ABSTRACT. The question of how the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy could be transformed, or reorganized, into the Kyiv Theological Seminary has caused and causes many scholars and historians a tremendous boom. Thanks to the great efforts of the son of the Moldavian Ruler Metropolitan Petro Mohyla, the Kyiv Brethren School transformed into the Collegium, which caused great irritation and dissatisfaction with both the Order of the Jesuits and the Polish domination. This article's idea is that the creation of the Kyiv Theological Seminary was not only a rejection of secular sciences, but also a result of reorganization.

Keywords: Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Kyiv Theological Seminary, History of Church, Eastern Orthodox Church

The Kyiv Mohyla Academy was one of the most well-known and most ancient Orthodox higher educational institutions in Eastern Europe, which existed from the 17th to the 19th centuries. The seminary also appeared much later and became its successor since 1817. When analyzing and comparing the stories of these two educational institutions, the question arose: "The Kyiv Theological Seminary was simply reformed and purified from the school of Latin scholasticism - the same as Kyiv Mohyla Academy, or something else?".

The question of how the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy could be transformed, or reorganized, into the Kyiv Theological Seminary has caused and causes many scholars and historians a tremendous boom. The Academy, which was founded by Saint Petro Mohyla, was a defender of Orthodox education and a source of theological knowledge not only for students from the Ukrainian lands, but also for migrants from Moldova, Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Russia, Belarus, Poland, Syria and other countries. During the progressive development of Protestant Reformation and Catholic Counterreformation, Orthodox education could not
remain aside and be stationary. It also needed to evolve, shape its image to keep pace with Catholic and Protestant scholarship. Otherwise, the leadership of The Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth\footnote{The Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, formally the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, after 1791 the Commonwealth of Poland, was a dualistic state, a bi-confederation of Poland and Lithuania ruled by a common monarch, who was both the King of Poland and the Grand Duke of Lithuania // Norman Davies, *Europe: A History*, (Pimlico, 1997), 554.} would ocatolize the Ukrainian population, and preachers of the Reformation became increasingly popular among the anti-Catholic opposition of the then Eastern Europe. The role of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy at that time was extremely large for Orthodoxy.

If we recall the situation then, after the capture of the Turks-Ottomans of Constantinople in 1453, all Orthodox education was preserved in the monasteries of the Balkan countries, including in the Carpathian monasteries. That is, in places hard to reach for the Turks. Among them can be identified monastic schools at the monastery Putna, in Brasov and others. Later, Orthodox schools were founded in the Polish-Lithuanian state. The first was being in Lviv in 1686. After this, began multitude opening up of the entire then Polish state. In addition to the Lviv School, the most famous Brotherhood Schools was being in Vilna and Kyiv. In Kyiv opened in 1689 and became the foundation for the future Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. It is she who will become the Orthodox school of the world level, although she had a great influence on Reformism and Catholicism. However, she was Orthodox, where she studied not only from Poland, Ukraine, Russia, but from the Balkan and Danube countries. Including from Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldova, Bulgaria and Serbia.

However, despite this, two centuries later, in 1817, the closure of the Orthodox Academy. But why has this happened and why was it not closed by the Catholic Polish authorities, but by the Russian Orthodox? To answer this question, you need to look at the history of the KMA briefly and focus on the important points that will help resolve this issue fully.

The first Orthodox schools in Kiev, after the destruction of the Kievan Rus by Tatars, were Brotherhoods\footnote{Brotherhoods (Ukrainian: братства, bratstva; literally, «fraternities») were the secular unions of Eastern Orthodox citizens or lay societies affiliated with individual churches in the cities throughout Ruthenian part of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth such as Lviv, Wilno, Lutsk, Vitebsk, Minsk, and Kiev.}. They appeared here at the end of the seventeenth century approximately in the 1580’s and became the basis for the creation of the KMA. As laity and clergy came to study at these schools. It is important to note that for this era in the Orthodox environment of Eastern Europe is characterized by an extremely large role of the laity in the affairs of the Church.
The laity in the face of hetmans, magnates, and Cossack leaders kept and defended Orthodoxy. These are such well-known personalities as Hetman (Prince) Konstantyn Ostrozhs’kyy, Rulers Petro Konashevych-Sahaydachnyy, Bohdan Khmel’nysts’kyy and Ivan Mazepa who defended not only the national interests or the rights of the Orthodox in the Catholic state at the time, but also contributed to religious-educational development. Here secular proximity to the church is traced. Indeed, after the transition of the orthodox hierarchy to the union with the Catholic Church, it is the laity and lower clergy those who cared for the preservation and restoration of the canonical Orthodox hierarchy.

Thanks to the great efforts of the son of the Moldavian Ruler Metropolitan Petro Mohyla, the Kyiv Brethren School transformed into the Collegium, which caused great irritation and dissatisfaction with both the Order of the Jesuits and the Polish domination. The creation of a new educational institution took place in 1632 because of the merger of two Kyiv religious schools. In addition to the study of theology, a great emphasis on the Collegium, and eventually the Academy, was put on the study of foreign languages and other, rather secular than theological, disciplines. Thus, discipline in the Kiev college was divided into so-called ordinary and extraordinary. Farah, infima scriberi, grammatica, syntaksyma, poeticam, rhetoricae, philosophia and theologa related to ordinary.

But one should not forget that most of the vast majority of contemporary intellectuals at that time went to the KMA to study the most extraordinary disciplines, including Polish, Greek, German, Jewish and French languages, geography, history, mathematics (which included algebra, optics, dioptics, algebra, architecture, physics, hydraulics, hydrostatics, mechanics and mathematical chronology), music church singing, music, painting, rural and home economics, medicine and eloquence.

3 V. I. Askochenskiy, Kiyev s drevneyshim yego uchilishchem Akademiyeyu [Киев с древнейшим его училищем Академией] (V Univers. tipograf, 1856), 67, 91.
4 Ibid., 11.
6 Askochenskiy, Kiyev s drevneyshim yego uchilishchem Akademiyeyu, 116-121.
7 F. Titov, prot. Imperatorskaya Kiëvskaya Dukhovnaya Akademiya v yeje trekhvekovoy zhizni i deyatelnosti (1615-1915 gg.): Istoriichekhaya zapiska [Императорская Киевская Духовная Академия в ее трехвековой жизни и деятельности (1615-1915 гг.): Историческая записка] (Kiyev: Gopak, 2003), 85.
9 Askochenskiy, Kiyev s drevneyshim yego uchilishchem Akademiyeyu, 426-434.
From these above-mentioned subjects or classes, it is evident that not all of them served to educate not only the priest but also the public figure. For the priest there would be enough ordinary items.

It follows that Kyiv-Mohyla Academy was a semi-theological and semi-educational institution. The emergence of the Kyiv Theological Seminary was a phenomenon separating theological and secular education. The newly created seminary became an educational institution for immigrants exclusively from the clergy. However, this issue will be covered in more detail below.

In the 18th century Academy reached the top of his fame. It was not already geographically beyond the Catholic Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth but by the Russia. Its graduates became leading figures in the creation of almost all higher education institutions of the then Russian Empire. Its first emperor Peter I literally surrounded himself with the best graduates of the Kiev Academy. They began to occupy both important secular positions and most of the bishopric chairs at those times as well. The number of classes at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy at that time increased to twenty. Constantly they introduced new subjects: Hebrew, German and French, general and natural history, architecture, geography, medicine, economics.

It is important to draw attention to the fact that looking at the educational institutions of the 17th – the first half of the 18th centuries, it is very difficult to distinguish secular educational institution from the theological. From the beginning of the nineteenth century we can speak on the division of education on theological and secular. Thus, in the field of education, there have been changes, namely, the transition of KMA from secular-religious studies to a theological educational institution. It was 1817 that became the final transition between the two epochs of Kyiv education - early modern and new. As for the modern school - it is known today is characterized by disciplined divided into primary, secondary and higher with appropriate programs and age-division students. For a new school, a complete separation of secular education from the theological one becomes characteristic. Starting from the second half of the 18th century we can follow the gradual “evolution” of Kiev “Latin” schools towards school, which is more suitable for the systematic teaching priest’s children.

10 Pamyatniki izdannyye vremennoy komissiyeyu dlya razbora drevnikh aktov, vysochayshe uchrezhdennyyu pri Kievskom voyennom podol’skom i volynskom general-gubernator [Памятники изданные временною комиссией для разбора древних актов, высочайше учрежденную при Киевском военном подольском и волынском генераль-губернаторх] (II K., 1846), 1-30.
12 M. V. Yaremenko, Kyievo-Mohylanska Akademiya v 1817 rotsi: kinets i storiyi? [Киево-Могилянська Академія в 1817 році: кінець історії?] (Trudy KDA, 2009), 120-121.
Opening of Kyiv Theological Seminary was not spontaneous, and the cause and effect reaction at that time changes. The opening of this educational institution was the result of many educational reforms that were carried out in the Russian Empire of those times.

If we speak about the 19th century it can be noted that the education of the Russian Empire in all social classes was one of the priorities of the internal imperial policy. That educational impulse that the reforms of Peter I and Catherine II gave, Alexander I put them to the highest level. At the same time, this development was awakened not only by the need to keep pace with other civilized European countries. According to I. Smolich, this process: "...was not based on solid pedagogical principles, but from the need to educate the people as "good subjects". This requirement of Peter the Great remained unchanged, but it should be noted that the school affairs in Russia at the beginning of the XIX century developed successfully and gradually reached the level of Western Europe."¹⁴

The closure of the famous ancient Kyiv-Mohyla Academy caused many criticisms and diverse points of view. For example, one can mention the historical evidence that no one was quite popularized in Polish and Ukrainian media, that is a harsh view of the famous Polish historian Alexander Walerian Yablonowski. In his view, the newly formed Kyiv Theological Academy, and accordingly and Kyiv Theological Seminary, received from the old academy only the walls, and no more. He described this position in a book entitled "Akademia Kijowsko-Mohilańska", published in Krakow in 1899-1900, and later in Lviv. He described it in contrasting colors, because he believed that KMA was a full Polish educational institution, and with the reforms of Alexander I, it irretrievably lost its customs and programs.¹⁵

In contrast to such a radical view came the famous Kiev historian, professor Ft. Theodore Titov. The foregoing Polish historian, he replied with these words: "In view of this, in the most highly weird way of judging by Alexander Yablonowski, we consider it permissible to confine ourselves to the mere fact that, in spite of the incorrect understanding of the spirit and character of the old Kyiv Academy, it finds in the Polish historian that it is still

perfectly unfamiliar with the essence of the theological and educational reform in Russia, completed in 1808, and the Academy of Sciences touched in the years 1817-19.\textsuperscript{16}

In this case, it will be appropriate to recall the words of their contemporary, historian Petro Znamenskyi, who describes the former position of the KMA, who wrote: “Having transformed into a Polish and Jesuits system, the college was far from being Polish, because it was exclusively connected with the middle classes, gentlemen, Cossacks, and small-scale, when the Russian nation was kept in all its significance, - here ‘Russian nationality’ is referred to as the ‘Orthodox’, since at that time the nationality was tied to the religion, and then he adds, - besides, it was an open and constantly updated tide of the people's forces.”\textsuperscript{17}

Also, Alexander Yablonowski in his book mentions that the introduction of the Russian language in the Kyiv Theological Academy and Kyiv Theological Seminary was a factor in the eradication of the Polish-Latin element: “Akademia mohilanska przeobrazowana na zaklad naukowy rosyjski, zamin zapanowal wniej jezyk rosyjski.”\textsuperscript{18} 19. Ft. Theodore Titov responded on the previous comment the following: “Reform of 1817-19 was not accompanied by a significant breakdown of the educational system in the Kyiv Academy. Even the Latin language, following this reform, remained in the course of teaching language, at least, of theological sciences in the Kyiv Theological Academy.”\textsuperscript{20}

After such comments it is quite difficult to deny something as reforms of the early nineteenth century indeed heterogeneous, they embarrassed and still confuse not one scientist.

It is unlikely that the reason for closing the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy can be called Russification. In modern literature, a significant portion of local researchers tend to evaluate Kyiv-Mohyla Academy as a purely Ukrainian school. Instead, Kyiv Theological Seminary and Kyiv Theological Academy were thought to be anti-Ukrainian Russified educational institutions. However, this view can hardly be considered appropriate in this case. Most likely, this is a

---

\textsuperscript{16} F. Titov, K voprosu o znacheniye Kiyevskoy Akademii dlya pravoslaviya i russkoy narodnosti v XVII-XVIII vv. [Къ вопросу о значение Киевской Академии для православия и русской народности в XVII – XVIII вв.] (TKDA, 1904), 1: 83.

\textsuperscript{17} P. Znamenskiy, Rukovodstvo k Russkoy tserkovnoy istorii [Руководство къ Русской церковной истории] (Kazan: V univers. tipografii, 1880), 207.

\textsuperscript{18} Translation from polish language: “Mohyla Academy was transformed into a russian scientific institution, in place of which the russian language prevailed”.

\textsuperscript{19} Aleksander Jablonowski, Akademia Kijowsko-Mohilańska: zarys historyczny na tle rozwoju ogólnego cywilizacji zachodniej na Rusi (Kralow: Druk W. L. Anczyca i spolki, 1899-1900), 251.

\textsuperscript{20} F. Titov, K voprosu o znacheniye Kiyevskoy Akademii..., 1: 83.
subjective vision of the contemporary situation. The discovery of the Kyiv Theological Seminary was the result of the reforms of the Russian emperor Alexander I, which envisaged already three-level theological education: college, seminary and academy.

Before describing the opening of the Kyiv Theological Seminary, it is necessary to mention in a few words the closure of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. As it was already mentioned above, in the Russian Empire, new reforms were implemented in full swing. Old Kiev Academy was to change, be transformed or according to the new terminology restart, becoming the only institution to the clergy.

In the capital, it was planned to close the academy, but implementation of such an intention was delayed every time. There were reasons for this, among which four main ones can be distinguished.

The first reason can be called a major fire on Podil (Medieval Downtown of Kyiv) July 8, 1811 on the day of the celebration of the Kazan Icon of Holy Virgin. A fire that broke out at noon in the carpenter house due to strong winds, spread to neighboring wooden houses. As a result, only in a few hours from the Podil there were only smoldering coals. Historian Viktor Askochens'kyi wrote that nothing was left of all the churches and public buildings in Podil. Monastery of Orthodox Brotherhood and Academy smoked the longest, as a large monastery courtyard, the temple bell and educational buildings were filled with students good. A iconostasis burned to the ground.

The same happened with the old academic library, which until then contained the works of metropolitan Petro Mohyla. From the academic buildings were only two walls. It is clear that in this period there was no reform.

The second reason was the war with the Napoleonic troops. It is difficult to carry out any reforms during the fighting, in addition to the uncontrolled territory, since Kiev was for some time behind the line of the front. During the war, the academy also suffered. The cost was the life of its students, who recorded massively as the volunteer, replenishing the army's ranks to go on to defend their homeland. Historian Viktor Askochens'kyi describes this as follows: “The Academy also did not lag behind the offering of

\[21\] N. Petrov, “Kiyevskaya Dukhovnaya akademiya” [Киевская Духовная академия], in Bogoslovskaya entsiklopediia, ed. N.N. Glubokovski (Sankt Petersburg, 1909), 691-692.

\[22\] Ibid., 691.


\[24\] Askochenskiy, Kiyev drevneyshim yego uchilishchem Akademiyeyu, 463-464.

a common victim; and its pupils became in the ranks of the holy warrior. In the course of 1812 and 1813, the Academic Board issued permissions for students to enter the regiment, and the Kyivan hierarch delivered their archpastoral blessing.26

In addition, in connection with military operations in 1812, at the territory of Academy a mobile laboratory and pharmacy military placed who created exceptional difficulties for seminarian, taking twelve of the twenty-four rooms.27 In short, such exploitation of premises was delayed due to the lack of space suitable for moving a military pharmacy.28 The Military Pharmacy completely dismissed the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy casings in 1814, after Metropolitan Serapion wrote a letter to the Chief Prosecutor to Prince A. Golitsyn requesting to facilitate the expulsion of the military laboratory and the pharmacy from the academic buildings as soon as possible. Such a direct request was due to the fact that the academies needed their premises, as well as because of diseases that went to the seminrists from patients who were constantly coming to the pharmacy.29

The third reason for delaying the closure of the old Academy was the possibility of protests at any time by the Kyiv intellectuals. Historian Fr. Petro Trots’kyi: "As soon as the news about the transformation of our theological schools was first announced, an unvoiced murmur for reform and a certain fear for oneself spreaded within the walls of our ancient academy, both between mentors and among students.30

The fourth and most well-known reason there had to be some time slot after the reform of the St. Petersburg Theological Academy, which the Ft. Theodore Titov mentioned. It was necessary to see the results of the approbation in order to spread reforms throughout the empire, as well as to prepare a new decent generation of teachers.31

These reasons did not cancel the closure, but only delayed the irreversible process. The war was over, testing of the new program did not fail, the intelligentsia calmed down, and the consequences of a great fire were eliminated. After the fire Metropolitan Serapion started up the restoration of

26 Askochenskiy, Kiyev s drevneyshym yego uchilishchem Akademiiyeyu, 468-469.
28 Titova (ed.), Akty i dokumenty..., 68-69.
29 Ibid., 75-76.
30 P. Trotskiy, svyashch, "Nѣskolko slov ob otkrytii KDS v 1817 г." [Нѣсколько словъ об открытии КДС въ 1817 г.], KEV, no. 19, 1871, 442.
31 F. Titov, svyashch, Ocherki iz istorii Kiyevskoy dukhovnoy akademii [Очерки из истории Киевской духовной академии], TKDA, 1897, no. 10, 191.
During the renovation less susceptible to ignition materials were used than the previous ones. An audit was carried out of the remains left in the library during the fire. Immediately from all sides began to come to material assistance for the restoration of the academy and the Monastery of Orthodox Brotherhood (Brats'ky). Among the benefactors was the emperor himself, who later played an important role in accelerating the closure of the academy. The library began to be replenished with books that came from different provinces. Historian Viktor Askochens'kyi compared the time with the phoenix academy, saying that she resurrected after burning like this mythical bird. The academy had been restored instantly and its pupils were already spending winter in it. Teachers, whereas, received a salary without delays. That's how the academy once again "regained on its feet" and even was able to invite teachers from abroad. But the closure happened.

Famous historian of the early twentieth century, the Ft. Theodore Titov wrote that the closure of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy was the result of a number of orders of the authorities. These reforms began under the time of Catherine II and were implemented under the reign of Alexander I. Ft. Theodore Titov wrote: "We dare to think that this event was a great and very bitter blow for the pupils of the old Kiev Academy, who were direct witnesses and eyewitnesses to the closure of their almae matris. And yet it was absolutely necessary and was made by the higher theological authorities with the best intentions."

The last event, before the closure of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, in 1816 was the return of Emperor Alexander I from the Vienna Congress to Kiev. At that time, veterans and nobles returned from Europe. Luxurious celebrations, balls and illuminations swept through Kiev. The emperor, in his turn, devoted most of his time to visiting churches, monasteries and, among others, visited the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. His visit was on September 2, 1817, during which he worshiped the miraculous Brotherhood icon of Our Lady and inspected the Academy. Immediately after the visit of the Emperor, there were some changes. In the same year, the highest order was issued regarding the "transformation" of the third theological educational district.

---

32 Titova (ed.), Akty i dokumenty..., 1: 514-516.
33 Ibid., 339-340.
34 Askochenskiy, Kiev s drevneyshim yego uchilishchem Akademiyeyu, 466-467.
36 Askochenskiy, Kiev s drevneyshim yego uchilishchem Akademiyeyu, 466-467.
37 F. Titov, svyashch., Ocherki iz istorii Kievskoy dukhovnoy akademii, 169.
38 Askochenskiy, Kiev s drevneyshim yego uchilishchem Akademiyeyu, 480-481.
The question arises: "Why was the seminar open instead of the academy after the closing of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy?". The answer to this question can be found by analyzing the contemporary decrees and works of well-known researchers on this topic.

Even before the opening of the seminary (October 27, 1817), at a meeting of the Commission of theological schools at the Holy Synod, on July 24, the same year, the question was raised about the opening of a new theological academy in exchange for the old Mohyla Academy, but this Commission ruled in a different way.

Metropolitan Serapion and local bishops prepared information about the readiness for reform. These reports were sent to the Holy Synod, which on August 14, 1817, issued a decree, in which said: "Since there are already seminaries in which a great number of youths are either getting education or suffering time ..., then it is necessary to precede the formation of the Kiev Academy of Education seminary of the Kiev district, and before that all the schools of the Kiev district subordinate to the department of the St. Petersburg Academic Board".

In turn, the Commission of theological schools, even before this decree, realizing new reforms of Theological Education, prepared a plan for their implementation. In the first place, she was forced to adhere to the precise reform of the system, which was attributed to the new Charter. In short, the old theological education had become a three-staged: college, seminary and academy. Having only the first of the lowest of the three stages available - the religious schools of the Commission of theological schools decided in mid-July 1817: "The opening of the Kyiv Academy for a new education will be postponed to perfection of at least a two-year course in the Seminary of the Kyivsky District in their new education."

So, summing up, one can state that Kyiv Theological Academy and Kyiv Theological Seminary were two higher educational institutions with different orientations. Although the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy was a more universal institution and for centuries it was the theological educational light of Eastern Europe, it had to give way to a theological institution called Kyiv Theological Seminary. The separation of theological and secular education that was happening all over Europe at that time in 1817 reached Kyiv. For someone, it was a shock, for somebody's expectation, but more than 20-30 years until the

---

39 Ibid., 481.
40 P. Trotskiy, prot., "Khod obrazovaniya dukhovnykh uchiliishch v nachal' nynjsnogo stol'cbia i otkrytie Kievskoy Dukhovnoy seminarii 1817 g. 27 oktyabrya" [Ходъ образованія духовныхъ училищъ въ началѣ нынѣшняго столѣтій и открытие Киевской Духовной семинарии 1817 г. 27 октября], TKDA, no. 1, 1893, 66.
closely of the Old Academy, only priest's children were taught in it. That indicated the need to abandon extraordinary secular sciences and to focus more on the study of theology and pastoral disciplines. The need to close the old academy was due to the fact that the level of old teachers at the beginning of the nineteenth century was very low. After re-certification, only one teacher of the Old Academy had the rights to stay teaching, all the others because of the low level were released. Therefore, the creation of the Kyiv Theological Seminary was not only a rejection of secular sciences, but also a result of reorganization. Further, the Kiev Theological Seminary for more than a century, from 27 October 1817 until 1919, will conduct training and educational activities. Hundreds and thousands of its graduates became famous church figures and martyrs for the faith of Christ.

REFERENCES

Askochenskiy, V. I. Kiyev s drevneyshim yego uchilishchem Akademiyeyu [Киев с древнейшим его училищем Академией]. Univers. tipograf, 1856.


Titov, F. *K voprosu o znacheniye Kiyevskoy Akademii dlya pravoslaviya i russkoj narodnosti v XVII-XVIII vv.* [Къ вопросу о значение Киевской Академии для православия и русской народности в XVII – XVIII вв.] TKDA, 1904, 1: 83.


Titov, F., svyashch. "Ocherki iz istorii Kiyevskoy dukhovnoy akademii" [Очерки из истории Киевской духовной академии], TKDA, no. 10 (1897).


Trotsky, P., prot. "Khod obrazovaniya dukhovnykh uchilishch v nachalѣ nynѣshnego stolѣtіya i otkrytí Kíevskoy Dukhovnoy seminaríi 1817 g. 27 oktyabrya" [Ходъ образования духовныхъ училищъ въ началѣ нынѣшнего столѣтія и открытіе Кіевской Духовной семіаріи 1817 г. 27 октября]. TKDA, no. 1 (1893).


