Educational-and-cultural processes in Ukraine in XVIIth Century: european tendencies

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ABSTRACT: Publications printed anciently of the 17th century, archival materials, periodicals of the 19th century, works of Ukrainian emigrants and modern researchers were analyzed in the article. Attention was paid to the fact that educational-and-upbringing system acquired particular importance in the times of social-and-economic transformations, determination of priorities of humanitarian policy. In the 17th century, Ukraine experienced a kind of renaissance that raised it to the European level of social and educational-and-cultural development. Activity of brotherhood schools, Kyiv-Mohyla Collegium, printing houses and libraries was favourable to it. The development of education in Ukraine was considered in the context of European civilization which sustained various influences of distinctive civilizations (Russian, Polish, Austrian, etc.).

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Development of printing houses and libraries; Educational literature; European-type schools; Ukraine; XVIIth Century.
Introduction

Educational-and-cultural processes that took place in Ukraine in the 17th century sustained ambiguous and often contradictory influences. On the one hand, the great influence was caused by foreign, Polish rule, and on the other hand, Ukrainian culture «kept spiritual roots of the Eastern Slavic unity and at the same time mastered actively the achievements of Western European Enlightenment whose transformer and transferor was Poland»¹.

The location of Ukraine on the boundary of Greek-and-Slavic cultural world with Latin Europe led to the fact that these processes «in the forms of educational practice, and in the main circle of enlightenment ideas they combined foreign with the national brighter than anywhere else which based on stable traditions of Enlightenment culture of Ancient Rus»². Therefore, it is important to adequate estimation of the Ukrainian cultural-and-educational heritage of the XVII century: 1) to analyze when and how borrowed material, borrowed forms from other cultures were assimilated that was introduced into its treasury of educational ideas and forms; 2) to ascertain both separate phenomena and typologically related ones at the level of borrowings which arose independently on a national basis; 3) to highlight the contribution of Ukrainians to the development of educational-and-cultural processes of those states which included the territory of present Ukraine.

The role of printing houses in the development of education

The center of cultural activity in Ukraine moved to the East – to Kiev having into consideration social-and-political processes of the beginning of the XVII century. Economic situation in Kyiv, spiritual traditions, connections with different lands and cities of Ukraine caused its revival not only as an all-Ukrainian center of Orthodoxy but also as a significant educational center. The latter was connected, first of all, with appearing and increasing of a system of printing houses. After all, «book printing is one of the most important movers of education in the history of mankind in general and of every nation in particular»³.

Printing houses met one of the main needs – a quick and wide exchange of ideas between those who produced them and those who mastered them and

¹ G. Kornetov, Ocherki istorii shkoly i pedagogicheskoy mysli narodov SSSR s drevnih vremen do konca XVII v. [Assay on history of school and pedagogical thought of the nations of the USSR from ancient times to the end of XVII century], Moskva, Pedagogika, 1989, p. 266.
² Ibid.
put them into practice. Although printed editions contained religious content, but they had a significant educational-and-upbringing potential. Printed books in Ukraine began to be used as long ago as the XV century on the territory of that time. At first, they were the books intended for church service which were received from neighboring Krakow. Modern research of D. Rott\(^4\) pointed out on the development of printing, libraries and schools in the 17\(^{th}\) century in Poland. First own printing houses appeared in the second half of the XVI century on the territory of Ukraine. Soon, the system of printing houses grew, satisfying the needs of the clergy both in books of ecclesiastical and secular, in particular of pedagogical purpose which contributed to the development of education in general\(^5\).

The first printing house in Ukraine was founded in Lviv by Ivan Fedorov in 1573. In 1574, he published his famous «Apostle» [Apostol] and «ABC book» [Bukvar]\(^6\). Printing houses worked in Lviv, Ostroh, Lutsk, Uhorstsi, Unev, Zabludov, Peremyzhl, Novhorod-Siverskyi, Kyiv and Chernihiv at the beginning of the XVII century. In addition, there were private printing houses of Mykhailo Sliozka, Arsenii Zhelyborskyi in Lviv, bishop Gedeon Balaban in Siriatyn and Krylos, Tymofii Verbytskyi and Spyrydon Sobol in Kyiv and others. Significant contribution to the publishing business was made by the so-called travelling printing houses of Pavlo-Domzhiv Liutkovych-Telytsia and Kyrylo-Trankvilion Stavrovetskyi who performed orders for schools, monasteries\(^7\). By the end of the XVII century there were about 20 printing houses in Ukraine which played a significant role in the struggle of Orthodox Church with Catholicism and Unionism\(^8\).

Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra became the driving force of the Orthodox revival after moving a cultural center to Kyiv. In 1610, its archimandrite Yelysei Pletenetskyi formed around him a group of educated clergymen, including Iov Boretskyi, Tarasii Zemko, Zakharii Kopystianskyi, Pamva Berynda and Lavrentii Zyzania. Having bought a printing press, he began on «to carry out a grandiose publishing project, according to which about 30 books mainly of religious content were published during 15 years. This amount exceeded the total number of all books published in Ukraine at that time»\(^9\). According to T. Golubiev, the first book published in Kyiv-Pechersk printing house dated back to 1619 and it was called «Trefologion» [Trefologіon] (Anfologіon) [Anfologіon]\(^10\).

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\(^6\) *Bukvar* [ABC book], Pechat’ Ivan Fedorov, L’vov, 1574. This is the first Ukrainian-Russian printed educational book, which is made up of five eight-letter notebooks.


\(^8\) Golubev, *O nachale knigopechatanija v Kieve*, cit., p. 382.


\(^10\) Golubev, *O nachale knigopechatanija v Kieve*, cit., p. 385
All the printing houses were actually cultural-and-educational institutions which did not care about profits but about education spread among the people. This was especially true of Pechersk printing house, which «was like an Academy that united the best writers and scholars of that period during the time of its existence (1616-1720)»11.

Publications made in Lavra [Lavri] «freely circulated in the whole Ukraine» without a great competition. Lviv, even when it was already cut off by the border from Kyiv, took Kyiv-Pechersk books with pleasure. In addition, Pechersk books moved to Russia, Moldova, where «Ukrainian was the governmental language, and the language of the church was Latin». Pechersk publications were «not foreign» on Athos in Slavic monasteries. In general, Lavra [Lavra] was «the strongest Ukrainian cultural fortress that was considerately on guard of their native nation»12.

During the time when Petro Mohyla headed Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra (end of 1632 – the first half of 1633), they started printing the books in Polish. It was considered that the first book printed in Polish was panegiryc [panegirik] written by the students of the Mohyla Collegium by P. Mohyla13. Pechersk printing house published also secular books except books of religious content, the example of which was the first dictionary «Slavic Russian lexicon and interpretation of the names» [Leksikon” slavenorosskij i imenem tolkovanie] by P. Berenda (1627), «Semi-rules» [Poluutasvi] (1690)14. The printing house did not stop its educational activity for 269 years of its existence despite losses from the fires in 1718, 1772, 1776 and 178815.

Bibliography guide printed in the magazine «Kievskaya starina» in 1895 evidenced about the geography of books distribution from Kyiv and Lviv printing houses in the third quarter of the XVII century where it was noted that V. Eingorn presented a brochure (of 19 pages in volume) titled «Books of Kyiv and Lviv printing houses in Moscow in the third quarter of the XVII century» [Knigi kievskoj i l’vovskoj pechati v” Moskve v” tret’yu chetvert’ XVII v.] in 1894. It provided valuable information about books distribution of Kyiv printing house in the second half of the XVII century in Moscow. They mentioned the following rectors of Kyiv-Mohyla Collegium – I. Gizel

12 Ibid., p. 278.
13 Golubev, O nachale knigopechatanija v Kieve, cit., p. 400.
14 Poluustav, ili pravilo istinnago zhivota khristianskago [Semiregulations or the rule of real Christian abdomen], Kyiv: Tip. Pecherskoj Lavry, 1690, p. 8. Note that the Semiregulations [Poluustav] contains the most frequently used prayers chosen from the Church’s statutes and intended for the laity. To date, the surname of the author in archival documents has not survived.
15 P. Lebedincev, Kievo-Pecherskaja lavra v ee proshedshem i nyneshnem sostojanii [Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra in its Past and Present State], «Kievskaia starina», vol. 15, n. 8, 1886, pp. 618-619.
(1646–1650), L. Baranovych (1650–1657), I. Galiatovskyi (1657–1669) as
the authors of these publications. V. Eingorn remarked that the Moscow
Tsar permitted L. Baranovych to print his work «Truby» [Trubi] at the state
(governmental) cost; I. Galiatovskyi was «mercifully» praised by the Tsar for
the work «True Messiah» [Mesiya Pravdivij] and received a reward; I. Gizel,
Pechersk Archimandrite, received a permission to sell books of Kyiv printing
for a «free price» in Moscow in 1672 sending 539 copies of different books
there. It should be noted that there were 50 Polish ABC books, 50 grammar
books of Old Slavonic, 12 Bibles, 58 Books of Hours, 7 Lives of Holy Fathers
of Pechersk (collections of stories), 31 alphabets, 320 kanunyks (selected parts
from the theological books «Minei» [Mineî]), 4 semi-rules among the books
brought from Kyîv\textsuperscript{16}. The above list showed that not only church-theological
literature but also educational books were printed in Ukraine.

According to V. Eingorn, Kyîv–Pechersk Monastery opened in Moscow a
shop for books trade in 1672, where they also sold books of Lviv printing and
even the well-known Bible of Ostrog printing. It is noteworthy that there were
also books printed in Polish, in particular the works of L. Baranovych «Lives
of sacred persons» [ZHittya syvatikh] (1670) and «Apolon’s lute» [Lyutnya
Apolonova] (1671) among the books brought for sale\textsuperscript{17}.

L. Baranovych, founding a printing house in Novgorod-Siverskyi in 1674,
transferred it to Chernihiv in 1679 and combined it with Chernihiv printing house.
It was printed «about 50 pieces of various literary books in Ukrainian, Polish and
Latin, including grammar, Books of Hours, Psalter, Oktoikh [Oktoïkh], prayer
books for primary studies, as well as a number of own works and works of their
associates\textsuperscript{18}» during the time of the printing house location in Novgorod-Siverskyi.

There was a printing house in Ostrog at the same time with Kyîv–Pechersk
and Chernihiv printing houses, which printed the first Bible in the Old Slavonic
language which has remained to present day\textsuperscript{19}. The so-called nomadic private
printing houses operated at the monasteries except printing houses. For example,
Kyrylo Trankvilion Stavrovetskyi published «Mirror of Theology» [Zertsalo
Bogoslovii] (Pochaiv, 1618), «Teaching Gospels» [Evangelie Uchitel’noe]

\textsuperscript{16} V. Eingorn, \textit{Knigi kievskoj i l’vovskoj pechati v” Moskve v tret’yu chetvert’ XVII v.} [Books of Kyiv
and Lviv publishing in Moscow in the third quarter of XVII century], «Kievskaja starina», vol. 49, nn. 5–8,
1895, p. 101. Note that Vitaliy Eingorn is a teacher, a source scholar, a doctor of historical sciences, whose
scholarly work addresses various aspects of the history of Ukraine with the use of archival material.

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 102.

\textsuperscript{18} O. Suhomlyns’ka, N. Dichek, T. Samoplavs’ka, \textit{et. al.}, \textit{Ukraïns’ka pedagogika v personalijah:
navch. posib. dlja stud. vyshh. navch. zakl.} [Ukrainian Pedagogy in persons: textbook for the students of
higher educational institutions]. Kyiv, Lybid’, 2005, p. 139.

\textsuperscript{19} A. Lazarevskij, \textit{Dva dokumenta k istorii Chernigovskoj tipografii} [Two documents on the
history of Chernihiv publishing house], «Kievskaia starina», vol. 16, nn. 9–12, 1886, pp. 571-579.
(Rakhmanov, 1619), «Precious purl» [Perlo Mnogotsennoe] (Chernihiv, 1646) in his «nomadic» printing house.

I. Ogienko described the state of printing in Ukraine in the XVII century in general as follows:

There is a great number of books in Ukraine, large libraries are founded in the cities. The books are flowing as a wide river from abroad, but they are not less distributed from native printing houses which were then exceeding amount, and when we read Ukrainian books of the XVII century, we are surprised by the huge erudition of their authors, amazed by the true scientific method, peculiar purity of the thoughts logic\(^\text{20}\).

It should be mentioned «Grammar» [Gramatiku] by M. Smotrytskyi (1619), «Lexicon» [Leksikon] by P. Berynda (1627), the first textbook on History «Synopsis» [Sinopsis] (1674) among the important publications of that time.

Book printing in Ukraine, its beginning and development were greatly caused by rapid growth of the system of schools, urgent necessity for educational manuals - ABC books, grammar books, dictionaries. According to Ye. Medynskyi, just Lviv printing house presented 34 237 ABC books, 500 grammar books, 200 copies of «On education of the children» [Pro vikhovannya chad] in the period from 1584 to 1722\(^\text{21}\).

\(\text{Propagation of education through libraries}\)

Paying contribution to the printing houses, one cannot ignore the importance of libraries operated by the monasteries and churches in educating the people and spreading theological and pedagogical thought. Rare valuable monuments of ancient writing and printing were found in Dermansk, Gorodyshcha and Liubar monastery churches as noted in the «Report of Volyn Church-and-Archaeological Society in 1899». Dermansk monastery was of particular value in this respect. 26 pieces of ancient manuscript books dated back to the XIV-XV centuries were found in its library. Some of them were signed by the princes (kniaz) of Konstantyyn Ivanovych and Konstantyyn Konstantyynovych Ostrozhsykii, Meletii Smotrytskyi, and others. Such bibliographic rarities as «Oktoikh» [Oktoïkh] by Dermanskyi of 1610 and «Teaching Gospels» [Rakhmanovs'ke «Uchitel'ne evangel'ie»] by Rakhmanov of 1619 were presented in different languages among several hundred of early printed books.

\(^\text{20}\) I. Ogijenko, Ukraïns'ka kul'tura: korotka istoriia kul'turnogo zhyttja ukraïns'koho naroda [Ukrainian culture: brief history of cultural life of Ukrainian nation], Kyiv, Vyd-vo knygarni Je. Cherepov's'kogo, 1918, p. 34.

\(^\text{21}\) E. Medynskij, Bratskie shkoly Ukrainy i Belorusii v XVI-XVII vv. i ih rol' v vossoedinenii Ukrainy s Rossiei [Fraternal schools of Ukraine and Belorussia in XVI-XVII centuries and their role in reunion of Ukraine with Russia], Moskva, Izd-vo APN RSFSR, 1954, p. 52.
Many books with autographs and marginal notes by M. Smotrytskyi gives wide material concerning his erudition, scientific interests and biography of this outstanding figure of church history and enlightener of Volyn. The report on protection of book funds contains the information that many «scholar» theological treatises of different kinds written in various monasteries of Volyn and by the monks-Vasilians from the neighborhood lands were kept in the library of Liubar women’s monastery.

Given review of printing and distribution of printed production confirms that a book not only of church theme but also educational one played a significant role in educational-and-cultural life of the Ukrainian society of the XVII century. Just educational book contributed to education spreading, that is the evidence of the latter demanding.

Influence of political and economic realities on educational-and-cultural processes

No one can ignore the political, ideological, cultural and economic realities that directly affected both the life of the region population and the nature of education revealing peculiarities of educational-and-cultural processes that took place on the territory of Ukraine during the mentioned period. The Lublin Union of 1569 gave rise to the rule of the Polish nobilities in Ukraine. At that time, Jesuit collegiums as educational institutions of special type where they taught a wide range of secular disciplines in conjunction with theology began to operate.

In addition to the Jesuit collegiums, there were different types of Protestant schools – Socinian, Aryan and Calvinist educational establishments situated in Dubetsk – a school and a seminary (the Russian voivodship), Khmilnyk (Bratslav voivodship), Kysylyn, Goshcha and Berestechko (Volyn voivodship), Kamianets-Podilsk, Manivka and others. Greek, Latin, Polish, Church Slavonic language, Mathematics, Dialectics and Rhetoric were studied in these institutions and they studied also Philosophy and Theology at Manivtsi school that points to its higher status. Undoubtedly, the main purpose of those schools was the upbringing of young generation in a religious spirit. At the same time, West European ideas of humanism and reformation were spread in Ukraine through such schools. They contributed to expansion of education in Ukraine.

22 Y.A. Yarotskij, Uchenyya obshchestva [Educational societies], «Kievskaja starina», vol. 69, nn. 4-6, 1900, pp. 123-126.
23 Ibid., pp. 123-126.
in the second half of the XVII – XVIII centuries as evidenced by the study of Polish scientists. N. Dichek mentioned that «the activity of educational church institution was an extremely influential factor in education spreading, in particular, of the European level, among Orthodox Eastern Slavic peoples».  

**Appearing of fraternal schools**

Fraternal schools in Ukraine began to appear after the decree of King Stephen Bathory in 1585 according to which Orthodox fraternities of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Galicia were allowed to hold schools. The oldest fraternal school in Ukraine is considered to be Lviv fraternal school founded in 1585 by Lviv fraternity. Later, in 1591, Lutsk fraternal school and Kyiv fraternal school were founded in 1615.

Fraternal schools were people’s institutions differed primarily from the rest schools by democratic principles (children of all classes and orphans studied here). Fraternities considered their patriotic goal in the revival of the Slavic language and Orthodox religion in the conditions of offensive of Catholicism to religious and national rights of the Ukrainian people.

Movement on fraternities forming appeared in cities where the organizers of schools creation were lower middle class citizens supported by the Orthodox nobilities. Educational movement went from the cities to the villages. Peasants also established fraternities with hospitals and schools where they taught children. The main purpose of the fraternities, according to their regulations, was saving and increasing of Orthodox Church. The influence of the fraternity and its control over the fulfillment of Christian moral postulates expanded to all laics and clergy of the city. That is, fraternities «corrected social relations, tried to limit economic and spiritual power of the Church, its interference in

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26 N. Dichek, Rozvytok osvity na ukraїns’kyh zemlijah u dobu baroko [Development of education in the Ukrainian area in Barocco epoch], «Pedagogichna i psychologichna nauky v Ukraїni: zbірники наукових prac»), vol. I, n. 1, 20112, p. 166.


public life» 29. At the beginning of the XVII century there were already about 30 fraternities, including: in Galych, Rogatyn, Stryi, Mykolaiv, Komarne, Peremyshl, and Yaroslav – in Galicia; in Kholm, Krasnostav, Zast – in Kholmshchyna; in Bilsk, Byrest and Voladava – in Pidliashia; in Volodymyr, Lutsk, Dubno – in Volyn; in Pinsk – in Polissia; in Medzhybozh – in Podillia. Some time later, fraternities appeared in Kyiv, Lutsk, Vinnytsia, Nemyriv spreading throughout Naddniprianshchyna («land over Dnieper»).

Practically, fraternal communities «led a social movement for establishment of the traditions of Ukrainian culture, preservation of a native language, formation of consciousness of the people in conditions of exacerbation of Catholic expansion» 30.

The merit of the fraternities was also the fact that they formed a system of schools (from elementary to secondary and high) which were of spiritual and educational nature, a system of printing houses, assisted in spreading of skillfulness and democratization of education, gathered around a group of scientists and writers 31. Special feature of fraternal schools was that curriculum was not limited by church-and-religious disciplines, but included scientific secular subjects. They were recognized as «schools of Greek, Slavic, Russian, Latin and Polish writing which testified the importance of learning languages in these schools» 32.

It was fraternity that became «new leaders in school affairs. Their activities were in close connection with the nature of education in previous times: they understood education in the same sense as it was understood before, that is, education «should serve the interests of Orthodox religion and church» 33.

The activity of fraternal schools was regulated by the regulations drawn up by the example of Lviv fraternity (1586) and approved by Iyeremia, Patriarch of Constantinople, in 1592. Regulations («School order») of Lviv fraternal school pointed to democracy and all-classes nature of education. It clearly defined the requirements for teachers, outlined relationships between teachers and students, the issues of students’ discipline, determined the schedule of a school day, the principles of education organization, the content of education, school relationship with the families, the procedure of young people admission

32 Kapterev, Obshhestvennye (bratskie) i gosudarstvennye shkoly kontsa XVI i XVII vekov, cit., p. 47.
33 Ibid., pp. 44-57.
to the school and dismissing from the student staff. Regulations of Lviv fraternal school was taken as the basis for making regulations by other fraternal schools, in particular, Kyiv and Lutsk schools. Studying these documents allows getting a fairly complete picture about organization of the educational process in these institutions.

All fraternal schools passed two stages in their development by pedagogical content. Greece had a great influence on them at the first (primary) stage in the development of fraternal schools. Therefore, Orthodox Ukrainians living in Southwestern Rus kept close ties with just this country as a spiritual center of Orthodox religion, and the first organizers of school matters were invited from here that caused the domination of a Greek element in Ukrainian education – Hellenic-Slavic education became widespread. However, later fraternal schools began to get closer to Latin-Polish educational institutions. Language skills opened up opportunities for learning the achievements of Western European culture, initiation of teaching disciplines that tended to Philosophy (Rhetoric with reduced dialectic variants, that is, Logic), preparation of textbooks, individual philosophical treatises that created the preconditions for separating Philosophy from non-philosophical spheres, primarily from Theology34. Therefore, the second stage was characterized by basing of pedagogical theory and practice on the principles of Slavic pedagogical traditions including experience of Western European pedagogy.

A special role lied to Philosophy and Philology among the sciences studied in fraternal schools and in which European renaissance-and-humanistic tendencies were embodied. The teachers of Lviv and later from Kyiv fraternal school – L. Zyzania and P. Berynda worked fruitfully in this direction. Thus, the work «Lexicon» [Leksikon] by P. Berynda was used as a textbook for studying Church Slavonic language in schools of the XVII–XVIII centuries. Scientific adaptation of vocabulary material was carried out in «Lexicon» [Leksikon] for the first time in Eastern Slavic philology. P. Berynda preparing this publication translated into Ukrainian or explained about 700 words, turned to Greek, Latin, Arabic, Hebrew, almost all Slavic languages, as well as languages of Western Europe35. Philological works by L. Zyzania, M. Smotrytskyi, P. Berynda belonged to the models of humanistic pedagogy. In particular, L. Zyzania and M. Smotrytskyi were well-informed about the achievements of Byzantine humanists of the XV century who conducted pedagogical activity in Western Europe. I. Uzhewych, a Ukrainian philologict of the XVII century wrote «Slavic grammar» [Slovensku gramatiku] in Latin – which was in fact the first grammar book of the old-Ukrainian literary language of XVI-XVII centuries. This book introduced the Old Ukrainian literary language into the sphere of European science of that time.

34 Nichik, Gumanistichni i reformatsjni idei na Ukraini (XVI – pochatok XVII st.), cit., p. 53.
Fraternal schools as original educational institutions combined East Slavic traditions of teaching with forms of Western European school practice. The age of students at fraternal schools ranged from 8-9 to 20-25 years. The basis for dividing students into groups was two principles: 1) linguistic – more general which defined the school: Russian, Slavic-Greek, Latin (Latin-Polish); 1) class – which corresponded to the level of knowledge in each of the schools. The duration of study in each of the classes was not clearly determined and on average was two years of study in the elementary class, one year in each of the grammatical classes and three years in the classes of Poetics and Rhetoric if Rhetoric was combined with Dialectics. The functioning of these or other classes was not permanent but depended on the presence of teachers, and on the financial capabilities of a fraternity.

Fraternal schools were open educational institutions. Their activities were based on democratic principles. The schedule of a school day conformed to the generally accepted schedule of a Western European school of that time.

Educational-and-upbringing process was based on humanitarian principles by nature. Study of languages (Greek, Slavic, Russian, Latin, Polish), as well as teaching such subjects as Grammar, Poetry, Rhetoric, Dialectics and other components of Philosophy and Arithmetic affirmed about its humanitarian orientation.

Students were obliged to speak only in Latin both at school and out of the institution. This was due to the creation of conditions «for gaining general educational knowledge of the Western European level by Ukrainian youth not only in foreign universities, but also in the Motherland. Such level could be ensured, first of all, by free mastering of Latin, as well as learning of the achievements of European science of that time»

They used in-class writing exercises – exercitium and home tasks – occupation in addition to oral check of the tasks. Elementary forms of a dispute were practiced – original contests (competitions) when the mistakes of the answering student were corrected by the other with simultaneous asking him a question on grammar. Elements of mutual learning were widely used: for example, one student asked another in Greek and the latter had to answer in Slavic. This allowed not only checking language skills, but it also promoted responsibility, dignity and the ability to think quickly.

Poetics was taught in a special class or together with Rhetoric. At that time, Poetry performed an educational function. Auxiliary disciplines, such as History, Geography, Mythology and Ancient Literature played an important role in a rhetorical class. Elementary geographic information was given

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36 Kornetov, Ocherki istorii shkoly i pedagogicheskoy mysli narodov SSSR s drevnih vremen do konca XVII v., cit., p. 275.
37 Dichek, Rozvytok osvity na ukraïns'kyh zemljah u dobu baroko, cit., p. 167.
38 Kornetov, Ocherki istorii shkoly i pedagogicheskoy mysli narodov SSSR s drevnih vremen do konca XVII v., cit., p. 278.
along with historical ones. Sources of knowledge in this case served various «Cosmographies» [Kosmografiii] of Western European origin. Particular attention in fraternal schools was given to the Slavic language which was studied by Slavic grammar books created by the teachers of these institutions: «Grammar of Slavic language» [Grammatikoj slovenskogo yazyka] by L. Zyzania, «Grammar of Svavic correct syntagma» [Grammatikoj slovenskogo pravil'noj sintagmy] by M. Smotrytskyi, which was the only textbook on grammar in Ukraine, Belarus and Russia until the middle of the XVIII century and had a great impact on the development of linguistics in all Slavic peoples.

At the beginning of the XVII century, Kyiv fraternity was the most powerful and influential which included representatives of different classes: craftsmen, shopkeepers, poor Orthodox nobility, clergy and Cossacks. This fraternity differed from other Ukrainian fraternities because of the large representation of clergy and Cossacks. The very fact of entering into Kyiv fraternity by the representatives of various classes proved «the process of consolidation of different layers which became intensive with national-liberation frame of mind among the population».

Kyiv fraternal school from the beginning of its foundation (1615) was led by personalities known for their erudition, pedagogical and publicistic works, cultural and pedagogical activity, which could not properly affect the content, forms and methods of its pedagogical activities. Many prominent figures of the XVII century studied there, including writers S. Kosov, S. Pochaskyi and others.

In 1615-1618, I. Boretskyi was a rector in Kyiv fraternal school, whose name was closely connected with a cultural-and-national movement in Ukraine. He believed that social progress depended on education. These ideas were clearly showed in his book «On education of the children» [O vospitanii chad] (1609), where science was placed above all else, since everything good came from it, and a man became a person thanks to it. I. Boretskyi subordinated his pedagogical, educational, and literary work to solution of the most important, at that time, problem – awakening of the national consciousness of Ukrainians, desire for liberation; he demonstrated that Ukrainians had a historical right to their own Motherland, Religion and Church.

The next rector of Kyiv fraternal school was M. Smotrytskyi (1619-1620) who wrote textbooks for schools, including the well-known «Slavic grammar of correct syntagma» [Gramatiki Slavenskiya pravilnoj sintagma] (syntagma – a set of rules) published in 1619.

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39 Ibid., p. 280.
43 Smotritskij, Grammatika, cit., p. 283.
The third rector of the Kyiv fraternal school (1620-1624) was Kasiian Sakovych (he studied at Krakow and Zamoisk academies) who taught Latin and Rhetoric, had poetic abilities. He was the author of two textbooks on Philosophy for fraternal schools—«Aristotle’s problems or issues about a nature of a man» [Aristoteliv’s’ki problemy abo pytannya pro prirodu lyudini] (1620) and «Treatise about a soul» [Traktat pro dushu] (1625) – built in a form of questions and answers, contained such maxims as «say», «remember», «learn» and so on.

Later the rectors were: Spyrydon Sobol, probably, in 1626-1628; Khoma Yevlevych in 1628-1632, the author of the poem in Polish «Labyrinth or a confused road» [Labirint, abo zaplutana doroga] (1625).

The fact that Petro Konashevych-Sagaidachny, the Hetman of Zaporizhian Army was one of the most honorable members of Kyiv fraternal school who «together with all his army» joined to Kyiv fraternity «supporting the cultural-and-national movement in Ukraine and taking protection both fraternity and fraternal school»44.

In 1620, Metropolitanate and the entire Orthodox hierarchy was restored in Ukraine at the initiative of P. Sagaidachnyi and with the support of Fraternity, which was abolished by the decision of Beresteiskyi council and replaced by the Uniate 25 years ago. Metropolitan and bishops were ordained to Ukrainian eparchies during October-December. Iov Boretskyi became the Metropolitan of Kyiv, Galicia and all Rus.

Restoring of Orthodox Ukrainian Metropolitanate was a great event not only of church but also of political significance that «inspired confidence in the Orthodox people and thus contributed to the national-and-liberation struggle»45. This event took place at the Church of Bogoiavlennia-Blagovishchennia which belonged equally to Kyiv fraternity, Fraternal Monastery and Fraternal school. This testified about the high authority that Kyiv fraternity together with its school had gained among Orthodox people.

Consequently, fraternal schools represented the first experience of organizing the work of an educational institution in a class-lesson system, initiated group studying of the children of different age, a clear determination of time and space (classroom), regulation of the behaviour of children and teachers. Lviv, Lutsk and Kyiv fraternity schools successfully competed with Jesuit and Protestant educational institutions in terms of teaching.

44 Hyzhnjak, Man’kiv’s’kyj, Istorija Kyjevo-Mogyl’jans’koj akademii’, cit., p. 28.
45 Ibid., p. 29.
Activity of P. Mohyla concerning reforming of education and Church

In general, the significance of the ordination of new Orthodox hierarchs was specified by the fact that Orthodox Church lost its hierarchs after the conclusion of Brest Union (1596) and joining of the majority of bishops to it. After Feofan (Theophanes), the patriarch of Jerusalem, ordained several bishops and appointed I. Boretskyi as the Metropolitan of Kyiv, «Orthodox Ukrainians had again their ecclesiastical archbishops» 46.

In 1627 P. Mohyla was elected as the Archimandrite of Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, and in 1632 he was elected as the Metropolitan of Kyiv, Galicia and all Rus by 49 Orthodox deputies at Convocation Seym in Warsaw. P. Mohyla after having taken the highest position in the church hierarchy of Ukraine began to unite the efforts of public institutions and different classes – first of all, fraternities, intelligentsia and Cossacks. His policy in the religious sphere and consecutive actions aimed at recognition of Ukrainian Orthodox Church and return of its lost rights, found support among the Cossacks, which gave Kyiv fraternity school (Collegium), to their subordination.

The activity of P. Mohyla coincided with the national-and-cultural movement in Ukraine. He understood that he would have to work with the people, who, according to V. Lypynskyi, did not use state institutions for a long time, only Church was their organizing and educating institution. However, the Church occurred weakened. The Church should have «been ennobled and disciplined, inculcated ability to do without dependence from the power and without its support» 47 to obtain liberties for the nation, Church and religion. To achieve this purpose, P. Mohyla «introduced strict discipline among priests and monks, eliminated harmful habits, demanded keeping of moral Orthodox principles». He made great efforts to «Ukrainian Orthodox Church could hold out and take appropriate place in the Christian world» 48.

P. Mohyla continued the tradition of the revival of the Ukrainian language, initiated by his predecessors, cultural figures of fraternities and fraternal schools and did his best to change Church Slavonic language hard to understand into Ukrainian language to common people.

School of European Model

A school of European model which at the same time would remain deeply national, Ukrainian should serve for implementation of the plans of P. Mohyla – to reform education and the Church. Just such school to his mind was supposed to prepare highly educated scholars, theologians, clever and disciplined priests and monks, people of state thinking who could «make Ukraine independent and represent it adequately at the highest levels of interstate and church relations».

P. Mohyla opened a school in the building of Troitskyi Monastery of Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra in summer of 1631, which remained in history under the name of Lavrska school or gymnasium. This school was similar to Polish and Western European collegiums by the volume of subjects and organizational structure. There were lower (grammatical) classes and higher ones – Poetics, Rhetoric, and Philosophy. However, it did not last for a long time. According to Z. Khyzhniak, «the Kyivites were worried whether Petro Mohyla as Archimandrite would subordinate upbringing of youth to exclusive religious interests, which would be contrary to the principles of fraternal school education».

Activity of Kyiv fraternal collegium

Joint schools began to operate on 1st September 1632 in the territory and in the buildings of Fraternal school under the name of Kyiv Fraternal Collegium, later as Kyiv or Kyiv-Mohyla Collegium. This institution met the requirements of European higher education by the content of curriculum and the level of teaching, however it was somewhat different from the academies and universities operating in that countries with a clear structure of the faculties (usually four). Latin was studied at the artistic (preparatory) faculty. The student obtained a Bachelor degree of Arts after mastering Grammar, Rhetoric, the Principles of Dialectics, and Master’s degree in Art after mastering Philosophy, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy and Theory of Music, and only then he was allowed to enter the Theological, Medical or Juridical faculties.

In contrary, Kyiv collegium did not have faculties, students did not receive academic degrees, they did not always teach Theology. The latter was due to the prohibition of the Polish government to teach theological sciences at the collegium, otherwise the institution would have the rights of the academy. The ruling circles of Poland could not agree to the free development of the collegium,

49 Ibid., p. 47.
50 Ibid., p. 49.
finding a threat in creation of the ideological center for separation of Ukraine from Poland. At the same time, the basis of study at Kyiv collegium was «seven free sciences» took in colleagues and universities of Europe; great attention was paid to the Latin language as a language of scientific and literary life and international communication. It was the first institution of higher education founded by the Orthodox «first of all, that the youth «drank water of sciences» from their native, but not from other sources, renouncing their faith, language, wisdom, and customs of their own people». It was «a means of self-preservation of Ukrainians».

According to V. Bidnov, Kyiv-Mohyla collegium «attracted Ukrainian youth here from all over Ukraine and Bila Rus during the XVII and XVIII centuries». Many young people from the collegium, and then from the academy went abroad to German, Italian and French universities to continue education there. We can name such well-known people as M. Smotrytskyi, F. Prokopovych, as well as the first professors of Kyiv-Mohyla collegium (I. Gisel, L. Baranovych, etc.) whom P. Mohyla «sent abroad to prepare them as school teachers for working in Kyiv». Thus, I. Gizel studied in Cambridge, L. Baranovych in Vilno (now Vilnius, Lithuania), Kalish (now Poland), P. Mohyla in Sorbonne, M. Smotrytskyi in Leipzig, Wittenberg, Nuremberg, F. Prokopovych in Rome.

N. Dichek notes that: «Collegium had in its subordination some educational institutions that worked under its curriculum: in Vinnytsia (since 1634) and Kremenets (since 1636) according to the experience of European universities». No one can forget that all educational and cultural processes took place during constant conflicts of Ukrainians with Poles describing the processes happened in the life of Ukraine of that period. Polish-Ukrainian conflicts become particularly acute in the 40’s of the XVII century. Old spiritual connections between the two peoples of Ukraine and Poland (of Renaissance age) were transformed into tension and confrontation in political, national and religious spheres, which could not have resulted in a serious rebellion.

O. Subtelnyi analyzing the preconditions for the rebellion of 1648 under the leadership of B. Khmelnytskyi named among the most important, firstly, that the newly settled lands of Kyiv area, Bratslavshchyna and Chernihiv area which became the scene of the rebellion, «were unique not only in the Polish- Lithuanian Commonwealth, but also in the whole Europe», «belonged to the

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51 This is confirmed by the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine, Kyiv in one of many cases, to be more sure in case No. 4671 Heneral'na vjys'kova kantselyariya 1656-1777 rr Vidomosti pro navchannya v Kiïv'skomu kolegiumi rosji'skij ta latin'skij movi sina kozaka z m-ka Zin'kiv Gadyats'kого polku Ivana Nestelya. [Chief military chancery of 1656-1777. Information about study of the Russian and Latin languages of the Cossack’s son – Ivan Nestel from town of Zinkiv of Gadiach unit in Kyiv collegium], which is presented on page 8.

52 V. Nichyk, Kyjevo-Mohyl'ians'ka akademija i nimec'ka kul'tura [Kyiv-Mohylianska academy and German culture], Kyiv, Ukr. centr duhovnoi' kul'tury, 2001, p. 6.

53 Bidnov, Shkola j osvita na Ukrai'ni, cit., p. 55.

54 Dichek, Rozvytok osvity na ukrayins'kij zemljah u dobu baroko, cit., p. 168.
most powerful and richest magnates»; and secondly, they were inhabited by the people «ready and able to fight for their interests».

B. Khmelnytskyi repeatedly appealed to the Moscow Tsar with a request in the name of common for them Orthodox religion to come for help. However, Moscow responded with extreme caution. And only in 1653 Tsar Aleksey Mikhailovich gathered Zemsky Sobor (council) which decided that «the sovereign should take them under his high arm for the sake of Orthodox religion and holy church of God». But in 1656 the Moscow Tsar made peace with Poland without the participation of the Ukrainian side. This resulted in the division of Ukraine in 1660 into the Right Bank and the Left Bank Ukraine, each with its Hetman. Ukraine became the arena for Russian-Polish confrontation since the mid-60s of the XVII century. In addition, an internecine struggle began in Ukraine. The Right Bank Ukraine became a sphere of interests of the Poles and the Left Bank of Russia according to the Andrusiv truce.

However, the consequences of the rebellion of 1648 were not only negative, but also positive: it was formed Cossack state, which conducted its independent policy for a long time, destroyed a large property and land was divided between the Cossacks. This contributed to the increase in agricultural productivity which acquired an industrial character in some places. Formation of the European system of capitalist economy was started, and this process occurred more intense on the Left Bank than in the rest territory of Ukraine. Application of hired labour of free workers was extended. All this inevitably affected the spiritual life of the society causing the spread of the ideas of the Enlightenment, because political and economic development needed educated, self-thinking people.

**Functioning of people’s schools**

People’s school – diakivka gaven elementary education was popular among the people in the XVII century. Chiefly, such schools were founded by the churches; teachers were clerks who received some fee (by agreement) from students’ parents. Corresponding agreement was concluded between the community and the teacher. The children were taught Slavic alphabet, reading according to the Book of Hours, the Psalter, the Apostle, Writing, the principles of Arithmetic. These schools became close to the people because they were not

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56 Ibid., p. 124.
too official, they were cheap, they met the needs of the population and did not neglect their native customs and folk language.

The teacher was guaranteed certain rights. Thus, he had the right to leave school at any time if the community did not provide him with food. Quite often, itinerant clerks-students-seminarists, pupils of Ukrainian religious schools travelling through cities and villages and earning for living by cultural-and-educational work (composed and recited poems, went with a vertep (nativity play) taught in people’s schools. Itinerant clerks performed teaching mission in small villages and hamlets taking the functions of a mobile school because there were no churches in the farmsteads, and consequently, schools that were usually built not far from the church in the center of the village. Thanks to them, every child living far away from the school was able to study at home or near the home for a quiet possible payment for parents. This contributed to full provision of elementary general education for all school-age children in Ukraine, which had an extremely important educational significance. After all, there was a large number of farmsteads and hamlets in the country – each peasant built a house to be closer to his field.

Itinerant clerks had also high authority among the students and parents because they taught in their mother tongue using accessible and comprehensible to all means of folk pedagogy, on the basis of national virtues and norms of Christian moral, did not avoid physical labour, helped the peasants in the farms. People’s schools were created by the people themselves, they were not limited by a curriculum or regulations, did not need large funds for equipment.

There were seminaries (bursa) in the vast majority of schools and they were under the patronage of the community and provided shelter for orphans. The guardian of these children was a teacher. Travelling students except orphans lived in such shelters, who because of the lack of a school in their region settled there where such school worked. As a rule, they became the assistants of these travelling clerks and they often taught.

*Cossack, Sich, Regimental, Palanka schools*

Cossack, Sich, Regimental, Palanka schools appeared in the second half of the XVII century, which were created with the support of Cossacks from Zaporozhian Sich. B. Khmelnytskyi started this tradition by signing the Decree on organizing of schools for preparation of kobzars, lyre players at the kobzar departments in 1652 and he took them under his care. In fact, they were the first musical schools in Ukraine. Cossacks-kobzars worked here as the teachers, who could not use weapons because of age or other reasons. Classes with students were held individually. Only when a young man could independently create an artistic work, he was given the right to sing in public. Such schools
operated in Kyiv, Chernihiv, Novgorod-Siversky, Pochaiv, Baturyn and other Ukrainian cities. It was founded a singing school at the Sich in the end of the XVII century.

Some years later, Cossack schools were created in regimental and sotnia of cities and towns of Ukraine. And although the teaching methods were primitive in Cossack schools, the teachers made educational process different by using visual methods, especially during ABC studying. These schools like diakivky existed at the parents’ expense.

Sich school operated in Zaporozhian Sich at the church of Sviatoi Pokrovy (St. Intercession) which consisted of two departments: one was for preparing Cossacks to be palamars (sacristans), clerks and deacons. The second department was intended for orphans – godsons of prosperous class of Cossacks and for children taken by the Cossacks during the battles. These children taught reading and writing, singing and military craft.

Learners often studied for over ten years at Cossack schools. The monastic monk led the school.

There was a monastic school in addition to Cossack schools operated at Samarskyi Pustyno-Mykolaivskyi monastery and church-and-parochial schools worked almost at all churches in palankas of Zaporozhian community which was in palankas by large villages, winter villages and small villages (Zaporozhian Cossacks had about 60 churches during their historic life). Monastic schools formed religious spirituality, cultivated Ukrainian national spirit and feelings of religious national independence.

Thus, the XVII century laid modern understanding of the school which main characteristics were: group teaching of the children; definition of time (lesson) and space (classroom); scrupulous regulation of the child’s behaviour during classes (how to sit, how to write, how to get up, how to sit down, how to answer, how to ask) and teachers’ behaviour, moving during the breaks (in the class, at school, in the yard, etc.). This especially concerned to Jesuit educational institutions where they always kept rituals in classes’ organizing.

Although the content of education was formed beyond the problem of child’s development, it was based on the idea of natural correspondence in organization of learning. The content «laid not in the pedagogical sphere, but rather in the program of reformational renewal of Christianity and solving social problems» in their totality, they «provoked the development of national languages and literatures (through the translation of the Bible), thereby laying the foundations for the development of the content of education, and the presence of several religions, changing in attitudes towards the child and social

60 Ibid., p. 201.
61 Ibid., p. 42.
62 Ibid.
factors became an impetus for secularization and separation of education from the church» 63.

**Arising and development of Enlightenment period**

In the last third of the XVII century, Ukraine (as a territory), directly or indirectly, freely or unknowingly, through participation in a political, diplomatic or military struggle, through the redistribution of its lands between neighbouring countries, fell into the sphere of interests of European politicians and became a participant of creation of a fundamentally new geopolitical situation 64. This period became a turning point not only for Ukraine but also for the whole Eastern Europe. Further political, economic, social and cultural transformations were caused by the events that took place at that time, and first of all, by the struggle for the possession of the contemporary Ukrainian lands 65. Education as a way of understanding and «civilizing» the needs acquired the status of an effective method of social progress, but it also depended on the development of the material sphere of society. After all, according to G. Raynal, manufactory contributed to the progress of education and science. Only mechanics led to expansion of Mathematics study. All branches of science began to develop along with the progress of art and crafts. The development of science also affected the social sphere of society. There were changes in the political system and philosophy: people were given more rights; rulers were given ability to rule of peoples’ mind and heart, thought and will on the basis of justice 66. Philosophical paradigm of the Middle Ages was replaced by philosophical paradigm of Modern Times. Religious-and-spiritual education gradually turned into a secular one. Secondary educational institutions already prepared the elite for ruling the state; they introduced the study of the real sciences: Mathematics, Natural History, Natural History, Geography, History of the State and Region, as well as «living» foreign languages. It began the process of refusal from «universal» (Latin) language in favour of the national one. Secularization became deeper. Materialism became a dominant philosophical tendency of the XVII-XVIII centuries 67.

63 Ibid., p. 42.
64 V. Zaruba, “Ukrain’s‘ke pytannja” v systemi jevropejs‘koi’ polityky ostann‘oi’ chverti XVII stolitija [«Ukrainian issue» in the system of European policy of the last quarter of XVII century], «Kyi’vs‘ka starovyna», n. 1, 2003, pp. 3-12.
67 M. Barna, Rozvytok pedagogichnoi’ osvity v Galychyni (1772-1939 rr.) [Development of
The result of such transformations was arising and development of the Enlightenment, the main idea of which was to affirm the dependence of social progress on education, upbringing and the development of sciences. A marked separation of theology and philosophy, the development of natural sciences occurred; the concept of educated absolutism appeared. According to G. Korotych: «Enlightenment originated as a synthesis of humanism and reformation, as an antifeudal ideology».

The school was becoming an urgent need for the Ukrainian population.

We agree with the opinion of Yu. Vilchynskyi and M. Skrypnyk that the second half of the XVII century was characterized as a period of formation of the Enlightenment worldview in the development of spiritual and cultural life of Ukraine. That was the time for «active learning and comprehension of the ancient achievements of Western European culture, creation of own scientific tradition for the development of philosophy and the science of Modern Times».

Conclusions: the tendencies of the development of education in Ukraine

Performed analysis of educational-and-cultural processes of the XVII century gives the opportunity to distinguish the main tendencies that realized in specific forms of educational activity, as well as in the direction of general educational phenomena of culture. They include: increase the number of printing houses and libraries at the monasteries as educational-and-cultural centers; growth of economic development of Ukrainian lands, the result of which was raising the role of education; expansion the system of schools due to appearing of new types (fraternal, Cossack, Sich schools, etc.); organization and implementation of the educational-and-upbringing process on the basis of a class-and-lesson system, strengthening of secular fundamental principles in its content caused by penetration of humanistic and reformatory ideas to Ukraine (democratization of education, recognition of the natural equality of people, denial of the church monopoly in the field of spiritual culture and education of the population).