriptions. The earlier copy, published in Cologne in 1623, came to the library of a certain Jesuit college in 1642. After that, it appeared at the Kiev College. The later copy, published at the Vilnius Jesuit Academy in 1645, got to the Jesuit College in Jaroslaw the same year, apparently donated by one of its teachers. In the 1660s, the volume was owned by a certain Mattias Adamowski. The next inscription is that of the Kiev College. One more book from the seventeenth-century acquisitions group, Adrian Hornan's *Lexicon sive Dictionarium*

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[20] Kononovich-Gorbatsky was the author of the earliest existing manual of philosophy composed by the College professors. For more details see Chapter VI.

[21] A copy of this work is found among the surviving books from Mohyla's private collection, see Chapter VII. One more copy was given in the second part of the seventeenth century by Melety Dzik, see above.

[22] Melchior Junius is the pseudonym of Johann Sommer of Zwikau.

[23] For more details see Chapter XI.

Graecolatinum (Basel, 1557), also came to the College from the Jesuit Academy in Vilnius. These three volumes indicate that not only the same authors and titles were read, but actually the same copies of them migrated from the Jesuits to their counterparts in the Kiev College.

Five books from the seventeenth-century group of acquisitions have their earliest inscriptions made by the librarians of the Mohyla College. Later ones indicate the change in status of the institution from College to Academy. The same update in status can also be found in other surviving books. This evidence suggests that the librarians were required to attend to such relatively minor formalities. Two of the five (*Erothematum dialectica* of John Camerarius and John Krispinus's *Dictionarium graecolatinum*) now lack front pages, and their publishing data are therefore missing. Interestingly, three other books from this small category were all published rather early, between 1566 and 1618. It is not impossible that they might have been purchased for the College in Mohyla's lifetime and under his guidance. One of the three is a set of two printed works bound as one: *Argumentum in epistolam Pauli ad Hebraeos* (Wittenberg, 1568) by unknown author, and Nicholas Hemmingius's *Commentarius in utramque epistolam Pauli ad Thessalonicenses* (Wittenberg, 1566). Another book from this category is a large volume *in folio* containing *Senensis commentarii in Sex Libros Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei* ([Basel or Frankfurt], 1598), a description of different medicinal plants, written by the medical doctor Pietro Andrea Mattioli.

The only manuscript from the group of the seventeenth-century acquisitions is the anonymous course of rhetoric composed by one of the College professors and entitled *Fons Castalius in duplices divisus rivulos, solitam scilicet et ligatam orationem, Kijovo-Mohilaeanis musis consecratus felici auspitio emanavit anno Domini 1685.*[24]

[24] IM VNLU, 656/ 446 s.

2. 2. *A group of 'intermediate acquisitions'*

A smaller group of 'intermediate' acquisitions, i. e. those that could have been made between 1700 and 1740, can be distinguished by comparative analysis of inscriptions and publication dates. All the volumes from this group were published before 1701 and bear the undated inscription *Bibliotheca Kijowo Mohileana* presented in several slight variations. This form of name, however, does not appear in any dated inscription later than 1740, so it can be tentatively assumed that they were acquired before that time. It is noteworthy that this form of inscription is present in most of the books from the seventeenth-century acquisitions, usually updating the earlier one, mentioning the Mohyla College. The 'intermediate' group comprises 10 volumes (15 titles, some bound together) of printed books and 6 manuscripts. It has to be said that the 'intermediate' acquisitions are grouped together on the formal basis of the text of ownership inscription they bear, and this method is certainly not free from shortcomings. Overlappings and occasional misplacements between the seventeenth-century and the 'intermediate' acquisitions are not impossible. At the same time, the existence of the two groups of ownership inscriptions, one mentioning the College, and another omitting the status of the institution altogether, may stand for the fact that the two groups of acquisitions succeeded each other chronologically rather than co-existed at one and the same time. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the inscription *Bibliotheca Kijowo Mohileana* was in use well into the eighteenth century, whereas use of the one mentioning the College apparently ceased around the turn of the seventeenth century.

The 'intermediate' acquisitions group is characterised by the considerable number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books in it. In fact, it contains only one volume published in the eighteenth century. Four titles were printed in the sixteenth century. One of them is a post-incunabula printed item, entitled *Novus orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum* (Basel, 1532) and bound together with Guagninus's *Sarmatiae Europeae descriptio* (Cracow, 1578). According to the series of inscriptions it bears, a volume of J. Fortius's *Opera* (Lyons, 1556) would have

come to the College after May 1690, the date when a certain Baranowski acquired the volume from somebody else. One more sixteenth-century book seems to have had a very interesting history. Rosselius's *Pymander Mercurii Trismegisti cum commento* (Cracow, 1585) is essentially a book on alchemy. First owned by some Bernardine monastery (its inscription was later erased), it came to belong to Dimitry Tuptalo, the Metropolitan of Rostov at the turn of the seventeenth century.[25] According to the presentation inscription, Dimitry sent the volume to the library of the Kiev Academy. However, in 1755 the book was 'discovered' (*inventus*) in the Baturin Krupitsky Monastery and donated to St. Sofia Cathedral.[26]

Among the titles published in the seventeenth century there is another copy of Thomas Stapleton's *Promptuarum morale super Euangelia Dominicalia totius anni* (Paris, 1627).[27] The ownership inscription of Gedeon Odorsky, who styled himself as rector of the Academy (1701-1704), in the *Tractatus de Adoratione* of Blasius (Rome, 1678) indicates that the book could not have arrived at the library before 1701, the year when he started his tenure as rector. Educated by the Jesuits, Odorsky, avowedly had to convert to the Union in order to proceed to the higher degree in theology. Upon his return to Kiev, Odorsky re-converted to Orthodoxy, but was treated with deep mistrust by the authorities as a 'Polish spy'.[28] It is noteworthy that in the text of his inscription he designates himself as a member of the Uniate monastic order of St. Basil the Great, created in Ruthenia in the first decade of the seventeenth century. Interestingly, Odorsky's inscription still calls the Academy a college, thus disregarding the change in status that took place during his time as rector. One more seventeenth-century volume is, in fact, a set of five small items bound together, all presenting different kinds of church calendars. Three of these items are printed works (one in Greek) published in

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[25] Dimitry Tuptalo (1651-1709), later consecrated as St. Dimitry of Rostov, was one of the most prominent alumni of the Kiev College, the author of the first full Slavonic edition of the lives of Saints (*menaion*), published in Kiev in 1689-1705.

[26] In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the city of Baturin was important as a seat of Ukrainian hetmans.

[27] Another copy of Stapleton's book came to the library earlier as a part of Mohyla's bequest of books.

[28] It is known that Odorsky was reluctant to renounce his Catholic background: Sydorenko, *The Kievan Academy in the seventeenth century*, p. 69.

Erfurt, Venice and Vienna between 1626 and 1660. Two others are manuscript calendars for 1665 and 1666, the later one also providing some astronomical data.

All but one of the manuscripts from the 'intermediate' acquisitions group contain courses of theology, philosophy, rhetoric and mathematics read in the Jesuit educational establishments at Vilnius, Brest, Lutsk, Lublin, Jaroslaw and Lvov between the 1630s and 1693.[29] One more manuscript is a course of rhetoric by the College professor Ioasaf Krokovsky, written in 1683 and entitled *Penarium Tullianae eloquentiae ad usus politicos Roxolanae juventuti in Collegio Kijovomohilaeano.*[30]

2. 3. *Some conclusions on the seventeenth-century and the 'intermediate' acquisitions groups*

Peter Mohyla's books and those from the seventeenth-century and 'intermediate' acquisitions groups apparently constituted the oldest stock of the Kiev Academy library. This feature, in a way, helps to overcome the artificial nature of their division into two groups on the formal basis I have chosen. Another striking feature common to the two groups of acquisitions is that by the mid-eighteenth century 24 out of a total of 58 printed volumes and seven out of eight manuscript codices came to be kept not in the Academy library but in the St. Sofia and the Caves Monastery book collections. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Kievan intellectual milieu was constituted by the teachers and professors of the College and the members of the monastic communities of the Monastery of the Caves and St. Sofia.[31] Given that, the process of disseminating books among them is quite understandable. But no existing regulations on library maintenance could have approved or sanctioned it officially.

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[29] IM NLU, 299 p/ 96; 539/ 216 s; 655/ 447 s; 662/ 451 s; 722/ 577 s.
[30] IM NLU, 653/ 444 s.
[31] For more details see Chapter VI.

2. 4. *Eighteenth-century acquisitions through personal donations*

Surviving books from those private donations and bequests already known to us from documentary sources supply information such as full publication data and provenance evidence which is not to be found in contemporary catalogues. At the same time, several groups of the surviving books can add to our knowledge of private contributions to the Academy library, no mention of which has been found in documentary sources to date.

2. 4. 1. *Rafail Zaborovsky's contributions of 1741*

The mid-1770s report on the contents of the Academy library states that Rafail Zaborovsky donated 137 books to the Academy.[32] Twenty-two volumes (17 titles, some bound together) have survived until the present. All of them, according to the presentation inscriptions, were given in 1741. Ten titles were published in the seventeenth century, four date from the late sixteenth century, three from the 1730s, and the front page of one more printed item is missing.

According to the ownership inscriptions, books given by Zaborovsky can be divided into three sub-groups. The first group consists of four volumes with Zaborovsky's inscription testifying that the books had belonged to his private library, and were later donated to the Academy library. As follows from the inscription calling him *Episcopus Pleskoviensi* in each of the two parts of Matteus Polus's *Synopsis criticorum Sacrae Scripturae* (Utrecht, 1684), they belonged to Zaborovsky during his time as the Bishop of Pskov (1725-1731). The third volume is a collection of 'histories' about remarkable and pious individuals under the title *Theatrum historicum sive Promptuarium illustrium exemplorum ad Honeste, Pie, Beateque vivendum* (Wittenberg, 1604), composed by Philip Lonicer. One more volume is a set of two titles, most probably bound together by the publisher. Both titles belong to Conrad Dieterich and contain his commentaries on the Synoptic Gospels, edited and printed by the Marburg publisher Nicholas Hampelius in 1631.

The major sub-group of Zaborovsky's books includes eleven volumes that could have been purchased by him in order to be given directly to the Academy. All of them bear identical donation inscriptions of Zaborovsky. This sub-group includes 9 titles of theological and moral contents, and two volumes of *Dispositio in partes orationis rhetoricae* by the Swede Simon Paulus, published in Magdeburg (1569 and 1583).

The third sub-group of Zaborovsky's donation consists of two bilingual Greek-Latin editions: five volumes of the *Biblia Graeca* (Zurich, 1730-1732), and the *Lexicon graeco-latinum in Novum Testamentum* (Leipzig, 1735). As follows from the inscriptions, all six volumes were donated to the library through Simeon Todorsky, styled as the Academy Professor of 'oriental languages'.[33] Why Zaborovsky had to resort to Todorsky's assistance can only be guessed. Upon his return from Germany where he studied at the University of Halle in 1738, Todorsky taught Greek, Hebrew and German at the Kiev Academy.[34] It is possible that both the recent bilingual edition of the Bible and the new Greek-Latin dictionary were necessary for his course of Greek and that Zaborovsky sponsored the purchase of the books.

2. 4. 2. *Joseph Iamnitsky's contributions of 1 May 1749*

The inscriptions in five of the surviving volumes testify that they were given to the Academy by Joseph Iamnitsky, a former student, then the Abbot of the Novgorod Iuriev Monastery, on 1 May 1749. All Iamnitsky's books are of a theological nature and bear identical presentation inscriptions, dated 1 May 1749. A volume of Henricus Alting's *Theologia elenctica nova* (Amsterdam, 1654) was previously owned by an inhabitant of Prussia by the name of Henric*us* Thoma, whose inscription of 1677 is found in the title page. The two volumes of Abraham Trommius's *Concordantiae graecae*

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[32] *ADOIKA*, II, 4, p. 125.

[33] This information about Todorsky's specialisation may be somewhat misleading if his educational background is not taken into account. In 1729-1735 he studied Hebrew, Chaldaean, Arabian and Greek at the University of Halle: Khizhniak, *Kievo-Mohylianskaia akademiia*, p. 103.

[34] Khizhniak, *Kievo-Mohylianskaia akademiia*, p. 103.

Versionis Vulgo dictae (Amsterdam, 1718) were presented to Iamnitsky by Amvrosy Iushkevich, another alumnus of the Academy and Iamnitsky's superior as the Archbishop of Veliky Novgorod and Velikie Luki, on 6 February, 1744. Two more volumes contain *Institutiones theologiae dogmaticae* by the renowned Protestant theologian John Francis Budde (Leipzig, 1724). Thirty-four leaves in the end of the second volume are filled with a detailed hand-written plan, apparently for a course of theology.

2. 4. 3. *Timofei Shcherbatsky's contributions of 1748 and 1757*

The mid-1770s report on the contents of the Academy library states that 144 books were given to the Academy by Timofei Shcherbatsky.[35] Only three volumes have survived. According to the presentation inscriptions, two of them were given in 1748, when Shcherbatsky was appointed metropolitan of Kiev, and one more was donated in 1757. One of the 1748 contributions, Constantine Lascaris's *Grammaticae compendium, Graecae linguae studiosis aptissimum* (Basel, 1547), is a post-incunabula book. Another is a textbook of poetics Περιεχουσα... Ποιητικη Μεθοδον by Nicholas Karagiano (Venice, 1734). As follows from Shcherbatsky's successive inscriptions in the third book, *Commentarius in Epistolam Pauli ad Hebraeos* by Sebastian Schmidt (Leipzig, 1722), it must have entered his library between 1740 and 1748, when he was the Caves Monastery archimandrite.

2. 4. 4. *Bishop Ilarion Grigorovich's contributions of January–December 1754*

The surviving books from the donation of Ilarion Grigorovich, the Bishop of Sarai and Podonie, now number 20 volumes (28 titles, some bound together).[36] Each volume was provided with a characteristic presentation inscription of Ilarion dated January or December 1754.[37] As we already know, his books did not reach the

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[35] *ADOIKA*, II, 4, p. 125.
[36] For more about Bishop Ilarion's donations see Chapter IX.
[37] For the text of Ilarion's inscription see Chapter XI.

Academy before January 1758.[38] To all appearances, it took Ilarion three years to transport them from Great Russia to Kiev. Ilarion's books fall into two sub-groups: volumes that have no other inscriptions apart from his own, and those that bear inscriptions testifying that they had previously been in the possession of another person. All but one of Bishop Ilarion's surviving books can be identified in the extant copy of the catalogue of his donations.[39]

The first sub-group includes 12 volumes (13 titles, some bound together). Most of them were published in the seventeenth century. Among them there are three volumes of *Expositio Patrum Graecorum in Psalmos* by the Jesuit Balthasar Corderius (Antwerp, 1643-1646),[40] two parts of Philip Lusitanus's *Summa praedicantium ex omnibus Locis Communibus locupletissima* (Venice, 1614);[41] and a volume of Melchior Mittelholzer's *Florilegium Anglicanum sive Concionum miscellanearum... Centuria* (Geneva, 1686).[42] There are three sets of titles bound together in this sub-group. One of them contains Antoine Mizauld's *Centuriae XII* (Nuremberg, 1681); a collective work under the title *Aristotelis aliorumque problemata* (Amsterdam, 1686); and William Cock's *Oeconomis Corporis Animalis* (Augsburg, 1696).[43] Another includes *Synopsis historiae universalis* by Ludovicus Holbergius (Görlitz, [1731]) and his *Compendium Geographicum in usum studiosae juventutis* (Leipzig, 1736).[44] The third is a set of two theological works by the Protestant authors Henry Reinesius and John Thaddaeus.[45] Two other books from this

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[38] See Chapter VIII.
[39] See Chapter VIII.
[40] Recorded in the catalogue of Ilarion's donations as 'Libri Corderi in Psalmos in 3 tomis': IM VNLU, DA/p. 221, fol. 153.
[41] I have not managed to identify this book in the catalogue.
[42] The last book is recorded in the catalogue as 'Florilegium Anglicarum sive Concionum Miscellanearum': IM VNLU, DA/p. 221, fol. 155.
[43] According to the usual practice of the day, in this and subsequent cases only the first title of the set of several printed items bound together is recorded in the catalogue. This volume is recorded as 'Misaldus redivivus siue Centuriae memorabilium': IM VNLU, DA/p. 221, fol. 156v.
[44] The set is recorded in the catalogue as 'Ludovici Holbergii Synopsis historiae universalis': IM VNLU, DA/p. 221, fol. 156v.
[45] Recorded in the catalogue as 'Extensio Theologiae T[ec]hnica': IM VNLU, DA/p. 221, fol. 156v.

group, *Grammatica Graeca nova* (Leipzig, 1725) of Jacob Weller[46], and *Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera* (Cologne, 1690),[47] together with the already mentioned three-volume *Expositio Patrum Graecorum* demonstrate what seems to be Bishop Ilarion's special interest in the Greek language and the Greek Fathers.

Another part of Bishop Ilarion's contributions is made up of books that he acquired from a certain *Archiphilis Petrus Smilicz*, whose personality appears to be somewhat obscure. This group includes 8 volumes (15 titles, some bound together). A significant proportion of titles from this group is dedicated to rhetoric and poetics. There are several sets of printed items bound together. One of them includes George Pasor's *Lexicon graeco-latinum in Novum Testamentum* (Herborn, 1663) and his *Etyma nominum propriorum... Hebraeorum, Syriacorum & Latinorum* (Herborn, 1663).[48] Another comprises *Succincta explicatio rituum qui olim apud Romanos obtinuerunt ad intelligentiam veterum* by G. H. Newpoort (Bautzen, 1715); Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Helmstedt, 1711); the Jesuit Francis Sacchinus's *De ratione libros... ejusdem de vitanda moribus noxia lectione oratio* (Leipzig, 1711); and *De causis diversitatis linguarum dissertatio* by Olaus Borrichius (Jena, 1704).[49] The third set of titles bound together includes J. Kaufmann's *Philosophia cordis profano-sacra* (Frankfurt, 1715); two parts of *Consilia Salomonis* (Cologne, 1694); and *Cura innocentiae in primo flore servandae* by a Jesuit author (Cologne, 1717).[50] Interestingly, apart from Smilicz's inscription, two volumes from this group bear another provenance in Russian: 'Purchased in February 1741 from the pastor' (*Kupleno u pastora 1741 goda fevralia*). However, it is not clear whether Peter Smilicz himself was the pastor, or somebody else.

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[46] Recorded in the catalogue as '[We]lleri grammatica graeca nova': IM VNLU, DA/p. 221, fol. 156v.
[47] Only one volume of the two, apparently given by Ilarion, has survived. The title is recorded in the catalogue as 'Libri Gregorii Nazianzeni in duobus tomis': IM VNLU, DA/p. 221, fol. 152v.
[48] Possibly recorded in the catalogue as 'Lexicon graecolatinum': IM VNLU, DA/p. 221, fol. 156.
[49] The set is recorded in the catalogue as '[...] explicatio rituum': IM VNLU, DA/p. 221, fol. 156v.

2. 4. 5. *David Nashchinsky's contribution of 23 February 1756*

Two surviving volumes testify to David Nashchinsky's contribution to the Academy library, made on 23 February 1756.[51] Both of his books are in German and are dedicated to Protestant theology. Apart from Nashchinsky's presentation inscription present in both volumes, one of his books, Tobias Pfanner's *Christlicher Büss- und Lebens-Weg* ([Leipzig?], 1722) also bears his earlier ownership inscription. Nashchinsky's apparent interest in the Protestant brand of theology is noteworthy.

2. 4. 6. *Samuil Mislavsky's contributions of September 1768*

According to the mid-1770s report on the contents of the Academy library, Samuil Mislavsky gave 24 books to the Academy.[52] Three surviving volumes attest to a donation received from him in September 1768, apparently at the end of his tenure as rector of the Academy (1761-1768).[53] One of the volumes given by him, Theodoricus Campanus's *Enchiridion oratorium ad comparandam Synonimiam* (Leipzig, [1529]), is a post-incunabula book. The other two are Cicero's *Epistolarum ad familiares, Libri XVI* (Rotterdam, 1704), and *Candidatus Rhetoricae* (s. l., 1738) by the Jesuit Joseph Juventius. All three volumes would have been instrumental for the study of rhetoric.

2. 4. 7. *Cyril Florinsky's contributions of 16 January 1770*

According to the mid-1770s report on the contents of the Academy library, Cyril Florinsky donated 72 books to the Academy.[54] The surviving books from this contribution amount to 38 volumes (26 titles, some bound together). At the time when

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[50] The set is recorded in the catalogue as 'Philosophia Cordis profano Sacra, seu passionis animae reluctantis': IM VNLU, DA/p. 221, fol. 156v.

[51] Nashchinsky was a graduate of the Academy, who continued his education in Germany. Upon his return he taught poetry, rhetoric, philosophy and German at the Kiev Academy. His inscriptions in the two surviving volumes style him as Archimandrite of the Slutsk monastery and a vicar of the Kiev Metropolitanate as of 1756. In 1758, Nashchinsky was appointed rector of the Academy.

[52] *ADOIKA*, II, 4, p. 125.

[53] Mislavsky had studied in the Academy in the 1740s and held the office of Metropolitan of Kiev in 1783-1796.

the donation was made, Florinsky, formerly a student of the Kiev Academy, was the Bishop of Sevsk and Briansk. The range of the books given by him is remarkably diverse in terms of subjects, dates and places of publication. Four titles date from the sixteenth century, two of them being post-incunabula books. They include *Pro sacerdotum barbis* by Valerianus (Paris, 1531), and Thomas More's *Omnia... Latina Opera* (Louvain, 1566). Nicholas Gerbelius's *Pro declaratione picturae siue descriptionis Graeciae Sophiniani, Libri VII* (Basel, [1550]) and *Les cinq premiers livres des histoires* of Polybius (Lyons, 1558) are bound together.

Florinsky was obviously interested in emblems: there is a two-volume work of Jacob Typotius on ecclesiastic and profane symbols (Prague, 1601-1602), and Levinus Hulsius's *Imperatorum Romanorum numismat~um series a C. Julio Caesare ad Rudolphum II* (Frankfurt, 1603) among the surviving books. Fourteen volumes of the fundamental work entitled *Commentarii in Evangelicam Historiam et in Acta Apostolor~* of the Jesuit Alfonso Toletanus (Cologne, 1612-1615) are augmented by three other Jesuit editions: publication and commentaries to the works of Synesius (Paris, 1640); Bartolomaeus Germon's *De veteribus haereticis ecclesisticorum codicum corruptoribus* (Paris, 1713); and two volumes of the *Speculum monasticum in quo totius Religiosae disciplinae casus* (Lyons, 1687). A book on law, Claudius de Ferriere's *Institutiones Justiniani singulari methodo illustratae et cum jure Gallico collatae* (Paris, 1676) stood side by side with philosophical and theological treatises such as the *Artificum delilae mysticum* of Enevald Svenonius, published in Finland (Turku, 1673) and Christian Wolff's *Institutiones juris naturae et gentium* (Halle, 1750).

Eleven out of 38 Florinsky's books are in French, most of them published in the eighteenth century. Florinsky may have purchased them for his library when he worked at the Russian Embassy in Paris in the 1760s.[55] Here again we see a great

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[54] *ADOIKA*, II, 4, p. 125.

[55] Khizhniak, *Kievo-Mohylianskaia akademiia*, p. 218.

diversity of taste. We find books of sermons: a three-volume edition of *Sermons pour tous les dimanches et grandes fêtes de l'année* (Brussels, 1710), and a two-volume *Octave de Sermons pour les morts avec un Traité théologique sur la Purgatoire* by Thomas Mangeart (Nancy, 1739); the anonymous four-volume *Mémoires chronologiques et dogmatiques, pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique depuis 1600 jusqu'en 1716* (s. l., 1739); M. Chompré's *Dictionnaire abrégé de la fable* (Paris, 1760); and Abbé Ballet's *Histoire des temples des payens, des juifs, et des chrêtiens* (Paris, 1760). The sizable proportion of French books in Florinsky's contribution stands in stark contrast with the basically German-dominated nature of the other private collections.

2. 4. 8. *The contribution of Maxim Baranovich, 12 August 1771*

Five surviving volumes (nine titles, some bound together) attest to the donation of books to the Academy library by the medical doctor Maxim Baranovich on 12 August 1771. For the most part they are medical treatises in German and Latin, published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The exception are two titles, one being a posthumous edition of Andreas Petermann's *Chimia* (Leipzig, 1708), and the other an anonymous philosophical work entitled *Revelatio summi boni, coelestis et terrestris* ([Frankfurt], 1634).

2. 4. 9. *Gavriil Kremenetsky's contribution of September 1772*

Three titles of the surviving books bear inscriptions showing that they were donated to the Academy by the Archbishop of St. Petersburg Gavriil Kremenetsky in 1772. They are Cicero's *Epistolarum ad diversos, Libri XVI* (Leipzig, 1756); a popular edition in Russian entitled 'A compendium of all sciences, designed for the youths' (*Kratkoe poniatie o vsekh naukakh dlia upotrebleniia iunoshestva*; Moscow, 1764), translated from the 'German original'; and a Russian-Latin dictionary (Moscow, 1768). According to the extant documents, in 1768 Kremenetsky had sent

200 copies of standard texts for the use of the Academy's poorest pupils.[56] The presence of these three volumes, given in 1772 and also apparently intended for the pupils of junior grades, shows that Kremenetsky's beneficent practices had a relatively regular character and a distinct idea behind them.

2. 4. 10. *The surviving volumes from the bequest of Varlaam Lashchevsky*

Only 30 volumes (31 titles, some bound together) have survived from more than 800 books bequeathed by the former Academy prefect and professor of philosophy, later rector of the Moscow Slavonic-Graeco-Latin Academy Varlaam Lashchevsky.[57] According to Vishnevsky, Lashchevsky's contribution arrived at the library in 1774.[58] However, this seems unlikely. It is true that the latest presentation inscriptions in the surviving books are dated 1774, and it seems that Vishnevsky was aware of that. Yet the transport of such a considerable amount of books from Moscow to Kiev would have taken a lot of time. Lashchevsky, who died in 1776, had actually bequeathed his library to the Academy, and it is reasonable to suggest that the books remained with him until his death. The title of the catalogue of Lashchevsky's donation, published by Petrov, is suggestive, as it calls him 'the late Archimandrite Lashchevsky', and therefore cannot be dated before 1776.[59] According to the dating of the earliest of Lashchevsky's presentation inscriptions in the surviving books by the year 1773, his decision to give his library to the Academy was probably taken around that time. Lashchevsky's books indicate his special interest in ancient languages, theology and rhetoric.

There are two sixteenth-century volumes among Lashchevsky's books: the *Dialogi* of Theodoretus (Zurich, 1594), and Epictetus's *Encheiridion* (Cologne, 1595-1596), both published by the Jesuits. Ten of Lashchevsky's volumes date from the seventeenth century, and five of them came from the Jesuit printing presses. Among

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[56] See Chapter VIII.
[57] About Lashchevsky's collection see also Chapter VIII.
[58] Vishnevsky, *Kievskaia akademiia v pervoi polovine XVIII st.*, p. 286.
[59] *ADOIKA*, II, 4, p. 206.

them we find Possevino's *Bibliotheca selecta de Ratione Studiorum* (Cologne, 1607), and Bellarmin's *De septem verbis a Christo in Cruce Prolatis, Libri II* (Cologne, 1618). Only three of the 152 books of Lashchevsky published in Britain have survived. They are Samuel Prat's *Grammatica Latina in usum principis juventutis Britannicae* (London, 1722), *Nova grammatica Graeca institutionum Suarum methodis* by Henry Fiotius (London, 1739), and a collection of famous orations under the title *Rhetores selecti... Graece et Latine* (Oxford, 1676).[60]

Fifteen of Lashchevsky's volumes date from the eighteenth century. Almost all of them had been printed in German-speaking countries. One volume, Henry Optius's *Novum lexicon Hebraeo-Chaldaeo-Biblicum* (Leipzig and Frankfurt, 1705), bear a friendly presentation inscription made in 1749 by Simeon Todorsky.[61] The presence of Samuel Puffendorf's *Introductio ad historiam Europaeam* (Utrecht, 1702) and Eberhard Rotius's *Historia Universalis pragmatica* (Ulm, 1706) shows Lashchevsky's interest in historical subjects. He was also interested in rational approaches to the problem of human understanding, as the presence of Francis Bacon's *De dignitate et augmentis scientiarum* ([Amsterdam], s. a.) and Locke's *Cogitata quaedam de intellectu humano* ([Leipzig], s. a.) among Lashchevsky's surviving books indicates.

2. 4. 11. *'Single acquisitions' of 1756-1780*

The group of 'single acquisitions' made between 1756 and 1780 includes eleven volumes (nine titles) of books, all but one dated from the eighteenth century. The name I have tentatively given to this group indicates that it includes single titles of books with an ownership inscription that only occurs once in the surviving volumes. It should not be taken to mean that these books were necessarily given to the library as a

[60] For more details about the British editions in Lashchevsky's collection see Chapter VIII. About the bindings of the surviving ones see Chapter XI.
[61] About Todorsky see n. 33.

single donation. The only exception is made for two titles contributed by the same person, whose name is not mentioned in the inscription.

The book *Institutiones Philosophiae Universae usibus academicis accomodatae* by Henry Winkler (Leipzig, 1742), bequeathed by Damian Theodorovich, a student of theology, arrived at the Academy library on 24 February 1756. Another former student of the Academy, Sethus Hamaliia, who became abbot of the Kiev Vydubitsky Monastery and who died on 24 February 1767, left four volumes of Christian Gottlieb Jöcher's *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon, Darinne die Gelehrten aller Stände* (Leipzig, 1750-1751) to the Academy library. On 29 September 1775, the Reverend Platon, Archbishop of Tver' and Moscow, presented the Academy with a book of his own composition, a catechism, entitled *Orthodoxa doctrina, seu compendium theologiae Christianae, in usum Serenissimi... Pauli Petrovicz Principis Hereditarii Omnium Russarum* (St. Petersburg, 1774). A person whose name is not mentioned in the presentation inscription contributed two German travel books by P. L. Berckenmeyer to the Academy library on 26 February, 1776: *Fortsetzung des curieusen Antiquarii das ist allerhand auserlesene Geographische und Historische Merckwürdigkeiten, so in Asia, Africa und America zu finden* (Hamburg, 1742), and *Neu-vermehrter Curieuser antiquarius das ist: allerhand auserlesene Geographische und Historische Merckwürdigkeiten, so in denen Europäischen Ländern zu finden* (Hamburg, 1746). On 21 January 1780, the priest Joseph Sementovsky contributed Christian Walchius's *Compendium historiae ecclesiasticae recentissimae* (Götheborg, 1757). This book must have been among the last pre-fire acquisitions of the Kiev Academy library.

2. 4. 12. *Contributions of Ruvim Petulinsky*

In 1764-1768, Ruvim Petulinsky was the Prefect of the Academy and taught philosophy there. In 1768 he was appointed Rector, and held this position until 1769,[62] when he vanishes from the sources, probably due to his death. Petulinsky's is a group of surviving books that I provisionally attribute to the pre-fire stock. Their inscriptions mention Petulinsky's name, but provide no reference to the year when the donations were made. However, one of these volumes is marked 'Old Library' (*Staroi biblioteki*).[63] Apparently, the system of dividing the library stock into the 'old' and the 'new' collections was not in use at the Academy after the 1780 fire. Therefore, one may suppose that the sixteen surviving volumes (48 titles, some bound together) which had belonged to Ruvim Petulinsky belonged to the pre-1780 library collections.

Petulinsky's books present a variety of subject-matter and publication data, characteristic of the other contemporary libraries of Kievan scholars analysed in this work. Among them one finds, for instance, the *Meditationes de praecipius mysteriis Vitae et Passionis... Jesu Christi* (Cologne, 1608) of the Jesuit Vincenzo Bruno; two volumes of *Philosophia practica Universalis, methodo scientifico* by the renowned Protestant philosopher Christian Wolff (Halle, 1744-1750); Jan Amos Comenius's *Orbis sensualium pictus* (Nuremberg, 1746); the *Geographiae civilis seu Historicae synopsis... Ad usum iuventutis Piarum Scholarum Provinciae Lithuanae* of Constantine Prokopovich (Lvov, 1748); and Paul Hermannus's *Tournefortius contractus sub forma tabularum sistens institutiones rei herbariae* (Frankfurt, 1715).

One of Petulinsky's books is a curious volume comprising 34 minor printed issues bound together, of which 28 are theses of theological and philosophical dissertations defended in German universities between the years 1667 and 1690. Some of the theses bear their authors' dedications to different people. The remaining

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[62] Bolkhovitinov, 'Opisanie Kievo-Sofiiskogo sobora', p. 259.
[63] About the division of the library stock into the 'old' and the 'new' collections see Chapter IX.

brochures bound into the volume are two minor theological works, one anti-papal pamphlet, a small work on gout, and two political pamphlets dated 1671.

Chapter XI

PROVENANCE EVIDENCE AND BINDINGS OF THE SURVIVING BOOKS

The study of provenance means research into the previous ownership of printed books and manuscripts. Provenance may be assessed through various kinds of evidence found in the book, on its outer covers, or outside the codex, e. g. sale catalogues, and catalogues and lists of private libraries. Only the evidence provided by the codex itself will be touched upon and analysed in the present chapter.[1]

Provenance of a book may be assessed through such kinds of 'inherent' evidence, as (1) inscriptions, mottoes and other manuscript additions; (2) bookplates, booklabels and book stamps; and (3) armorials, other binding stamps and external features.[2] Of all these, only two types of evidence are not found in the surviving books from the library of the Kiev Academy, namely bookplates and mottoes characteristic of particular owners.

The methodological basis for this part of my work is provided by David Pearson's handbook on the study of provenance. His work rests exclusively on the evidence derived from books that make up the contents of the oldest British libraries. This fact is clearly emphasised by Pearson. However, while having a number of distinctive features of their own, British libraries existed and functioned largely in tune with the main trends of contemporary European librarianship. The fact that the evidence of the surviving books from the Kiev Academy library matches Pearson's methodology both in essence and in details offers further proof that the Academy library, in most respects, followed the same general pattern of development as other contemporary college and university libraries in the West. Likewise, those private book collections which the Academy library incorporated during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did not differ markedly from their European counterparts so far as the care of collections and designation of ownership was concerned.

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[1] For my analysis of catalogues and lists of books acquired by the library of the Kiev Mohyla Academy through bequests, donations or purchase see Chapter VIII.

[2] See D. Pearson, *Provenance research in book history: A handbook* (London, 1994).

1. *Ownership inscriptions*

Since writing one's name in a book is 'the easiest and most common way' to indicate the owner, inscriptions usually prove to be the commonest kind of provenance evidence found in books.[3] Inscriptions in books may provide a book historian with a body of varied and important information. However, a serios problem arises in that inscriptions may have become illegible, intentionally damaged, erased, blotted, or even cut off. The reasons why subsequent book owners might have wished to remove the names of their predecessors are many: from an attempt to conceal a theft to simple distaste for daily contemplation of someone else's name in one's own book. Approximately every third surviving book from the library of the Kiev Academy manifests traces of such attitudes. Moreover, as Pearson puts it: 'Bookbinders have, over the centuries, removed vast quantities of provenance evidence... Successive rebinding has often involved re-cropping of the edges by the binder's plough, slicing away inscriptions'.[4] Numerous examples of this observation may be found among the surviving volumes. One should note that the concept of a manuscript or early printed book as an entity fully comprehensible only if all its textual and super-textual elements are kept intact is a very recent development, characteristic only of the last fifty years. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century book-owners in particular seem to have been quite ready to disperse older book collections and remove all evidence of ownership prior to themselves.[5] Sometimes miniatures or fragments were even cut out of the text itself. Blameworthy as it is, this practice was regarded as quite normal by the most learned men of the period under discussion, and even later still.

One further problem connected with the study of the ownership inscriptions in books is that they do not necessarily reflect every single owner who ever held the volume in his possession. Pearson observes: 'Although many owners *have* marked

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[3] Pearson, *Provenance research in book history*, p. 12.
[4] Pearson, *Provenance research in book history*, pp. 4-5.
[5] See M. Sipayllo, 'O metodzie badan proweniencyjnych starych drukow', *Z badan nad polskimi ksiegozbiorami historycznymi*, I (Warsaw, 1975), p. 26.

their books, for reasons of security, vanity, or both, many have not, and countless books have passed through various hands without being marked in any way. This applies not only to people who owned one or two books, but also to substantial collectors'.[6] This could certainly be the case with the inscriptions put in books by the individual owners prior to their coming to the Academy library. However, there are serious reasons for supposing that once a volume arrived at the library, it was promptly provided with an appropriate inscription. According to the letter of 2 August 1767 from the Rector Samuil Mislavsky to one of the donors to the library, his books 'arrived safely, were duly written into the register by the librarian, and inscribed *according to the usual practice* [italics is mine]'.[7] Moreover, the presence of a number of successive inscriptions noting, in particular, the change in status of the institution from college to academy, suggests that the librarians were supposed to update the inscriptions.[8]

'In its most basic form, an inscription consists merely of the name of the owner, or a simple sentence meaning, in one way or another, "X owns this book"... Such inscriptions are commonly written on title pages or front flyleaves, but they may also be found at the end of a text, on the rear flyleaves, or elsewhere within the body of a book'.[9] The bulk of inscriptions found in the surviving books follow this model, providing either the owner's name only, or a formula which can be generally rendered as the '*ex libris* formula'. Very often book owners also provided details of their social or ecclesiastical standing, academic degree, and belonging to monastic orders. In many cases the date of acquisition or donation to the Academy library was added to the inscription. Sometimes prices paid for the books were given. In several instances book owners indicated their status, but failed to mention their names.

As a rule, several editions bound as one have only one ownership inscription written into the first item in a set. This indicates that in most cases the incorporated

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[6] Pearson, *Provenance research in book history*, p. 8.
[7] 'Po listam ponadlezhashchim ponadpisany': IM NLU, 444/605 s, fol. 1.
[8] For more details see Chapter X.
[9] Pearson, *Provenance research in book history*, p. 12.

items were bound together at an early stage, and that none of them had ever existed as a separately-bound book. For instance, two or more editions by the same author and printed around the same time were not infrequently bound together by the publishers, usually in order to save themselves the binding expenses. However, exceptions do exist, and there is one such found among the surviving books. Judging by the presence of two different ownership inscriptions in each of the two items bound together in a volume that belonged to Georgy Shcherbatsky in the mid-eighteenth century (Ekhardi's *Disquisitionis Theologicae* (Leipzig, 1611), and the *Passio Domini Nostri Iesu Christi* of Bugenhagius and Gesner (Wittenberg, 1608)), they must previously have existed as two separately bound books.

The question of the language used in inscriptions is an interesting and significant one. As Pearson puts it, in the case of British libraries, 'Latin was commonly used... English names are often Latinised'.[10] Exactly the same picture is observed in our case, with most of the volumes inscribed in Latin, and all Slavonic names being Latinised (e. g. Petr : Petrus, Ivan : Ioannicus, Matvei : Matthaeus, Timofei : Timotheus, Ilarion : Hylarionus, Gavriil : Gabrielus, Vasily : Basilius, etc.).[11] Interestingly, when Ruthenian family names had to be written in characters of the Latin alphabet, they were usually rendered according to Polish, rather than Latin spelling and pronunciation (e. g. Mohyla : Mohiła, Memlovich : Miemłowicz, Zaborovsky : Zaborowski, Kremenetsky : Kremeniecki, etc.).

The Kievan scholars sometimes matched the language of the inscription with the language of the book concerned.[12] Examples of this are found among Mohyla's Greek books inscribed in Greek, Polish ones inscribed in Polish, and books in Church Slavonic inscribed in either Church Slavonic or Ruthenian. There are reasons for believing, however, that this was mainly characteristic of the seventeenth century. Late in the eighteenth century, Cyril Florinsky inscribed his French books in Latin, and

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[10] Pearson, *Provenance research in book history*, pp. 12-13.

[11] We are certainly not speaking of Slavonic names in proper sense here, rather – about Slavonic forms of Christian names.

Maxim Baranovich inscribed his German books in Latin. This cannot possibly be attributed to their linguistic failings since, as owners of these books, they presumably had a reading knowledge of the languages in which they were written.

Some of the inscriptions are in the native languages of their owners. For instance, Lavrenty Zizany, a scholar of Greek origin who lived in the Polish Commonwealth for many years, had inscribed his Latin book, *Epithetorum graecorum farago locupletissima* by Dinnerus (Frankfurt, 1589), in Greek in 1601.[13] This particular case not only tells us something about Zizany's adherence to his native tongue, but is also characteristic of the ideology of the brotherhoods in more general terms. As is well known, Orthodox brotherhoods laid much emphasis on Greek as a 'true' language of Orthodoxy.[14] Learned Greeks often provided intellectual guidance for the brotherhoods, and Zizany, active in Lvov and Vilnius, especially in the last decade of the sixteenth century, was one such leader. Another example is the earliest existing inscription of Mohyla made in Polish in the second volume of Cassian's *Opera omnia* (Douai, 1616).[15] Mohyla may have been about 20 years old when he acquired the book. At that stage he was a young man with all his choices in life still open and undecided. Mohyla was not yet a 'Westernised' scholar or an Orthodox churchman, and he inscribed his book in Polish, the language that must have been his second tongue. One more example, however, requires a different explanation. The volume of *Sententiarum Tertius* of Peter Lombard ([Cologne or Basel], 1516) bears a curious inscription of Martin Wikinski: 'Clament[us] Martinus Wikinski Panu Bogu [po...?] in primium seu [...]'. The text, mainly in Latin but with several Polish words incorporated into it, is in large 'unlearned' handwriting and seems to be seriously flawed from a grammatical point of view; its final part is mutilated. It is obvious that such an inscription would have been made by a person whose standard of education was rather low, and who was not accustomed to using the pen.

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[12] The same tendency was observed by Pearson in regard to the books from old British libraries: Pearson, *Provenance research in book history*, p. 13.
[13] See Chapter X.
[14] See Chapter III.

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[13] See Chapter X.
[14] See Chapter III.

Ownership inscriptions of the Academy library itself were invariably in Latin. Apparently, it was not before the mid-nineteenth century that a special oval stamp of the library of the Kiev Theological Academy began to appear in the flyleaves of the volumes from this collection. The text it bore was in Russian.

Pearson also draws attention to the 'fluid approach to spelling which prevailed in earlier generations', especially in rendering proper names.[16] This manifests itself in a number of inscriptions found in the surviving books (e. g. Petulinskj, Petolinskj, Petulenski, and even Pelutinskj, which is probably just a misspelling).

A special group of inscriptions is formed by those mentioning two persons, and signifying either a gift of a book from one person to another, or a purchase. The latter are more often encountered in the surviving books, usually with prices quoted. Russian imperial monetary units replace Polish ones around the turn of the seventeenth century. Prices quoted in the seventeenth century are in florins, and range from 27 florins for Drexelius's *Opera omnia* (Antwerp, 1643) to 3 florins, 15 groshes for Keckermann's *Systema logicae* (Hanover, 1612). Prices quoted in the eighteenth century are in Russian kopecks. The average cost of a book published in the early seventeenth century was, in the second half of the eighteenth century, around 20 kopecks. It is noteworthy that the school textbook *Geographiae civilis seu Historicae synopsis* by Prokopovich, published in Lvov in 1748, cost 35 kopecks in 1770. This may indicate that a more recent book cost more than a relatively antiquated one at that time.

Among the mainly uniform inscriptions, there are a few presenting idiosyncratic texts. One of them, in a volume of Pasor's *Lexicon graeco-latinum in Novum Testamentum* (Herborn, 1663), declares that one of its owners named Georgy (his surname can only be read in part) 'frequents the Helicon peak' (*Heliconis culminem frequent[at]*). All the volumes of Bishop Ilarion's collection are provided with the same lengthy inscription threatening anyone who dared to take the book from the

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[15] See Chapter VII.

[16] Pearson, *Provenance research in book history*, p. 13.

library with a curse.[17] Such 'protective' inscriptions were equally common to both the West European and the Old Russian tradition. Interestingly, Peter Mohyla also threatened book thieves with a curse in his donation inscriptions when he gave books to the monasteries and churches.

2. *Ownership stamp*

Two impressions of the same ownership stamp are present in two volumes from the Mohyla Academy library, the only two instances of this sort of provenance evidence among the surviving books (see Figure 2). The stamp had initially belonged to Peter's father, Palatine Simeon Mohyla. The imprint is round and quite small: about 0.6 in. in diameter. Around the Moldavian coat-of arms, a bull's head with the Sun, the Moon and a star, runs the text: 'Io Simeon Mohyla, the Palatine' (*IO / SIMEON / MOHYLA / VOEVODA*), with the Mohylas' hereditary coat-of-arms: two crossed swords, below in the centre of the outer circle bearing the text.[18]

3. *Binding stamps*

Binding stamps helping to attribute the ownership of the book include armorials, and also names and initials of the owners tooled on the book covers. Binding stamps began to appear in Europe in the form of armorials in the fifteenth century, and names and initials in the sixteenth.[19] Armorials should be distinguished from elaborate bookbinders' stamps which were applied to 'commercial' bindings for the sake of decoration.

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[17] 'Ex Bibliotheca Sanctissimae Synodi membri illustrissimi Hylarionis Episcopi Sarsensis et Podonensis Anno Domini 1752 Mense Januario applicatus est Bibliothecae Kiovomohylaeanae. Quem librum si quis ab ista Bibliotheca sub qualicunq. praetextu surrepserit esto anathema et sors ejus cum Juda proditore et cum his qui adversus Christum clamabant Crusifige, Crusifige [eum?]'.

[18] It is not quite clear to me what 'Io' means in this context. There are grounds for believing that it was a sign of distinction of the Moldavian *hospodars* and hetmans, and also of the male members of their families: see Cazacu, 'Pierre Mohyla et la Roumanie', p. 202, n. 68. For more information about the Mohylas' coat-of-arms see Golubev, 'O sostave biblioteki Petra Mohyly', pp. 259-260. For my hypothesis that the stamp was actually used to designate Peter Mohyla's book ownership rather than that of his father see Chapter VII.

[19] Pearson, *Provenance research in book history*, pp. 97, 115.

The surviving volumes from the Academy library do not present a wealth of personal binding stamps. The main reason is the fact that individually or lavishly decorated books seem to have had little appeal for Kievan scholars in the period under discussion. Books were meant to perform a basically pragmatic function: to be read and learned from, analysed and then brought to the wider audience of students. It would be wrong to think that Kievan scholars did not delight in reading their books, but *de luxe* bindings were obviously not seen as essential for this.

All but one of the stamped bindings on books which once belonged to Peter Mohyla are 'presentation bindings', i. e. those on books that Mohyla donated to the monasteries and churches. As they obviously did not belong to Mohyla's private library on December 1646, the date of his testament, they cannot be regarded as part of the library of the Kiev Academy, and will not be discussed here. Another fine presentation binding with engraved silver and gold plates attached to it, also commissioned by Mohyla, cannot be discussed here on the same grounds.[20]

The only stamped binding on a book which belonged to Mohyla and was transferred to the Kiev College in accordance with his will, is that of Socolovius's *De verae et falsae ecclesiae discrimine* (Cracow, 1583). Before Mohyla, the volume had belonged to Jan Muscenius of Kurzelow (ca. 1532-1602), a distinguished Polish humanist, doctor of theology and professor of the Cracow Academy in the late sixteenth century, whose distinctive binding stamp is found on the book cover (see Figure 4). The upper board bears an oval medallion with Christ's head in the centre. It is stamped in silver and bears the text: JESVS CHRISTVS FILIVS DEI VIVI SALVATOR MVNDI REX REGVM DOMINVS DOMI[NANTIVM]. The lower board bears a stylised (i. e. not a real, hereditary) 'coat of arms': a crest incorporating three flowers with a single root. Three initials placed above the crest read: I[oannes] M[uscenius] C[urelovius]. Four letters: 'I C A C' within the crest probably stand for 'I[oannes] C[urelovius] A[rchdeaconus?] C[racoviensis?]'.[21] Both the upper and the

[20] For more details about these books see Chapter VII.
[21] About this binding stamp see Sipayllo, *Polskie superexlibrisy XVI-XVIII wieku*, pp. 96-99.

lower boards have identical corner areas of cusped and angular edges. There is also an ownership inscription of Matthias Kwasniowicz in the title page of the volume. There appears to be an interesting history behind this detail. The floral motif of Jan Muscenius's binding stamp was inherited by Kwasniowicz, most probably along with part of Muscenius's private library: the volume under discussion provides serious grounds for this view. Kwasniowicz (died 1633) was a renowned bibliophile and the superintendent of the library of the Cracow Academy *Collegium Majus* from 1613. Moreover, the same motif was taken up and used in the distinctive binding stamps that belonged to another famous Polish humanist, Jan Broscius (Brozek) of Kurzelow (1585-1652), who studied in the Cracow Academy in the early 1620s, and is known to have corresponded with Galileo. He owned a library of about 2,000 volumes, and was also appointed superintendent of the library of the *Collegium Majus* in Cracow later on.[22] This sequence of ownership demonstrates the 'migration routes' of books and artistic devices used by members of the same intellectual circle to designate their ownership, a phenomenon especially characteristic of private book collecting in the early modern period.

Another binding bearing an armorial stamp covers Ioannes Scapula's *Lexicon graeco-latinum novum* (Basel, 1605). Its upper and lower boards made of wood covered with pigskin have similar central areas presenting the coat of arms of August, Duke of Saxony, accompanied with the text in German: VON / G / G / AVGVS HERZ / Z / SAXO[...] (the upper board), and [...] DES / H / ROMISCHEN / KEI[SER]THVM (the lower board); and patterns of floral design. Apparently, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries this armorial stamp design was executed by several craftsmen. So, for instance, it is known to have been used by a Wittenberg

[22] See *Encyklopedia wiedzy o ksiazce*, ed. A. Birkenmajer et al. (Wroclaw, 1971), p. 340; E. Chwalewik, *Exlibrisy Polskie szesnastego i siedemnastego wieku* (Wroclaw, 1955) pp. 67-68; Sipayllo, *Polskie superexlibrisy XVI-XVIII wieku*, p. 15; also K. Piekarski, 'Exlibris Jana Brozka, czyli o profesorskiej genezie polskiego znaku ksiazkowego', *Silva rerum*, III, 8-9 (1927).

craftsman Stephan Rabe (Krause) in the 1560s, and by his heir Jacob in 1576.[23] The cover of the book from the library of the Kiev Academy was most probably crafted by another binder, Thomas Reuter or one of his heirs.[24]

The third armorial binding stamp is found on the cover of Melchior Junius's *Orationes* (Strasbourg, 1606) from the seventeenth-century acquisitions group. It is silver-tooled, and bears the coat of arms of Prokopy Kolachinsky who was the Academy rector in 1697-1701: three vertical bars joined with a horizontal bar and a cross on the top. The same crest may be seen in a panegyric presented to Kolachinsky by the Academy for his birthday in 1701. There is no ownership inscription of Kolachinsky in the book, but the presence of his coat of arms stamped on the binding shows clearly that the volume belonged to him before reaching the Academy library. One should note that this binding is original (i. e. the volume had not been bound before, or re-bound after), and judging by the style, it was crafted in Ukraine. This means that the book was acquired unbound by its first owner and only later provided with a proper, specially commissioned cover with an armorial stamp on it. Therefore the early date of publication may indicate that not Prokopy Kolachinsky himself, but one or more of his ancestors, who used the same coat of arms, had owned it first. However, one must emphasise that neither the commissioning of special armorial bindings by private persons, nor the import of unbound volumes into Ukraine was customary in the seventeenth and first part of the eighteenth centuries. As we shall see later in this chapter, most of the surviving books retaining their original bindings were brought from abroad, having already been provided with simple, so-called 'popular style' covers. It was not before the second part of the eighteenth century that books began to arrive in the Russian Empire unbound and got their covers there.

The fourth and last binding having a gold-tooled armorial is found on a volume of de Ferriere's *Institutiones Justiniani singulari methodo* (Paris, 1676) from the collection of Cyril Florinsky. Jeannes Guigard attributed the coat of arms to Le Clerc de

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[23] E. Laucevicius, *Knizhnye pereplety XV-XVIII vekov v bibliotekakh Litvy* (Vilnius, 1976), p. 156; I. Schunke, *Jacob Krause* (Stuttgart, 1953), p. 55.

Lesseville, count of Brioude, and described it as 'd'azur à trois croissants montants d'or, surmontés d'un lambel à trois pendants de même' in his book on French binding stamps.[25] The crest has an earl's crown on top and is held by two gryphons. One should note that there is no ownership inscription of de Lesseville in the book itself. As has already been mentioned, Florinsky worked at the Russian embassy in Paris in the early 1760s, and there is a significant portion of French books among the surviving volumes from his library.[26] The evidence provided by the volume under discussion, and the fact that about two-thirds of Florinsky's French books were published around the mid-eighteenth century, show that although he seems usually to have bought new books, he also occasionally purchased second-hand editions.

4. *Notes on the bindings of the surviving books*

Important pieces of information about the history of a particular volume or even a particular book collection may be obtained from analysis of the bindings. Bindings may be original and non-original. The original binding is the first cover in the history of a particular book. All bindings obtained subsequently are considered to be non-original. A book may have gained a new (non-original) binding as a result of two types of situation. The first is when, having acquired a book already provided with a cover, the book owner is not happy with the binding style, and wishes to replace it with another one. This, however, cannot be regarded as a very usual practice for the period under consideration. Many European bibliophiles bought their books before they were bound, and therefore had 'the opportunity to dictate the style and sophistication of the bindings'.[27] Also, to buy books uncovered and to have them bound subsequently in a simple style by local craftsmen would probably be cheaper. The second stituation is when the book obtains a new binding due to the destruction of its original cover.

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[24] Laucevicius, *Knizhnye pereplety XV-XVIII vekov v bibliotekakh Litvy*, p. 156.
[25] J. Guigard, *Armorial du bibliophile*, II (Paris, 1870-1873), p. 43.
[26] About the surviving books from Florinsky's library see Chapter X. For more details about Florinsky's donation of books to the Academy library in 1758 see Chapter VIII.
[27] Pearson, *Provenance research in book history*, p. 128.

The usual way to judge whether a certain book was re-bound or not is to look at the sewing of its block. Every single volume consists of a number of separate folders, held together with threads. If the book has been re-bound, there should remain traces of previous sewing in the form of small holes left with the binder's needle. Further information, albeit of less importance, may be derived from analysis of the sort of paper used for the flyleaves. This information will relate mainly to the time when the binding was crafted. The presence of a certain sort of paper may also suggest the place where the book was provided with a particular cover, but only in general terms such as Western or Eastern Europe. This is due to the fact that from the sixteenth century onwards the European paper trade was well developed so that, for instance, Dutch paper was widely used by printers and binders throughout Western and Central Europe. Particular watermarks on paper allow one to suggest the approximate time when a certain sort of paper was produced, and therefore approximately when it could be used for the flyleaves in a particular book. At the same time, the absence of watermarks on paper indicates that it cannot have been made earlier than the nineteenth century, when most industrial paper makers dropped the use of distinctive marks indicating their firms. As a rule, the forementioned kinds of evidence will not be considered alone, but by collating them one may arrive at more exact judgements.

The cheaper 'popular style' bindings tend not to disclose where they came from. For instance, simple dark leather bindings usually lack any indications as to a particular place of origin. Another example is the so-called 'French style' bindings. Their main characteristic is that the boards bear no decorative elements whatever, save for the edges of boards which are gold-tooled with small tools stiffly and closely, but the books have richly decorated gold-tooled spines. This sort of binding style originated in France in the late seventeenth century and spread widely through Europe, including Russia, throughout the eighteenth century. However, particular groups of 'French style' bindings can be distinguished according to characteristic sets of decorative elements and their arrangement on the spines of the books. There are thirty-

one 'French style' bindings among the surviving books from the library of the Kiev Academy.

Several large groups of bindings may be distinguished among the surviving books from the Academy library: firstly, 'popular style' bindings without any distinctive characteristics whatever; secondly, 'popular style' bindings that may be attributed to a particular part of Europe; thirdly, those characteristic of particular private book collections; and finally those that were made already after the books arrived at a particular institutional library, specifically, either the Academy library or that of the Monastery of the Caves. Obviously, the first group, though quite numerous, is of the least interest and importance for this study, and will not be discussed here at length. Similarly, any binding crafted later than the eighteenth century will also remain beyond the scope of this study. A considerable part of the surviving books were re-bound in the nineteenth and early twentieth century and thus are of little or no interest to us so far as their binding styles are concerned.

Much possible evidence from the surviving books disappeared as a result of the removal of their original bindings and the dubious 'cosmetics' the volumes underwent in the process of re-binding, for example, trimming of their edges, when not only inscriptions but also texts were mutilated. Most of the surviving sixteenth-century books had obtained new bindings by the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. It is noteworthy that most of the non-original bindings were made in Ukraine or Russia.

4. 1. *West and Central European bindings*

The major group of original West European bindings found on the surviving books from the Kiev Academy library is constituted by very simple parchment bindings devoid of any decorative elements whatever. Such a type is not known to have been crafted in Ukraine or Russia. The examples in the Academy library number thirty-nine. Ten volumes of Toletanus's *Commentarii in Evangelicam Historiam et in Acta Apostolorum* (Cologne, 1612-1615), donated by Cyril Florinsky, also have this kind

of binding, but their upper and lower boards are both decorated with identical centre pieces in the form of an oval with interwoven cusps and floral elements around it.

Two original Western bindings found among the surviving books, have been dated. One of them, bearing the coat-of-arms of August, Duke of Saxony, dated 1606, has already been mentioned earlier in this chapter among the bindings of books bearing armorial stamps. The second one covers a volume comprising the works of Rodolphus Agricola, Erasmus Sarcerius and Demosthenes, published in Cologne, Leipzig and Han-over between 1538 and 1540 and bound as one. The date '1541' is blind-stamped on its upper cover. Apparently, both of them were crafted in Germany.

One more binding, judging by its style, may be categorised as having been crafted in Germany. It covers a volume of Hornan's *Lexicon sive Dictionarium Graecolatinum* (Basel, 1557), and bears an elaborate panel-stamped design of pious Christian subjects: Annunciation, Baptism of Christ, Crucifix, and Resurrection accompanied with appropriate biblical texts.[28] The fact that this is probably the original binding allows one to assume that it dates from about the 1560s.

Eight pigskin and calfskin bindings bear the Jesuit emblem: the Crucifix, the heart with three arrows directed upward, and the letters 'IHS', in the centre-piece of their upper boards (see Figure 5). In some cases the emblem is accompanied with a pious quotation placed around the central oval.[29] It should be noted that this sort of binding was not peculiar to Western Europe. These bindings could have been crafted in the Habsburg Empire or in Poland – in fact, wherever the Jesuits were present in force.

All the subject designs in the central areas of the surviving books are very traditional for the period under discussion: the Virgin Mary with the infant Jesus and a blossoming bough in her hand; a Maiden sitting on the Moon, the Apocalypse subject; Christ's head; the Crucifix; the Easter Lamb, and so on. Two kinds of technique were used for putting the central oval design onto the boards: either by direct gold- or silver-

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[28] E. g. ECCE VIRGO CONCIPIET; HIC EST FILIVS MEVS DILECT[VS], DATA EST MIHI OMNIS, etc.

[29] E. g. EXALTEMUS NOMEN EIVS INDIPSVM; DEVS CORDIS MEI; AGNVS DEI [...] TOLLIS PECCATA MVNDI MISERERE NOBIS, etc.

tooling, or by attaching a separate inlay of a different kind of skin. The latter method was usually applied when the skin covering the boards was too tough for applying fine elements of design. Apart from being traditional, these subjects were also extremely popular among binders throughout Christian Europe. As Pearson observed, each generation of craftsmen 'had prevailing styles and patterns which were extensively copied. Different binders working at the same time were always likely to have collections of tools which were similar, but not identical'.[30] So, for instance, one of the major and persistent differences between the Catholic and the Orthodox subject designs of the Crucifix consisted in the way in which Christ's feet were nailed to the Cross. If in the Catholic tradition it was done with a single nail, the Orthodox usually depicted two nails, one for each foot. The only Crucifix design among the surviving books discernibly maintaining the Orthodox variant is on a manuscript of John Damascene's *Dialectics* translated into Church Slavonic, from Mohyla's collection (see Figure 6).[31] Subject design bindings such as those mentioned above were crafted throughout the continent, in Western Europe as well as in Central and East-Central Europe (Poland), or even in the western parts of Ukraine. Given that the majority of the books seem to have arrived in Kiev already bound, there are reasons for suggesting that they were, as a rule, bound where they were printed.

4. 2. *Bindings characteristic of private libraries*

A group of seven identical bindings is found among the volumes donated to the Academy by Cyril Florinsky in 1770. Although in the immensely popular 'French style', they share certain features, for example, the sort of leather, and the set and arrangement of decorative elements tooled on their spines. This, combined with such facts as their having belonged to the same private collection and the identity of paper in their flyleaves, allows one to suggest that they were all commissioned by Florinsky himself in the same workshop after 1764. It is difficult to determine whether these

[30] Pearson, *Provenance research in book history*, p. 128.
[31] IM VNLU, 156/ 33 s.

bindings were crafted in or outside the Russian Empire, but it is more likely that Florinsky had them bound in Russia. Five volumes out of seven were published between 1739 and 1764, and have original bindings. This suggests that Florinsky may have bought them without covers, and had all the volumes bound at the same time and by the same binder upon their arrival in Russia. Two volumes of the *Speculum monasticum in quo totius disciplinae casus* (Lyons, 1687) were re-bound at the same time, probably due to the destruction of their original covers.

Two books donated by Varlaam Lashchevsky, *Rhetores selecti... Graece et Latine* (Oxford, 1676) and Samuel Prat's *Grammatica latina in usum principis juventutis Britannicae* (London, 1722), are bound in the same style, characteristic especially of British bindings.[32] The boards are decorated with a dentelle border of even depth, gold-tooled with small tools stiffly and closely along the borders. A stylised flower projects diagonally from each corner. Both bindings can be dated to the early eighteenth century. Unfortunately, none of the books have any ownership evidence other than the inscription of Lashchevsky himself on the first pages.

Two travel books by Berckenmeyer, published in Hamburg in 1742-1746 and given to the library by an unknown donor in 1776, have identical simple bindings of cardboard covers with leather corners and spine. To all appearances, the covers were originally made in Kiev. This means that books may have been bought and reached the owner still unbound.

4. 3. *Bindings characteristic of the libraries of the Kiev Mohyla Academy and the Kiev Caves Monastery*

There are two small distinctive groups of bindings characteristic respectively of the library of the Mohyla Academy and of that of the Caves Monastery, among the surviving books from the Academy library. Both groups of bindings are of rather late date, about the end of the eighteenth century, and none of them are original. The

[32] About British editions in Lashchevsky's bequest of books to the Academy library see Chapter VIII.

'Academy library' bindings (numbering nine) are very simple brown leather ones with a characteristic double-line tooled in black along the borders and on the spines of the books. A general impression arising even from a superficial look at this binding style is that it was not intended to perform any particular aesthetic function. Its main characteristic is stark simplicity.

The 'Caves Monastery' bindings, numbering six, are more elaborate. They are made of brown leather over wood boards, the upper and lower boards being identical and bearing blind-stamped stripes of floral design along the borders (see Figure 7), with the inner space diapered by a lattice of double fillets. The edges of the books are painted blue or red. These bindings were made by the Caves Monastery craftsmen; the tools used are particularly characteristic of the Caves Monastery bindings. All books from this group had originally belonged to the library of the Kiev Academy, but were moved to the Caves Monastery later. Most probably, this hppened between the 1650s and the 1690s, since all six volumes belong to the oldest part of the Academy library. Four of them came from Mohyla's collection, and the other two bear the inscriptions of the Kiev College.

4. 4. *Bindings on manuscript codices*

Four out of eight manuscripts that belonged to the library of the Kiev Academy have retained their original bindings. Two of them are especially interesting. The first binding covers the course of rhetoric entitled *Penarium Tullianae eloquentiae* composed by Joasaf Krokovsky, professor of the Kiev College, in 1683.[33] This is a brown leather binding decorated with an oval, representing Christ's head and bearing the text: IESVS CHRISTVS FILIVS DEI VIVI SALVATOR MVNDI REX REGVM DOMINVS DOMINANTIVM, silver-tooled in the central area of the upper board.[34] The binding, covering Krokovsky's course of rhetoric, was, to all appearances, crafted

[33] IM VNLU, 653/ 444 s.

[34] An almost identical centre-piece decoration, accompanied by the same text, is found on a volume from Mohyla's private collection that had belonged to a professor of the Cracow Academy in the late sixteenth century, and it has a specially commissioned binding, crafted in Poland: see above.

in Kiev. However, had we not known the place where the manuscript was written, or the name of the library where it was held, we would not have been able to tell its place of production with any degree of certainty. Tools, artistic devices and images circulated throughout Christian Europe along with books, contributing to the creation of a unified cultural space.

The second binding covers a collection of miscellaneous rhetorical, philosophical and theological courses taught in several Polish Jesuit colleges late in the 1680s.[35] The codex seems to provide an apt metaphor for Kievan learning as a whole. Its upper board is covered with what had once been a parchment leaf of a Latin missal, while its lower board is covered with another parchment leaf, bearing the text in Church Slavonic.

[35] 655/447 s

Chapter XII

THE SEEDS 'BEING SOWN UP AND DOWN': SOME TENTATIVE CONSIDERATIONS ON THE INFLUENCE OF THE COLLEGE LIBRARY ON THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY UKRAINIAN INTELLECTUAL MILIEU

> *In all days of my life, although in full understanding of the humbleness of my knowledge, I believed that Jesus supported me, and I was in pains for His sake, and with His holy assistance, I have not laboured in vain.*
>
> Peter Mohyla

It is hardly possible to consider in this work the manifold question of the impact of the Academy library on Ukrainian scholars throughout the whole period of its existence between 1632 and 1780. Instead, we will merely attempt an assessment of what the impact of the library of Mohyla's College on the formation of the Kievan intellectual milieu in the seventeenth century may have been. This is not an easy task, since mentalities are elusive. Subsequent wars, revolutions, the emergence and fall of states and new flows of cultural influences have not only changed the texture of Ukrainian culture, but also affected our vision of that process. The main objective of this, final, piece of research is to pose a number of questions and try to suggest possible explanations rather than to answer them straightaway.

In the seventeenth century a major shift of cultural patterns took place at Kiev. One of the most important aspects of the foundation of the Kiev Mohyla College was the massive introduction of Western printed matter to Ukrainian literati, which the College library offered. The library stood as a symbol of the new cultural pattern 'implanted' in Kiev by Peter Mohyla. Examination of certain characteristics of this development may be attempted by means of some of the great variety of existing comparative approaches to book history. More particularly, those concerned with questions of intentionality and reception, and of the role of print in the changes in human understanding will be addressed below.

1. *Intentionality, transmission, reception: what meaning do texts have?*

Every culture is constituted by a set of texts (and generally may be seen as a 'text' in itself). As stated by Roger Chartier, 'works and discourses exist only when they become physical realities and are inscribed in the pages of a book, transmitted by a voice reading or narrating, or spoken on the stage of a theatre... Works... especially the greatest works – have no stable, universal, fixed meaning. They are invested with plural and mobile significations that are constructed in the encounter between a proposal and a reception'.[1] This thought was probably rooted in the concepts of linguistic philosophers from Wittgenstein onward, who, as Robert Darnton explains, had demonstrated that 'meaning did not inhere in ideas. It... was construed by interlocutors;... and it operated contextually, so that the same words could convey different messages in different times and texts'.[2] A further suggestive model for the study of book history includes three basic notions of transmission, intention and reception. Transmission can be regarded as a multi-faceted concept embracing the material form of the book as a codex, that of it as a printed volume or smaller work, as well as the places accommodating these material forms such as libraries. On the one hand, it is usually the reception that is the focus of cultural study. On the other, 'the reception of any bibliographical document is obviously a process complementary to the intention that set it in motion'.[3] At the same time, the intention that is involved is by no means merely that of the authors. It includes the aims of printers and binders, publishers and booksellers, owners or holders and, ultimately, the users taken together. Apparently, a buyer or a reader turns to a given book in pursuit of particular ends in possessing or reading it. In the particular case of the library of the Kiev College, analysis of the contemporary historical and cultural situation has enabled us to suggest what the

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[1] R. Chartier, *The order of books: Readers, authors and libraries in Europe between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. ix-x. For more on reception, particularly from the point of view of literary history, see M. de Certeau, *The practice of everyday life* (Berkeley, Cal., 1984).

[2] R. Darnton, *The forbidden best-sellers of pre-Revolutionary France* (London, 1996), p. 174.

objectives for the founding of the library and its subsequent functioning (that is, the intention) may have been. This, in turn, makes it possible to consider the consequences of the mass-introduction of printed Western literature to contemporary Ukrainian scholars (which is ultimately the reception). Of these three abstractions, it is the transmission that proves to be the core of the structure. 'Transmission is the essence of [the]... model, which links intention and reception and converts them into a historic process. Transmission gives intention a practical sense, because it constitutes the meaning of a text.... Reception similarly can only be recorded by gathering together the facts of the transmission of the text; their sum represents its reception'.[4] In this way, the printed matter that made up the contents of the Kiev College library should be regarded as a key issue enabling us to approach the question of its impact on the formation of a new class of European-educated intellectuals.

2. *What a library can reveal*

As described in the preceding chapters, the library of the Kiev Academy was predominantly built up from the private book collections of Ukrainian churchmen and lay men of letters, usually in the form of donations made by former alumni. S. Jayne remarked that the library of an influential man reflects not only his own ideas but also those of the age which he helped to form.[5] Elaborating on this idea, Morrish argues: 'Whilst it is true that the libraries of such influential men who led their generations may reveal the moral and intellectual springs of their achievements, those of lesser men who did nothing memorable or published nothing which subsequently reoriented society or galvanised new currents of thought... also have some significance, each shedding light on the thoughts,

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[3] N. J. B., 'Intentionality and reception theory', *A potencie of life*, p. 197.
[4] N. J. B., 'Intentionality and reception theory', p. 200.
[5] See S. Jayne, *Library catalogues of the English Renaissance* (Berkeley, Cal., 1956), p. 49. On the role of private libraries in social development see also T. Kopreeva, 'Biblioteka Vol'tera kak obshchestvennyi faktor (Iz istorii knizhnoi kul'tury Frantsii XVIII veka)', *Kniga: issledovaniia i materialy*, 27 (Moscow, 1973), pp. 143-153.

interests and beliefs of that proletariat of letters'.[6] Apparently, in a hierarchical composition of culture every minor sub-structure such as an individual or a single text is significant in the process of generating information.

We know only about a hundred titles of the books which were kept at the College library in the seventeenth century. At the same time, our earlier analysis of the surviving books and catalogues of private donations has shown that the general nature of the library stock changed little through the late seventeenth and eighteenth century. In this way, although knowing very little about the actual titles and editions of most of the books that constituted the library stock in the seventeenth century, we are able to consider the kinds of literature that attracted Kievan scholars in the seventeenth century.

About ninety per cent out of the 1,436 known documented titles of books present in the Academy library before 1780 were in Latin. They were predominantly Western editions of classical authors and commentaries on their works; patristic literature; Catholic, mainly Jesuit, ascetic, moralistic, philosophical and theological treatises and minor works; lexicons and grammars. There are grounds for believing that Kievan scholars were no mere collectors of printed volumes: in most cases they were their diligent readers. For instance, many of Mohyla's surviving books have numerous and sometimes lengthy marginal commentaries, some apparently in Mohyla's handwriting, testifying that he and others really made use of his books, 'conversing' or 'agreeing' with what they held. The same seems to be true of other contributions to the library, as pages of the surviving volumes usually bear lots of marginal notes. This suggests that the books must have been of particular scholarly importance or special interest to be purchased in the first place, and were quite heavily utilised (certainly by those who in this way or another had access to them) in the second place. The absence of elaborate *de luxe* bookbindings among the

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[6] Morrish, *Dr. Higgs and Merton College library*, p. 137.

surviving volumes is also highly characteristic.[7] In other words, the books were intended to perform a pragmatic rather than an aesthetic function.

3. *The first attempt to approach the question of the intellectual impact of the library of the Kiev Mohyla Academy*

It was Dmitry Vishnevsky who first attempted to evaluate the library's influence on the development of ideas in the Kiev Academy (or rather, its lack of influence) in his work on the history of the Academy in the first half of the eighteenth century. Vishnevsky published a list of authors entitled *Circulus Antiquorum Theologorum* that he found in one of the manuscript extracts of lectures in theology written in the early eighteenth century. He believed that it was a list of authors which students of the theology class were advised to read; therefore they must have been available in the Academy library. The list reads: 'Aquinas, Isquirdo, Arriage, Caietanus, Gonzaga, Peres, Kircher, Beda, Albertus, Vasques, Arientinas, Pallavicinus, Rubius, Zomel, Martynes, Herize, Hawnollus, Scotus, Hurtado, Comptonus, Mlodzianowsky, Zuarec major [sic], Zuarec junior, Fonseca, Fassolus, Tannerus, Toletanus, Philiponus, Arrubal, Szwidlecki, Ruic, Elize, Huz.'[8] Vishnevsky's main stance was that the Academy 'could never have spent any of its scarce funds on purchasing works of the most recent European thinkers which would have overthrown the medieval [scholastic] set of values', and that 'the Academy library consisted, mainly, of Jesuit scholastic printed and manuscript books'. From these statements he drew far-reaching conclusions, asserting, in particular, that, possessing only books by 'Latin-Polish' writers, the Academy professors could never have been familiar with the leading contemporary scientific and intellectual trends, but were instead satisfied with the obsolete scholastic spectrum of knowledge. Even if, he argued, they knew something about these new trends, for instance, the ideas of Descartes and the Cartesians,

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[7] See Chapter XI.
[8] Quoted in Vishnevsky, *Kievskaia Akademiia v pervoi polovine XVII st.*, p. 210.

their knowledge was only acquired through the filter of Jesuit opinion, usually in a severely critical vein.[9]

Some of Vishnevsky's statements are true, in so far as they refer to the eighteenth century. Indeed, Jesuit editions made up a significant part of the Academy's library stock. It is also true that already in the first part of the eighteenth century the Academy began showing signs of intellectual decline. Furthermore, it is not impossible to argue that the Academy library was partially responsible for such a situation: it lacked new literature and was in effect unable to control its acquisition policy. At the same time, Vishnevsky's argumentation contains serious contradictions based on certain false distinctions. Both features are characteristic of nineteenth-century Russian historiography which tended to look down on earlier cultural and intellectual developments from the 'height' of its own knowledge and experience.[10] Firstly, it must be borne in mind that from the late eighteenth century on science and education in the Russian Empire were orientated towards 'pragmatic' Protestant models. Therefore, it was natural for Vishnevsky as a representative of the 'official' historiography to deny any value to Catholic examples, past and present. Secondly, 'the best contemporary scientific and intellectual trends' may have been viewed very differently in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and in the 1900s. The fact that Vishnevsky tried to contrast the Jesuit-educated Descartes and his teachers demonstrates the artificial nature of his oppositions. It is difficult to subscribe to Vishnevsky's statement that it was only 'the Jesuit rubbish' that was the focus and starting-point for Kievan scholars in their studies. The list of 'recommended literature', published by Vishnevsky, is obviously made up of Patristic works and those of the Jesuits. However, the lists of books purchased by Peter Mohyla in Poland in 1632-1633, and those of private donations to the Academy

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[9] Vishnevsky, *Kievskaia akademiia v pervoi polovine XVIII st.*, pp. 282-287.

[10] As is observed by Velychenko, 'nineteenth-century historical methodology was the product of a theoretical evolution that gave too little attention to the role of selectivity, preconceptions, and bias in interpretation, and put too much faith in rationalism. Although relativism and neo-positivism began to make inroads by the turn of the century, idealist- or positivist-inspired optimism still blinded most

library in the later periods reveal a notable interest in Protestant writers.[11] Furthermore, even bearing in mind the great importance that Kievan intellectuals undoubtedly attached to the neo-scholastic learning dismissed by Vishnevsky, what were the expectations and needs that made them turn to that source? And what do we mean by seventeenth-century 'scholasticism' and 'Aristotelianism'?

4. *Aristotle and the 'Aristotelians'*

As suggested by William Wallace, 'the new sciences... had foundations that were at least implicitly Aristotelian'.[12] Indeed, the intrinsic value of Aristotelian teaching preserved through many centuries lay in the fact that it made *scientia* the cornerstone, 'the highest form of human knowledge, true and certain because achieved through apodictic demonstrations, and thus yielding conclusions about a subject matter that cannot be otherwise'.[13] The far-reaching significance of *scientia* consisted in the fact that scholars were taught to assess empirical phenomena by means of rational judgement, and thus had to strive for basic knowledge that would provide grounds for reasoning. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that the Aristotelian-based so-called 'second scholasticism' of the seventeenth century, commonly recognised as the Jesuits' invention, did not only differ from Aristotle's original ideas, but was also augmented 'by a succession of later critics, analysts, and original thinkers in their own right, among whom Thomas Aquinas (1225-71) and Francisco Suarez (1548-1617) only stand at the opposite ends of the chronological spectrum'.[14] As Wallace points out,

> Aristotle was not... an Aristotelian, any more than Aquinas could be a Thomist or Descartes a Cartesian. An "-ism" only develops after others have taken up a person's

historians to the fact that rigorous method has not lessened the ideological function or utilitarian aspect of historical scholarship': Velychenko, *National history as cultural process*, p. 225.

[11] See Chapters VII, VIII and X.

[12] W. Wallace, 'St. Thomas's conception of natural philosophy and its method', *Galileo, the Jesuits and the medieval Aristotle* , (XI), (Aldershot, 1991), p. 8.

[13] W. Wallace, 'Albertus Magnus on suppositional necessity in the natural sciences', *Galileo, the Jesuits and the medieval Aristotle*, (IX), p. 103.

[14] Sydorenko, *The Kivean Academy in the seventeenth century*, p. 126.

> thought, tried to systematise it in various ways, adapted it to changing cultures, incorporated into it discoveries that could never be known to its founder. So understood, Aristotelianism is a multi-faceted movement... [From the sixteenth century] owing to the humanist concerns of the Renaissance, there were what one might call the Greek Aristotelians, those interested in the original text and the paraphrases and commentaries in its language... there were Averroists who avidly studied the great philosopher of Cordoba and the Arabs who were his predecessors; and there were the Latins, not only the masters of the High Middle Ages but also the "school positions" taken up by their followers, and so one might speak of an Augustinian, a Thomist, a Nominalist, and a Scotist Aristotelianism...[15]

Judging by their principal sources, Kievan scholars were predominantly adherents of the 'Latin' Aristotelian trend. At the same time, it is important not to overlook a considerable eclecticism in their 'Aristotelianism', equally characteristic of their Jesuit prototypes. Despite its claims to intellectual continuity, seventeenth-century European scholasticism was not identical with its mediaeval counterpart, since the Renaissance, Protestant and Baroque developments enriched and augmented the old scholastic model. As Nychyk explains, neo-scholasticism in general, and seventeenth-century Kievan neo-scholasticism in particular, came to represent a new form of rational comprehension of natural phenomena and human experience, a transitional stage between the old patterns and new ideas in philosophy.[16]

Aristotelian dialectics, much favoured by the Kievan scholars, occupied an intermediate position between science and rhetoric and shared common ground with both of them, but its scope was narrower. It 'used only logical principles, not proper causes as did science, and... it used these in syllogism and induction, more formal modes of reasoning than rhetoric's enthymeme and example. It did this to establish an opinion that was firm, while not excluding completely an opposing view'.[17]

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[15] W. Wallace, 'Aristotelian influences on Galileo's thought', *Galileo, the Jesuits and the medieval Aristotle*, (I), p. 351.

[16] See V. Nychyk, 'Do pytannia pro skholastychnist' filosofs'kykh kursiv u Kyevo-Mohylians'kii akademii', *Vid Vyshens'kogo do Skovorody*, pp. 54-74; also Shchurat, *Ukrains'ki zherela do istorii filosofii*, p. 4.

[17] W. Wallace, 'Aristotelian science and rhetoric in transition: the Middle Ages and the Renaissance', *Galileo, the Jesuits and the medieval Aristotle*, (XIV), p. 9.

5. *Western literary sources: variety and reliability*

The varied nature of the products of the printing press in the sixteenth century may have added to the awareness that human opinions were multiple and diverse. Apparently, communication could no longer transmit ultimate truths, for they already proved to be beyond human comprehension.[18] The fact that Mohyla and his disciples were conscious of the importance of having as many books of varied nature as possible can be seen in a characteristic passage from the panegyric called 'A joyful euphony' (*Evfoniia veselobriamchaia*), presented to Mohyla on his arrival at Kiev as consecrated metropolitan in July 1633. This passage praises Mohyla for the introduction of Latin types to the Caves Monastery press in the following words: '[He] made a good start for Polish printing in order to provide the [Kievan] Parnassus with *various books* [my italics].[19] Some thirty years had passed since Ivan Vishensky, a monk from the Mount Athos, tried to persuade his fellow-compatriots for the salvation of their souls not to touch any book other than the *Breviary*, the *Psalter* and the *Acts of the Apostles*.[20] One gets the impression that, at least for the Ukrainian intellectual elite since the 1630s, there could have been no way back to appreciate this kind of advice.

Apparently, Western authors and Western editions possessed an aura of special authority and reliability in the eyes of Kievan scholars. In his book on homiletics, characteristically entitled 'The key to understanding' (*Kliuch razumeniia*; Kiev, 1660), Ioanniky Galiatovsky provided his readers with an extensive list of reading necessary for successful preaching. Apart from traditional sources such as the Scriptures and the Fathers, Galiatovsky recommended to readers what Fedor Ternovsky called the favourite sources of mediaeval Latin writers of homilies: 'histories and chronicles of remote kingdoms... books

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[18] See W. Bouwsma, 'The Renaissance and the broadening of communication', *Propaganda and communication in world history*, ed. H. D. Lasswell et al., II (Honolulu, 1980), p. 7.

[19] 'Est' dobryi i pol'skoi drukarne pochatok, *Zheby knig bylo roznykh* v Parnase dostatok'. Quoted in S. Golubev, 'O nachale knigopechataniia v Kieve', *Kievskaia starina*, 2 (1882), 400.

[20] For more details about Vishensky's views see Chapter II.

about beasts, birds, snakes, fish, trees, plants, stones and... waters', as well as pertinent theoretical works and 'homilies of the best contemporary preachers whose example one may choose to follow'.[21] Among the authors from whose writings such information could be obtained were Baronius, Bellarmine, Cornelius a Lapide, Thomas Aquinas, Pope Callistus, Gratian, Anselm of Canterbury, Jacob de Voragine and many others.[22] Upon the completion of the second volume of his celebrated *Menaion*, Dimitry Rostovsky wrote: 'In order to make this book as good as could be, I have included in it those veritable saintly wonders described by St. Symeon Metaphrastes and many other fine historiographers, whose works are, beyond any doubt, the most reliable'.[23]

The heterogeneous nature of literary sources and dialectical approach applied by the representatives of Mohyla's Kievan 'Baroque milieu' sometimes left a notable impression on their subsequent work and lives. A specific kind of dynamics may be observed in the development of their views: the more they came to know, the less parochial their opinions became. A few examples will suffice here. Speaking about Mohyla, Florovsky made a characteristic statement: 'Peter Mogila's attitude to the problems of the Roman Catholic Church was clear and simple. *He did not see any real difference between Orthodoxy and Rome* [my italic]'.[24] Although it sounds a gross (and in Florovsky's particular case definitely unsympathetic) oversimplification, there is a grain of truth in this statement.

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[21] Quoted in F. Ternovsky, *Iuzhno-russkoe propovednichestvo XVI i XVII veka (po latino-pol'skim obraztsam)* (s. l., s. a.), pp. 28-29.

[22] See Ternovsky, *Iuzhno-russkoe propovednichestvo XVI i XVII veka*, p. 54.

[23] 'V siiu knigu novuiu vlozhiti radi luchshego ee ukrasheniia i ne sumnitel'nogo veroiatiia chtomym v nei sviatym chudesnym deianiiam, ot Sv. Simeona Metafrasta i inykh mnogikh istoriografov sobrannym'. Quoted in I. Shliapkin, *Sv. Dimitrii Rostovskii i ego vremia (1651-1709 g.)* (St. Petersburg, 1891), p. 253. A full Slavonic edition of the *Lives of Saints*, based on Symeon Metaphrastes's work had been planned by Mohyla shortly before his death: see Chapter VII. However, it was not before the turn of the seventeenth century that this task was accomplished by Dimitry Rostovsky. It is noteworthy that after the third book of the *Menaion* was completed in 1700, Josaphat Krokovsky, Archimandrite of the Monastery of the Caves, presented Dimitry with the image of the Mother of God that had been given to Peter Mohyla by Tsar Aleksei Mikhalovich of Moscow in the 1640s: see Shliapkin, *Sv. Dimitrii Rostovskii i ego vremia*, p. 266.

Apparently, Mohyla took it for granted that the two branches of Christianity stemmed from a common root, and were constituent parts of the universal Church. This probably serves to explain why Mohyla, in Florovsky's own words 'used Latin sources quite easily and unhesitatingly, assuming that he would rediscover in them true, undistorted Orthodoxy'.[25]

The history of Peter Artemiev provides an example of the expansion of such an attitude as a result of the spread of the pattern of education and thinking initiated by Mohyla and fostered by the literature he and his associates had brought to Kiev. Artemiev was an educated Great Russian monk, who studied under the Kievan teachers and then continued his education in the Catholic West. Having returned to Moscow, he bewildered the local clergy by praying in Latin during church services, wearing the image of St. Anthony 'instead of the Crucifix' on his breast, professing the procession of the Holy Spirit both from the Father and the Son, and so on. It was not long before he was arrested and prosecuted. During the interrogation, Artemiev testified that, 'having studied with the Latins, he asked them why did they think that the Catholic Church was superior to the Orthodox. They replied, however, that *there was practically no difference between the two churches* [my italics], save that the Roman Catholic clergy were more enlightened. The young man accepted that view and kept to the educated Latins'.[26] What is important about this particular example is not what Artemiev was told by the Jesuits, widely renowned for their talents of persuasion, but that the young man was already prepared to believe them.

6. *Local consequences of the European 'print revolution'?*

The unparalleled expansion of information through printing may be seen as one of fundamental characteristics of the early modern period in Europe. 'Intellectual and spiritual

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[24] G. Florovsky, *Ways of Russian theology*, I (Belmont, 1979), p. 73. In the view of Francis Thomson, the word 'problems' here is a mistranslation or simply a mistake for 'doctrines': see his 'Peter Mogila's ecclesiastical reforms', 73.

[25] Florovsky, 'Western influences in Russian theology', p. 164.

inheritances do exist... and weigh the more heavily insofar as institutions of education and communication take care staunchly to transmit them', as Robert Mandrou suggests.[27] This introduces us to another issue which requires special attention. Considering the formation of the seventeenth-century Kievan intellectual milieu, we may be dealing with a local (and somewhat belated) effect of the European 'print revolution', for the library of Mohyla's College was the first and for a period the largest holding of West European printed books among the East Slavs. Walter Ong's idea that 'the mind does not enter into the alphabet or the printed book... so much as the alphabet or print... enters the mind, producing new states of awareness there', provides a key point for such a discussion.[28]

The fundamental idea that the products of the printing press may have produced certain changes in human understanding has a plethora of further implications. Elizabeth Eisenstein's fundamental study of the effects of the advent of print deals with a great variety of aspects of the process, each of which is worthy of further consideration, both in terms of theory and methodology. The principal lines of her argument will be sketched below, focusing on several basic features, which, according to Eisenstein, have to do with the effect of the wide dissemination of printed production in sixteenth-century Europe. These are: standardisation, the reorganisation of textual space, and the preservative functions of print.

Standardisation. Considering texts only, printed copies were sufficiently uniform in terms of content for scholars in different regions to use them and be sure that their counterparts knew exactly what they meant, even though not all printed copies were

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[26] This interesting bit of information is found in the manuscript fragments of anonymous work on the history of education and church in Russia in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, IM VNLU, fond 194, no. 116, fol. 8.

[27] R. Mandrou, *From Humanism to science, 1480-1700* (Harmondsworth, 1985), p. 9.

[28] W. Ong, *Interfaces of the world: Studies in the evolution of consciousness and culture* (Ithaca, 1977), p. 47. It has to be said at this point that book historians and analysts of communication processes do not unequivocally agree with the idea that the substitution of print for scribal publication proved the ultimate turning point for all subsequent development of culture and mindset: see, for instance, H. Love, *Scribal publication in seventeenth-century England* (Oxford, 1993), esp. pp. 141-144, 290-293. However, this extremely controversial subject cannot be discussed here.

precisely alike.[29] This, however, is a rather obvious and simple observation. A lot lurks behind it. 'It seems likely that the very concept of a "style" underwent transformation when the work of hand and "stylus" was replaced by more standardised impressions made by pieces of type', observes Eisenstein. In addition, 'heightened awareness of distant regional boundaries was also encouraged by the output of more uniform maps, containing more uniform boundaries and place names. Similar development affected local customs, laws, languages.... A fuller recognition of diversity was indeed a concomitant of standardisation'.[30] Descending to the level of an individual, there are also changes likely to have been introduced to the early modern mind by print:

> [As] concepts pertaining to uniformity and to diversity... are interdependent,... one might consider the emergence of a new sense of individualism as by-product of the new forms of standardisation. The more standardised the type, indeed, the more compelling the sense of an idiosyncratic personal self. No period was without some sense of the typical and of the individual but concepts pertaining to both were... transformed by the output of standard editions.[31]

The reorganisation of textual space. It is noteworthy that long after the introduction of print among the Eastern Slavs, their own books, unlike contemporary publications in the West, bore a striking resemblance to manuscripts in their letter form, as a result of the predominant use of Church Slavonic, and the peculiar organisation of the text. This tendency persisted throughout the seventeenth century and right up until the early eighteenth century when, after Peter I's introduction of 'civil letters', archaic types gradually gave way to more up-to-date forms, at least in non-ecclesiastical use. Eisenstein assumes that 'editorial decisions made by early printers with regard to layout and presentation probably helped to reorganise the thinking of readers.... Reflection suggests that the thoughts of readers are guided by the way the contents of books are arranged and presented. Basic changes in book-format might well lead to changes in thought-patterns'.[32] As was explained by Roger Chartier, 'the... publishers suggested a new reading of the

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[29] Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change*, p. 81.
[30] Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change*, pp. 83-84.
[31] Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change*, p. 84.

same texts of the same genres, a reading that fragmented the text into separate units and echoed the intellectual or discursive articulation of the argument in the visual articulation of the page'.[33] The growth of a 'conscious' sense of order must be regarded as one of the most evident effects of the introduction of reference apparatus: the possibility of codifying data according to a certain chosen pattern, the alphabetical organisation of glossaries and indices, cross-referencing, and the use of Arabic numbers for pagination. The 'classical criteria of unity, internal consistency and harmony' inherited from the Renaissance paved the way to the encompassing of 'entire fields of study'.[34] In other words, different elements of the book seem to have acquired a particular place within the codex, each performing its special function. The title page provided a general idea of the contents of the book and, in a way, induced the reader to continue his contact with it. The table of contents allowed the reader to further develop his ideas about the make-up of the book. The editor's preface and author's introduction explained their motivation for the writing and publishing of that particular book. Finally, the index or indices helped the reader to use the book more efficiently. If the presence of some of these elements was not impossible in a mediaeval manuscript, they all came together only in a printed book.

Among the Kievans in particular, even a sphere so conservative as the production of fine manuscripts, seems to have undergone changes in the 'Mohylean epoch' as far as the representation of the elements of text in the codex is concerned. So, the manuscript containing the extracts from Orthodox liturgy and sacraments, which was commissioned by Mohyla and given to St. Sofia Cathedral, has a proper front page, executed in the Western manner. This feature is very unusual in Russian scribal practices of the period and may be seen as a very clear and positive influence of the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century printed books. One has to assume, however, that the fashion in which the

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[32] Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change*, pp. 88-89.
[33] Chartier, *The order of books*, p. 11.
[34] Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change*, p. 102.

manuscript was made was, most probably, chosen by Mohyla himself rather than by the scribe or the illustrator.[35]

The preservative powers of print. Commenting on George Sarton's idea that 'steady advance implied exact determination of every previous step'[36], Eisenstein argues:

> Given drifting texts, migrating manuscripts, localised chronologies, multiform maps, there could be no systematic forward movement, no accumulation of stepping-stones enabling a new generation to begin where the prior one had left off. Progressive refinement of certain arts and skills could and did occur. But no sophisticated technique could be securely established, permanently recorded and stored for subsequent retrieval.... The preservation of the old... launched a tradition of the new.[37]

Due to the fact that after the advent of print the mind was much less preoccupied with the task of memorisation of the necessary data, substantial changes probably occurred in patterns of thinking. Once the task of preservation had become less urgent, certain 'images and symbols ceased to fulfil their traditional function of preserving the collective memory'.[38] The process seems to have been even more significant for the Kievan intellectuals given the fact that a system of cultural symbols and stereotypes very different from the traditional pseudo-Byzantine model was introduced by Mohyla's cultural reform. Had it not been for Western books at their disposal, they would have been hardly able to 'digest' this new information as quickly and effectively as they did. It is noteworthy that all the above mentioned effects of print arrived in Kiev in a concentrated and 'ready-made' form, as 'prepared' over the two centuries or so of preceding development in the West. This may have had important implications in that the acceptance could be rather superficial and partial. Indeed, no cultural interaction takes place in a way whereby the original model is taken in by the receiving side in its entirety and without changes.[39]

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[35] For more about the manuscript see Chapter VII.

[36] G. Sarton, 'The quest for truth: A brief account of scientific progress during the Renaissance', *Sarton on the history of science: Essays by George Sarton*, ed. D. Simpson (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), p. 111.

[37] Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change*, p. 124.

[38] Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change*, p. 125.

[39] For discussion of the 'translation' theory of cultural interaction see Chapter II.

7. *Language and 'translation' in the Kiev Academy: the problem revisited*

There is truth in what Shevchenko says about Mohyla's College: 'For all its undeniable achievements... [the] College did not produce original thought... [Its] goal was to fully absorb existing, in this particular case, Western, cultural standards. Those who are catching up with established value systems strive for parity, not for originality'.[40] Indeed, two principal goals pursued by Peter Mohyla with the foundation of the College were, on the one hand, the promotion of education along Western lines, and on the other, the revitalisation of the Orthodox Church. To attain these goals, to strike a balance between them, he had to act with great skill so that a number of serious contradictions were reconciled, and some age-old prejudices alleviated. It was precisely this unusual combination that made the College the 'melting pot' of cultural interrelation with far-reaching consequences.

For a cultural intercommunication actually to take place, a common language or code is necessary. Here again we come across the problem of 'translation', previously mentioned in connection with the extensive cultural borrowing from Byzantium by the Rus' between the eleventh and fifteenth century. In the case of seventeenth-century Kievan scholars the word 'translation' is to be understood not in its most immediate sense of rendering texts from one language to another, but mostly in terms of cultural interaction. Unlike their predecessors in the eleventh century, whose knowledge of Greek was often negligible, Mohyla and his associates apparently had a perfect command of Latin, the language of the culture they strove to master.[41] Other key aspects of the adapted model were classical imagery, concepts pertaining to Western philosophy and a set of concurrently acquired customs. It was in this sphere that the 'translation' (and mistranslating) took place, inevitably bearing symbolic as well as pragmatic meaning. As

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[40] Shevchenko, 'The many worlds of Peter Mohyla', 35.

[41] It is interesting, however, that even the Kievan Latin showed slight traces of change as a result of its functioning in a Slavonic environment. Drawing on a significant number of examples from the Latin works

Lotman puts it, 'not only separate texts or authors, but whole cultures, need image-equivalents... The duality of such images is manifest in the fact that they are both a means and a hindrance to communication'.[42]

It is, probably, no coincidence that Kievan scholars were so fond of emblems. Quite a few emblem books are found among the surviving volumes from the Academy library and in the extant catalogues of private donations. Symbolic imagery in the writings of the representatives of the seventeenth-century 'Kievan school' was an obvious reflection of 'the most important single phenomenon in the system of Baroque, especially Jesuit, literature'.[43] However, as Anthony Hippisley observes in regard of Simeon Polotsky, one of the prominent seventeenth-century alumni of the Kiev College, his use of emblems was not just a slavish imitation of Western sources which he often drew upon in his work (such as the writings of Nicholas Causin, Andrea Alciati, Heremia Drexelius, Joachim Camerarius and others); he often adapted their original symbolic meaning to his own aims.[44] Interestingly, there is evidence that the idea of publishing their own emblem books was in the air in Kiev around the mid-seventeenth century. Lazar Baranovich, then the Rector of the College wrote to the publisher of his own book in 1666: 'If we had the plates, we would publish emblematic poetry'.[45]

8. *Humanism, classical imagery and rhetoric*

Adherence to classical literature and rhetoric was one of the most conspicuous features of Kievan education, obviously imitating the Jesuit *studia humanitatis*, and also

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of Kievan scholars, N. Bezborod'ko observes, in particular, slight deviations in the structure of their syntax: N. Bezborod'ko, 'Uchebnaia latyn' na Ukraine', *Voprosy iazykoznaniia*, 6 (1978), 85-92.

[42] I. Lotman, 'The notion of boundary', *Universe of the mind*, p. 137.

[43] A. Hippisley, 'The emblem in the writings of Simeon Polockij', *Slavic and East European Journal*, 15 (1971), 167.

[44] See Hippisley, 'The emblem in the writings of Simeon Polockij', pp. 170-176. On the library of Simeon Polotsky see A. Hippisley, 'Simeon Polotsky's library', *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, 16 (1983), 52-61.

[45] Quoted in Hippisley, 'The emblem in the writings of Simeon Polockij', 179.

in tune with the Protestant humanistic movement.[46] Classical literature made up a significant portion of the output of almost all the European publishing houses. According to the statistics on the growth of the production of humanistic literature in Paris publications in the first half of the sixteenth century, out of a total of 332 titles that appeared in print in 1549, as many as 204 were editions of Latin, Greek and humanist authors.[47] Certainly, the profile of the output of European printing presses changed throughout the second half of the sixteenth century and in the seventeenth century, as the scope of publishing broadened. However, the share of humanistic literature in publishing remained significant. This process seems to have found due reflection in the early acquisitions of the Kiev Mohyla College.[48]

There are grounds for believing that educated people of the generation preceding that of Mohyla's, such as Zakhariia Kopystensky, were not completely ignorant of the humanist revival of the classics or even of the existence of the 'second scholasticism'. Thus, praising the activity of Elisei Pletentsky, who founded a printing press in the monastery, Kopystensky remarked that Pletenetsky and his learned circle remained faithful to the spirit of the Greek fathers, whereas 'poetical idle talk, pagan genealogies and neo-scholasticism' were foreign to them.[49] If the question of how much they actually knew about all this is uncertain, the distaste of Kopystensky is manifest.

The editions of the Caves Monastery press, issued in the 'Mohylean epoch' were different from those published by Pletenetsky and his circle in several respects. Apart from the fact that books and brochures in Polish began to appear in print, the sources, the imagery and even the vocabulary of the Slavonic editions changed. Mohyla's collaborators were no longer afraid of rhetoric, scholastic philosophical argumentation and pieces of

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[46] See Chapters IV and VI.
[47] L. Febvre, H.-J. Martin, *The coming of the book: The impact of printing, 1450-1800* (London, 1967), p. 264.
[48] See Chapters VII-IX.
[49] 'I se ne ot suesloviia piiticheska, ili rodoslovlenii iazycheskikh, ili novoskholastiki': *Prilozheniia k pervomu tomu issledovaniia Fedora Titova*, p. 22.

curious information, drawn from books that describe remote lands and exotic specimens of fauna.[50] The information about them could only have derived from extensive reading of Western sources. It is noteworthy that although impressing the reader or listener was an important task in itself for the Baroque writers and preachers, the primary objective of such imagery was symbolic representation of the aspects of divine and human nature.[51]

Apparently, the generation of Kievan intellectuals that opted to fully embrace the knowledge emphatically rejected by their predecessors were, unlike those latter, well equipped to get to know and admire it through their command of Latin. This was the necessary condition of acceptance – to have direct access to the sources and hence to be able to appreciate them. It is no accident that poor knowledge of Latin was synonymous with ignorance and general inability to study among the professors and students of the Mohyla College.[52] In the Ευχολογιον Mohyla instituted a whole body of philosophical categories, borrowed or translated from Western sources, and previously lacking in Slavonic, such as 'existence' (*bytie*) and 'non-existence' (*nebytie*), 'essence' (*sushchnost'*), 'matter' (*veshchestvo*), 'motion' (*dvizhenie*), 'space' (*prostranstvo*), 'unity' (*edinstvo*) and 'multiplicity' (*mnozhestvo*), 'incalculable numbers' (*nezlichone mnozhestvo*), 'state' (*stan*), 'sense' (*rozum* or *sens*), 'relation' (*otnoshenie*), 'cause' (*prichina*) and 'consequence' (*skutok* or *naslidok*), 'science' (*premudrost'*), 'history', 'philosophy', and even such notions pertinent to the culture of scholarly discourse as 'discussion' and 'comment'. It was not, however, always in order to introduce a concept

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[50] See VNLU, fond 175, no. 73, fol. 244. Among the mythical and exotic beasts whom Kievan writers mentioned in their works one finds the unicorn, the elephant, the camel, the monkey, the cenocephalus, the lion, the whale, the pelican, the phoenix, the halcyon, the snake, the chameleon, ants as big as a fox and other real and mythical animals: see Ternovsky, *Iuzhno-russkoe propovednichestvo XVI i XVII veka*, pp. 42-44; Hippisley, 'The emblem in the writings of Simeon Polockij', 169.

[51] For instance, as Hippisley explains, 'one may predict that in a simile or metaphor the lion will stand for courage or ferocity; but in an emblem... it may illustrate the Resurrection of Christ, because of the belief that the lion is born dead and is brought to life by its mother in three days; or it may stand for vigilance, following another legend, according to which the lion sleeps with its eyes open': 'The emblem in the writings of Simeon Polockij', 169.

simply absent in Slavonic that Mohyla used foreign words in his writings. His introduction to the 1637 edition of the 'Didactic Gospel' opens with a passage containing a word directly borrowed from Latin and looking very unusual in a text in Slavonic: 'God has endowed the clergy with many a *prerogative* [my italics] or quality that is especially pertinent to this estate'.[53] Such examples are numerous and allow one to conclude that words and notions from other languages, particularly Latin, were firmly established in Mohyla's mind from frequent encounter in the texts he read. The same is probably true of his disciples and collaborators.

Rhetoric, a discipline that, according to Aristotle, was concerned with 'contingent subject matters' rather than the 'necessary truths' sought by science,[54] was a realm in which the Kievan intellectuals especially excelled. Bits of rhetoric were present at every level of Kievan education that went beyond the elementary study of Latin. The courses of poetics, rhetoric and philosophy written by Kievan professors, abounded in richly elaborated figures of speech and imagery. Stefan Iavorsky's introduction to logic, taught in 1691 and called *Agonium philosophicum in arena gymnadis Mohilaeanae Kijoviensis orthodoxo – Rossiacis agonothetis apertum ad majorem eius gloriam, qui olim gyganthaeo passu mortalitatis nostrae ingressus fuerat stadium novus ex comprehensore viator patris unigena ad augendum Hyperduliae cultum beatissimae eius matris per montana Judeae olim festinantis*, gives one a general idea of that ornate and notably eclectic style.[55] As far as the eclecticism of the imagery used by the Kievan rhetoricians is concerned, it was obviously a consequence of extensive borrowing from the

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[52] See V. Nychyk, 'Rol' Kyevo-Mohylians'koi akademii v rozvytku filosofii v Ukraini', *Ukrains'ke barokko: materialy I Konhresu Mizhnarodnoi asotsiatsii ukrainistiv* (Kiev, 1993), p. 81.

[53] 'Mnogimi *prerogativami* albo godnostiami bog vsemogushchii stan sviashchennicheskii oushanoval i ouchtil': *Prilozheniia k pervomu tomu issledovaniia Fedora Titova*, p. 322.

[54] See Wallace, 'Aristotelian science and rhetoric in transition: the Middle Ages and the Renaissance', p. 8.

[55] Manuscript originals IM VNLU, 619/ 397s; DS p./ 152; incomplete 618/ 398s; Russian translation published in S. Iavorsky, *Filosofs'ki tvory*, I (Kiev, 1992), pp. 41-114; decribed in Stratii et al, *Opisanie kursov filosofii i ritoriki professorov Kievo-Mogilianskoi akademii*, pp. 175-181.

Jesuits, whose own style was notorious for its admixture of Christian and pagan images, especially in their drama.

The idea that the classics could be read for pleasure was strongly condemned in Byzantium, where the classics were generally available to the educated Greeks. At most, works of classical antiquity could be used as a tool for mastering the art of fine composition. Its pagan roots were never to be lost sight of, keeping the scholar alert to the danger of developing a habit of reading classics for sheer pleasure. The same view was, in a way, maintained by the mediaeval literati of Rus'. Attitudes towards the heritage of classical antiquity were considerably changed by the Renaissance. Classical Greek and Roman theories of poetry were revived and put into use, and the classics came to be regarded not only as a sublime example to follow, but also as an inexhaustible source of aesthetic admiration. It was in this vein that the perception of classical heritage was taken in by the Kievan scholars. Its theoretical foundations were derived from Cicero's *De optimo genere oratorium* and could be reduced to a three-fold formula: the orator has to teach his listeners, it is also necessary to evoke their feelings, and to please the listeners is the orator's free gift to them.[56] A Kievan rhetorician of the 1690s renders Cicero's formula almost unchanged in his course of poetics *Rosa inter spinas* (1696), writing: '*Docemus* narratione rerum, cum aptam et elegantem instituimus narrationem. *Delectamus* elocutione, cum modos loquendi cultos adhibemus. *Movemus* affectu aliquo apto excitato'.[57] The significant number of Cicero's works among the surviving books and their consistent presence in the surviving catalogues of private donations to the Academy library testify to the perseverance of that tendency in the Kiev Mohyla Academy over the years.

The 1637 edition of the 'Didactic Gospel' (*Evangelie uchitel'noe*) has Mohyla's dedication to Fedor Proskura Sushchansky, renowned as a benefactor to the church. The

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[56] See N. Pylypiuk, 'Kyivs'ki poetyky i renesansni teorii mystetstva', *Evropeis'ke Vidrodzhennia ta ukrains'ka literatura XIV-XVIII st.* (Kiev, 1993), pp. 91-92.

[57] Quoted in Pylypiuk, 'Kyivs'ki poetyky i renesansni teorii mystetstva', p. 92.

dedication contains a characteristic passage, not only betraying Peter's good knowledge of classical history, but also demonstrating a device much favoured by the Kievan rhetoricians and preachers, the contrasting of pagan customs to Christian virtues. Mohyla asks: how could the church thank the Proskuras for their piety and devotion? The answer is: had they lived in the pagan times, contemporaries would have erected pyramids and marble columns to praise them. However, the Christian church could grant them much more important things, such as a promise of bliss and peace of the soul.[58]

The same device was used in the Ευχαριστηριον, a panegyric dedicated to Mohyla by the students of the Caves Monastery school over Easter 1632. It presented quite a variety of classical imagery: the ancient hero Mucius Scaevola along with some other legendary figures, Minerva, Apollo and the Muses, their habitat Mount Parnassus, and Mount Helicon, the home of the liberal arts.[59] Hippisley observes that in the Ευχαριστηριον 'Mount Helicon stands shoulder to shoulder with Mount Zion, and Hyppolytus is found in the vicinity of Christ's sheepfold'.[60] However, fond as they were of 'actors' such as Apollo and the muses, the authors of the Ευχαριστηριον finally led their readers to see how pagan deities bowed their heads before Christ and His Mother, who substitutes for Minerva as the patroness of the liberal arts. As is explained by Natalia Pylypiuk, it was 'because of Christ's triumph [that] the damage caused by original sin is reversed and Christians can transform pagan knowledge into Christian knowledge and regard it as their own'.[61] Pylypiuk demonstrates that the Ευχαριστηριον reveals traces of 'various literary traditions'.[62] Renaissance and post-Renaissance panegyric tradition, and Jesuit Baroque poetics are only the most obvious. An important common feature of their aesthetics was the attempt to reconcile the rich 'heathen' imagery of the classics with the

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[58] See Klimov et al., *Fenomen Petra Mohyly*, pp. 93-94.
[59] For more details on the Ευχαριστηριον see Chapter VI.
[60] A. Hippisley, *The poetic style of Simeon Polotsky* (Birmingham, 1985), p. 8.
[61] Pylypiuk, '*Eucharisterion. Albo, Vdiachnost*'', 60.
[62] Pylypiuk, '*Eucharisterion. Albo, Vdiachnost*'', p. 69.

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[62] Pylypiuk, '*Eucharisterion. Albo, Vdiachnost*'', p. 69.

vision of triumphant Christianity. Kievan rhetoricians proved to be diligent followers of this tradition.

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Knowledge is not an abstraction. From the very outset, concepts and images were brought to the Kiev Mohyla College in the material form of books that were gathered in its library. Those books, coming from all over Europe and acquired from different institutions and individuals, provided Mohyla and his learned circle with the power of knowledge: the wealth of contemporary thought and a chance to develop a broad vision and understanding of it. And it is, I believe, largely due to those books that a complex and highly developed Western European cultural paradigm was so successfully adapted in Kiev.

It is hardly a coincidence that Mohyla's bequest of his library to the College seems to have instituted a long-lived tradition among subsequent generations of Kievan intellectuals. Many of them saw to it that after their death their libraries served those who would come after them. In the farewell elegy to his books Iavorsky wrote: 'My books... you shed light on my life, and you were my pride and consolation! [When I am gone], may other people quench their [spiritual] thirst from your ambrosial source! Woe to my eyes, for they depart from you forever.'[63] Melety Smotritsky, for his part, is known to have destroyed all or most of his library shortly before his death.[64] Was it that he felt there had been nobody he could leave his books to? Or did he want to prevent someone from following his own example? Or did he blame his books for what had happened to him? Had he not, then, like Iavorsky, treated them almost as if they were living creatures? Unfortunately, we are unlikely ever to know the answers to any of these questions. But the mere fact that they may be posed makes one remember Milton's words from *Areopagitica*:

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[63] Quoted in Khizhniak, *Kievo-Mohylianskaia akademiia*, p. 215.

[64] According to a contemporary report, in the autumn of 1633, shortly before his death, Smotritsky spent three whole days, secluded in his cell with the caretaker, who aided him in burning his books, which had been kept in two trunks: Frick, *Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, p. 219.

'books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are'.[65]

[65] Milton, *Areopagitica*, p. 6.

Conclusion

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Ukraine formed a borderland between the Eastern and Western variants of Christianity, each of which offered a distinct cultural profile. Such a position had its material and spiritual implications. In particular, it resulted in Ruthenian culture, with its centre in Kiev, becoming a core element in the intellectual development of the Eastern Slavonic lands throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In 1632 a college along Western lines was established in Kiev to become the first seat of higher education among the Orthodox Slavs, and it was effectively raised to the status of an academy in 1701. The Academy's role in the formation of the seventeenth-century Ruthenian intellectual milieu and the subsequent 'modernisation' of Russia may be regarded as unique and important. Many of its alumni went on to occupy high positions in Church, education and government in various parts of the Russian Empire, and by the early eighteenth century the Academy's influence extended throughout the Orthodox world.

A library, established at the time of the foundation of the College, was an intrinsic part of that educational institution, and its development reflects with a fair degree of accuracy the history of the College as a Western-orientated institution operating in the Orthodox environment. In my estimation, about 90 per cent of the Academy library stock consisted of books in Latin. The library collections generally mirrored the educational model which had been borrowed from the Jesuits, and their editions made up a considerable proportion of the library stock. Not only were the same authors and the same titles read and analysed by professors and students, but the same very copies of books migrated from the Jesuits to their counterparts in Kiev. At the same time, the library collections also included a significant number of Protestant editions, as well as books

published by the Orthodox themselves. This may in itself serve as a manifestation of the heterogeneous nature of Kievan learning.

In many respects, the Academy library followed the same general pattern of development as other European college and university libraries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A most important common feature was that private donations and bequests were the principal source of book acquisitions. This study postulates that in the second half of the eighteenth century the books that had been bequeathed in 1646 by Peter Mohyla still made up more than a quarter of the Academy library stock. Virtually every European university library of the period had to live and work without a fixed income, and its collections were dependent on the nature of the contributions the library happened to receive. On the one hand, the practice of graduates and fellows making bequests to the libraries of educational institutions, in thanks for the benefits they had received, made possible a significant expansion of library collections. On the other, this did not always make for a well-balanced library. By the mid-eighteenth century the Academy library stock had grown quantitatively, but it remained essentially the same in terms of subject-matter, with a largely outdated general profile. The political situation of Ukraine as a part of a highly-centralised state, which tended to control practically every aspect of education, and the Academy's constant shortage of funds, only served to aggravate the discrepancy between the actual nature of the library's collections and the need for steady and consistent development.

The Kiev Academy library also resembled its Western counterparts in terms of its maintenance and functioning. By the mid-seventeenth century the number of books in the library's stock was no less than 2,500 volumes, far more than any other East Slavonic book collection of the period. This, and the fact that it also stood apart as the library of a major educational institution, patterned after a model which required extensive use of books, made Kievan librarians look West in search of an appropriate model of librarianship. The basic principles of the collections' organisation, of storing and arranging

the books and providing access to them, and of selecting the library staff, corresponded with those of college and university libraries in contemporary Europe. However, the limited access to the book stock, effectively restricting it only for the use of the teachers and professors, proved to be an increasingly serious handicap and led to the organisation by the former alumni of the Academy in 1768 of a separate collection, fully accessible to the students.

The cause of the destruction of the Academy library in 1780 has been, for the first time in historiography, established in this study as an accidental fire. Out of about 8,000 books kept at the library by that time only 216 volumes have survived until the present. Further random searches in old Ukrainian and Russian libraries may serve to increase this figure, but there are no grounds for believing that the overall number of the surviving books might exceed 250 volumes. Our analysis of the surviving books, the simplicity of binding styles and the virtual absence of *incunabula* seem to demonstrate that Kievan scholars intended their books for study rather than seeing them as curious items or luxurious artefacts.

This study has endeavoured not only to provide answers to a number of questions concerning the history of the library of the Kiev Mohyla Academy in itself, but also to consider wider issues such as the nature of the intellectual sources of the long-term development of Ukrainian and Russian culture and education, and the implications which printed books may have had on this development. However, these issues are too broad to have received a thorough analysis here, and have yet to await scholars' close attention in the future.

Appendix

LIST OF THE SURVIVING BOOKS

Prefatory note to the List

This catalogue is principally the fruit of my efforts to identify the surviving books from the pre-1780 stock of the Mohyla Academy library from among the extant collections of the Kiev Theological Academy (1819-1918), the Kiev Monastery of the Caves and St. Sofia Cathedral. The three collections are now held at the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine.[1] They are preserved basically intact and fully retain their original structure.

Most of the books are found at the Department of Historical Book Collections of the Vernadsky National Library. Three different kinds of class-mark indicate to which of the three forementioned collections a particular book belongs. A class-mark opening with a capital letter followed by Roman and Arabic numbers indicates that the book is part of the collection of the Kiev Theological Academy. A class-mark containing only Roman and Arabic numbers shows that the book belonged to the library of the Kiev Caves Monastery. A class-mark opening with the abbreviation 'Sof.', followed by Arabic numbers, indicates that the book is part of the collection of St. Sofia. The order in which books within separate collections are put in this catalogue, replicates their shelf arrangement according to the size and subject division.

Two other holdings, to which my search for the surviving books extended, are the Institute of the Ukrainian Book and the Institute of the Manuscript of the Vernadsky National Library. Books that have additional class-marks opening with the abbreviation 'Pal.' (for *paleotip* – a post-incunabula book) and 'Kir.' (for *kirillicheskaia* – a book in

[1] In 1923, all library collections of the former ecclesiastical institutions of Kiev and the Kievan region were transferred to the People's Library of Ukraine (now the Vernadsky National Library), where they are kept until the present. For more on the policy of accumulation the rare books and manuscript collections at the People's Library of Ukraine in the 1920s see my article 'Z istorii zbirky rukopysiv Tserkovno-Arkheolohichnoho muzeiu pry Kyivs'kii Dukhovnii Akademii', *Rukopysna ta knyzhkova spadshchyna Ukrainy*, 1 (Kiev, 1993), pp. 123-133.

Cyrillic) are kept at the Institute of the Ukrainian Book. Manuscripts are listed separately in each sub-group of the catalogue. One surviving book has been discovered at the Central Scientific Library of the Khar'kov State University. In this particular case the name of the holding is quoted in full and is accompanied by the present-day class mark attached to the volume.

Every entry in the catalogue includes the name of the author (if known), the title of the book, usually in a shorter form, the place of publication, the name of the publisher, the date of publication, the size of the book, its present-day class-mark, and all ownership inscriptions found in the book. All the inscriptions are shown in chronological order. The texts of ownership inscriptions are given in the language of the original. In all cases I substitute Latin for Cyrillic script.

A larger-font digit in bold (e. g. **9.**) as the number of an entry indicates that the volume contains two or more printed items bound as one. The items are shown in the order in which they are bound. Every such volume has a single number, attached to the first item in the volume. Subsequent items bound into the volume have the same number, accompanied with a letter indicating their sequence.

Structure of the List

I. Books of Peter Mohyla 301

(a) Books bearing ownership inscription of Peter Mohyla without the ownership inscription of the Kiev Mohyla Academy 301

(b) Books bearing ownership inscriptions of Peter Mohyla and of the library of the Kiev Mohyla Academy 302

(c) A book with the ownership stamp of Symeon Mohyla and the ownership inscription of the library of the Kiev Mohyla Academy 306

II. Books bearing ownership inscriptions mentioning *Collegium Kijovomohileanum* 306

III. Books bearing ownership inscriptions mentioning *Bibliotheca Kijovomohilaeana, Bibliotheca Mohilaeana Kijoviensis or Bibliotheca Mohilaeana* 309

IV. Books of Rafail Zaborovsky 312

V. Books of Joseph Iamnitsky 315

VI. Books of Timofei Shcherbatsky 316

VII. Books of Hylarion (Grigorovich), Bishop of Sarai and Podonie 316

VIII. Books of David Nashchinsky 319

IX. Books of Samuil Mislavsky 320

X. Books of Cyrill Florinsky 320

XI. Books of Maksim Baranovich 324

XII. Books of Havriil Kremenetsky 325

XIII. Books of Varlaam Lashchevsky 326

XIV. Single acquisitions (1756-21 January 1780) 330

XV. Books of Ruvim Petulinsky 331

XVI. A book from the bursa library 335

I. *Books of Peter Mohyla*

(a) *Books bearing ownership inscription of Peter Mohyla without the ownership inscription of the Kiev Mohyla Academy*

1. Robert Bellarmino, S. J., *De arte bene moriendi, Libri duo*, Coloniae Agrippinae: Apud Bernardum Gualteri (1621), 16°
   Sof. 535
   Petrus Mohila Archiepiscopus Metropolita Kiiowiensis

2. Gabriel Inchino, *Conciones de quatuor hominis novissimis*, Coloniae Agrippinae: Sumpt. Haeredum Ioan. Critii sub signo Galli (1632), 8°
   Sof. 620
   (1) [...] [Matkowskj] (erased)
   (2) Petrus Mohila Archiepiscopus Metropolita

3. Ioannes, *Summa de exemplis et rerum similitudinibus locupletissima. Verbi Dei concionatoribus, cunctisque literarum studiosis maximo usui futura*, Antuerpiae: In Aedibus Petri Belleri sub scuto Burgundiae (1597), 4°
   V 7/101
   Petrus Mohila Archiepiscopus Metropolita Kiiouiensis Halicensis et Totius Rossi[ae]

4. *P. Hieremiae Drexelii* [S. J.] *Opera omnia*, Antverpiae: Sumptibus et Prelo, Viduae, et Haeredum Ioannis Cnobbari (1643), F°
   X 1/21
   (1) Petrus Mohila Archiepiscopus Metropolita Kiiouensis Halicensis et totius Russiae
   (2) [Const...?] flor. 27 anno Dni 1646 empt[us]

5. Epiphanius (Episcopus Constantiae Cypri), *Contra octoaginta haereses opus, Libri tres*, Basileae: Opera ac impensis partim Ioannis Oporini, partim Ioannes Heruagij (1560), F°
   XII 2/7
   Petrus Mohila Archiepiscopus

6. *Lekarstvo na ospalyi umysl chelovechii, a osoblive na zatverdelye serdtsa liudskie, zvedennye svetom albo iakimi grekhami, Bozhestvennogo Ioanna Zlatoustogo do Fedora Mnikha, a v osobe ego do kozhdogo cheloveka, kto znakom kolʹvek estʹ grekhu*, Ostrog: Z drukarni Ostrozkoi (1607), 4°. Also includes *Testament Vasiliia Tsezaria Kgretskogo do syna svoego iuzh koronovannogo L'va Filozofa dedicha i tsezaria togo zh tesarstva roku... 886... napisannyi a potom vespol z inshimi pismy na slovenskii iazyk perelozhennyi*
   Sof. 117 (b); Kir. 795
   (1) 30 Maiia 1639. Petr Mohyla Arkhiepp. Mitropolit Kievskii rukoiu vlasnoiu
   (2) Ot chisla Knig Biblioteki Kievo-Katedral'noi

7. Paulus Bottbachius, *Concionum Sacrarum Ex Vetustioribus, Orthodoxis, Approbatisque auctoribus*, Coloniae Agrippinae: Apud Petruma Brachel (1633), 2°

Division of Rare Books and Manuscripts of the Central Scientific Library of the Khar'kov State University, RK 197320
(1) Petrus Mohila Archiepiscopus Metropolita Kiiouiensis, 1639 Maii 30
(2) Ex Libris Joasaphi

Manuscript

Sv. Ioanna Damaskina izlozhenie very (fols. 1-264) and *Dialektika* (fols. 264-317); also included are fragments of Andrei Kurbsky's *Skazanie ob Ioanne Damaskine* (fols. 177 and 317-317v.), F°, 317 fols.
IM VNLU, 156/33 s
(1) 1639 Maiia 30. Petr Mohyla Arkhiepp. Mitropolit Kievskii rukoiu vlasnoiu
(2) Iz Biblioteki Kievo Katedral'noi

(b) *Books bearing ownership inscriptions of Peter Mohyla and of the library of the Kiev Mohyla Academy*

1. [Joannes Ludovicus Vivus, *De veritate Fidei Christianae*], Libri I-V, s. l., s. a., no title page, 8°
Aviii 10/220
(1) Petrus Mohila Archiepiscopus Metropolita Kiiouensis 1639 Maii 30
(2) Ex Biblioth. Mohilaeana Kiiouiensis
(3) Ex Bibl. Kievomohilana

2. Adam Opatovius, *Tractatus de sacramentis in Genere et Specie*, Crac[oviae]: In Officina Chryst: Schedelij S. R. M. Typogr: (1642), 2°
Bxv 6/117
(1) Petrus Mohila Archiepiscopus
(2) Petrus Mohila Archiepiscopus Metropolita Kiiovensis Emit Anno D: 1646 Maii 18 flor. [...] 9
(3) Ex Bibliotheca Kievo-Mohiliana

3. Petrus Besseus, *Conciones sive Conceptus Theologici*, Coloniae Agrippinae: Apud Ioannem Kinckium sub Monocerote, [Excudebat Stephanus Hemmerden] (1611), 8°
Bxviii 9/431
(1) [...] Jacobus J[...]ckj Sabinj (crossed out)
(2) Petrus Mohila Archiepiscopus Metropolita Kiiouiensis 1639 Maii 30
(3) Ex bibliotheca Mohilana
(4) Ex libris R. Patris Tarassij Zemcae [Igume]ni Kiiouiensis
(5) Ex Bibliothecae Academiae Kijoviensis

4. Ioannes Andreas Coppenstein, *Bibliotheca Concionatorum sive Discursus Exegetici et Reales*, Moguntiae: Impensis Ioannis Theobaldi Schônwetteri (1627), 2°
Bxx 3/6
(1) Ioannicus Wolkovicz Mona: Ord: S: Ma: Bas
(2) Bibliotheca concionatorum com[parata] per me Ioannicum Wolkovicz Monachum Ordine Sancti Magni Basilij Jaroslavici Anno 1630° tempore Nu[ndinarum?], et in album librorum meo[num] exposita [...]
(3) Quam ego Jeromonachus Tarassius Zemka ab [ill.?] emi. Anno 1631 Februarij [1] [...]

(4) 1639 Maii 30. Petrus Mohila Archiepiscopus Metropolita Kiiouiensis
(5) Ex Bibliothe [sic] Collegij Mohilaeani Kiiouiensis
(6) Ex Bibliotheca Kiewo Mohilana

5. [*Postilla, seu Conciones habitue Korbochii?*], [pars 1], s. l., s. a., no title page, 8°
Bxx 9/350
(1) Petrus Mohila Archiepiscopus metropolita Kiiouensis 1639 Maii 30
(2) Ex Bibl. Kievomohilana

6. Laurentius Beyerlinck, *Promptuarium morale super Euangelia Festorum totius anni*, Coloniae Agrippinae: Sumptibus Antonij Hierati Bibliopolae (1618), 8°
Bxx 9/411
(1) Ex libris R. P. Tarassij Zemcae [Ig.]
(2) Ex Catalogo Librorum Illus[trissimi ac Reurendissimi] Dni Dni [Petri?] Metropolita Kiiouensis [...?] mp
(3) Ex Biblioth. collegii Mohilaeani Kiiouien. A° 1639 Maj 30
(4) Ex Bibliotheca Kiewomohilana

7. Thoma Stapleton, *Promptuarium morale super Euangelia Dominicalia totius anni, Pars hyemalis*, Moguntiae: Apud Balthasarum Lippium, Sumptibus Ioannis Moreti, & Hermanni Mylii (1610), 8°
Bxx 10/425
(1) Ex libris Andre[us] Muzylowskij (crossed out)
(2) Petrus Mohila Archiepiscopus metropolita Kiiouensis 1639 Maii 30
(3) Ex Bibliotheca Academiae Kjoviensis

8. Bartholomaeus Keckermannus, *Systema logicae [sive Resolutio systematis logici... in tabellas?], Pars altera*, Hanoviae: Apud haeredes Guilielmi Antonii (1612), 8°
Bxxvii 9/475
(1) Ex Bibliotheca S. Simonidis. CH: P. M. [emptus fl. 3 g. 15]
(2) Petrus Mohila Archiepiscopus Metropolita Kiiouensis, A° 1639 Maj 30
(3) Ex Bibliotheca Academiae Kiiowiensis

8 (a). Bartholomaeus Keckermannus, *Dispositiones Orationum sive Collegium Oratorium*, Hanoviae: Apud Haeredes Guilielmi Antonii (1615)

9. *In omnes M. T. Ciceronis orationes selecta commentaria notae, scholia et annot. virorum doctissimorum Italiae, Galliae, & Germaniae*, in 3 vols., Coloniae Agrippinae: Sumptibus Antonii Hierati (1621), 8°
Bxxx 9/525
(1) Petrus Mohila Archiepiscopus metropolita Kiiouensis 1639 Maii 30
(2) Ex Bibliotheca Collegii Mohilouiani Kiiouiensis [cum obitarum?] Pieczariensis
(3) Ex Bibl. Kiewo Mohylana

10. Piotr Skarga, S. J., *Kazania na Niedziele y Swieta calego roku*, Krakow: W Drukarniey Andrzeia Piotrkowczyka (1609), F°
Sof. 570a
(1) Z Xieg[...] Jakoba Miemlowicza Niedostoynego Presbytera, w liczbie jedynasta

(2) Sa Ksiaga Skargi testamentem legowal do bibliotheki Mohileanskiey Kiiowskiej niebozszczyk S: pamieci Jacow Miemlowicz ktorego Za[...] duszy Panie Pro[sz]e badz milosciew
(3) (Erased)
(4) Petrus Mohila Archiepiscopus Metropolita Kiiowiensis Halicensis et Totius Russiae Archimandrita Pieczariensis
(5) Ex Bibliotheca Collegii Mohilaeani Kiiouiensis

10 (a). Piotr Skarga, S. J., *Kazania Przygodne z inemi drobieyszemi pracami*, Krakow: W Drukarniey Andrzeia Piotrkowczyka Typographa Krola I. M. (1610)

10 (b). Petrus Skarga, S. J., *Pro sacratissima Eucharistia Contra haeresim Caluinianam et Andream Volanum [in Lithuania Archimandritum], Libri tres*, Cracoviae: In Officina Petricouij Typographi S. R. M., s. a.

11. Georgius Bartholdus Pontanus [Pontanus z Praitenberka], S. J., *Aureum Breviarium Concionatorum Sive Sermones Breves in Dominicos et Festos Dies Totius Anni*, Coloniae Agrippinae: Sumptibus Antonij Hierati (1609), 4°
Sof. 599
(1) Ex Lib[...] [V...] [D...] (erased)
(2) Petrus Mohila Archiepiscopus metropolita Kiiouensis 1639 Maii 30
(3) [...] [donatus] [...] (erased)
(4) [...] [T...] [...] (erased)
(5) Ex Bibliotheca Collegij Mohilaeani Kiiouiensis

12. Stanislaus Socolovius, *De verae et falsae ecclesiae discrimine*, Cracoviae: In Officina Lazari (1583), F°
Sof. 705
(1) Petrus Mohila Archiepiscopus metropolita Kiiouensis 1639 Maii 30
(2) [...] [Ordini S. Basilii] M. Matthia[s] [Kwasniowicz?] [professor Academiae Cracoviensis] [...] [huis] [liber?] ex Bibliotheca [...] (bleached)
(3) Ex Bibliotheca Collegii Mohilaeani Kiiouien.

13. Ioannes Cassianus, *Opera omnia* , in 2 vols., Duaci: Ex typographia Balthazaris Belleri sub Circino Aureo (1616), 4°
II 7/109
(1) Z xieg J[...M...]: P: Piot[ra] Mohily [...] [woiwodycza?] Ziem Moldawskich
(2) IO/SIMEON/MOHYLA/VOEVODA (stamp)
(3) Petrus Mohila Archiepiscopus metropolita Kiiouensis 1639 Maii 30
(4) Ex Bibliotheca Kijevomohilana

14. *Katechizm Rzymski to iest Nauka Chrzescianska za roskazaniem consilium Trydentskiego*, Kalisz: W drukarniej Jana Wolraba (1603), 4°
III 5/46
(1) Piotr Mohila Archiepiscop Metropolit Kiiowsk[i] 1639 Maii 30
(2) Ex Bibliotheca Collegij mohilaeani Kiiouensis

15. *Opera D. Basilii Magni VVolfgango Musculo interprete*, 3 vols. bound as one, Basileae: Ioan. Oporinum, et Haeredes Ioannis Heruagij (1565), F°
X 2/2
(1) Petrus Mohila Archiepiscopus metropolita Kiiouensis 1639 Maii 30

(2) Ex Bibliotheca Mohiliana
(3) Ex Biblioth. Collegii Mohilaeani Kiiouiensis [Cum] obita[r]um Pieczariensium traslatoru[m] [Kijouiam?] ad Confraternitatem
(4) Ex B-cae Sanctae Magnae Taumaturgiae Laurae Pieczariensis

16. Rodolphus Gualtherus, *Archetypi Homiliarum in Acta Apostolorum per D. Lucam descripta*, Tiguri: Apud Ioannem VVolphinum (1601), F°
XXII 1/5
(1) Petrus Mohila Archiepiscopus metropolita Kiiouensis 1639 Maii 30
(2) Ex Biblioth. Collegij M[...] (crossed out and erased)
(3) Ex Bibl. Kijevomohilana

16 (a). Rodolphus Simlerus, *De Pace et Concordia Ecclesiastica*, Oratio ad d. XXIIX Jan. Anno 1601, Tiguri (s. a.)

16 (b). Rodolphus Gualtherus, *Archetypi Homeliarum in Omnes Apostolorum... epistolas*, Tiguri: Apud Ioannem VVolphi⁄um Typis Fros. (1599)

17. *[Biblia V. T. Psalterium Latine]: Elucidatio in omnes psalmos*, Parisiis: Apud Joannem Roigny sub basilico & quatuor elementis: & Lugduni sub scuto Coloniensi: Apud Joannem et Franciscum Frellos fratres (1540), F°
VI 2/1; Pal. 1217
(1) Ex Libris Andrea Muzylowsk[ij] (crossed out)
(2) Piotr Mohila Archiepiscop Metropolit Kiiowski Roku 1645 Kupilem u oyca Anatoliia Myzylowskiego
(3) Ex Libris Innocentij Giziel (crossed out)
(4) Ex Bibliotheca Collegii Mohilaeani Kiiouiensis
(5) Ex Libris Athanazii [Myslawski] Archimandrit Peczariensis (erased, barely legible)
(6) Ex Libris Sanctae Magnae Laurae Kijovo-Peczariensis

18. Rodolphus Agricola, *De inventione dialectica, Libri III, cum Scholijs Johannis Matthaei Phrissemij*, [Coloniae Agrippinae]: Melchior Nouesianus excudebat (1538), 8°
B xxx 8/418; Pal. 1252
(1) Petrus Mohila Archiepiscopus metropolita Kiiouensis 1639 Maii 30
(2) Ex Biblioth. Mohilaeana Kiiowiensis
(3) Ex Biblioteca (sic) Kievo Mohilana

18 (a). Erasmus Sarcerius Annaemontanus, *Dialectica multis ac variis exemplis illustrata*, Lipsiae: Michael Blum excudebat (1540)

18 (b). Demosthenes, *Orationes Philippicae quatuor latinae sanctae*, Haganoae: Excudebat Petrus Brubachius (1535)

19. Urbanus Rhegius, *Catechismus minor puerorum generoso puero Ottoni Furster dicatus*, Halae: Ex officina Petri Brubachij (1536), 8°
B xiv 9/344; Pal. 1253
(1) Petrus Mohila Archiepiscopus metropolita Kiiouensis 1639 Maii 30
(2) Ex Biblioth. Collegii Mohiliani Kiiouensis
(3) Ex Bibli. Kyievo Mohilana

19 (a). Urbanus Rhegius, *Formulae quaedam, caute et citra scandalum loquendi de praecipuis Christianae Doctrinae locis*, Vitebergae: Apud Joannem Lufft (1536)

19 (b). Antonius Corvinus, *Breves Expositiones super ea Euangelia quae in praecipuis festis sanctorum praedicari solent*, Halae Suerorum: Ex offic. Petri Brubachii (1537)

[19 (c).] Antonius Corvinus, *Passio Christi in sex conciones*, s. l., s. a.

(c) *A book with the ownership stamp of Symeon Mohyla and the ownership inscription of the library of the Kiev Mohyla Academy*

Franciscus Costerus, S. J., *Universae sodalitati Beatissimae Virginis Mariae, Libri V*, [Antuerpiae ?]: Ioannis Moreti, Typographi ([1591?]), no title page, 16°
Bxvi 10/480
(1) Jacobus Zaleskj
(2) IO/SYMEON/MOHYLA/VOEVODA (stamp)
(3) Ex Bibliotheca Kyievo Mohilana

II. *Books bearing ownership inscriptions mentioning* Collegium Kijovomohileanum

1. Ludovicus de Ponte [Luis de la Puente], S. J., *Compendium Seu Breviarium Absolutissimum omnium meditationum*, Coloniae Agrippinae: [Apud Ioann. Kinckius Bibliopola (1623)], 8°
Bxvi 10/507
(1) Inscriptus Catalogo librorum Collegij [Renes... em?] Sos. Iesu Anno 1642
(2) Ex Bibliotheca Collegij Mohilaeani Kiiouiensis
(3) Ex Bibliotheca Kyievo Mohilana

2. Rodolphus Clutius Luxenburgensis, *Sermones dominicales Dor Mi- Secvre, vulgo nuncupati*, Coloniae Agrippinae: Ex officina Critiana sub signo Galli, Apud Petrum Henningium (1625), 8°
Bxix 9/535
(1) Ex catalogo librum Jacobi [Miemlowicz]: [...] presb:
(2) Ex Bibliotheca Collegij Mohilaeansis Kiiovi
(3) Ex Bibliotheca Mohilaeana
(4) Ex bibliotheca KievoMohilana

2 (a). Rodolphus Clutius, *Sermones de Sanctis Dor Mi- Secvre vulgo nuncupati*, Coloniae Agrippinae: Ex officina Critiana sub signo Galli; Apud Petrum Henningium (1626)

3. Hadrianus Iunius Hornanus, *Lexicon sive Dictionarium Graecolatinum*, Basileae: Ex Officina Hieronymi Curionis, Impensis Heinrichi Petri (1557), F°
Bxxiv 1/12
(1) Collegii V[innicen]sis Societatis Jesu (crossed out)
(2) Professoris Grammaticae Supremae

(3) Ex libris Joasaf Darewsky alias Krzykowiecky Bibliothecae Collegy Mohilaeani Kiiouiensis applicat[us]
(4) Ex Bibliotheca Collegij Mohilaeani Kiioiensis
(5) Ex Bib. Kyievo Mohilana
(6) Ex Bibliotheca Kyievo Mohilana

4. [Ioannes Rudolphus Camerarius, *Erothematum dialecticis*], s. l., s. a., no title page, 16°
B xxv 9/242
Ex Bibliotheca Collegij Mohilaeani Kiiouensis

5. Everardus Bronchorst, *Aphorismi politici, primo ex varijs scriptoribus per Lambertum Danaeum collecti*, Lugduni Batavorum: Ex officina Iacobi Marci (1623), 16°
Bxxv 10/341
(1) Ex libris [...] Indigni Monachi Vidubiceinni[...]
(2) Igumeni nunc Rectoris Collegij Kijouo Mohilaeana [fuit]
(3) Ex Bibliotheca Collegij Kijouo Mohilaeana (crossed out)
(4) Ex Bibliotheca Academiae Kioviensis

6. Melchior Junius [Johann Sommer of Zwikau], *Orationum quae Argentinensi in Academia, Exercitii gratia scriptae & recitatae ab Illustr. Generos. Nobil. & aliis, Tomi tres*, Argentorati: Sumptibus Lazari Zetzneri Bibliop. (1606), 8°
Bxxxii 5/397
(1) Possideo hunc librum Vladislaus [Howichi]
(2) Ex Bibliotheca Collegij Mohilaeani Kiiouensis
(3) Ex Bibliotheca Kiewo Mohylana
(4) Ex Bibliotheca Mohilaeana

7. Conradus Dinnerus, *Epithetorum graecorum farago locupletissima*, Francofurdi: Apud Andreae Wecheli haeredes (1589), 8°
Bxxxiv 9/471
(1) Λαυρεντιος Ζιζανι[...] 1601
(2) Prestavisia bogoliubivyi episkop Stagonskii i Meteorskii v Monastyre Pecherskom, 1640 g[oda] 8 oktiabria i ostavil siiu knigu v vivliofiku Monastyria Bratskogo Kievskogo v vechnuiu pamiat' o sebe
(3) Ex Bibliotheca Kijevomohilana

8. [Ιωαννις ο Κρισπινος ?], *Dictionarium graecolatinum*, s. l., s. a., no title page, 2°
Bxxxviii 3/41
Ex Bibliotheca Collegij Kijouiensis Mohilaeana

9. Antonius Davroultius [Antoine de Averoult], S. J., *Flores exemplorum, sive Catechismus Historialis*, Coloniae Agrippinae: Sumptibus Ioannis Kinckii sub Monocerote (1618), no title page, 2°
Dx 4/216
(1) Ex Bibliotheca Collegij Mohilaeana Kijouiensis
(2) Ex Bibliotheca Kievomohilana

10. [Nikolaus Hemmingius], *Argumentum in epistolam Pauli ad Hebraeos*, VVitebergae: Excudebat Iohan Schvvertel (1568), 8°, no title page
Sof. 299

Ex Bibliotheca Collegij Mohilaeani Kiiouiensis

10 (a). Nikolaus Hemmingius, *Commentarius in utramque epistolam Pauli ad Thessalonicenses*, Witebergae: Excudebat Iohannes Crato (1566)

11. *Katechizm albo nauka wiary y poboznosci Krzescijanskiey wedlug uchwaly S. Tridentskiego Concilium przez uczone a bogoboyne ludzie zebrana y spisana*, Krakow: W Drukarni Mikolaia Szarffenberga (1568), F°
Sof. 438
(1) Xiega od Bratswa [...]skiego [poluczona...]
(2) Possesor huius libri Pater Reuerendus Mitrophan
(3) Ex Biblioth. Coll. Mohilaeanae Kiiouen.

12. Adam Opatovius, S. J., *Tractatus de sacramentis in genere et specie*, Cracoviae: In Officina Chryst.: Schedely S. R. M. Typogr. (1642), 2°
Sof. 466
(1) Ex libris Joannis M[u...]ewicz
(2) Ex libris Patris Paissij Mohaczewskij [...]
(3) (Crossed out, illegible)
(4) Post eiu[s] obitum relictus Bibliotheca Collegij Mohilaeani Kijouiensis
(5) Ex Bibliotheca Collegij Mohilaeani Kijouiensis
(6) Possessor [...] Simon [...] (crossed out)
(7) Ad nrum Librorum Bibliothecae Kijovo Kathedralis

13. Ludovicus de Ponte, S. J., *Compendium Seu Breviarium Absolutissimum omnium meditationum*, Vilniae: Typis Academisic Soc. Iesu (1645), 8°
Sof. 508
(1) Collegii [D]erieslauiensis Soc. JSH [...] 645
(2) [...] donatus a Mathaeo Kolczycky Magistro Suo
(3) Habes hunc Librum [...] Adamowski Mattias [...] [to...] 166[...]
(4) Ex Bibliotheca Collegij Kiiouo Mohilaeani
(5) Spectat ad Bibliothecam monasterij Kathedralis S. Sophiae ex 1755 anno

14. Joannes Dlugossus [Longinus] *Historia Polonica*, Dobromili: In Officina Ioannis Szeligae (1615), F°
Sof. 1041
(1) Ex libris Josephi Kononowicz Horbacky [Ro...] [Ku...] Igum. M. S. Michalis [...] Empt. fl. [12]
(2) Post obitum Bibliothecae Collegii Mohilaeani Kiiouiensis applicatus
(3) Ex Bibliotheca Collegij Mohilaeani Kiiouiensis
(4) Kievosofiiskoi biblioteki 1856

15. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Aduersus Valentini, et similium Gnosticorum Haereses, Libri quinque*, Coloniae Agrippinae: In Officina Bickmannica, sumptibus Arnoldi Mylij (1596), F°
XV 2/20
(1) [Ex lib. Monast. Wilnensis Trinit. ...] (crossed out)
(2) Ex libris Maximi Phil[o]monowicz [...] [...]
(3) Iste liber applicatus est Bibliothecae KijouoMohilaeanae a Humillimo Pa[...] Cyril[...] Filimon[aes?] tunc Rectore Collegij Kijouomohilaeani in assiduae memoriae tui et Paren[...] sui Anno 1692 Aprili 9

16. F. Blasius, *Tractatus de Adoratione*, Romae: Ex Typographia Josephi Vannaccij (1678), F°

XVI 2/20

(1) Hier. Gedeon Odorski O : S : B : M : Rector Coll : Kij

(2) Inscribit et perpe[t]uo contulit Bibliothecae Inclyti orthodoxi collegij Kijou[ensis]

17. [Petrus Andreas Matthiolus Medicus, *Senensis Commentarij In Sex Libros Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei*], [Basileae? Francofurdi? (1598)], no title page, F°

XVIII 1/15

(1) Ex Bibliotheca Collegij Mohilaeani Kiiouensis

(2) Ex Bibliotheca Kiiouomohiliana

18. Petrus Lombardus Parrhysiensis, *Sententiarum Textus*, [Coloniae? Basileae?]: Lodovicus Hornken, typ. A. Petri de Lagendorff (1516), 2°

Pal. 1907

(1) Ex libris D. Joannis Batcouij Dono [...]

(2) Clament[us] Martinus Wikinski Panu Bogu [po...?] in primium seu [...]

(3) Ex Bibliotheca Collegij Mohilaeani Kijouiensis

(4) Ad numeru[m] librorum Bibliothecae Kijovo Cyrilliensis pertinent

(5) Ex Lib[...] (erased, illegible)

(6) Iz biblioteki Kievo-Sofiiskogo sobora

Manuscript

Fons Castalius in duplices divisus rivulos, solitam scilicet et ligatam orationem, Kijovo-Mohilaeanis musis consecratus felici auspitio emanavit anno Domini 1685. 4°, 85 fol.

IM VNLU, 656/446 s

Ex libris Bibliothecae Collegij Kijouiensis Mohilaeani

III. *Books bearing ownership inscriptions mentioning* Bibliotheca Kijovomohilaeana, Bibliotheca Mohilaeana Kijoviensis *or* Bibliotheca Mohilaeana

1. Hugo Cardinal , *Sacrorum Bibliorum vulgatae editionis Concordantiae*, Viennae: Apud Martinum Endterum, Bibliopolam (1700), 2°

Aii 3/42

(1) Ex Libris Sylvestri Kykowski

(2) Ex Bibliothecae Kijowo Mohilea[na]

2. Zacharias Hogelius, *Theolaus* ΝΟΥΘΕΤΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ *De tempore suo Secundum Apocalypsin S. Johannis*, Erffurt: Excusus impensis Christiani à Saher Bibliopolae (1645), 4°

Aii 4/82

Ex Bibliotheca Kijovo Mohilana

2 (a). Πασχαλιον Αιωνιον Μετα Καινης, και Συνοπτικης Μεθοδου Προχειρον Τοις Πασι, Βενετιις: Παρα Ιωαννη Αντωνιω (1646)

2 (b). Sebastian Glavinich, *Spiritus Salutis Sive Spiritus Sanctus in Die Pentecostes Apostolis immissus, Academica Oratione celebra-tus. Anno 1660. Die XVI Maij*, Viennae Austriae: Typis Matthaei Cosmerovij, S. C. M. Typographi Aulici [1660]

2 (c). Johannes Meier, *Calendarium abyz Pragnosticum, in Annum a Nati[uitat]e Christi* M.DC.LXV
Manuscript, 16 fols.

2 (d). Stephan Fu[sz]mann, *Quaedum notatu Signa, excerptu e Calendario, in annum reparantae Salutis* M.DC.LXVI
Manuscript, 21+3 fols.

3. Thoma Stapleton, *Promptuarium morale super Euangelia dominicalia Totius anni*, Parisiis: Apud Franciscum Iacquin, via Latomorum, propé Sorbonam (1627), 8°
Bxx 10/426
(1) Patris Matthi[as] Wicl[ycz]
(2) [...] Nicolai [R...] [1637] (illegible, crossed out)
(3) Ex bibl. Kiiouomohilaeana

4. Hadrianus Card[inalis], *De modis lati[ne] loq[uendi]*, s. l., s. a., no title page, 8°
Bxxiv 10/288
Ex Bibl. Kievomohilan[a]

5. *Joachimi Fortii Ringelbergii Andoverpiani Opera*, Lugduni: Apud Antonium Vincentium (1556), 8°
Bxxxi 7/231
(1) Ex libris Indigni Jeromonachi Innocentij [Traneuicz]
(2) Hunc librum habeo a [...] Innocentio [I...]rzewicz N. [Pobes...] [Baranouski] [...] [...]gui officio [membris] mihi oblatus ab eodem. Ano Dni 1690 Mense Mai 13
(3) Ex Bibliotheca Cyouo-Mohilaeana
(4) Ex Bibl. Kijevomohilana

6. Jacobus Gretser, S. J., *Institutionum linguae graecae, Libri III*, Ingolstadii: Ex Typographeo Adami Sartorii (1615), 8°
Bxxxiv 9/480
(1) Ex Bibliotheca Mohilana
(2) Ex Bib. Kiievo Mohilana
(2) Ex Bibliotheca Academiae Kiiowiensis

7. Jacobus Gretser, S. J., *Institutiones linguae graecae*, Coloniae Agrippinae: Sumptibus Antonii Hierati (1619), 8°
B xxxiv 9/481
(1) Ex Bibliotheca Kievo Mohilana
(2) Ex Libris Basilii Hryhorowicz
(3) Ex Bibliotheca illustrissimi Metropolitae Beniamin
(4) Ex Bibliotheca Kiowiensis

8. Adam Opatovius, S. J., *Tractatum theologicorum, Ex I[ma] p[arte] Doct. Angelici [Thomae]*, Cracoviae: In Officina Typ. Christophori Schedelii S. R. M. typ. (1644), 2º
Sof. 465 (b)
(1) Gregorius Shybinski Phylosophus [artium liberatum doctor... licentiatus]
(2) Meletij Dzik Monachi ordinae S. Basily Magni
(3) Bibliothecae Mohilaeanae applicatus post obitum
(4) Ad numerum librorum Bibliothecae KijovoKathedralis

9. Hannibal Rosselius, *Pymander Mercurii Trismegisti cum commento*, Cracoviae: In Officina Typographica Lazari (1585), Fº
Sof. 468
(1) [...] Bernardin[...] (erased)
(2) Liber ille donatus Mitrophani Orlowski ab illustrissimo Metropolita Demetrio Sawier Roxowiensi Jaroslawiensi [ame...]. Donatus B-cae Kijouomohilaeanae
(3) Hic liber dictus Pymander inventus in monasterjo Krupycko-Baturino et applicatus est Bibliothecae Cathedralis monasterij Sancta Sophia anno 1755
(4) Spectat ad Bibliothecam monasterij Cathedralis S. Sophiae ex 1755 anno

10. Philipp Melanchton, *Loci praecipui theologici*, Lipsiae: Omnia in officina Valentini Papae elaborata, atque edita (1549), 8º
Bxiv 9/339; Pal. 1255
(1) Ex libris [Symeona Safonowicza] Dono [...] (crossed out)
(2) Sam[soneom] Safonouicz Smatha de Molodilczy[...]
(2) Ex libris Meletij Dzik M:O:SM:B
(3) Bibliothecae Mohiliana donatus

11. *Novus orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum*, Basileae: Apud Ioannem Hervagium (1532), Fº
Sof. 1039; Pal. 1675a
(1) Ex libris Innocentii Terpilowskij
(2) Bibliothecae Mohilaeanae applicatus
(3) Ex Libris Ioannis [Kortimo]
(4) Ex Bibliotheca Mohiliana Kiiouiensis
(5) Kievosofiiskoi biblioteki 185[9?] g[oda]

11 (a). A. Guagninus, *Sarmatiae Europeae descriptio*, Cracow (1578)

Manuscripts

1. *Prima Pars Theologiae audita est* [...] (the rest of the title placed at the bottom of the title page is absent, perhaps cut off when the manuscript was bound; according to the inscription on p. 743, the course was read in one of the Jesuit schools, probably the Jesuit Vilnius Academy, in 1692). The manuscript includes two treatises: *De Deo Uno et Trino* (pp. 1-884), and *De Angelis* (pp. 885-992). 4º, 992 pp.
IM VNLU, 539/216s
(1) Adalberti Radawski
(2) Ex Bibliotheca Mohylaeana

2. *Penarium Tullianae eloquentiae ad usus politicos Roxolanae juventuti in Collegio Kijovomohilaeano a reverendo patre praefecto et professore Rhetorices Ioasaph*

Krokowski accomodatum et reseratum anno salutis humanae restauratae 1683, 4°, 288 fols.

IM VNLU, 653/444 s.
Ex Bibliotheca Kiewomohilae[ana]

3. [Collection of various treatises]: (1) *Polonia extra Poloniam circumferenda, seu Methodus orationum continuo domi, extra subinde, Polonae juventuti usui futurarum tradita in Collegio Sapiehano Brestensi Societatis Jesu (per Theodorum Koszczakowski), anno Oratoris in carne Dei 1686 in annum 1687, 3 Decembris* (fols. 1-58); (2) *Tractatus contiẽns resolutiones practicas in materia justitiae* (fols. 63-98); (3) *Praelectiones moralis Theologiae de praeceptis Decalogi primae tabulae, usibus cleri sarcedotii dio-ceseos Brestensis ac Luceoriensis extraditae in Collegio Brestensi Sapiehano Societatis Iesu, anno... 1686* (fols. 99-147); (4) *Augustisssimi verbi incarnati miserium contra Arianos, Eutichianos, Néstorianos, Machometanos, Iudaeos et Gentiles e sensu Orthodoxae ecclesiae propugnatum* (fols. 148-156); (5) *Praelectiones philosophicae [seu] Dialectica* (the course was read in the Lublin Jesuit College in 1687) (fols. 162-179); (6) *Summulae Dialecticae* (the course was read in the Brest Sapieha College in 1687) (fols. 182-204); 4°, 204 fols.

IM VNLU, 655/447 s
(1) Ex Libris Filareti Koszczakowski indigni monachi Mezihoriensis m. p.
(2) Ex Bibliotheca Kijovo Mohilana

4. *Partitionis oratoriae seu Orator Compendiose instructus praeceptis e Tullio petitis anno Domini 1693 Iaroslaviae*, 4°, 199 fols.

IM VNLU, 662/451 s
Ex Bibliotheca Kijouo Mohilana

5. *Arithmetica et Mathematica*, 4°, 151 fols.

IM VNLU, 722/577 s
Ex Bibliotheca Kiovo Mohilana

6. *Orator ad genium et ingenium eruditi saeculi formatus anno facundi Oratoris Dei 1683, Iaroslaviae*, 4°, 86 fols.

IM VNLU, 299p/96
(1) Ex Libris Ioannicij [O]rlowski
(2) Ex Bibliotheca Kievomohiliana

IV. *Books of Rafail Zaborovsky*

1. [*Biblia Graeca*], I-III: *Vetus Testamentum ex versione Septuaginta interpretum*, Tiguri Helvetiorum: Ex officina Joannis Heideggeri & Soc. (1730-32); [V]: *Novum Testamentum graecum*, Tubingae: Sumptibus Jo. Georgii Cottae (1734); [VI]: *Apparatus criticus*, [Tubingae?], s. a., 4°, 5 vols.

Ai 3/25
Hunc Librum applicauit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijoviensis Illustrissimus Raphael Zaborowski Dei Grâtia Archiepiscopus Kijoviensis Halicensis et parua Russiae, Sacrarum Literarum Orientalium in Academia Kijowiensi conditor munificentissimus per me infimum Suum Clientem Hieromonachum Simonem

Krokowski accomodatum et reseratum anno salutis humanae restauratae 1683, 4°, 288 fols.

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IM VNLU, 662/451 s
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5. *Arithmetica et Mathematica*, 4°, 151 fols.

IM VNLU, 722/577 s
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Ai 3/25
Hunc Librum applicauit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijoviensis Illustrissimus Raphael Zaborowski Dei Grâtia Archiepiscopus Kijoviensis Halicensis et parua Russiae, Sacrarum Literarum Orientalium in Academia Kijowiensi conditor munificentissimus per me infimum Suum Clientem Hieromonachum Simonem

Todorski Linguarum orientalium ibidem Professorem Publicum Ordinarium Anno D: 1741

2. Cunradus Dietericus [Conrad Dietrich], *Analysis Evangeliorum dominicalium*, Marpurgi Cattorum: Typis & Sumptibus Nicolai Hampelii, Academ. Typogr. (1631), 4°
Aii 3/58
(1) Ex Libris Raphaëlis Zaborowski
(2) Hunc Librum applicauit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijoviensis Illustrissimus Raphael Zaborowski Dei Gratia Archiepiscopus Kijoviensis Halicensis et Parva Russiae Anno 1741

2 (a). Cunradus Dietericus, *Analysis Evangeliorum, Quae Diebus Festis D. Apostolorum*, Marpurgi Cattorum: Typis & Sumptibus Nicolai Hampelii, Academ. Typogr. (1631)

3. Georgius Pasor, *Lexicon graeco-latinum in Novum Testamentum*, Lipsiae: Sumptibus Jo. Frid. Gleditschii B. Filii (1735), 4°
Aiii 7/208
Hunc Librum applicauit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijoviensis Illustrissimus Raphael Zaborowski Dei Gratia Archiepiscopus Kijoviensis Halicensis et parua Russiae, Sacrarum Literarum Orientalium in Academia Kijowiensi conditor munificentissimus per me infimum Suum Clientem Hieromonachum Simonem Todorski Linguarum orientalium ibidem Professorem Publicum Ordinarium Anno D. 1741

4. Mattaeus Polus, *Synopsis criticorum Sacrae Scripturae*, in 2 vols. Ultrajecti: Sumptibus Johannis Ribbii, Johannis van de Water & Francisci Halmai Sociorum (1684), F°
Aiv 1/3, 2/3
(1) Ex Libris Raphaëlis Plescoviensis Episcopi
(2) Hunc Synopsis Criticorum etc. applicauit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijoviensis Humilis Raphaël Zaborowski Archiepiscopus Kijoviensis etc.
Qui post modum factus est Metropolita simulq. Archiepiscopus

5. Theophylactus Archiepiscopus Bulgariae, *In Pauli epistolas commentarii*, Londini: E Typographeo Regio (1636), F°
Axii 2/16 (2)
Hunc Librum applicauit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijoviensis Raphael Zaborowski Dei Gratia Archiepiscopus Kijoviensis Halicensis et Parva Russiae Anno 1741

6. Nicolaus Hemmingius, *Enchiridion theologicum*, Lipsiae: Imprimebat Joannes Steinman (1581), 8°
B xvi 9/402
Hunc Librum applicauit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijoviensis Illustrissimus Raphael Zaborowski Dei Gratia Archiepiscopus Kijoviensis Halicensis et Parva Russiae

7. Philip Lonicer, *Theatrum historicum sive Promptuarium Illustrium Exemplorum ad Honeste, Pie, Beateque Vivendum*, Witebergae: Excudebat Laurentius Seuberlich, Impensis Samuel Selfisch (1604), 4°
Bxvii 5/98 (2)

(1) Ex donatic. D. L[...tt...]
(2) Ex Libris Raphaelis Zaborowski
(3) applicatus est Bibliothjecae AcademiaeKijoviensis Anno Domini 1741
(4) Hic Liber Academiae Kiieuomohilozaborowscianae

8. Josephus Mansius [Guiseppe Mansi], *Locupletissima bibliotheca moralis praedicabilis*, vol. 1, Augustae Vindelicorum & Graecii: Sumptibus Philippi, ac Martini Veith, et Joannis Fratris Haered[u]m (1732), F°
Bxix 2/16
Tomum hunc Academiae Kijoviensis Bibliothecae adiunxit Humilis Raphaël Zaborowski [...] Archiepiscopus Kijoviensis etc. Anno Domini 1741

9. Felix Bidembachius, *Promptuarii exequialis*, Lubecae: Typis et Sumptibus Samuelis Jaucii (1618), 4°
Bxx 6/113
Hunc librum applicauit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijoviensis Illustrissimus Raphael Zaborowski Dei Gratia Archiepiscopus Kijoviensis Halicensis et parua Russiae Anno D: 1741

10. Simon Paulus Sverinensis, *Dispositio in partes orationis rhetoricae, Prima pars*, Magdeburgi: Excudebat VVolfgangus Kirchnerus (1583), 4°
Bxx 10/421
(1) Hunc Librum applicauit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijoviensis Illustrissimus Raphael Zaborowski Archiepiscopus Kijoviensis Halicensis et Parva Russiae Anno D: 1741
(2) Ex Bibliotheca Kiewo-MohyloZaborowsciana

Simon Paulus Sverinensis, *Dispositio in partes orationis rhetoricae, Secunda pars,* Magdeburgi: [?] (1569), 4°
Bxx 10/421
(1) Hunc Librum [...] Cantor [...]
(2) Hunc Librum applicauit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijoviensis Illustrissimus Raphael Zaborowski Dei Gratia Archiepiscopus Kijoviensis Halicensis et Parva Russiae Anno Domini 1741

11. Abraham Scultetus, *Idea concionum dominicalium*, Hanoviae: Typis Wechelianis apud haeredes Claudii Marnii (1614), 4°
Bxx 10/423
(1) Jacobus Gnospelius
(2) Hunc Librum applicauit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijoviensis Illustrissimus Raphael Zaborowski Dei Gratia Archiepiscopus Kijoviensis Halicensis et Parva Russiae Anno 1741

12. [Christophorus Obenhinius], *Promptuarium sacrorum exemplorum*, s. l., [published after 1600?], 4°
Bxxii 10/207
(1) Hunc Librum applicauit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijoviensis Illustrissimus Raphael Zaborowski Dei Gratia Archiepiscopus Kijoviensis Halicensis et Parva Russiae Anno Domini 1741
(2) Ex Bibliotheca Academiae Kioviensis

13. Eric Benzelius, *Breviarum historiae ecclesiasticae*, Strengnesii: Impensis & typis Johan. Billingsley (1695), 8°
Bxxxviii 9/490
Hunc Librum applicauit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijoviensis Illustrissimus Raphael Zaborowski Dei Gratia Archiepiscopus Kijoviensis Halicensis et Parva Russiae Anno D: 1741

14. D. O. M. A. *Epitome historiae ecclesiasticae Novi Testamenti*, Aboae: Excudit Johannes Winter / Typographus Regius in M. Ducat. Finland (1681), 8°
Bxli 4/48
Hunc Librum applicauit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijoviensis Illustrissimus Raphael Zaborowski Dei Gratia Archiepiscopus Kijoviensis Halicensis et Parva Russiae Anno Domini 1741

15. *Liber Psalmorum*, s. l., s. a., no title page, 16°
Sof. 26
(1) [...] applicatus [...] Raphael Zaborowski Dei Gratia Archiepiscopus Anno D. 1741 [erased]
(2) Hic Liber Domino [...] habere Duos possidet ei civilius Nehrobecky

15 (a). D. Georg. Maior, *Cantica ex Sacris Litteris, in Ecclesia Cantari Solita*, [VVitebergae: Ex typographia Zacharide Lehmanni (1588)]

V. *Books of Joseph Iamnitsky*

1. Abraham Trommius, *Concordantiae graecae Versionis Vulgo Dictae*, in 2 vols. Amstelodami et Trajecti ad Rhenum: Sumptibus Societatis (1718), F°
Aiii 1/16
(1) Concordantiae istae venerunt dono Hiero-Monacho Joseph Jamnickio ab Eminentissimo Domino Kre[...] Ambrosio Juszkewicz Archiepiscopo Velikonovogrodensi Velikolucensi jn tesseram Pastoralis Benedictionis et Paternae Benevolentiae Anno Dni 1744 Februarij 6ta (vol. 1 only)
(2) Librum Applicavit Bibliothecae academiae Kijoviensis Novogrodensis Abbas Josephus Jamnickj ano 1749 maij 1 die (both vols.)

2. Joannes Franciscus Buddeus, *Institutiones theologiae dogmaticae*, in 2 vols., Lipsiae: Ex Officina Thomae Fritschii (1724), 4°
Bxiv 8/308
Hunc Librum Bibliothecae academiae Kijoviensis applicavit Welykonovogrodensis Abbas Josephus Jamnickj ano 1749 maij 1 die

3. Henricus Alting, *Theologia elenctica nova*, Amstelodami: Apud Joannem Janssonium (1654), 4°
Bxv 7/196
(1) Sum Henrici Thomae [...] Prussi [Ged.] Ad 1677
(2) Erased, illegible
(3) Hunc Librum Bibliothecae academiae Kijoviensis applicavit Novogrodensis Abbas Josephus Jamnickj anno 1749 maij 1 die

VI. *Books of Timofei Shcherbatsky*

1. Sebastianus Schmidius, *Commentarius in epistolam Pauli ad hebraeos*, Lipsiae: Apud Jacobum Schuster (1722), 4°

Aiii 4/72

(1) Ex libris Timothei Szczerbacki Thaumaturgae Laurae Peczariensis Abbatis

(2) Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Kijoviensis Illustrissimus Archiepiscopus Metropolita Kijoviensis Halicensis et Parvae Russiae Tymotheus Szczerbackj 1757 anno

(3) Ex Bibliotheca Academiae Kijoviensis

2. Νικολαω Καραγιανη, Αντωνιου Κατηφορου... Περιεχουσα... Ποιητικη Μεθοδον, Ενετιησιν: Παρα Αντωνιω τω Βορτολι (1734), 8°

Bxxiv 10/280

Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Kiiowiensi Illustrissimus Metropolita Kijoviensis Halicensis et Parvae Russiae Tymotheus Szczerbackj Anno D-ni 1748

3. Constantinus Lascaris Byzantinus, *Grammaticae Compendium, Graecae linguae Studiosis aptissimum*, Basileae: Al. Manut. studio, indust[riis?] [Ex offic. Joannis Oporini?] (1547), 8°

Bxxxiv 9/491; Pal. 1311

Hunc librum applicavit Bibliothecae Kijoviensis Illustrissimus Metropolita Archiepiscopus Kijoviensis Halicensis et Parvae Rossiae [Tymotheus Szczerbackj] Anno D-ni 1748

VII. *Books of Hylarion, Bishop of Sarai and Podonie*

1. Heinricus Reinesius, *Extensio theologiae technicae*, Francofurti et Lipsiae: Sumptibus Nicolai Forsteri, Bibl. Hanov. (1696), 16°

Ai 9/386

Ex Bibliotheca Sanctissimae Synodi membri illustrissimi Hylarionis Episcopi Sarsensis et Podonensis Anno Domini 1752 Mense Januario applicatus est Bibliothecae Kiovomohylaeanae. Quem librum si quis ab ista Bibliotheca sub qualicunq. praetextu surrepserit esto anathema et sors ejus cum Juda proditore et cum his qui adversus Christum clamabant Crusifige, Crusifige [eum?]

1 (a). Jo. Thaddeus, *Conciliatorium Biblicum*, Francofurti: Impensis Jo. Justi Erytropili (1696)

2. Georgius Pasor, *Lexicon graeco-latinum in Novum Testamentum*, Herbornae Nassoviorum: [Typis Georgii Corvini, & Johan-Georgii Muderspachii] [1663?], 8°

Aiii 8/265

(1) Sum ex libris Georgii de Rente[...] Heliconis culminem frequent[at]. Revaliae Ad 1725 dj 12 August. [...]

(2) Ex Bibliotheca illustrissimi Archiphilis Petri Smilicz

(3) Ex Bibliotheca Sanctissimae Synodi membri illustrissimi Hylarionis Episcopi Sarsensis et Podonensis [etc., see no. 1]

2 (a). Georgius Pasor, *Etyma Nominum Propriorum... Hebraeorum, Syriacorum & Latinorum*, Herbornae Nassoviorum (1663)

3. Balthasar Corderius, S. J., *Expositio patrum graecorum in Psalmos*, in 3 vols., Antverpeae: Ex Officina Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti (1643-6), F^{o}
Ax 1/2
Ex Bibliotheca Sanctissimae Synodi membri illustrissimi Hylarionis Episcopi Sarsensis et Podonensis [etc., see no. 1]

4. *Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera*, Coloniae: Sumptibus Mavritii Georgii Weidmanni (1690), 2^{o}
Axi 3/25 (7)
Ex Bibliotheca Sanctissimae Synodi membri illustrissimi Hylarionis Episcopi Sarsensis et Podonensis [etc., see no. 1]

5. Joannes Kaufmann, *Philosophia cordis profano-sacra*, Francofurti: Sumptib. Joan. Conradi Wohler, Bibliopolae Ulmensis (1715), 16^{o}
Bxv 9/427
(1) Ex bibliotheca Illustrissimi Archiphilis Petri Smilicz
(2) Ex Bibliotheca Sanctissimae Synodi membri illustrissimi Hylarionis Episcopi Sarsensis et Podonensis Anno Domini 1752 Mense Januario
(3) Ex Bibliotheca Sanctissimae Synodi membri illustrissimi Hylarionis Episcopi Sarsensis et Podonensis [etc., see no. 1]

5 (a). *Consilia Salomonis, sive Collecta Salomonis axiomata*, Coloniae Agrippinae: Sumtibus Haeredum Joannis Wiedenfelt, & Godefridi de Berges (1694)

5 (b). *Continuatio Consiliorum Sapientiae sive Axiomata Salomonis*, Coloniae Agrippinae: Sumtibus Haeredum Joannis Wiedenfelt, & Godefridi de Berges (1694)

5 (c). *Cura Innocentiae in primo flore servandae* Authore Quodam e Societate Jesu Sarcedote, Coloniae: Sumtibus Vidae Godefridi Meucher (1717)

6. Philippides Lusitanus, *Summa praedicantium ex omnibus Locis Communibus locupletissima*, in 2 vols., Venetiis: Apud Sebastianum de Combis (1614), 4^{o}
Bxix 4/113
Ex Bibliotheca Sanctissimae Synodi membri illustrissimi Hylarionis Episcopi Sarsensis et Podonensis [etc., see no. 1]

7. Melchior Mittelholzerus, *Florilegium Anglicanum sive Concionum Miscellanearum... Centuria*, Genevae: Apvd Samvelem de Tovrnes (1686), 4^{o}
Bxx 6/127
ex Bibliotheca Sanctissimae Synodi membri illustrissimi Hylarionis Episcopi Sarsensis et Podonensis [etc., see no. 1]

8. Antonius Mizaldus [Mizauld, Antoine], *Mizaldus redivivus, sive Centuriae XII*, Noribergae: Impensis Johannis Zigeri Bibliopol.; Typis Andreae Knorzii (1681), 12^{o}
Bxxv 10/315

Ex Bibliotheca Sanctissimae Synodi membri illustrissimi Hylarionis Episcopi Sarsensis et Podonensis [etc., see no. 1]

8 (a). Julius Caesar Scaliger, Marcus Antonius Zimareus, Alexandrus Aphrodiseus, *Aristotelis aliorumque problemata*, Amstelodami: Apud Janssoni Waesbergios (1686)

8 (b). Gulielm Cockburn [William Cock of Edinburgh], *Oeconomia Corporis Animalis*, Augustae Vindelicorum: Impensis Kronigeri Haeredum Goebelij (1696)

9. Antonius Itter, *Synopsis philosophiae moralis*, Francofurti: Sumptibus Caspari Waechtleri; Typis Balthasaris Christophori Wustii (1670), 16º

Bxxv 10/322

(1) Ex Bibliotheca illustrissimi Archiphilis Petri Smilicz

(2) Ex Bibliotheca Sanctissimae Synodi membri illustrissimi Hylarionis Episcopi Sarsensis et Podonensis Anno Domini 1752 Mense Januario

(3) Ex Bibliotheca Sanctissimae Synodi membri illustrissimi Hylarionis Episcopi Sarsensis et Podonensis [etc., see no. 1]

10. *Valerii Maximi directorum factorumque memorabilium, Libri IX*, Coloniae Allobrogum: Apud Petrum et Jacobum Chouët (1618), 16º

Bxxxi 6/362

(1) Ex Bibliotheca illustrissimi Archiphilis Petri Smilicz

(2) Ex Bibliotheca Sanctissimae Synodi membri illustrissimi Hylarionis Episcopi Sarsensis et Podonensis [etc., see no. 1]

11. G. H. Nieupoort, *Succincta explicatio rituum qui olim apud Romanos obtinuerunt ad intelligentiam veterum*, Budissae: Apud Davidem Richterum (1715), 8º

Bxxxi 8/321

(1) Hunc librum innueni optimae [spe...?] D-no Schussmanno dono dedit A. A. Nöbling

(2) Ex bibliotheca illustrissimi Archiphilis Petri Smilycz

(3) Kupleno u pastora 1741 godu mesiatsa fevralia

(4) Ex Bibliotheca Sanctissimae Synodi membri illustrissimi Hylarionis Episcopi Sarsensis et Podonensis Anno Domini 1752 Mense Januario

(5) Ex Bibliotheca Sanctissimae Synodi membri illustrissimi Hylarionis Episcopi Sarsensis et Podonensis [etc., see no. 1]

11 (a). *Ranae Ovidii Metamorphoseωv, Lib. IV*, detectae ac demonstratae ab Herm. von der Hardt, Helmstadi: Literis Hammianis (1711)

11 (b). Franciscus Sacchinus [Sacchini], S. J., *De ratione libros cum profectu legendi libellus*, Lipsiae: Apud Haeredes Johannis Grossi (1711)

11 (c). Olaus Borrichius, *De Causis Diversitatis Linguarum Dissertatio*, Ienae: Sumtu Tobiae Oehrlingii; Litteris Krebsianis (1704)

12. Johannes Ravsius, *Officina Theatrum Histor[icum] et Poeticum*, Basieae: Sumptibus Joannis Regis (1663), 8º

Bxxxii 5/430

(1) Ex bibliotheca illustrissimi Archiphilis Petri [Smilicz]

(2) Ex Bibliotheca Sanctissimae Synodi membri illustrissimi Hylarionis Episcopi Sarsensis et Podonensis [etc., see no. 1]

13. Joannes Gottlieb Heineccius, *Styli cultioris fundamenta regulis perspicuis adornata*, Francofurti ac Lipsiae: AGR (1730), 8°

Bxxxiv 8/321

(1) Ex bibliotheca illustrissimi Archiphilis Petri Smilicz

(2) Kupleno u pastora 1741 goda fevralia

(3) Ex Bibliotheca Sanctissimae Synodi membri illustrissimi Hylarionis Episcopi Sarsensis et Podonensis [etc., see no. 1]

14. Johannes Mattheus Meyfartus, M. Melchior Steinbruccius, *Mellificium oratorium*, Lipsius: Sumptibus Zachariae Schûreti et Mattiae Gôtzij; Excudebat Fridericus Lanckisch (1628), 8°

Bxxxiv 8/343

(1) Ex bibliotheca illustrissimi Archiphilis Petri Smilicz

(2) Ex Bibliotheca Sanctissimae Synodi membri illustrissimi Hylarionis Episcopi Sarsensis et Podonensis Anno Domini [1752 or 1754?] Mense Januario

(3) Ex Bibliotheca Sanctissimae Synodi membri illustrissimi Hylarionis Episcopi Sarsensis et Podonensis [etc., see no. 1]

15. Jacobus Wellerus, *Grammatica graeca nova*, Lipsiae: Sumptibus Haeredum B. Tarnovii; Literis Fleischerianis (1725), 8°

Bxxxvi 9/478

(1) Ex Bibliotheca Sanctissimae Synodi membri illustrissimi Hylarionis Episcopi Sarsensis et Podonensis Anno Domini 1752 Mense Januario

(2) Ex Bibliotheca Sanctissimae Synodi membri illustrissimi Hylarionis Episcopi Sarsensis et Podonensis [etc., see no. 1]

16. Ludovicus Holbergius, *Synopsis historiae universalis*, Lipsiae (1736), 8°

Bxlii 8/479

ex Bibliotheca Sanctissimae Synodi membri illustrissimi Hylarionis Episcopi Sarsensis et Podonensis [etc., see no. 1]

16 (a). Ludovicus Holbergius, *Compendium Geographicum in usum studiosae juventutis*, Lipsiae (1736)

17. Michael Martinus Mylius [Gorlicensis], *Brevis historiae universalis*, Gorlicii: ex Officina Libraria Marcheana, [after 1731], 8°

Bxlii 8/488

ex Bibliotheca Sanctissimae Synodi membri illustrissimi Hylarionis Episcopi Sarsensis et Podonensis [etc., see no. 1]

VIII. *Books of David Nashchinsky*

1. Heinrich Müller, *Evangelische Schluss-Rett und Kraft-Kern, oder gewöhnlichen Sonn- und Fest-Evangelien*, Francfurt am Mayn: Bey Andrea und Hort / Fleischer / Möller / Varrentrapp (1734), F°

Bxviii 2/74

Hunc librum applicavit Bibliothecae academiae Kiowiensis Reverendissimus P[ater] Archimandrita Slucensis et vicarius metropoleos Kiowiensis David Naszczynski anno 1756 febr: 23

2. Tobias Pfanner, *Christlicher Buss- und Lebens-Weg*, [Leipzig?]: Bey Joh. Friedrich Gleditschens seel. Sohn (1722), 8°

Bxlii 6/137

(1) Iz chisla knig Ieromonakha Davida Nashchinskogo. Tsena 1 r. 40 k.

(2) Hunc librum applicavit Bibliothecae academiae Kiowiensis Reverendissimus P[ater] Archimandrita Slucensis et vicarius metropoleos Kijoviensis David Naszczynski anno 1756 febr: 23 die (ownership inscription is repeated twice)

IX. *Books of Samuil Mislavsky*

1. *M. Tullii Ciceronis Epistolarum Libri XVI ad familiares ut vulgo vocantur*, Roterodami: Typis Regnerileers (1704), 8°

Bxxx 9/532

(1) Hunc Librum applicavit Academiae Kiioviensis Perillustris Abbas Monasterii Societatis nec non eiusdem Academiae Samuel Myslawskj Anno 1768 Septembri: Mense

(2) Ex libris Bibliotheca MogiloZaborowscianae

2. Josephus Juvencius, S. J., *Candidatus Rhetoricae*, [Basel? Paris?], (1738), 8°

Bxxxiv 8/329

Hunc Librum applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kiioviensis per illustrem Abbas Monasterii Societatis Nec non eiusdem Academiae Rector Samuel Myslawski Anno 1768. Mense Septembri

3. Theodoricus Morellus Campanus, *Enchiridion oratorium ad comparandam Synonimiam*, [Lipsius: Nicolaus Faber (1529)?], 8°

Bxxxii 8/855; Pal. 1363

Hunc Librum applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kiioviensis Per illustrem Abbas Monasterii Societatis Nec non eiusdem academiae Rector Samuel Myslawskj Anno 1768. Mense Septembri

X. *Books of Cyrill Florinsky*

1. Alfonsus Salmeronis Toletanus, S. J., *Opera: Commentarii in Evangelicam historiam et in Acta Apostolorum*, 14 [10] vols., some bound together: (1), (2+3), (4+5), (6+7), (8), (9), (10+11), (12), (14), (16), Coloniae Agrippinae: Apud Antonium Hierat, et Ioan. Gymni [Gymnicum, Sub Monocerote] (1612-1615), F°

Aiv 3/15

Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijowiensis Illustrissimus Dominus Cyrillis Florinskj Dei Gratia Episcopus Siewsk et Bransk Anno Domini 1770 Januarij 16 die

2. *Cyrilli Hierosolymorum Archiepiscopi Opera*, Lutetiae Parisiorum: Sumptibus Dionysii Bechet, via Iacobaea sub Scuto Solari (1640), F°

Axi 2/16

(1) Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijowiensis Illustrissimus Dominus Cyrillis Florinskj Dei Gratia Episcopus Siewsk et Bransk Anno Domini 1770 Januarij 16 die

(2) V biblioteku

2 (a). *Synesii Episcopi Cyrenis Opera Quae extant Omnia*, Lutetiae Parisiorum: Sumptibus Dionysii Bechet, via Iacobaea sub Scuto Solari (1640)

3. Enevaldus Svenonius, *Artificum delilae mysticum*, Aboae: Impressum a Petro Hansonio, Acad. Typ. (1673), 4°

Bxv 9/372, (1)

(1) E Bibliotheca illustrissimi Episcopi Siewsk et Brjansk Cyrilli Florinskj Bibliothecae Academiae Kijoviensis applicatus anno 1770 januarii 16 die

(2) v biblioteku Kievskuiu

4. M. l'Abbé Ballet, *Histoire des temples des payens, des juifs, et des chrêtiens*, Paris: Chez Cailleau, Libraire Quay des Augustina à St. André (1760), 8°

Bxviii 9/457

Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijowiensis Illustrissimus Dominus Cyrillis Florinskj Dei Gratia Episcopus Siewsk et Bransk Anno Domini 1770 Januarij 16 die

5. Thomas Mangeart, *Octave de Sermons pour les morts avec un Traité théologique sur le Purgatoire*, in 2 vols., Nancy: Chez Leseure Imprimeur-Libraire, proche la Paroisse S. Sebastien (1739), 8°

Bxix 10/635

(1) Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijowiensis Illustrissimus Dominus Cyrillis Florinskj Dei Gratia Episcopus Siewsk et Bransk Anno Domini 1770 Januarij 16 die

(2) V biblioteku

6. *Sermons pour tous les dimanches et grandes fêtes de l'année*, vols. 2-4, Brusselle: Chez François Foppens (1710), 8°

Bxx 9/356

Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijowiensis Illustrissimus Dominus Cyrillis Florinskj Dei Gratia Episcopus Siewsk et Bransk Anno Domini 1770 Januarij 16 die

7. *Acta et decreta secundae synodi provinciae Ultrajectensis In Sacello Ecclesiae Parochialis Sanctae Gertrudis, Ultrajecti, celebratae Die xiii Septembris 1763*, Ultrajecti: Sumptibus Societatis (1764), 8°

Bxxi 9/161

(1) Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijowiensis Illustrissimus Dominus Cyrillis Florinskj Dei Gratia Episcopus Siewsk et Bransk Anno Domini 1770 Januarij 16 die

(2) V biblioteku

2. *Cyrilli Hierosolymorum Archiepiscopi Opera*, Lutetiae Parisiorum: Sumptibus Dionysii Bechet, via Iacobaea sub Scuto Solari (1640), F°

Axi 2/16

(1) Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijowiensis Illustrissimus Dominus Cyrillis Florinskj Dei Gratia Episcopus Siewsk et Bransk Anno Domini 1770 Januarij 16 die

(2) V biblioteku

2 (a). *Synesii Episcopi Cyrenis Opera Quae extant Omnia*, Lutetiae Parisiorum: Sumptibus Dionysii Bechet, via Iacobaea sub Scuto Solari (1640)

3. Enevaldus Svenonius, *Artificium delilae mysticum*, Aboae: Impressum a Petro Hansonio, Acad. Typ. (1673), 4°

Bxv 9/372, (1)

(1) E Bibliotheca illustrissimi Episcopi Siewsk et Brjansk Cyrilli Florinskj Bibliothecae Academiae Kijoviensis applicatus anno 1770 januarii 16 die

(2) v biblioteku Kievskuiu

4. M. l'Abbé Ballet, *Histoire des temples des payens, des juifs, et des chrêtiens*, Paris: Chez Cailleau, Libraire Quay des Augustina à St. André (1760), 8°

Bxviii 9/457

Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijowiensis Illustrissimus Dominus Cyrillis Florinskj Dei Gratia Episcopus Siewsk et Bransk Anno Domini 1770 Januarij 16 die

5. Thomas Mangeart, *Octave de Sermons pour les morts avec un Traité théologique sur le Purgatoire*, in 2 vols., Nancy: Chez Leseure Imprimeur-Libraire, proche la Paroisse S. Sebastien (1739), 8°

Bxix 10/635

(1) Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijowiensis Illustrissimus Dominus Cyrillis Florinskj Dei Gratia Episcopus Siewsk et Bransk Anno Domini 1770 Januarij 16 die

(2) V biblioteku

6. *Sermons pour tous les dimanches et grandes fêtes de l'année*, vols. 2-4, Brusselle: Chez François Foppens (1710), 8°

Bxx 9/356

Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijowiensis Illustrissimus Dominus Cyrillis Florinskj Dei Gratia Episcopus Siewsk et Bransk Anno Domini 1770 Januarij 16 die

7. *Acta et decreta secundae synodi provinciae Ultrajectensis In Sacello Ecclesiae Parochialis Sanctae Gertrudis, Ultrajecti, celebratae Die xiii Septembris 1763*, Ultrajecti: Sumptibus Societatis (1764), 8°

Bxxi 9/161

(1) Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijowiensis Illustrissimus Dominus Cyrillis Florinskj Dei Gratia Episcopus Siewsk et Bransk Anno Domini 1770 Januarij 16 die

(2) V biblioteku

8. R. P. Philippi, S. J., *Speculum monasticum in quo totius Religiosae disciplinae Casus*, in 2 vols., Lugduni: Apud I. Matthaeum Martin via Mercatoria sub signo Bibliae Aurae (1687), 8°

Bxxi 9/175

(1) Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijowiensis Illustrissimus Dominus Cyrillis Florinskj Dei Gratia Episcopus Siewsk et Bransk Anno Domini 1770 Januarij 16 die

(2) V biblioteku

9. Claudius de Ferriere, *Institutiones Justiniani singulari methodo illustratae et cum jure Gallico collatae*, Parisiis: Apud Joannem Cochart, in Palatio ad quintam Columnam magnae Aulae, sub signo Sancti Spiritus (1676), 8°

Bxxi 9/198

(1) Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijowiensis Illustrissimus Dominus Cyrillis Florinskj Dei Gratia Episcopus Siewsk et Bransk Anno Domini 1770 Januarij 16 die

(2) V biblioteku

10. *Thomi Mori Angli Omnia... Latina Opera*, Lovanii: Apud Petrum Zangrium Tiletanum, sub Fonte (1566), F°

Bxxii 2/43

(1) Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijowiensis Illustrissimus Dominus Cyrillis Florinskj Dei Gratia Episcopus Siewsk et Bransk Anno Domini 1770 Januarij 16 die

(2) V biblioteku

11. B. d. S. *Opera posthuma Quorum series post Praefationem exhibitur*, s. l. (1677), 2°

Bxxvi 5/48

Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijowiensis Illustrissimus Dominus Cyrillis Florinskj Dei Gratia Episcopus Siewsk et Bransk Anno Domini 1770 Januarij 16 die

11 (a). *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, Hamburgi: Apud Henricum Künrath (1670)

12. Christiano L. B. de Wolff, *Institutiones juris naturae et gentium*, Halae Magdeburgicae: Prostat in Officina Rengeriana (1750), 8°

Bxxv 9/261 (1)

Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijowiensis Illustrissimus Dominus Cyrillis Florinskj Dei Gratia Episcopus Siewsk et Bransk Anno Domini 1770 Januarij 16 die

13. [*Principiorum Pantosophiae*], 3 parts bound together:

I. [Pars Prima]: *Specimen artis ratiocinandi naturalis & artificialis*;

II. Pars Secunda: [?]

III. Pars Tertia: *Effectus quos corpora mota in se invicem producunt*, Hamburgi: Apud Henricum Künraht (1684), 8°

Bxxvii 9/498

Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijowiensis Illustrissimus Dominus Cyrillis Florinskj Dei Gratia Episcopus Siewsk et Bransk Anno Domini 1770 Januarij 16 die

14. Iacobus Typotius, *Symbola Divina et Humana Pontificum Imperatorum Regum. Accessit breuis, & facilis Isagoge*, vol. 1, Pragae: S.C.M. sculptor Aegidius Sadeler excu. (1601), F^{o}

Bxxxii 1/25

(1) E Bibliotheca Illustrissimi Episcopi Siewsk et Briansk Cyrilli Florinskj Bibliothecae Academiae Kijoviensis Applicatus Anno 1770 januarii 16 die

(2) V biblioteku

Iacobus Typotius, *Symbola Varia Diuersorum Principum Sacrosanc. Ecclesiae & Sacri Imperij Romani*, vol. 2, Praga: S. C.M^{tis} Sculptor Aegidius Sadeler excudit (1602), F^{o}

Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijowiensis Illustrissimus Dominus Cyrillis Florinskj Dei Gratia Episcopus Siewsk et Bransk Anno Domini 1770 Januarij 16 die

15. M. Chompré, *Dictionnaire abrégé de la fable*, Paris: Chez Desaint & Saillant, rue S. Jean de Beauvais, vis-à-vis le Collége (1760), 8^{o}

Bxxxii 8/864

(1) Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijowiensis Illustrissimus Dominus Cyrillis Florinskj Dei Gratia Episcopus Siewsk et Bransk Anno Domini 1770 Januarij 16 die

(2) V biblioteku

16. Joannes Albertus Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina sive Notitia Auctorum Veterum Latinorum... in libros IV*, Hamburg: Sumptu Benjamini Schilleri; Leoburgi, Typis Pfeifferianis (1712), 8^{o}

Bxxxiv 8/379

(1) Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijowiensis Illustrissimus Dominus Cyrillis Florinskj Dei Gratia Episcopus Siewsk et Bransk Anno Domini 1770 Januarij 16 die

(2) V biblioteku

16 (a). Jo[annes] Albertus Fabricius, *Supplementum Bibliothecae Latinae*, Hamburgi: Sumptu Benjamini Schilleri, Typis Leoburgensibus Christ. Albr. Pfeifferi (1712)

17. Levinus Hulsius, *Impp. Romanorum numismatum series a C. Julio Caesare ad Rudolphum II*, Francofurti: Impensis authoris (1603), 8^{o}

Bxxxvii 10/614

(1) Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijowiensis Illustrissimus Dominus Cyrillis Florinskj Dei Gratia Episcopus Siewsk et Bransk Anno Domini 1770 Januarij 16 die

(2) V biblioteku

18. *Mémoires chronologiques et dogmatiques, pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique depuis 1600 jusqu'en 1716, avec des Réflexions et des Remarques critiques*, in 4 vols., s. l. (1739), 8^{o}

Bxxxix 10/675

Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijowiensis Illustrissimus Dominus Cyrillis Florinskj Dei Gratia Episcopus Siewsk et Bransk Anno Domini 1770 Januarij 16 die

19. Bartholomaeus Germon, S. J., *De veteribus haereticis ecclesiasticorum codicum corruptoribus*, Parisiis: Apud Le Comte & Montalant, Bibliopolas, ad Ripam Sequanae Augustinianam ad insigne Montis Pessulani (1713), 4°

Ci 9/477

Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijowiensis Illustrissimus Dominus Cyrillis Florinskj Dei Gratia Episcopus Siewsk et Bransk Anno Domini 1770 Januarij 16

20. Iohannes Pierius Bolzanius Valerianus, *Pro sacerdotum Barbis*, Parisiis: Excudebat Christianus Wechelus sub scuto Basiliensi, in uico Iacobaeo (1531), 8°

Bxv 9/345; Pal. 1257

(1) 15 k.

(2) Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijowiensis Illustrissimus Dominus Cyrillis Florinskj Dei Gratia Episcopus Siewsk et Bransk Anno Domini 1770 Januarij 16 die

(3) v Biblioteku

20 (a). Joannes Bauhoffer, *Conclusiones theologicae de virtute et sacramento poenitentiae*, Olomucii: Typis Ignatii Rosenburg (1704)

21. Polybius, *Les cinq premiers livres des histoires*, A Lion: Jan de Tournes (1558), F°

21 (a). Nicolaus Gerbelius, *Pro declaratione picturae siue descriptionis Graeciae Sophi⌐ani, Libri septem*, Basileae: Per Ioannem Oporinum [1550]

Bxxii 1/18; Pal. 1292

Hunc librum Applicavit Bibliothecae Academiae Kijowiensis Illustrissimus Dominus Cyrillis Florinskj Dei Gratia Episcopus Siewsk et Bransk Anno Domini 1770 Januarij 16 die

XI. *Books of Maksim Baranovich*

1. Johann Jacob Bräuner, *Thesaurus sanitatis oder Neueröffneter Schatz Menschlicher Gesundheit*, Franckfurt am Mayn: Verlegts Samuel Tobias Hocker (1712), 8°

Hiii 276 119

Hunc Librum applicauit Bibliothecae Academiae Kiioviensis Celeberrimus Medicinae Doctor Maximus Baranowitzius Anno Dni 1771 August 12 die

1 (b). Joannes Wolffgang Mondschein, *Die Wassersucht Nach Ursprung: Unterscheid und Wachsthum*, Hamburg (1712)

2. Felix Platerus [the Elder], *Observationum in Hominis... molestiâ et Vitio infensis, Libri tres*, Basileae: Impensis Ludovici König (1641), 8°

Hiii 396 239
Hunc Librum applicauit Bibliothecae Academiae Kiioviensis Celeberrimus Medicinae Doctor Maximus Baranowitzius Anno Dni 1771 August. 12.

2 (a). Georgius Bate, Ahasuerus Regemorterus, *De rachtide, sive Morbo Puerili Tractatus*, Lugduni Batavorum: Ex officina Cornelii Dr Jehuysen & Felicis Lopez (1671)

3. *De naturae Aliquot arcanis sympathiis at antipathiis, insignibusque medicamentis*, Bosphori: Apud Christophorum Iustinum (1622), 16°
Hiii 517 360
Hunc Librum applicauit Bibliothecae Academiae Kiioviensis Anno Dni 1771 August. 12 Celeberrimus Doctor Medicinae Maximus Baranowitzius qui fato defunctus est Anno 1770

3 (a). [Johannes Ulricus Weis], *Revelatio summi boni, coelestis et terrestris*, [Francofurti]: apud Matthaeum Mereanum Bibliop. Francof. inquiruntur et venundantur (1634)

4. Johann Joachim Becher, *Chymischer Glücks-Hafen, oder Grosse Chymische Concordantz und Collection*, Franckfurt: In Verlegung Johann Georg Schiele Buchhandlers (1682), 4°
Hiv 521.1
Hunc Librum applicauit Bibliothecae Academiae Kiioviensis Celeberrimus Medicinae Doctor Maximus Baranowitzius Anno Dni 1771 August. 12

5. Joh[ann] Joachim Becher, *Tripus hermeticus fatidicus, pandens oracula chymica*, Francofurti ad Moenum: Sumptibus Johannis Georgii Schiele (1689), 8°
Hiv 529.9
Hunc Librum applicauit Bibliothecae Academiae Kiioviensis Celeberrimus Medicinae Doctor Maximus Baranowitzius Anno Dni 1771 August 12 die

5 (a). Andreas Petermannus, *Chimia (opus posthumum)*, Lipsiae: Sumptibus Friderici Lanckisii (1708)

XII. *Books of Gavriil Kremenetsky*

1. *M. Tulli Ciceroni Epistolarum ad diversos, Libri XVI*, Lipsiae: In Officina Weidmanniana (1756), 16°
Bxxx 9/536
Hunc Librum Sanctissimi Dirigentis Synodi Membrum Illustrissimus Dominus Gabriel Kremenieckj Dei Gratia Archiepiscopus Metropolita Kioviensis Halicensis et Paruae Russiae applicauit Bibliothecae Academiae Kioviensis Anno Dni 1772 Septembr.

2. *Reestr rossiiskikh slov iz latinskago Gesnerova leksikona vybrannyi i po alfavitu raspolozhennyi* (Russian), Moscow: Imperial Moscow University (1768), 8°
Bxxxviii 7/351

Hunc Librum Sanctissimi Dirigentis Synodi Membrum Illustrissimus Gabriel Kremenieckj Dei Gratia Archiepiscopus Metropolita Kioviensis Halicensis & Paruae Russiae applicauit Bibliothecae Academiae Kioviensis Anno Dni 1772 Sept.

3. *Kratkoe poniatie o vsekh naukakh dlia upotrebleniia iunoshestva* [Translated from German], Moscow: Imperial Moscow University (1764), 8°

Diii 5

Hunc Librum Sanctissimi Dirigentis Synodi Membrum Illustrissimus Dominus Gabriel Kremenieckj Dei Gratia Archiepiscopus Metropolita Kioviensis Halicensis et Paruae Russiae applicauit Bibliothecae Academiae Kioviensis Anno Dni 1772 Septembr. 13 die

XIII. *Books of Varlaam Lashchevsky*

1. Augustinus Calmet, *Commentarius literalis in omnes Libros Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, vol. 7, Venetiis: Apud Sebastianum Coleti (1756), F°

Aiii 2/41

Ex Libris Archimandritae Donensis Barlaami Laszczewski Applicatus bibliothecae Academiae Kioviensis 1773 anno vitae huius Archimandritae 72

2. Henricus Optius, *Novum lexicon hebraeo-chaldaeo-biblicum*, Lipsiae et Francofurti: Apud Haeredes Gottfried Liebezeit, Bibliop. Hamburg. (1705), 4°

Aiv 4/38

(1) Ex Libris Simeonis Todorski qui Barlaamo Laszczewski donavit anno 17[4?]9 cum cerepit Instrui ab Code[m] Li[n]guae Hebraea in Collegio Kiowiensi

(2) ab eo vero applicatus e Bibliothecae Academiae Kiowiensis 1773 anno vitae ejus 72

3. Johannes Simonis, *Arcanum formarum nominum hebraeae linguae... Pars prior de Nominibus Nudis*, Halae Magdeburgicae: Impensis Orphanotrophei (1735), 4°

Aiv 4/40

Ex Libris Archimandritae Donensis Barlaami Laszczewski Applicatus bibliothecae Academiae Kioviensis 1774 Anno eius vitae 72

4. Johannes Simonis, *Onomasticum Veteris Testamenti, sive Tractatus Philologicus quo nomina V. T. propria ad Apellativorum analogiam reducta*, Halae Magdeburgicae: Impensis Orphanotrophei (1741), 4°

Aiv 4/41

Ex Libris Archimandritae Donensis Barlaami Laszczewski Applicatus bibliothecae Academiae Kioviensis 1773 anno vitae huius Archimandritae 72

5. Casparus Calvörius, *Corona duodecim stellarum sive Anniversarium Euangelico-epistolare Dodecaglottum ex Bibliis Anglicanis Criticis*, Lipsiae: Typis Henrici Christophori Takkii (1719), F°

Av 2/18

Ex Libris Archimandritae Donensis Barlaami Laszczewski Applicatus bibliothecae Academiae Kioviensis 1773 anno vitae huius Archimandritae 72

6. *Macarii Aegypti Opuscula nonnulla et Apophthegmata*, Lipsiae: In Bibliopolio Grossiano (1714), 8°

Avii 9/201 (3)
(1) Hieromonachi Barlaam Laszczewski
(2) Ex Libris Archimandritae Donensis Barlaami Laszczewski Applicatus bibliothecae Academiae Kioviensis 1774 Anno eius vitae 72

6 (a). *Macarii Aegypti Homiliae*, Lipsiae: In Bibliopolio Grossiano (1714)

7. *Theodoreti Episcopi Cyri [Dialogi tres]*, Tiguri: Apud Ioannem VVolphium (1594), 8°

A vii 9/208
Ex Libris Archimandritae Donensis Barlaami Laszczewski Applicatus bibliothecae Academiae Kioviensis 1774 Anno eius vitae 72

8. *Theodoreti Episcopi Cyri De providentia, Orationes decem*, Parisiis: Apud Franciscum Pelicanum, via Iakob. sub Pelicano e regione Iesuitarum (1630), 8°

A vii 9/210
Ex Libris Archimandritae Donensis Barlaami Laszczewski Applicatus bibliothecae Academiae Kioviensis 1774 Anno: eius vitae 72

9. *Expositio patrum graecorum in Psalmos*, vols. 1, 3, Antuerpiae: Ex officina Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti, (1643), F°

Ax 1/2 (3)
Ex Libris Archimandritae Donensis Barlaami Laszczewski Applicatus bibliothecae Academiae Kioviensis 1773 anno vitae huius Archimandritae 72

10. Antonius Possevinus Mantuanus [the Elder], S. J., *Bibliotheca selecta de Ratione Studiorum*, Coloniae Agrippinae: Apud Ioannem Gymnicum sub Monocerote (1607), 2°

Bxiii 4/84
Ex Libris Archimandritae Donensis Barlaami Laszczewski Applicatus bibliothecae Academiae Kioviensis 1773 anno: eius vitae 72

11. Robert Bellarmino, S. J., *De septem verbis a Christo in Cruce Prolatis, Libri duo*, Coloniae: Sumptibus Bernardi Gualtheri (1618), 12°

Bxvi 10/473
(1) Ex b-ca Kiiovomohylozaborovsciana
(2) Ex Libris Archimandritae Donensis Barlaami Laszczewski Applicatus bibliothecae Academiae Kioviensis 1773 anno: eius vitae 72

12. Basilius Fabrus, *Thesaurus eruditionis scholasticae*, in 2 vols., Lipsiae (1735), F°

Bxx 2/11
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Aviii 10/258
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(3) Hic libella pertinent ad Membrum Librorum HieroMonachi Rubeni Petolinskj Emptis Die 6 Novembrij, 1760 Anno 15 Kop[eyij]

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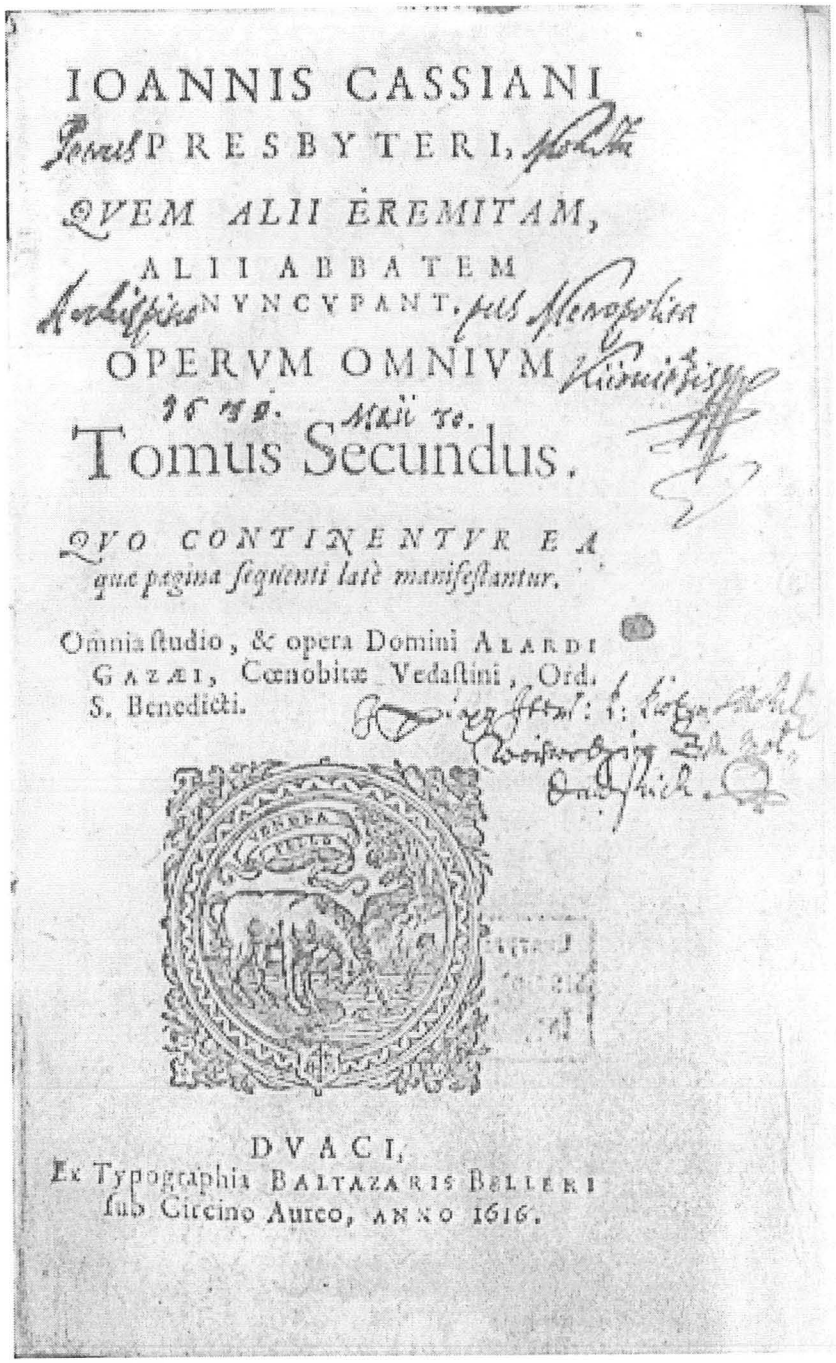
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Map of Eastern Europe in the early seventeenth century
(From D. A. Frick, *Meletij Smotryc'kyj*,
Cambridge, Mass., 1995, p. 20)



IOANNIS CASSIANI
PRESBYTERI,
QVEM ALII EREMITAM,
ALII ABBATEM
NVNCVPANT,
OPERVM OMNIVM
Tomus Secundus.

QVO CONTINENTVR EA
quæ pagina sequenti latè manifestantur.

Omnia studio, & opera Domini ALARDI
GAZÆI, Cœnobitæ Vedastini, Ord.
S. Benedicti.

DVACI,
Ex Typographia BALTAZARIS BELLERI
sub Circino Aureo, ANNO 1616.

Figure 1
The front page of the second volume of John Cassian's Opera omnia *(Douai, 1616) with two ownership inscriptions of Peter Mohyla*



Figure 2 (enlarged)
Small round stamp of Simeon Mohyla

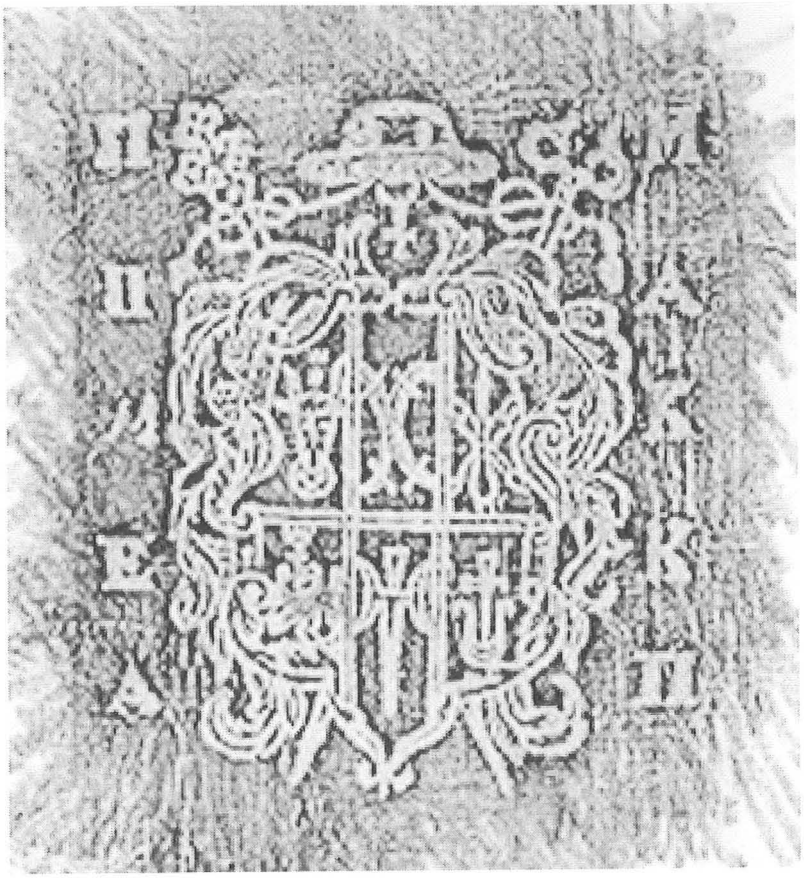


Figure 3 (enlarged)
Binding stamp with the coat of arms of Peter Mohyla



Figure 4 (enlarged)
Binding stamp with the crest of Jan Muscenius of Kurzelow

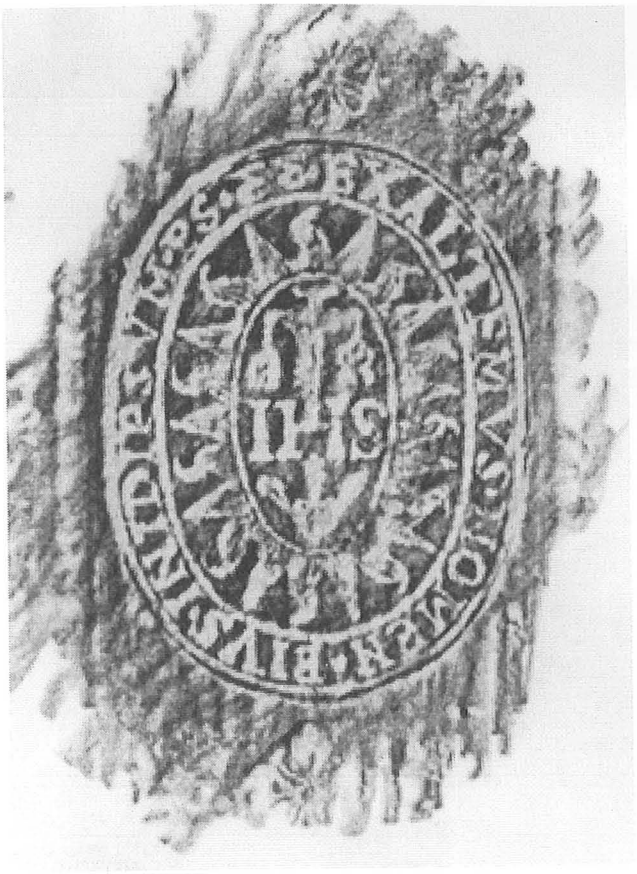


Figure 5 (enlarged)
Binding stamp with the Jesuit emblem

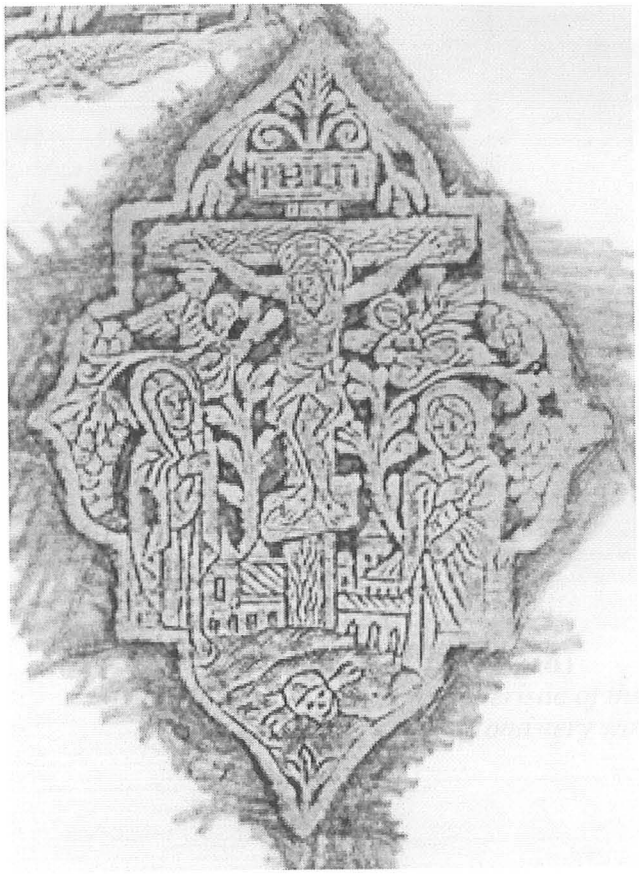


Figure 6 (enlarged)
Binding stamp on the subject of Crucifixion, executed in the manner, characteristic of the Orthodox Church

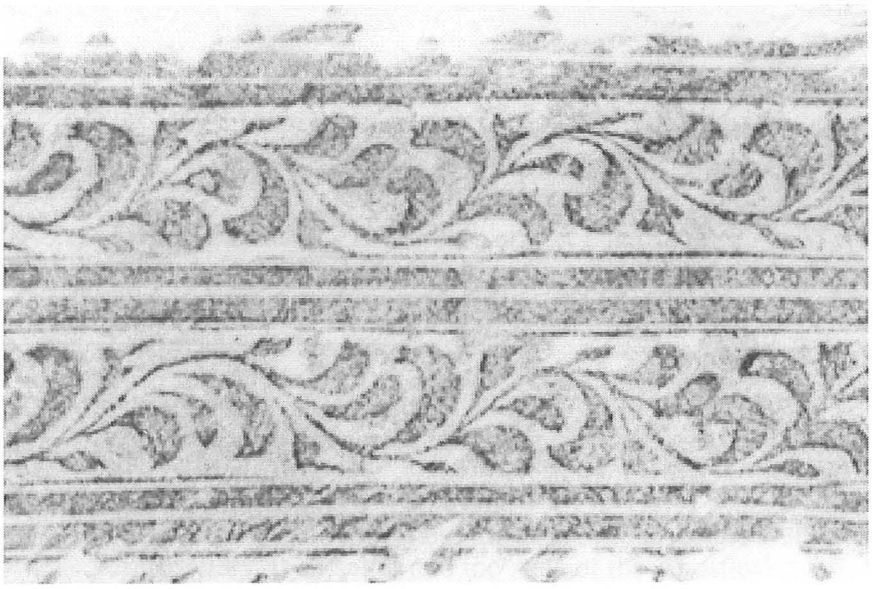


Figure 7 (enlarged)
Stripes of floral design, characteristic of the bindings crafted at the Kiev Caves Monastery workshop

List of necessary corrections

Main text

P. 53, l. 6	'Apostolic Acts' should be 'Acts of the Apostles'
P. 74	'rest' should be 'remaining'
P. 75	'*Psalter*' should be 'the Psalter'
P. 78	'communal spirit' should be 'the unity of the Spirit'
P. 91	'*Generatione*' should be '*De generatione*'
P. 118	'St. Apostolic' should be 'Holy Apostolic'
P. 179	'corrected by Job Boretsky in 1632' should be 'corrected by Job Boretsky and executed in 1632'
P. 172	*Orationes Philippicae latinae sanctae*' should be '*Orationes Philippicae quatuor latinae sanctae*'
P. 174	'*De verae et falsae discrimine*' should be '*De verae et falsae ecclesiae discrimine*'
Pp. 242-244	'Ilarion' should be 'Hylarion'
P. 279	'*Breviary*, the *Psalter* and the *Acts of the Apostles*' should be 'Breviary, the Psalter and the Acts of the Apostles'
P. 290	'God has endowed' should be 'God has endowed and honoured'

Appendix

P. 308, No. 11	Author: Kuczborski, Walenty
P. 313, No. 2 (a)	'*Analysis Evangeliorum, Quae Diebus Festis D. Apostolorum*' should be *Analysis logica Evangeliorum, quae Diebus Festis in Ecclesia Christi proponi solent*
P. 318, No. 11 (b)	'*De ratione libros cum profectu legendi libellus*' should be '*De ratione libros... ejusdem de vitanda moribus noxia lectione oratio*'
ibid., No. 12	'Johannes Ravsius' should be 'Textor, Johannes Ravisius'
P. 319, No. 1	'*Evangelische Schluss-Rett und Kraft-Kern, oder gewöhnlichen Sonn- und Fest-Evangelien*' should be '*Evangelische Schlusskette und Kraft-Kern, oder gründliche Auslegung der gewöhnlichen Sonn- und Festtags-Evangelien*'
P. 321, No. 4	'M. l'Abbé Ballet' should be 'Ballet, François'
P. 323, No. 15	'M. Chompré' should be 'Chompré, Pierre'
P. 335, No. 14	'Paulo Hermanno' should be 'Hermannus, Paulus [Pitton de Tournefort, J.]'

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P. 337	''Ευχαριστηριον albo, Vdiachnost'': A facsimile' should be 'Shevchenko, I., ed., 'Ευχαριστηριον albo, Vdiachnost': A facsimile''
P. 345	'Mykytas', V., *Ukrains'ki studenty i profesory*' should be 'Mykytas', V., *Davnioukrains'ki studenty i profesory*'
P. 354	'*The semiotics of Russian cultural history* (Ithaca, 1985)' should be '*The semiotics of Russian culture*, ed. A. Shukman (Michigan, 1984)'
ibid.	'Binary models in the dynamics of Russian culture (to the end of the eighteenth century)' should be 'The role of dual models in the dynamics of Russian culture (up to the end of the eighteenth century)'

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