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NO. 20

THE REFORMS OF PETER MOHYLA

by

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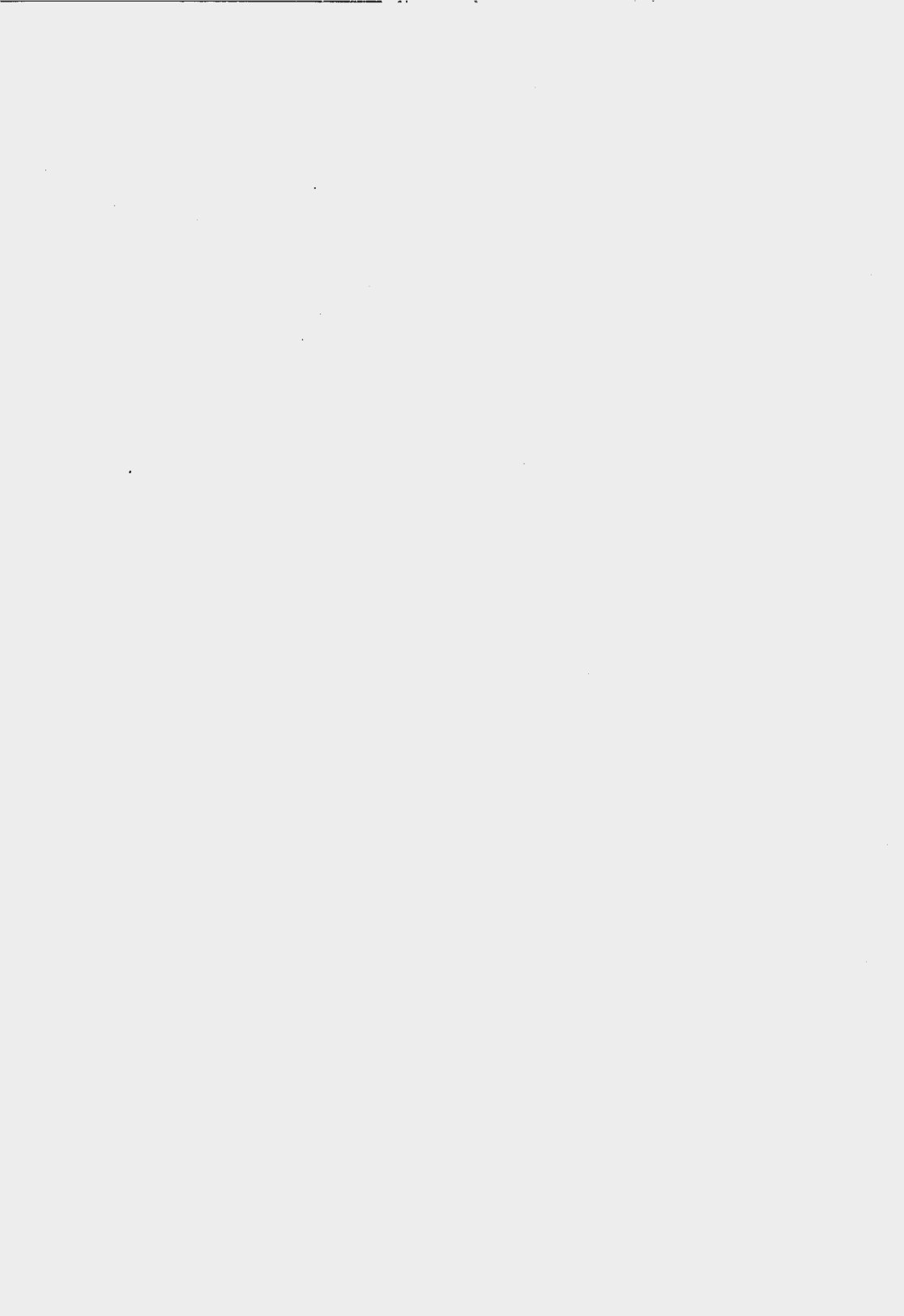
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PREFACE

THROUGHOUT the history of Eastern Europe certain events have been overemphasized while other and more important occurrences have suffered by being underemphasized or even misinterpreted. One area in which this misinterpretation is inevitably present is in the treatment of historical events involving those nations which have lost their statehood. At the source of these twisted interpretations, of course, are the vested political interests of the captive nation's occupying force, the invader.

Included in the long list of such underemphasized events in Eastern Europe are the reforms of Peter Mohyla, the Metropolitan of Kiev. It was Mohyla's religious and cultural reforms which effected not only Ukraine but also all nations as well as the whole cultural enlightenment of Eastern Europe.

Peter Mohyla and his cultural reforms must be evaluated from several points of view.

First of all, he was the first member of the Orthodox hierarchy who tried to continue the efforts begun at the Councils of Florence and Brest—the unification of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches, envisioning in such an act not only the union of two Churches but the cultural rebirth of all of Eastern Europe as well. For this reason he kept in constant contact with the West but specifically with the Roman Catholic Church and Pope Urban VIII.

Secondly, prior to Mohyla, not one institution of higher education was to be found in Eastern Europe, a fact which placed present-day Ukraine, and Muscovy, into a backward cultural position. The establishment of the Kievan Academy by Mohyla represented the first step toward the cultural enlightenment of Ukraine, and thereby was rejuvenated the cultural heritage of the old Kievan Rus'.

Thirdly, the Kievan Academy became the blueprint for the reforms of Tsar Peter I, the founder of the Russian Empire. Of

significance in this connection, however, is that Peter I accomplished his reform by not only adopting the blueprint but by forcing most of the leading Kievan scholars to also work for the cultural enlightenment of Russia. The so-called "window to Europe" of Russia first went through Kiev before Russia was ready to engage in cultural exchange with Western Europe through the "window" of St. Petersburg.

Finally, and in order to properly reinterpret this significant historical event, it is necessary to point out that the Mohylian period also involved other religious, civil, educational, and cultural reforms. Unfortunately, within less than a decade of Mohyla's death, Ukraine became a vassal state of Russia and was thereby prevented from realizing the ideas and plans introduced in Kiev by the great metropolitan.

March, 1965

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*REFORMS OF PETER MOHYLA,
METROPOLITAN OF KIEV (1596-1647)*

WHILE renaissance ideas spread in Western Europe, Eastern Europe had to face the hardships of the Mongol invasion and break its threat to Christian civilization. Ukraine was the first target of the Turko-Tatar attacks, and it was the first power to check the rapid Mongol expansion into other European countries. Undoubtedly this constant military activity hindered the cultural development not only of Ukraine but also of Muscovy. Both countries were firmly attached to Greek-Orthodox religious practices and to Byzantine culture in general. But the Turkish threat to the Byzantine empire and the immediate danger to the countries of Europe forced both churches—Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox—to seek an understanding as a bulwark against Turkish advances. In this regard Kiev was the first city which considered a possible unification of the two churches that had been separated by the Photian schism as an important step toward a cultural awakening of Eastern Europe.

Politically, Eastern Europe was divided between two competitive forces, namely, Lithuania (later the Polish-Lithuanian state) to which most of the present day Ukraine belonged, and the expanding principality of the Moscovites. The Ukrainian inhabitants of the Polish-Lithuanian state followed the Greek-Orthodox religious traditions but an acquaintance with the Polish Roman Catholic Church did cause some doubts among the Ukrainian Orthodox hierarchy, especially in regard to their attempts to organize a modern educational system comparable to that of the Jesuit schools. The inability of Orthodox religious institutions to train their religious and cultural leaders became the central point of future controversies between the “traditionalist” and the “progressive” leaders. The outstanding man of this enlightenment was the Metropolitan of Kiev, Peter Mohyla (1596-1647), who distinguished himself not only in the religious field, but probably more so in the educational progress

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of Ukraine.¹ It was during his time that the cultural centers began to shift from the eastern part of the Polish-Lithuanian state, i.e., from cities like Lviv, Lutsk, and Ostroh to the central part of contemporary Ukraine, namely Kiev. The old monastery, the Kievo-Pecherska Lavra, became not only a center of religious life but also a main cultural bridge between the western and eastern countries of Europe.

Combining, therefore, both factors, political and religious, and their consequences upon the social and intellectual climate of Ukraine, we note that the 17th century enlightenment was a product of religious unions, namely, the Union of Florence and the Union of Brest.

The Union of Florence (1439). The religious struggle between reformation and counter-reformation raging in the West in the 15th century assumed a different appearance in Eastern Europe. Any unification of churches or further spread of the reformation depended on several circumstances. First, the Kievan state was for centuries regarded as the cultural leader among the eastern Slavs who continued the Byzantine cultural traditions in the East. We notice this fact when the Kievan principality was a part of the Lithuanian state, since the official language of the state was not Lithuanian but the Church-Slavic, the language of the Kievan Rus'.² Second, the Orthodox community, especially the clergy, felt that they were abused by the Roman Catholics and they thought that equal rights would be safeguarded for both religious groups by joining the union. Finally, the danger of the Turkish penetration into Western Europe, as well as the growth of the unpredictable Moscovite principality supplied sufficient impetus to both churches to begin constructive work toward the unification of the two major branches of Christianity.

The first steps were taken in 1436 when the Patriarch of Constantinople appointed a noted Greek humanist, Isidor, as the

¹ Ivan Mirtschuk, *Geschichte der Ukrainischen Kultur* (München: Isar Verlag, 1957, vol. 12), p. 120.

² Ivan Mirchuk et al, *Ukraine and Its People* (München: Ukrainian Free University Press, 1949), p. 84.

Metropolitan to Kiev, and later to Moscow.³ Isidor was entrusted with the mission of preparing the foundation for a possible union with Rome by trying to persuade the Orthodox clergy and the leading civil authorities to favor the union. The Eastern Church was to retain its fundamental rites and the language of the Church would continue to be Church-Slavic; their calendar would remain unchanged; and the lower clergy would still be allowed to marry.

Isidor was quite successful in the metropolitan province of Kiev, where the leading Orthodox clergy were cooperative. He then went to Moscow hoping to persuade the Grand Duke, Vasiliï II (Basil), to accept the union. The Grand Duke treated Isidor favorably at first, and even sent him as his representative to Ferrara Italy, to head the Muscovite delegation there. Arriving in Ferrara Isidor found a friendly spirit among the Russian clergy and the act of union was officially signed in Florence in the year 1439.⁴ In the same year, Pope Eugene IV appointed Isidor his Cardinal to the Eastern Church and sent him to Kiev and later to Moscow. In Kiev, the cardinal's work was successful but in Moscow he met a very different Vasiliï II. He jailed the Cardinal and completely opposed the union. Isidor finally managed to escape from Muscovy and returned to Rome.

But it was not only Moscow's opposition which caused the failure of the union; probably the most important factor was the division in the western church itself. Poland, for example, did not recognize Eugene IV as the true Pope but rather Felix who lived in Basle.⁵

The Union of Brest (1596). After the unsuccessful endeavors in 1439 to unite the two churches, another attempt was made in the late 16th century. At this time, the principality of Moscow was expanding its territory to the West and thus threatening eastern Poland. This was especially true since 1552 when Ivan the

³ Oscar Halecki, *Borderlands of Western Civilization* (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1952), pp. 132 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁵ *Entsiklopediia Ukrainoznavstva, Tserkva* (New York: München: Naukove Tovaristvo im Shevchenka, 1949, vol. 2), p. 612.

Terrible captured Kazan and, by doing so, began a new era in the history of Muscovite expansion.⁶ Poland, which maintained a strong foothold in the East, could see the future danger of a Muscovite expansion, especially to the Western Ukraine and Belorus'. On the other hand, the Ukrainian population, particularly in the eastern sectors, suffered greatly under Polish administration and this even sparked several revolts against the Polish crown. Also, in religious affairs, the Orthodox clergy did not have equal rights with the Polish Latin clergy. Aware of these internal difficulties and the continual threat of Muscovite or Turkish territorial expansion, the Polish authorities felt that they could benefit from a unification of the two churches. The Orthodox also felt that acceptance of Polish proposals would establish better equality with the Latin Catholics. In addition to these factors, the leading Ukrainian clergy wanted to continue the efforts begun by Isidor in 1439. Polish religious authorities realized that all talks of reunion would be impossible without the willingness of the Ukrainian Orthodox authorities to participate. Therefore, initial work began even before 1596 and it was focused mainly on disposing the people and the nobility of Ukraine favorably toward the union. One man in particular was of utmost importance, Prince Constantine Ostrozhskii, the wealthiest landowner of Ukraine who wanted to incorporate protestant ideas into the union of the two churches.⁷

Obviously, Ostrozhskii's ideas were unacceptable to both Catholics and Orthodox. Although negotiations with the influential Ukrainian gentry and the Orthodox Church were begun nothing positive could be effected since neither of the two churches could accept the ideas of European Protestantism. Finally, two Ukrainian bishops were appointed to conduct negotiations between Rome and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church; they were the Bishop of Lutsk, Cyril Terletskii, and the Bishop of Brest, Hypatius Potei. Both went to Rome and signed the

⁶ Walter Kolarz, *Russia and Her Colonies* (London: George Philip & Sons Ltd., 1952), p. 3.

⁷ Halecki, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

union on December 23, 1595, which, in effect, had the same provisions previously agreed upon in the union of Florence. An agreement was also made in Rome that this union would have to be confirmed at the synod of the Ukrainian Church in early October, 1596.⁸ Here, a majority of the Ukrainian population under Polish administration did unite with the Roman Church. There were two exceptions: the Bishop of Lviv and the Bishop of Peremyshl, who joined the opposition led by Prince Ostrozhskii forming common cause with the Protestants against the union of Brest.⁹

Life and Work of Peter Mohyla

When one considers the religious implications of both Florence and Brest, one notices that they had a significant impact on the cultural development of Ukraine and Russia. The spread of Protestantism in Western Europe had not affected the Latin Church in Poland or the Orthodox Church in Ukraine. On the contrary, losses of the Latin Church in Western Europe were compensated by advances in regions of Eastern Europe; for example, Western Ukraine and a part of Belorus' became Catholic. With this religious change cultural institutions of these regions profited since they now had access to a more advanced Catholic tradition. Both cultural expansion and the promotion of it by individuals contributed to a renaissance in Ukraine and Russia. One of such individuals was the Metropolitan of Kiev, Peter Mohyla.

Peter Mohyla was born on December 21, 1596 in Moldavia of parents believed to have descended from a wealthy Byzantine family. His father was the regent of Moldavia for about ten months, but in 1606 he was killed in a rebellion and this influenced the future of the young Peter.¹⁰ His mother took him to Lviv; there he studied in the *Bratstvo* (Brotherhood school, to be mentioned in a later section) under the care of the king's

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 184 ff.

¹⁰ Archimandrite Teofie Ionesco, *La vie et l'oeuvre de Pierre Movila* (Paris: 1944), p. 1.

chancellor, Zolkewski. Here Mohyla obtained basic instruction in religious and civil matters. In the Lviv brotherhood school Mohyla was educated according to the traditions of the Orthodox Church. Well known men like Khodkevich (who instructed Mohyla in civil and military matters) and the Metropolitan of Kiev, Boretskii, taught Mohyla the essentials of Orthodoxy.¹¹ While he was in Poland, Mohyla read Jesuit philosophical and educational works and was impressed with the philosophy of St. Thomas; in addition, he developed an admiration for the educational system developed by the Jesuits. There is no clear evidence that Mohyla ever studied abroad, although some sources indicate that he visited or studied in Western Europe, Bohemia (Czechoslovakia) and Italy.¹²

In 1627 Mohyla went to Kiev and became a monk in the ancient monastery, Kievo-Pecherska Lavra. In the same year, the Polish king, Sigismund II appointed him as the Archimandrite of Kiev; in 1633 he was named Metropolitan of Kiev.¹³ His broad educational background helped him to gain significant influence over the Orthodox clergy and over the Ukrainian nobility as well, although these latter were reluctant to change the existing situation. The Cossacks especially opposed western ideas, particularly when they came from the Polish administration.

We will glance briefly at various elements in the social set-up of the times, particularly the religious, educational and civil administration, and we shall see the role of Peter Mohyla in converting them into a western type institutions while preserving the spirit of Orthodoxy.

Religious Reforms. After Mohyla was appointed Archbishop of Kiev and later Metropolitan for those of the Orthodox

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹² I. K. Bilodid, *Kurs istorii ukrainskoi movy* (Kiev: AN UkSSR, 1959), pp. 97 ff.; Mikhailo Hrushevskij, *A History of Ukraine* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), pp. 265 ff.; Waclaw Lipinski, *Z. Dziejow Ukrainy* (Krakow: 1910), pp. 97 ff.

¹³ The Orthodox Confession of Peter Moghila, Metropolitan of Kiev (1633-1646), in *Oriente Christiane*, vol. X, No. 39. October-December, 1927, CXXXII, p. 6, 346.; Ionesco, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

denomination under the Polish crown, he found many weaknesses in Orthodox theology itself as well as many unreasonable and outdated religious practices (superstitions, prejudices, separation of clergy from public activities, etc). In searching out the cause of these weaknesses and with a desire to renew social and religious values Mohyla turned his attention to the Jesuit philosophy of life and the contributions of the Society of Jesus to civil life.

In the first place, Latin Catholic books were not sinful reading. On the contrary, Mohyla established a group comprising many prominent people dedicated to the task of reading, selecting and translating works of the Latin Church so that the ordinary people might be better able to understand the Holy Scriptures. He himself was greatly influenced by the philosophy of St. Thomas; later it became the foundation of his religious writings and reforms. Under the influence of Thomistic philosophy he wrote his major work, *The Orthodox Confession*, which discussed the essentials of Orthodoxy and its basic tenets for clergy and believers alike. Thus, as a whole, *The Orthodox Confession* bears an imprint of St. Thomas' doctrine.¹⁴

In the second place, the Metropolitan kept in close contact with the Latin Church, especially with Pope Urban VIII. This stemmed from his willingness to continue the efforts begun at Florence and Brest, efforts which Mohyla felt would elevate the cultural level of Eastern Europe and simultaneously lighten the differences between the two churches. It was this idea of the Kievan Metropolitan that predominated the 1640's and shaped his religious policies.

This was also a century in which basic value orientations were formed among two peoples, Ukrainians and Muscovites. During this period Kiev wanted to learn those things that the West already knew and was willing to negotiate with the Latin Church; the Moscovites, however, were intent upon their own policy of religious reform and took no interest in the problems of unification. Their entire reform was based on the ideas of

¹⁴ *Oriente Christiane*, p. 5.

two of their own Bishops, Nikon and Avvakum. The two were rivals. Nikon was known as a conservative reformer of Muscovite religious practices, such as making the sign of the cross with three fingers, and saying "alleluia" three times instead of twice (as practiced by the Muscovites) and Avvakum opposed the Patriarch Nikon by calling him a heretic. The important thing to remember about the Great Schism of the Muscovite Church is not the religious misunderstanding of the two Muscovite bishops, but the interference of the state and the suppression of religious ideas by autocrats. Both men were unsuccessful; Nikon was deposed as Patriarch, and Avvakum was burned at the stake because he wrote a violent letter to the young Tsar Fedor.¹⁵

The Province of Kiev was not strongly influenced by Moscovite ideas about the church and state relationship, but rather by its attraction to the culture of the West with its religious implications. We can see this from Mohyla's correspondence with the churchmen of the West and with Pope Urban VIII. In a letter to Mohyla the Pope wrote: "although we know you are separated from us, we yet write to you and ask you to join the Holy Church which the Lord Himself had established. Listen not to Rome or the mastery of thoughts, but to your own conscience. . . ."¹⁶ It is further mentioned in the letter that care should be taken of the spiritual health of the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) nation and that if the Metropolitan desired more information, he should send to Rome two of his learned monks who will be received with love and attention and that "it is our hope that the whole Ruthenian people will agree to this, which will be a consolation to us and a happiness to you."¹⁷

A third factor which influenced the shaping of religious ideas of Eastern Europe at this time was the spread of Protestantism in the West. Although it was a somewhat less significant movement in Ukraine than it was in Europe, there are still

¹⁵ D. S. Mirsky, *A History of Russian Literature From Its Beginning to 1900*, edited by Francis J. Whitefield (New York: A Vantage Books, 1958), pp. 27-29.

¹⁶ Ionesco, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 256 ff.

some indications that Protestant ideas had begun to appear on the Ukrainian scene. They came from Germany, Bohemia (Czechoslovakia) and, to some extent, from Poland. Their influence spread mainly in the aristocratic strata of the population, especially one man, Prince Ostrozhskii, was promoting the Protestant ideas. As we already mentioned above, Ostrozhskii was at first interested in the union with Rome but, when his proposals were rejected by both churches, he turned to Protestantism and became very active in the movement. An Academy established by himself in the early part of the 17th century was a direct attack on Mohylian religious-educational reforms, but it was unsuccessful.¹⁸ It became quite evident that Protestant ideas were foreign to the average people of Eastern Europe; in later centuries they almost disappeared.

In this confusion Mohyla tried to establish a sound theoretical foundation for his church and the other social institutions which depended on the ecclesiastical laws. Thus, the traditional ecclesiastical laws of the Orthodox Church were modified under the strong influence of Latin legislation, just as *The Orthodox Confession* was influenced by the philosophy of St. Thomas. It proved to be quite beneficial, especially in matters referring to marriage and family affairs.

Educational Reforms. As we have already mentioned, Mohyla attended the *bratsvo* (Brotherhood) school when he first came to Lviv from Moldavia. This type of educational system had begun in the late 16th century and it is believed to have been based upon the Moravian *bratstvo* instituted by Chelcicky in 1457 to limit German influence on the Czech people.¹⁹ Like the Czech institutions, the Ukrainian Brotherhood schools had two goals: to prevent the Polonization of Ukraine and to teach children the essentials of religion. As far as the method of teaching and organizational structure is concerned, it is generally

¹⁸ Mirtschuk, *Geschichte der Ukrainischen Kultur*, p. 78-84.

¹⁹ E. N. Medynskii, *Bratskie shkoly Ukrainy i Belorussi* (Moskva: Akademiia Nauk RSFSR, 1954), p. 8.

thought that these were based upon the Jesuit system, except for the religious instruction which was Greek Orthodox.²⁰

One of the first of these schools was established in Lviv in 1596 and served as the model for other brotherhood schools throughout the whole territory of present-day Ukraine. The Lviv school, like other European schools of that time, gave much attention to the moral education of a child and established rules and obligations for both the teacher and the pupil. The teacher, especially, was to bear in mind that the purpose of education is eventual union with God; only through education can one know Him better and observe His commandments. Thus the statutes of these schools were very explicit on the qualifications of teachers: "an honest man, humble and wise, a man of mature character, a man who does not believe in witchcraft or fortunetelling." Further, he should not be a "drunkard or arrogant, envious, silver-lover, but a man with virtue, since his behavior will be imitated by those who follow him."²¹

The statutes laid down the rules for the students also. Parents were to acquaint themselves with the school discipline so that they could decide whether or not their children would attend these schools. Once they decided to accept the rules of the school, however, the teacher had the right to punish the child as he deemed necessary. Usually corporal punishments were practiced in *bratstvo* schools and child's behavior was supervised very carefully both on and off the school premises. For example, the teacher would send a monitor to find out if certain children were playing uselessly or if they were cheating their parents, slept too long, etc., because "it is written: save your sheep by fear and force if it becomes necessary."²² Children were also assigned certain duties while in school, such as sweeping the floor, laying the fire before school started, watching for those who did not study properly or did not behave themselves on school premises. Those who did not comply with the pre-

²⁰ Mirtschuk, *Geschichte der Ukrainischen Kultur*, p. 120.

²¹ Medynskii, *op. cit.*, pp. 125 ff.

²² H. E. Johnson, *Russia's Educational Heritage* (Pittsburgh: Congress Press, 1950), p. 18.

scribed rules, or those who believed in witchcraft or fortune-telling or were guilty of using improper language, were expelled from school.²³

As far as the curriculum was concerned, brotherhood schools were generally divided into two levels, lower and upper. To the first category belonged the basic principles of reading and writing, as well as learning the natural surrounding of the school. Arithmetic also was taught at this level. To the second level more advanced subjects were assigned, such as rhetoric, Holy Scripture, followed by dialectics and mathematics. Vocational training was not offered since the teacher felt that once the child had indulged in outside activities (i.e., learning some trade) he would find it difficult to adjust to classroom situations. Those who studied well and conducted themselves properly were given special privileges as, for example, receiving an elevated seat so that the other students would be encouraged to follow their example.²⁴

Since Mohyla attended this type of school he knew its deficiencies in both religious instruction and teaching of secular subjects. Further, there were no schools of higher learning in entire Ukraine or Muscovy itself during Mohyla's childhood. Those who wanted to continue their education had to go abroad or enter Polish universities which, obviously, only wealthy people could afford. Another aspect of the problem was that those students who attended Polish universities very often forgot their duties toward their own people and became Polish or worked for the Polish administrators in some capacity. Mohyla wanted to remove this problem; he began to work on the foundation of a school which would satisfy his religious convictions as well as offer higher education comparable to that given in European universities of that time. When he became the Metropolitan of Kiev, he succeeded in founding the *Mohylivska Akademia*, the first institution of higher education in Eastern Europe.²⁵

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-20.

²⁴ Medynskii, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-31.

²⁵ *Orientalis Christiane*, pp. 5, 346.

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Several problems, however, had to be solved before the Academy could function properly and be accepted by the entire Orthodox population. First of all, a new educational philosophy had to be introduced before modern religious and civil leaders could be trained. Mohyla, being the Orthodox Metropolitan, followed a rather revolutionary path in formulating the philosophy of education for his school. He took as his model the Thomistic philosophy of education, just as he took the *Summa Theologica* in his religious reforms, disregarding the resistance of some clergy who opposed such a view. Mohyla explained the adoption of the philosophy of St. Thomas by pointing out the importance of Thomistic philosophy and the need for his people to learn from the Jesuits.

The goal of Mohyla was to found a school which, on the one hand, would be equal to other European universities, and on the other hand would continue the Byzantine traditions. For this reason he underlined the importance of the Latin language in school, as well as the Old-Slavic, the language of the Orthodox Church. Both languages became essential parts of the educational program. Latin served as a mediator between the West and the East; Slavic laid the foundations for later periods of cultural enlightenment in Ukraine and Russia, especially in the 19th century. To accomplish these tasks, the Metropolitan invited to Kiev the most distinguished teachers of that time to lecture in Latin, Slavic, or Greek or serve as the administrators of the Academy. The most important of these men were Smotryckii (who will be mentioned later), Boreckii, Yurkevich, Sokovich, Kossov, Trochimovich, and others who began the cultural enlightenment in Eastern Europe.²⁶ The Academy progressed rapidly and soon established a reputation of international significance. The Polish king, Wladyslaw IV, recognized the school as an educational institution equal to the Polish universities.²⁷

²⁶ Mirtschuk, *Geschichte der Ukrainischen Kultur*, pp. 73-85, 161.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

subjects according to Mohyla's own statement: "I have decided to establish a school in which not only theology will be taught, but also the liberal arts."³¹

Methods of Educational Reforms. The methods which Mohyla used in incorporating his reforms into the life of the people were of no less importance than the accomplishments of the goals themselves. The Metropolitan realized that the value of the Academy would soon fade away if it did not become involved in the life of the people. Moreover, it must lead the people to a better understanding of God and the duties of men on this earth.

One such endeavor, involving the life of the people, consisted in theatrical performance given during the vacation by students who performed for the public. This practice was of a great importance since it gave the people the opportunity to see "what the monks do," as well as to gain a better understanding of their own problems. Although the plays were predominantly religious, they also included some aspects of civil life.³²

In the area of languages, in particular the study of the Latin, Mohyla was a very careful reformer. He kept the Old-Slavic as the traditional language of the church and the people, but emphasized the importance of Latin as the intellectual language of that time.³³ In the area of theological studies, Mohyla was not like Ostrozhskii who radically opposed both theological teachings: the Catholic and the Orthodox. He introduced not only the Thomistic philosophy into his programs but also many other practices that the Jesuits used in their educational system. By doing so, the metropolis of Kiev became the cultural bridge between the East and the West, introducing new ideas in such areas as architecture (Baroque style), theater,

³¹ Ionesco, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-76.

³² Mirtschuk, *Geschichte der Ukrainischen Kultur*, p. 39.

³³ Michailo Hrushevsky, *Istoria Ukrainy* (New York: Vidavnictvo Knyhospilka, 1955, vol. 6), p. 332.

In order to strengthen the binding force of marriages, the Metropolitan proposed to change the existing practices and to introduce a moderate approach in these matters, such as forwarding certain amounts of money by both parties involved. In such a case, the parties involved in a prospective marriage, as well as their parents, would be more bound together because the breaking of the contract would mean the loss of the deposited amount of money.³⁸

These suggested provisions of the Metropolitan did not completely solve the problem of marriages and divorces. Since there were three codes of law, all protected by the state, very little could be done to impose the rules which Mohyla wanted to introduce. First of all, the Polish administration did not care much about the moral standards of the Orthodox population. Secondly, the Polish administration granted divorces on the basis of a simple complaint of disagreement between the parties which in itself caused a decline in moral standards among the Orthodox population. Furthermore, the Orthodox clergy followed the example of the Polish administrators and also granted divorces to their own parishioners. When a complaint was made to a bishop, he, too, was "generous" enough not to contradict the decisions made by the clergy.³⁹

Mohyla was deeply concerned with such moral problems in his metropolis and began to take the necessary actions toward

two to three years. During this time, Jarmolyckii could call his bride only the future wife. Only after the financial arrangements did the wedding reception follow, and the physical contract between the parties become legal. The problem was that many times the engaged parties broke the marriage laws because of their inability to agree on certain land, or amount of cash to be paid. See Hrushevsky, *op. cit.* (1955), p. 314.

³⁸ This also had its weaknesses, as is seen in another case, a man named Zahavorsky complained to the Metropolitan that he did not touch his wife's property; on the contrary, he gave her all of his. Then she divorced him and took the daughter away; the second wife, not only left him alone, but also left small sons (record does not show how many) in his care; as he said "I do not care, this is my sin, but why should they suffer." See Hrushevsky, *op. cit.* (1955), p. 315.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

the time of Vladimir the Great and his own. This was the time when Kiev found fresh powers and represented the cultural values of the East as it did during the period of 10th and 13th centuries. The reforms of Peter Mohyla included educational and religious matters, basic relationships between families and other groups, the fostering of literary and intellectual values, the reconstruction of civil laws, etc. All these cultural acquisitions were utilized by Moscow when, after the treaty of Pereiaslav (1654) and the defeat of Mazepa (1709) by Peter the Great, it completely mobilized the Ukrainian cultural leaders and forced many of them to work on the development of Russian educational and cultural life.

Mohyla's approach to solving religious and social problems was similar to that of those Ukrainian princes in the earlier period who accepted Christianity but deliberately avoided dogmatic quarrels in order to maintain contact with the West.⁴² In a very similar manner, Mohyla introduced his reforms by taking the cultural acquisitions of the West, including the Jesuit school practices, and incorporating them into his own society without losing the identity of the Orthodox Church. There was no question of rejecting Western ideas because the Metropolitan realized that the East must learn first all that the West already knew. In the Academy itself the Western spirit predominated, although some modifications were made to fit the needs of the Orthodox population.

Mohyla also realized that in order to elevate the cultural standards of the Kievan Metropolis one must share in the cultural advances which the West was making at that time. Therefore, he and his associates published books, revised church laws, made suggestions to civil administrators for revising these laws, etc. For example, during the eight years (1635-1643) eleven books were published (between 500 and 1,000 pages each), as compared to the Lviv brotherhood school where 13 books were published during a thirty year period.⁴³ He himself wrote books

⁴² Mirchuk, *Ukraine and Its People*, p. 45.

⁴³ Mirtschuk, *Geschichte der Ukrainischen Kultur*, p. 39.

first before it came to Moscow. But in this process of the modernization of Russia, the fundamental Ukrainian idea of conformity with other institutions and cultures was inverted by Peter and his followers. Thus the "shaping of a Russian mind" was not accomplished on the belief in the difference between the ruler and the bishop or between religion and the state. The rule of the thumb, so typical in the study of Russian history, became an essential part of the Russian cultural development.

In carrying out cultural reforms in Russia, Peter the Great realized that the easiest way to speed the culturization of the Russian people was to mobilize the Kievan scholars who had the experience and training in these matters. The language problem could also be more easily solved since both nations used Old-Slavic as the cultural language. Therefore, he mobilized these scholars, some of them voluntarily and some of them by force, ordering them to modernize Russian social and intellectual thought. Almost the entire intellectual elite of Ukraine was forced to work for the Petrovian reforms and to teach the Russians the Western cultural accomplishments which the Mohylian Academy tried to represent in Eastern Europe. Some of these people were: Prokopovich and Polotskii (mentioned before), Filalet, Javorskii, Lopatynskii, Kopystenskii, Rostrowskii, and many others whose mission was to make Russia a "Third Rome."⁴⁶

At the time when the "window to Europe" was being created, the Russian value orientation was also being formed. But this new orientation was not achieved without the interference of the state. The Orthodox Church in Russia lost its independence before it had a chance to develop its ideas. Only few men were interested in other religious beliefs. One such man was a certain Ivan Nasadka who went to Denmark to study Protestantism, especially the Lutheran movement in Europe. He acquired these ideas, which he erroneously believed were Lutheran, from the Calvinistic catechism, and later wrote his own book called *The*

⁴⁶ Mirschuk, *Geschichte der Ukrainischen Kultur*, pp. 73-83.

Ukraine were used by the Russians and they were the essential elements in the development of the Russian language and the rapid flourishing of the Russian culture.⁵²

Furthermore, if it were not for the Mohylian Academy the entire period of Petrovian reforms would have been delayed for several years.⁵³ Also, this was the first time that the East, per se, was able to create something new, something of its own, and was not forced to depend entirely on foreign scholars and reformers.

⁵² V. V. Vinogradov, *Velikii russkii iazyk* (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Ogiz, 1945), p. 74.

⁵³ Mirtschuk, *Geschichte der Ukrainischen Kultur*, p. 40.

