"Teraturgema" by Afanasij Kal'nofoyskyi:

The Problem of Inter-Confessional Borrowings

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Abstract

In the 17th century and especially after the restoration of the Kyiv Church hierarchy in 1620, Orthodoxy needed to adapt to the challenges of the Reformation and the Catholic Reform. Among Catholics and Protestants the Orthodox Church was considered unable to bring Salvation to its believers. To defend itself and keep the faithful, the Orthodox Church needed reform. Basically, this presupposed the implementation of Protestant and Catholic strategies in the realms of education, Church institutions, hierarchy, and confessional literature. 'Teraturgema' by Afanasij Kal'nofoyskyi is the earliest evidence of the thought-out Church policy aimed at defining the nature of Orthodoxy and defending it from Catholic and Protestant invectives before the Orthodox Catechism and Trebnyk (Euchologion) were written.

The thesis examines "Teraturgema", or the account of miracles, in the context of the 'belated Counter-Reformation" and 'unintended' modernization, which should be a clear illustration of the fragile balance between the transfer of new norms and claims to preserve the "old" Orthodoxy.

Hence, this thesis contributes to the overall analysis of the very important but under-investigated source of Orthodox religious thought which emerged at the end of the Reformation, giving a concrete example how the process of the re-formation of the Orthodox doctrine might have taken place. From this close reading, "Teraturgema" has never been under such close scholarly investigation, though its strategies, which built on manoeuvring between Jesuit modernity and appealing to old times, could be a striking example of the religious transformation in Eastern Europe.

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INTRODUCTION

'Tell me, oh wise men, who know the art of grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, and philosophy, the way in which Christ has opened the mind of the fools, who followed him, to understand the Scripture? [...] And if you do not solve this simplest and plainest riddle (and not with the help of the practical mind, but with the help of the Truth, which portends itself!), then I, leaving aside the Latin philosophers, will appeal to thee, my Ruthenian brother, and give a healthy and useful counsel for the salvation of your soul. Stop running after Latin and their teachings, because, tired of the labour of temptation and disbelief, you will perish as they have perished! Behold, it is better to sit at home in godliness, even not knowing much, but remain with the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit inseparably and now - and you'll be there! Amen.'.[1]

These words full of fear and hate towards the changes in the Orthodox belief and the 'Latin erudition' were said by an Orthodox monk and polemicist at the turn of the 17th century. However, already in 1638 another Orthodox monk, Afanasij Kal'nofoyskyi, would employ the whole arsenal of 'Latin erudition' and even the Catholic way of exhortation to sustain the Orthodox claims for equality between the competing confessions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. His work, dedicated to miracles in the Kyiv Cave monastery, became the earliest evidence of the well-considered Church policy aimed at defending the Orthodoxy from Catholic and Protestant invectives and partly defining its nature before the Orthodox Catechism and *Trebnik* were written.[2]

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[1] Skazhite mi, o premudrii, ot vashikh khitrostyeĭ i khudozhestv gramatychnykh, dialektichnykh, rytorichnykh, i filosofskikh, yakim sposobom Khristos prostakom, yemu posleduyushchim, otverze um razumiti pisanie? […]. A yesli ne zgadnete toe prostoe i bezkhitroe zagadki, i ne ot vymyslu prakttichnogo, no ot istiny, yako sama v sobe yest glagolemoe, togda, ostavivshi filosofy latinskie, k tebe, brate moĭ rusine, s slovom sya oborochayu i radu zdorovuyu i pozhitochnuyu (za spasenie dushevnoe) dayu. Ostante begati vsled latiny i ucheniya ikh, bo, utomivshisya trudom prelesti, neveriem, yako zhe i oni, zapevne pozdykhaete! Ale lepshe doma v blagochestii, yesli i nemnogo znayuchi, sediti, da s ottsom i synom i svyatym dukhom nerazdelni i nyne i tamo budete. Amin. [Riddle for Latin and Polish Philosophers and Those Who Rushed after Them for Seductive Dainties]. *Ivan Vishenskiĭ. Sochineniya*. [Ivan Vishenskiĭ..Works], edited by Jeriomina I. P. (Izd-vo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1955), 123.

2 Marek Melnyk. *Spór o Zbawienie. Zagadnienia Sotereologiczne w świele Prawosławnych Projektów Unijnych Powstałych w Rzeczypospolitej (koniec XVI – połowa XVII wieku.* [Discussions on Salvation. Questions of Soteriology in the light of Orthodox Union Projects, Emerged in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (the End of 16th- First Half of 17th Century)]. Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo Uniwersztetu Warmińsko-Mazurskiego, 2001. Korzo,

Moreover, despite its rather eloquent style, it was meant not for deep theological discussions but for the exhortation of simple believers. Therefore, the analysis of this work in the contexts of the "belated Counter-Reformation" and 'unintended' modernization should be a clear illustration of the fragile balance between the transfer of new norms and claims to preserve the "old" Orthodoxy.

Thus, my objectives are the relation between *Teraturgema* to the similar Catholic and Greek-Catholic treatises on miracles; the relation of the same work to the Orthodox medieval literature; and its 'adaptation', if such, to the Catholic tradition. This both synchronic and diachronic analysis should help me to define the genre and the composition of the treatise; the author's goal and the strategies chosen to implement his goal and the cultural patterns of text which involves its textual criticism.

I will combine both structural and hermeneutic approaches to the text analysis. This means that genre theory will be used to indicate the patterns of text on the level of the whole composition, as well as on the level of every entry; and an analysis of the religious vocabulary will be completed in order to decode the hidden religious preferences of the seemingly Orthodox text.

Therefore, in the first chapter I will compare *Teraturgema* with the Catholic (1523; 1568) and the Uniate treatises on miracles (1622) in order to detect what was particularly new in *Teraturgema* (especially on the levels of composition, rhetoric and plots). In the second chapter, I will discuss how Kal'nofoyskyi uses the medieval works when he wants to create a miraculous story and what kind of historical arguments he employs to elevate the status of the Orthodoxy. In the third chapter, I will look at the type of the exhortations and the religious vocabulary used by the author in order to detect any 'un-Orthodox' implementations in the treatise. Thus, these examinations should give different perspectives to the complex analysis.

Margaryta. *Ukrainskaia i Belorusskaia Katekheticheskaia Traditsiia Kontsa XVI-XVIII vv. Stanovlenie, Evoliutsiia i Problema Zaimstvovani*i [The Ukrainian and Belorussian Catechetical Tradition of the Late XVI-XVIII cent.: Formation, Evolution and the Issue of Adoptions], Moscow, 2007. David Frick. *Meletij Smotryc'kyj* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995).

The theoretical framework needs special attention. The accepted paradigm for the interpretation of the phenomena of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation in Eastern Europe is the "belated" confessionalization based on the Western model.[3] The idea of confessionalization was developed from the broader concept of social discipline, both in Max Weber's terms as an increase of discipline and self-control in transition to the modern world and in Gerchard Oestreich's terms as a 'social disciplining' (*Sozialdisziplinierung*).[4] Oestreich used the concepts of "social disciplining" as an analytical term to explain the changes in early-modern German society in the period of the Reformation.[5] The "social disciplining" as a consequence of the Reformation was revealed in the enforcement of Church discipline and creation of the fixed confessional identities. These changes, according to Oestreich, became the ground for seventeenth century absolutism because they shaped obedience, piousness and diligence of people as the subjects of the German princes.[6] The question derived from this is whether it is correct to fit this theoretical pattern for the Polish-Lithuanian case where the Church discipline did not lead to establishment of an absolutist monarchy.

Ernst Walter Zeeden elaborated the idea of Sozialdisziplinierung by taking into account the post-Tridentine Catholicism.[7] He proposed a new concept of "formations of confessions" (Konfessionsbildung).[8] This concept is more appropriate for my research because it considers not only the social consequences but also the changes in the religious practices. Zeeden defined it as strengthening and unification of the spiritual and organizational dimensions by different churchdoms in the realms of dogma, regulations and religious and moral ways of life.[9]

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[3] Diarmaid MacCulloch. *Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490-1700*. (London & New York: Allen Lane, 2004).

[4] Hsia Po-Chia R. "Social discipline." In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*. Oxford University Press, USA, 1996. Vol. 4., 7.

[5] Hsia R. Po-Chia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation*: *Central Europe* 1550-1750 (London and New York, Routledge, 1989), 2.

[6] Ibid., 2.

[7] Hsia R. Po-Chia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation*: *Central Europe* 1550-1750 ,2.

[8] Zeeden, Ernst Walter. "Grundlagen und Wege der Konfessionsbildung in Deutschland im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe" [Foundations and the Birth of Confessions in Germany in the Era of Religious Wars.] in *Historische Zeitschrift,* clxxxv (1958): 249-299.

[9] Ibid., 251.

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The further development of this theoretical framework was carried on by Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard. Reinchard introduced the concept of *Konfessionalisierung* ("confessionalization") meaning the formation of the new churches.[10] Schilling defined it as a process of creating 'religious, cultural and social boundaries between the confessional churches' which supposedly led to formation of the confessional identities and in the long run shaped the 'politics, state formation and early-modern society in general'.[11] One of Schilling's very fruitful insights was the idea of the *parallel* establishment of confessional Churches. This presupposes understanding of an 'own' Church in relation to the other Churches, which became the case in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[12]

Despite the evident merit of the confessionalization paradigm which helps to detect the parallels in the processes of reforms within different Christian confessions, in my opinion, it still has its shortcomings, especially in the Orthodox case. Firstly, the confessionalization paradigm was accepted for the "bipolar" system of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, while in the case of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth the Orthodox Church presented itself as a 'third player' in the game and definitely needed to ally with the competing confessions. The situation became even more complicated after the Union of Brest (1596) when a number of the Orthodox bishops accepted the jurisdiction of the Roman See and formally became the part of Western Christendom. Thus, the Kyiv Orthodoxy itself became divided.

Secondly, following Bourdieu's criticism of the model of practice, "the logical models [give] an account of the observed facts in the most coherent and most economical way; and that they become false and dangerous as soon as they are treated as the real principles of practices, which amounts to simultaneously overestimating the logic of practices, and loosing sight of what

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[10] Wolfgang Reinhard. *Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State a Reassessment* in The Catholic Historical Review . (Vol. 75, No. 3, Jul., 1989.), 390.

[11] Heinz Schilling *Confessionalisation and the Rise of Religious and Cultural Frontiers in Early Modern Europe* in Frontiers of Faith. Religious Exchange and the Constitution of Religious Identities, 1400-1750., Ed. by E. Andor and I.G. Toth. (Budapest: Central European University, 2001), 21-23.

[12] Heinz Schilling, "Confessionalization: Historical and Scholarly Perspectives of a Comparative and Interdisciplinary Paradigm," in *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555-1700: Essays in Honor and Memory of Bodo Nischan,* edited by John M. Headley, Hans J. Hillerbrand, and Anthony J. Papalas (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 21-25.

constitutes their real principle".[13] Thus, retrospectively, it is possible to assume that the Orthodox Church intellectual had a clear program of reforming the Orthodoxy following the Counter-Reformation samples and popular metaphor of the "challenge and response" but the analysis of texts proves that the solutions were often quite unexpected. Thus, taking critically this theoretical paradigm, I am interested in the history of the concrete text – "Teraturgema" by Afanasij Kal'nofoyskyi.

"Teraturgema" is a treatise of miracles that took place in the Kyiv Cave Monastery from its foundation (1051) till 1638. The full name is ΤΕΡΑΤΟΥΡΓΗΜΑ *lubo cuda, które były tak w samym świętocudotwornym Monastyru Pieczarskim Kiiowskim, iako y w obudwu świętych pieczarach, w których po woli Bożey Błogosławieni Oycowie Pieczarscy pożywszy, y ćiężary Ciał swoich złożyli*. It is a manifold treatise that consists of: 1) foreword and heraldic poems to Chetvertun'sky princes, poetic epitaphs to benefactors that were buried in Kyiv Cave Monastery; 2) foreword to readers; 3) syllabus of authors; 4) the oath in confirmation of miracles; 5) two treatises: the first (introductory) consists of 9 paragraphs with the information concerning disposition and history of caves and essence of miracles and wonder-working icons; the second treatise is dedicated to an account of miracles.[14]

The author of 'Teraturgema', Afanasij Kal'nofoyskyi, belonged to the immediate surroundings of Kyiv metropolitan. Probably he had noble origin and possessed an estate in Kanafosty, Rus'kyi province. Kal'nofoyskyi might have studied in Kyiv Brother School, which was based on the model of Jesuit schools, or in Zamojski Academy (less possible), which was the leading humanist educational institution in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[15] The place where he took monastic vows is also unknown. It could have been either in the Kyiv Cave

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[13] Pierre Bourdieu. *The Logic of Practice*, translated by Richard Nice (Cambridge, UK : Polity Press, 1992), 11.

[14] Facsimile of *Teraturgema* was published in the series "Harvard Ukrainian Studies" in volume «Seventeenth-Century Writings on the Kievan Caves Monastery» (1987).

[15] Tetiana Luta. "Sakralna topohrafiya Kyyeva za Afanasiyem Kalnofoy̆skym" [Sacred Kyiv Topography According to Afanasji Kal'nofojskij]. *Kyivska starovyna*, no 5. (2005)**:** 117–127; Kyiv-Mohyla academy in names, 17-18th: encyclopedia edition [Kyevo-Mohylians'ka academia v imenakh, XVII-XVIII ст.: entsuklopeduchne vudannia], (Kyiv., 2001), 288–289; Volodymyr Aleksandrovyč, **"**The Will and Testament of Afanasij Kal`nofojskij". *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*. no ¾ (1991): 415–428.

monastery or in the Dobromyliv monastery. Hence, being well-educated and trained in humanist culture, he became the right hand of the metropolitan.

Except for the investigation of two scholars, who briefly analyzed this treatise, *Teraturgema* has never been under direct scholarly investigation. The treatise was primarily used for topographic studies of 17th century Kyiv and genealogy of the princely families and recently it has drawn attention as a source for studying historical memory in the early-modern period.[16]

Stepan Golubev, the famous Russian historian of the Church, is the first who introduced 'Teraturgema' to the circle of historical studies. A brief analysis of the treatise is included in the third chapter of his monograph "Kyiv Metropolitan Petro Mohyla and his associates''.[17] Golubev believed that *Teraturgema* was written on Mohyla's initiative and that it was intended as a continuation and completion of *Paterykon* (the early-modern translation of the medieval Lives of Saints, done by Syl'vestr Kosov). Thus, in Golubev's understanding, the main purpose of *Teraturgema* was to show that miracles still occur in the monastery, and it could be treated as an answer to Protestant invectives.

It is important that Golubev drew attention to the style in which *Teraturgema* is written. He thought that this style was developed under the influence of Jesuit rhetoric samples. Furthermore, he analyzed theological aspects of Kal'nofoyskui's understanding of miracles, based on the theological construction of Thomas Aquinas who distinguished three types of miracles, "miracles as such" (miracula), miracles, signs (signum) and wonders "amazing, amazing" (mirabilia). Golubev clearly places Kal'nofoyskyi in the context of the post-Reformation culture, but, by reducing it to mere borrowings from Jesuit samples (which is true

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[16] Tetiana Luta. "Sakralna topohrafiya Kyyeva za Afanasiyem Kalnofoÿskym" [Sacred Kyiv Topography According to Afanasji Kal'nofojskij]. *Kyivska starovyna*, no 5. (2005)**,** 117–127. Voitovich, Leonti. Teraturgema» Afanasiya Kalnofoÿskoho yak dzherelo z henealohiї knyazivskykh rodyn. [*Teraturgema* by Afanasji Kalnofoyskij as a Source of Genealogy of the Princely Families''], Lviv, 2000. Tolochko, Oleksiy. «Nestor-litopysets»: Bilya Dzherel Odniyeї Istoriohrafichnoї Tradytsiї" [Nestor the Chronicler: at the Source of a Historiographical Tradition]. *Kyїvska Starovyna*, no 4, (1996): 11-35. Charipova, Liudmila V. "Peter Mohyla and St Volodimer: Is There a Symbolic Link?". *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 80, No. 3 (Jul., 2002): 439-458.

[17] Stepan Golubev. *Kievskiÿ mytropolyt Petr Mohyla y eho spodvyzhnyky. Opyt tserkovno-ystorycheskoho yzsldovaniya* [Kyiv metropolitain Petro Mohyla and His Associates. An Attempt of Church-Historical Investigation], vol.2. Kyiv, 1898.

only to some extent), he seems to render as simple a very complicated and ambiguous process, that of the author's creation.

Mykola Hlobenko's approach towards *Teraturgema* is quite different.[18] He undertakes to prove the continuity of Ukrainian literary tradition from medieval Kyiv Rus to early-modern Ukraine. For that purpose he compares the texts of *Teraturgema* with the medieval lives of the saints of Kyiv Cave monastery. He notes that Kal'nofoyskyi in some cases simply translates medieval Lives into Polish, only decorating the text with Baroque elements. However, the researcher examines the treatise only in the context of the Ukrainian literary tradition, neglecting the influence of the humanistic and Jesuit samples. Moreover, his research is more descriptive than analytical.

Thus, I will try to place this treatise both in the contexts of the intellectual climate of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the concrete politics of the metropolitan, Petro Mohyla. Being aware of the aspiration of the metropolitan to soften the differences between the Orthodox and the Catholic Churches and at the same time to preserve the distinctness of the Orthodox Church[19], I will analyze the treatise from the standpoint of the 'Latin erudition' became a means to sustain the Orthodox Church. From this close reading point, *Teraturgema* was never under scholarly investigation.

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[18] Hlobenko M. "Teraturgema" of Afanasij Kal'nofoiskij in its connections with Kyiv Rus literature. [*Teraturgema* Atanasiya Kalnofoÿskoho v iï zv'yazkakh iz starokyïvskoyu literaturoyu. – vidbytka iz zbirnyka «Ukraïnskoï literaturnoï hazety»], Munich,1956, 267–300 (1–36).

[19] The question of the Catholic influences on the Orthodox thought in the period of the metropolitan Petro Mohyla is largely discussed in the literature. Margaryta Korzo. *Ukrainskaia i Belorusskaia Katekheticheskaia Traditsiia Kontsa XVI-XVIII vv. Stanovlenie, Evoliutsiia i Problema Zaimstvovani*i [The Ukrainian and Belorussian Catechetical Tradition of the Late XVI-XVIII cent.: Formation, Evolution and the Issue of Adoptions], Moscow, 2007. Marek Melnyk. *Spór o Zbawienie. Zagadnienia Sotereologiczne w świele Prawosławnych Projektów Unijnych Powstałych w Rzeczypospolitej (koniec XVI – połowa XVII wieku.* [Discussions on Salvation. Questions of Soteriology in the light of Orthodox Union Projects, Emerged in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (the End of 16th- First Half of 17th Century)]. Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo Uniwersztetu Warmińsko-Mazurskiego, 2001 Georges Florovsky. *Puti russkago bogosloviia*, [The Ways of Russian Theology]. Paris, 1937. Francis Thomson. Peter Mogila's Ecclesiastical Reforms and the Ukrainian Contribution to Russian culture. A Critique of Georges Florovsky's Theory of the "Pseudomorphosis of Orthodoxy". *Slavica Gandensia*, 20, (1993): 67-119.

The proper names in the thesis are given according to the national tradition. The Polish spelling is preserved for Polish names such as Władysław IV, the Ruthenian proper names are given in transliteration from the Cyrillic, such as Afanasij Kal'nofoyskyi or Petro Mohyla. All translations are mine, except the case if the sources have already been translated in the research articles.

CHAPTER 1: The Comparison of 'Teraturgema' with the Catholic and Uniate Treatises on Miracles

In the 17th century and especially after the restoration of the Kyiv Church hierarchy (1620), the Orthodox doctrine needed to strengthen its position in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In the Commonwealth, the superiority of the Catholic Church was based on the premise that Salvation is only possible in its Body.[20] In the times of metropolitan Petro Mohyla (1633-1646), soteriology, the very teaching on salvation, became the cornerstone in the argumentation of the equivalence of the Orthodox doctrine to the Catholic and – the proof that salvation is possible in the bosom of the Orthodox Church.

Another question which was brought to the foreground, after the fervent theological discussions of the turn of the 16th century calmed down, was the question of ecclesiology. The gentry of the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth were not interested in recondite theological questions but it should be clear for everyone that *the* Church should be clearly distinguished from the other confessions. The Catholic strategy to make their Church visible, as opposition to the Protestant conception of the 'invisible Church', lay in creating distinct structures of the Church.[21] This could be applied to the Orthodox Church as well. It was practical needs to unify the service, sacraments, veneration of saints, liturgy and rituals – which in general could be assumed as a confessional discipline.

One of the strategies to make the Church 'visible' was to promote own miracles, whose ecclesiological function could not be doubted. This revealed in the ability of miracles to educate and morally bring up believers (implicit social dimension of miracle) and to confirm

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[20] Marek Melnyk, *Problematyka Antropologiczna w Pismach Piotra Mohyły* [Anthropological Problems in Petro Mohyla's Writings] (Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo UWM, 2005), 343.

[21] Marian Rechowicz, "Teologia pozytywno-kontrowersyjna: Szkoła Polska w XVI wieku" [Controversial (Polemical) Theology: Polish School in 16th Century]," in *The History of. of Catholic Theology in Poland* [Dzieje teologii katolickiej w Polsce]. vol. 2, From the Renaissance to Enlightment [Od Odrodzenia do Oświecenia]. part. 1, Humanistic Theology [Teologia Humanistyczna], ed. Marian Rechowicz (Lublin,Towarzystwa Naukowego Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1975), 65.

thaumaturgy abilities of saints whose posthumous miracles were seen both as a reward for virtuous life and as evidence of their special sanctity.[22] Miracles were also seen as a path to faith - *miracula via fidei* – because they confront a believer with a fact which cannot be explained by means of nature and, therefore, puts an end to the usual order of nature, and demands a believer take an appropriate moral stand.[23] In this respect, the interpretation of miracles follows the path already paved by St. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas.

Although the symbolic and evidential power of miracles was known from the beginning of Christianity, in the post-Reformation time they acquired one more function, to put it in Wolfgang Reinchard's terms, it was a function of *Unterscheidungsritus,* a rite of differentiation.[24] As far as the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was a multi-confessional state, every non-Protestant denomination wanted to promote its own miracles. Hence, my task here is to compare miraculous policies of Catholic, Uniate and Orthodox Churches on the basis of treatises on miracles which represent different strategies employed by Churches to make them 'visible', but also show the gradual development in the standardization of the miracle description, if such was the case. The comparison will be done on the level of composition of the miracle entry and the further analysis will be done only on the level of plots.

1.1. Introduction of the Treatises

The first treatise on miracles which I use in my analysis was written in the main Catholic monastery of the Polish kingdom in Jasna Góra. The miracles at this monastery have been recorded since 1402.[25] However, the first work on them was published in 1523, written by Piotr

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[22] Ks. Marian Rusecki, *Cud w chrześcijaństwie* [Miracle in the Christianity] (Lublin: Towarszstwo Naukowe Katolickego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1996), 427.

[23] Ks. Marian Rusecki, *Traktat o cudzie* [Treatise on Miracle] (Lublin : Komitet Nauk Teologicznych PAN : Wydawnictwo KUL, 2006), 161-162.

[24] Wolfgang Reinchard, „Was ist Katholische Konfessionalisierung?" [What is the Catholic Confessionalization?], in '*Die Katholische Konfessionalisierung'* [The Catholic Confessionalization] (Gütersloher Verlags-Haus, Gütersloh 1995), 430.

[25] Anna Zyskowska, "Praktyki religijne i zasięg geograficzno-społeczny kultu Matki Bożej Jasnog rskiej w XVI w. W świetle 'liber miraculorum" [Religious Practices and Socio-Geographical Scale of the Cult of Mother of God from Jasna Góra in 16th century. In the Mirror of 'Liber Miraculorum']", *Studia Claromontana* 3 (1982): 82.

Rydzyński (Risinus Petrus) *Historia pulchra et stupendis miraculis referta Imaginis Mariae quomodo et unde in Clarum Montem Czastohowiae et Olsztyn advenerit*[26] [A Beautiful History of the Icon of Mary, Related by Means of Amazing Miracles, About How and Where it [i.e. the icon] Came to the Jasna Góra of Częstochowa and to Olsztyn] and in 1568 it was translated into Polish as *Historyja o Obrazie w Częstochowie Panny Maryjej i o cudach rozmaitych tej wielebnej tablice* [The History of the Holy Lady Mary from Częstochow and about the Various Miracles of that Honorable Table], possibly, by the Pauline monk, Mikołaj from Wilkowieck.[27]

Even if the scholarly literature defines the second work as a translation, differences between the two texts are significant.[28] The comparison of these texts is not my task but even superficial observation allows assuming that the polemical character of the work increased since 1523. If the original begins with *Prohemium Lectori*, meaning *Introduction to a reader*, and does not have invectives against heretics;[29] the translation begins with – 'a short Christian reminder to honor and protect saintly icons from the new heresiarchs who scorn them and say to throw them out of churches'.[30] Unlike the original, the translated work starts with a prayer to Mary and ends with four prayers to the Holy Lady. Thus, the emphasis on the veneration of the Mother of God and especially on its proper form is more stressed in the translation than in the original. However, I will work only with a translated source and compare it with the similar Uniate treatise on miracles and *Teraturgema*.

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[26] Sykstus Szafraniec o., *Jasna Góra. Stydium z dziȷ́w kultu Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej* [Jasna Góra. Studies on the History of the Cult of the Mother of God from Częstochowa]. (Rome: Sacrum Poloniae Millenium, 1957), 25.

[27] Henryk Kowalewicz, introduction to 'Historyja o Obrazie w Częstochowie Panny Maryjej' in *Naistarsze historie o częstocjowskim obrazie Panny Maryi. XV i XVI wiek* [The Oldest Histories about the icon of the Holy Lady of Częstochova], edited by Henryk Kowalewicz (Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 1983), 206.

[28] For instance, in both works Sykstus Szafraniec o., *Jasna Góra. Studies on the History of the Cult of the Mother of God from Częstochowa,* and Henryk Kowalewicz *The Oldest Histories about the icon of the Holy Lady of Częstochowa,* the theme of the Polish translation of treatise is not elaborated.

[29] Risinus Petrus, 'Historia pulchra et stupendis miraculis referta Imaginis Mariae quomodo et unde in Clarum Montem Czastohowiae et Olsztyn adveneri' in *Naistarsze historie o częstocjowskim obrazie Panny Maryi. XV i XVI wiek,* 168.

[30] *Upominanie krotkie chrześcijańskie ku zachowaniu i czcieniu obrazow świętych, przeciw kacerzom nowym, ktorzy nimi gardzą i z kościołow wymiatać każą.*

The second work is a Greek-Catholic treatise on miracles. Subjected to the Roman See, the Uniate Church employed the Catholic strategy of promoting miraculous shrines. The Basilian monastery, founded in Zyrowicz in 1613, became one of the main Marian sanctuaries of the Uniate Church in the Lithuanian part of the Commonwealth.[31] In the second half of 16th century the legend of the miraculous appearance of the icon, which was saved by the Holy Lady from fire, became widespread and associated with the monastery. Already in 1622 Theodosius Borowik, a Basilian monk, wrote a history of Zyrowicz icon *(Historia abo Powieść zgodliwa przez pewne podanie ludzi wiary godnych, o obrazie przeczystey Panny Mariey Zyrowickim cudotwornym).*[32] The treatise was translated from the old Ruthenian language into Polish in 1623 in Vilnius. The next three publications of the work were done in 1625-1629 and till the middle of the 17th century eight works meant to glorify the Zyrowicz icon were published.[33]

Both shrines had a serious influence in the Commonwealth. The Polish kings Władisław IV Vasa and Jan II Kazimierz Vasa set out on pilgrimage to the icon.[34] The Orthodox response followed only after Petro Mohyla became metropolitan in 1633. *Paterykon* (1635), the Orthodox Lives of Saints, became the first polemical writing aimed at proving the miraculous potential of the Orthodox Church. Sylvestr Kosov, the author of *Paterykon*, developed the whole system of arguments which rejects Protestant skepticism on the preservation of holy relics (that they are preserved because of specific natural conditions, special place to hold, or embalming). In the last miracle entry in *"Paterykon"* Kosov exclaims 'Orthodox reader, praise God, who pushes by his great miracles the Virtuous Ruthenian Nation towards salvation!'[35] However, the *'Paterykon'*

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[31]'The Icon of the Mother of God from Zyrowicz' [Zhyrowitskaja Ikona Bozhyjej Materi] in *Orthodox Encyclopedia* [Pravoslavnaja entsyklopedia], last modified May 10, 2012, http://www.pravenc.ru/text/182309.html.

[32] Borowik Th. *Historia abo Powieść Zgodliwa przez Pewne Podanie Ludzi Wiary Godnych, o Obrazie Przeczystey Panny Mariey Zyrowickim Cudotwornym... W Powiećie Słonimskim, y o Rozmaitych Cudách... Pilnie Zebrana y... to Drugi Ráz w Druk Podána* (Wilno, 1622).

[33] The Icon of the Mother of God from Zyrowicz' [Zhyrowitskaja Ikona Bozhyjej Materi] in *Orthodox Encyclopedia* [Pravoslavnaja entsyklopedia], last modified May 10, 2012, http://www.pravenc.ru/text/182309.html.

[34] The Icon of the Mother of God from Zyrowicz', last modified May 10, 2012, http://www.pravenc.ru/text/182309.html.

[35] 'Chwal Pana Prawosławny Czytelniku, ktory tak wielkimi cudy Przezacny Narod Ruski do zbawienia poćiąga' in Sylvestr Kosov, "*Paterykon abo żywoty ss. oyców pieczarskich*" in *Seventeenth-Century Writings on the Kievan Caves Monastery*, introduction by Paulina Lewin. (Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1987), 90.

recounted only medieval miracles, whereas the renovated Orthodox Church needed new and actual miracles.

The next was '*Teraturgema*' (1638) by Afanasij Kal'nofoyskyi which meant to show that miracles still happen in the Kyiv Cave Monastery. The publication of text coincided with several events, firstly, with the re-activation of the idea of "universal union" between the Metropolitan of Kyiv and the Holy See,[36] and, secondly, with the intensification of the Uniate accusations about Orthodox cooperation with Protestants.

The idea of the second Union had been postponed after the failure of the Council in Lviv (1629) and the death of Meletij Smotrytskyi, one of its active proponents.[37] However, in 1635 it was again revived with the initiative of Prince Olexander Sangushko. These events had direct influence on the form and 'message' of *'Teraturgema'*. Concerning the Uniate accusations, in the beginning of 1630's the cooperation between Protestants and Orthodox in protecting their religious rights was quite active.[38] However, this alliance looked suspicious even for the part of the Orthodox clergy. In 1634, with the aggravation of the diet debates on recently renovated Orthodox hierarchy, the leaders of the Uniate Church started to spread the opinion that schools, founded by the order of Petro Mohyla in Kyiv and Vinnitsa, taught the heretic teachings of Luther, Calvin and Socinian. The overseas education of professors should have supported these accusations.[39] The situation got even more complex because of the reputation of Constantinople Patriarch Cyril Lucaris who was thought to be a crypto-Calvinist.[40] In these circumstances, it was necessary to dissociate Orthodoxy from the Protestant doctrine and protect themselves from Uniate accusations. Thus, this added the anti-Protestant impetus to the work.

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[36] Serhii Plokhii, *Papstvo y Ukrayna. Polytyka Rymskoy̆ kuryy na ukraynskykh zemlyakh v XVI-XVII vv*. [Papacy and Ukraine. The Policy of the Roman See on the Ukrainian lands in 16-17th centuries], (Kyiv: 'Vuscha schkola', 1989), 139–148.

[37] Plokhii, *Papstvo y Ukrayna,* 151-153.

[38] Tomas Kempa, *Wobec Kontrreformacji. Protestanci i prawosławni w obronie swobód wyznaniowych w Rzeczypospolitej w końcu XVI i w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku Considering Counter-Reformation.* [Protestants and Orthodox in the Defense of the Religious Freedom in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the End of 16th – First Half of the 17th Century.], (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2007), 377–398.

[39] Golubev, Stepan. *Kievskiy̆ mytropolyt Petr Mohyla y eho spodvyzhnyky.* vol. 2., 246–249.

[40] Frick. *Meletij Smotryc'kyj,* 56.

The first response on the Uniate invectives was given by the already mentioned Syl'vestr Kosov. In the work called *Exegesis, to iest danie sprawy o szkołach kiowskich y winickich,* he rejects accusations of cooperation with Protestants and stresses the importance of the veneration of the holy relics. Kosov affirms 'Calvin calls the icons of the Savior and his most holy Mother 'idols' and calls us 'idolaters'. But we revere and honor them as representations and aids to memory of those to whom we long for help.[41]

This idea was carried on by Afanasij Kal'nofoyskyi, who admits that if in the old time miracles were necessary to convert to Christianity; in his time they served as evidence of the genuine Church:

> Till these days a lot of heresiarchs, and even more than ever before, brought us to unhappy times, so we, the sons of Church, should speak aloud about the miracles in order to close with their help the mouths of heretics which are opened to blaspheme the faith of Saint Eastern Catholic Apostolic Church [42]

He develops this idea in one of the miracles. When the Church vicar Philotheus forbade talking about the miracle that happened with a barrel of beer which did not cease to be full on the fest of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary, Kal'nofoyskyi condemned his action because 'we offend our Saint Fathers, when we do not recount *their* holy miracles'. [43] So, this miracle, despite

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[41]'Kalwin obrazy, y Zbawicielowe y Nayswiętszey iego Matki, i innych swiętych, bałwanami nazywa y nas balwochwalcami. A mu zaś obrazy cźćimy y szanuiemy, iako te, ktore repraesentuią i na pamięć przywodzą nam te rzeczy, ktorych pomocy żądamy, abychmy, patrząc na figure, intencyą ad figuratum podnosili [...] O reliquinach swiętych, które my szanuiemy, iako te, ktore były mieszkaniem Ducha Ś., bo o nich mowi Chryzostom ś., iż się ich dyadli lękaią y onych się męczą, y dla nich z ciał ludzkich, ktore opanowali, ustępować muszą.' In Exegesis, to iest danie sprawy o szkołach kiowskich y winickich, w których uczą zakonnicy Religiey graeckiey, przez wielebnego oyca Sylwestra Kossowa, electa episkopa Mścislawskiego, Mogilowskiego, Orszańskiego, prsed rokiem teraźnieyszym w tychże szkołach przez trzy lata professora, napisane... 1635 [Exegesis, On the Case of Kyiv and Winnitsa Schools, where Monks study Greek Religion..]. In *Arkhiv Yugo-Zapadnoĭ Rossii izdavaemyĭ kommissiyeyu dlya razbora drevnikh aktov, sostoyashchyeĭ pri Kievskom, Podolskom i Volynskom General-Gubernatore.* [Archive of Southwestern Commission of Russia issued for Examining the Ancient Documents in Kyiv, Podolia, and Volhynia Governor-General]. part 1, vol. 8. 1 edition. Kyiv, 1914:, 442.

[42]'iż y po dziś dżień wiele Gaeresiarchow, a snadż więcey niż kiedy, nieszczasne czasy nam rozrodżił, potrzeba mowię; aby goby na wiarę Swiętey Wschodniey Catholickiey Apostolskiey Cerkwi z blużnirstwem otwarte, synowie Cerkiewni Cudami świętemi tamowali' in *Τερατουργημα* lubo cuda, które były tak w samym świętocudotwornym Monastyru Pieczarskim Kiiowskim, iako y w obudwu świętych pieczarach, w których po woli Bożey Błogosławieni Oycowie Pieczarscy pożywszy, y ćiężary Ciał swoich złożyli. In *Seventeenth-Century Writings on the Kievan Caves Monastery*, 273.

[43] «Że krzywdę czynimy Świętym Oycom naszym, nie opowiadaiąc ich świętych Cudów» In *Seventeenth-Century Writings on the Kievan Caves Monastery*, 240.

the prohibition of vicar, was included into *Teraturgema* in order to 'strengthen and spread the God's glory'.

1.2. Composition of the Miracle Entry

Having characterized the sources and the conditions when they emerged, I proceed to the analysis. The differences in the forms of miracles in these three sources are significant. The general tendency in the description of the miracles is their standardization. In the treatise of miracles by Mikołay from Wilkowieck, the length of the miracles varies from very short notifications to well-described stories which have many actors and even direct speeches. But the dominant style is quite laconic. For instance, this miracle entry could serve as an illustration of this short-spoken style of the Catholic treatise: 'a lady serf, belonging to Racibórz princes, suffered from scabs. Being pious, she made a vow and was cured'.[44] Even the most regular parts as an appeal to the Holy Lady and promises to visit the shrine are skipped here. Closer to the end of the treatise, the miracles are just enumerated in one separate list. Stated as such, they look like they are just taken from the Church book records. The last miracle entries, which are not present in the Latin original, have their titles in Latin and the plot of the miracles are meant to illustrate them, as *dominus solvit compeditos, domini est salus* etc. Hence, there is no one worked-out standard how the miracle entry should look.

The length of the Uniate miracle entry is longer than in the previous Catholic treatise. The structure of the work itself is more complex. The treatise of the miracle written by Borowik consists of a foreword to princess Constancija, a foreword to the reader, five chapters informing about the place and history of Zyrowicz monastery, the history of Zyrowicz icon, and description of the miraculous icon, and finally the record of miracles. Unlike the Catholic work, the miracles in Borowik's treatise are organized in chronological order; the year and even the month when miracles happened are indicated. However, the length of the miracle entries is also not unified;

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[44] *Naistarsze historie o częstocjowskim obrazie Panny Maryi*, 214.

some of them are quite long when others are short but even short miracle entries are never reduced to one-sentence notifications. Whether the author got tired by the end of the treatise, or because of some other reasons, the miracle entries are written less carefully in the last pages than in the beginning. Borowik just mentions that 'the same good' ('*takież rownie dobrodzieystwa*') had happened to one or another person, and one miracle entry was left unfinished.[45] Every miracle entry is supplied with key words explaining why the pilgrim needed help. These marginal notes were not used in the Catholic treatise, while in *Teraturgema* they became the place of references showing the solid author erudition.

The miracle entry in 'Teraturgema' is very different from the previous works. It is divided into two parts: one of them is a description of the miracle and another is its interpretation. It is significant that the part dedicated to interpretation is called "paraenesis" that is a 'parable, comfort, prayer, instruction'.[46] The function of paraeneses I will discuss in my third chapter, concentrating now only on the formal differences in composition. Both the description of the miracle and its interpretation are usually two-pages in length and the end of the entry should fit the end of the page. The entries are enumerated and put into chronological order. The short epigraph usually precedes the description of a miracle and the references on the used books are indicated in the marginalia. The miracles are always complete stories, with a distinct and clear structure, namely, beginning, indicating the reason for pilgrimage, some actions in the monastery and the miracle that happened, and a concluding part about thanksgiving to the monastery and further life of the pilgrim. The well-developed style of the miracle description I would consider as a result of the formal Jesuit-like education of the author. Thus, the miracle entry is much more complex and at the same time standardized.

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[45] Theodosius Borowik, *Historia abo Powieść.*
[46] George P. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind. Kieven Christianity, the tenth to the thirteen's centuries.* (Harper brothers, New York, 1960), vol. 1., 46.

1.3. Is the Miracle Credible: Testimonies and Confirmations as Rhetorical Means?

One of the consequences of the Protestant critique of miracles was the necessity to prove that the miracles are not false. To show that miracles were real was definitely the matter of the Church authorities' concern, but in order to reach this result the presentation of the miracles should be trustworthy. In these circumstances, new rhetorical means to present the miracle in a credible way were developed; the indication of the detailed information about the person with whom the miracle happened and confirmation of the other people, I believe, were seen as necessary means of credibility.

The majority of miracles from the earliest Catholic treatise do not include names and origins of pilgrims. They are also not supported by testimonies. The memory tables, which were donated by rich pilgrims to a monastery in acknowledgement of the miracle which happened to them *(na pamiątkę tego dobrodziejstwa tablicę tu postawił)*, could be the only indirect testimonies of miracles. The practices of confirming miracles in front of people of 'good reputation' or leaving written testimonies in the Church books are not mentioned in the Catholic treatise. Hence, even if the translator into Polish felt the necessity to revise the Latin original by adding Marian prayers and stressing the polemical character of the work in the title to the first sub-chapter, he did not consider as important to indicate testimonies. The other means of credibility such as indication of the detailed and concrete information about the pilgrim, including origin, social background and status, in this treatise could be only applied to noblemen.

In the Uniate treatise, the testimony to the miracle is already introduced. Almost every miracle entry ends with the words that the miracle was confirmed in front of people of 'good reputation' or written down in the Church books. The other idea which is present in the treatise is that the miracles should be recorded in order not to be forgotten, 'in order the oral story does not

fall into oblivion, it should be written down for the eternal memory'.[47]   Concerning the information about the pilgrim, it is much more diligently indicated in the beginning of every entry and covers the people of different social backgrounds. Hence, in this regard, the techniques of creating credibility are already employed in the Borowik's treatise.

The author of *Teraturgema* is much more concerned about the miracle testimonies. It starts with the oath called *jurament* that should confirm the miracle. The testimony includes the place, year and day of miracle, the illness which was cured and the evidence of other people who can confirm this. Because *jurament* is a separate entry situated before the part with a miracle description, the words of confirmation are not repeated in every further miracle entry. Still, Afanasij Kal'nofoyskyi, without mentioning in every miracle entry that it was written down or confirmed by people of 'good reputation', continues to employ the rhetorical means, aimed at making the miracle sound persuasive. He used to add phrases such as 'he himself was there', or 'saw how the miracle had happened', or 'was informed about the miracle from trustworthy sources'.

For instance, miracle № 22, which had happened to a nobleman in 1621, was only recounted when Petro Mohyla became metropolitan: 'he retold this miracle to our Archimandrite in front of many clergy and I also heard it and, thus, wrote down in the books among other miracles'.[48] In miracle № 5, which 'he heard from his senior',[49] Kal'nofoyskyi explained his technique of composing miracles: 'In different ways I collect these miracles, some of them I personally heard,

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[47] 'aby w zapomnienie vludzi nieposzlo ustna powieśca swa y pismem na wiecna pamiatkę sam [...] stwierdzil' in Theodosius Borowik, *Historia abo Powieść.*

[48] «przy wielu Zakonnikach dzisieyszemu naszemu Archimandrycie opowiedział, który y ia słysząc, między drugie Cuda w tę xięgę wpisałem» in Afanasij Kal'nooyskyi'*Τερατουργнμα* lubo cuda, które były tak w samym świętocudotwornym Monastyru Pieczarskim Kiiowskim, iako y w obudwu świętych pieczarach, w których po woli Bożey Błogosławieni Oycowie Pieczarscy pożywszy, y ćiężary Ciał swoich złożyli in Seventeenth-Century Writings on the Kievan Caves Monastery, 217.

[49] „która mi od Starszego mego powierzona była", *Τερατουργнμα* lubo cuda, 192.

some were told by a person of a good reputation, so I took them down and sealed up my words with my conscience and verified my writings with it'.[50]

Hence, it is possible to observe the gradual development of rhetorical strategies meant to present the miracle in a credible way, which was most fully (in the 'official' (*jurament*) and 'unofficial' (phrases like 'I also was there') developed and employed in '*Teraturgema'* by Afanasij Kal'nofoyskyi.

1.4. Plots as Battles of Polemics: Miracle-Punishments and Conversions

In this sub-chapter I will discuss the possible dependency between the type of miracle and the confession of the pilgrim, which might reflect the authors' view on the inter-confessional balance in the time when they wrote their treatises. Apart from this, I sketch the most evident differences in the plots of miracles within three works.

The plots of miracles are quite alike in the discussed works. People vote to set out on pilgrimage in order to get cured, get protection in the war or release from capture. If they break their *votum*, they will be punished irrespectively of the fact to what confession they belong. Still, there are some differences within the miracle plots which I would rather point out than discuss closely. Firstly, the Uniate miracles are different from Catholic and Orthodox because only in the Uniate treatise someone's sorcery could be indicated as a reason for illness. In five Uniate miracles people were bewitched and, thus, needed help from the Holy Lady. The sorcery is never mentioned in the Catholic and Orthodox treatises, as well as the cases of poisoning by someone, or illness because of evil eye. My only explanation for this is that the Church authorities did not want or find appropriate to touch this question with regard to the reader audience.

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[50] "że różnie zbiraiąc te Cuda kładnę niektóre pod temi, o ktòrychem lubo sam słyszał laty, lubo też kto inny, a ten wiary godny człowiek opowiedział, y nanotował, pieczętując swą mowę sumnienie y pisanie tymże approbując», *Τερατουργнма* lubo cuda, 258.

Secondly, the other tendency which could be observed, comparing these sources, is a growth in attention to the cases of exorcism. In the earliest Catholic treatise, no one is possessed by demons and, consequently, the practice of exorcism is never applied. Already the Uniate treatise describes two cases of possessions; however, in the first case the release from demons happened without exorcism,[51] while in the second case the exorcism is performed but not described in details.[52] In the Orthodox treatise, there are fifteen, a surprisingly large number, of exorcism cases. All of them are described in detail, including special preparation meaning fasting, prayers performed by the exorcist, chaining to a pole and presenting the whole procedure in terms of 'great battle' and smaller combats.[53] I might carefully suppose that the growth of attention to the cases of exorcism is more determined by textual influence that came from reading Peter Canisius.

In *De Maria Virgine incomparabili* [Incomparable Virgin Mary] (1577) Peter Canisius, the most prominent German Jesuit, wrote that Catholics should 'revere and imitate the most sacred Virgin at home and in public'.[54] 800-page work was written to defend Catholic teaching on the Holy Lady and strengthen Catholic identity in the opposition to Protestantism. In this work, he portrayed Mary not as a humble human mother as in the Lutheran teaching but rather as a 'conquer of devils and triumphant over demons and other heretics'.

The power of Saint Mary to combat the demons is supported by example, given by Canisius. After the ritual of exorcism demon, who left the body of the victim, kissed the floor seven times and when he was asked by Canisius why he had done this, demon replied: 'I had to do it in order to honour the Mother of God because I had blasphemed against her'.[55] There are no such vivid examples of the intercession of Mary in 'combating demons' in *Teraturgema.*

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[51] Theodosius Borowik, *Historia abo Powieść.*
[52] Theodosius Borowik, *Historia abo Powieść.*
[53] *Τερατουργнма* lubo cuda, 266-267.
[54] Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany*: *Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500-1648.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 157.
[55] Ibid., 156.

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However, unlike in the Catholic and the Uniate treatises on miracles, the appeal to the Holy Lady is constantly repeated when it came to exorcism. I believe that this could be considered as new emphasis (traditionally in the Orthodoxy the Holy Lady was seen as a Theotokos (God-bearer[56]), dictated by the Jesuits' militant Marian piety.

Coming back to the dependencies between the inter-confessional relations, as they are shown in the treatises, I will start as usual in chronological order from the Catholic treatise. The confession of the pilgrim is not specified in it and this is quite understandable because in 1523 the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth did not exist and the problem of relations with the Orthodox people and even Protestants did not emerge as such. The revised treatise of 1568 might have mirrored the new inter-confessional problems in the Commonwealth, but the only correcting lay in introducing a 'reminder to believer' to avoid heretics. Hence, the confessions of pilgrims are also not indicated in the treatise.

The Uniate Borowik's treatise already has polemical elements in the plots of miracles; however, their part is not significant. The only Protestant mentioned in the text is a Calvinist lady who mocked the belief in the healing stone with the imprint of the Holy Lady's sole.[57] As a punishment her hand was swollen. However, she was not punished by death but only humiliated. The fact that it was described in one of the introductory chapters could mean both that this miracle should immediately illustrate for a reader the godless character of Protestant accusations and that the practice of visiting Uniate shrines by Protestants might not be that common, which is quite different in the Orthodox case.

In the 'miracle part' of the treatise, there are two miracles that happened to Orthodox people who were unfriendly called 'schismatics' by author. One was a noble lady who experienced sharp pains, being pregnant, and became relieved only when she promised, 'despite being a

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[56] Ernst Benz, *The Eastern Orthodox Church. Its Thought and Life,* translated from the German by Richard and Clara Winston. (Anchor Books, Doubleday and Company, Inc. Garden City, New York, 1963), 63; Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary Through the Centuries. Her Place in the History of Culture.* (Yale University Press. New Heaven and London, 1996), 55-67.

[57] Theodosius Borowik. *Historia abo Powieść.*

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schismatic', to set on a pilgrimage to Zyrowicz monastery, venerate the icon of the Holy Lady and convert to Greek-Catholicism.[58] The other Orthodox was a nobleman who was healed when he promised to come to Zyrowicz. However, then he broke his promise and the first illness came back even in the more severe form. Only when he kept what was promised, he was cured again. It is significant that conversion did not take place in this case.[59] So, only one of the two Orthodox was converted on the basis of a miracle which proves that active conversion policy did not take a place in this case and that the Orthodox believers were not common guests at the Uniate shrine, or at least the author did not intend to show this practice if such was the case.

In comparison with Catholic and Uniate treatises, *Teraturgema* looks more complex. The social portrait of pilgrims, drawn by Kal'nofoyskyi, is much wider, because it covers people who come from different social backgrounds. The miracles happen not only with noblemen and their subjects but also with monks, Cossacks, prisoners, and travellers. Concerning the confessions of pilgrims, Catholics and Protestants are constant guests at the monastery. The aim of their pilgrimage is usually the same as Orthodox pilgrims, meaning to get cured and blessed, or to satisfy their own interest.

In regard of the attitude to non-Orthodox pilgrims, the typical portrait of a Protestant, according to Kal'nofoyskyi, is: a German soldier who comes to Kyiv Cave Monastery 'with others'. 'Because of his cynical beliefs', he steals a part of the holy relics. Then he is punished by God and in order to survive he needs (if he is still alive) publicly to repent his sin. Three miracles are written in this manner. I will concentrate in details only on two miracles which represent quite opposite attitudes towards different Protestant denominations.

In miracle №7, a German barber, Cinna Ganus, with other soldiers, who were going to Moscow to enthrone False Dmitri I, turned on their way to Kyiv Cave Monastery.[60] Cinna

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[58] Theodosius Borowik, *Historia abo Powieść.*
[59] Theodosius Borowik, *Historia abo Powieść.*
[60] *Τερατουργηма* lubo cuda, 195.

Ganus, dropped behind the others, and cut a part from St. Theodor's leg. With the plunder, he came back to his den, («łogowisko»), where he hid the leg of the saint. In the night, when everyone was sleeping, the house became illuminated by a strange light. Three times the host and the dwellers were forced to leave the house, being afraid of fire, and the third time the host understood that the light came from the leg on the shelf. The German was forced to confess that he had sinned before God and his saints and the miraculous light is a sign for this. Explaining his misconduct, a soldier recognized that he cut off the leg of St. Theodor 'to mock and jeer at Ruthenian saints among heretics and heterodoxies'. [61] Whether because he repented, or because of some other reasons, Cinna was not punished for misconduct. Lutherans did not come to believe and convert to Orthodoxy.

The punishment was much more violent in the case of Antitrinitarian in the miracle №12.[62] From the first words, the image of the newcomer is not very pleasant: 'atheist and unbeliever from the sect of ungodly Arius, falsely called Basil'.[63] He wanted to see the relics of St. Juliana, princess of Ol'shansk, and when nobody could see him, he stole a ring from her finger. Just getting behind the door, he started crying and fell down. Having heard the scream, the brothers gathered around him but Basil was already dead. The reason for his death, as they understood, was the ring, hidden in his pocket. Hence, Antitrinitarian got much worse punishment for seemingly equal misconduct as a Lutheran.

Catholics are also punished when they desecrate the Orthodox shrine. The young hero of miracle №35, Jan Limontovskyi, came to the monastery with his master.[64] Having left the caves, the boy suddenly became ill. When people started asking whether he took something from the caves, he admitted that "when we came to St. Jan, I wanted to cut his head for the eternal

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[61] «nogę S. Theodorowi dla natrząsania y vrągania się z Świętych Ruskich większego, a między Geretykami y inowiercami vrwał» in Τερατουργнμα lubo cuda, 196.

[62] Τερατουργнμα lubo cuda, 202.

[63] «Atheista y Niewiernik z secty Bogu obrzydłego Ariusza, fałszywie Bazilim rzeczony». Τερατουργнμα lubo cuda, 203.

[64] Τερατουργнμα lubo cuda, 241.

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humiliation and insult of Ruthenian people".[65] Although Kak'nofoyskyi did not mention his faith, he pointed out that master's friends were of Latin belief. A similar story happened to another Catholic nobleman who came to the caves to see the holy bodies but when he entered the cave, he started to scorn them.[66] Having left the cave, he lost his orientation in the space. Only when he repented, the previous health returned to him.

Apart from the miracles, directed against heretics and their misconducts, there are also miracles describing how heretics discovered the truth of the Orthodox faith and converted to it. The miracles, which happen to Catholics, do not necessary lead to conversions. Even the question of changing the faith is not raised. There is only one Catholic convert whose decision to change faith was stirred up by serious illness.[67] Seeking help, he started on a journey. On his way the Holy Lady appeared to him and ordered him to baptize in the Orthodox Church and say amen in Slavonic. What he did and got cured. The fact that Catholics were regarded almost as 'ours' illustrates the peaceful attitude of the metropolitan and his surroundings to the Catholic Church and probably supports the idea of the second Union.

Another convert was a Calvinist, Martin from Pomorze. From the beginning, he is shown by Kal'nofoyskyi in a positive light.[68] He has virtues which are appreciated by Kal'nofoyskyi: "learned in Latin, mild and nice", but with one significant drawback 'as the old patch spoils the new dress, […] he was a Calvinist of an adherent sect".[69] Kal'nofoyskyi informs us that initially Martin did not respect rituals, icon, relics and saints of the Orthodox Church but God decided to heal his 'spiritual blindness' and inspired him to go to St. Antonius' cave, where Martin finally came to the true faith. And after he learned Orthodox dogma and the Ruthenian language, he

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[65] «Gdym przyzedł do Ś. Ĭana […] **na wieczną hańbę y obelgę Ruskiemu Narodowi** chćiałem mu łeb vkręcić» in *Τερατουргнма lubo cuda*, 241.
[66] *Τερατουргнма lubo cuda*, 257.
[67] Ibid., 264.
[68] Ibid., 245.
[69] «iako szpoci stara łata suknie nową, […] że był Kalwińskiey sekty adhearentem», *Τερατουргнма lubo cuda*, 245.

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came back to Pomorze as 'obedient Rusin' to praise there Orthodox faith. This could mean that the conversion to another faith entails the change in the identity of the believer.

Summing up, the analysis of miracle plots partly supports and partly challenges the "confessionalization" paradigm. The text shows that the politics of Kyiv Cave monastery, the main Orthodox monastery in the Commonwealth, was rather inclusive. Remaining even on the level of plots, it is possible to observe that the idea of 'religious discipline' does not work in the context of Kyiv Cave monastery because its practices remain 'undisciplined'. It was believed that the miraculous power of relics affects everyone who comes with faith. Hence, the confession of the pilgrim does not matter in this case. Believers, irrespectively of the fact they were Orthodox, Catholic, or Protestant, could be miraculously healed. However, they bear different responsibility in the case of the miracle-punishments. For the same misconduct Antitrinitarians, unlike Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists, are punished by death. Hence, it is possible to assume that the Orthodox Church did not treat equally the competing confessions, singling out Antitrinitarians as the most dangerous enemies.

Only insignificant part of miracles (2 out of 62) ends with the conversion into Orthodox faith. Usually, appreciation of the monastery is reduced to donations or work for monks. This evidently does not support the idea of the "protection of Orthodoxy". Afanasij Kal'nofoskyi mentions only two cases of conversions, done, on the one hand, by nobleman Daniel Sniatunskyi, who was Catholic and, on the other hand, by Martin from Pomorze, who was Calvinist. Such distribution could be treated as an attempt to preserve interconfessional balance, but also as a proof that the aspiration to convert, as a characteristic of *Ecclesia Militans*, was not the case for the Orthodox Church. The direct danger for the Church was not the critique of Orthodoxy itself but the skepticism (especially from the Protestant side) about the miraculous power of the holy shrines. Such a peaceful attitude could be explained by 'soteriological universalism' of Petro Mohyla, meaning the idea that Catholics and Protestants have equal

chances for salvation.[70] In both cases of conversion, the question of learning the Ruthenian language emerged, which points to a connection between "Ruthenian faith", the Ruthenian language and identity.

From the first till the last treatise, we can observe the gradual standardization of the miracle entry and the growth of efforts put into creating a credible narrative. Thus, the perception of the text by its reader became much more important. These changes reflected the new demands which the Church intellectuals, irrespectively of their denomination, must have faced in the aftermath of the Reformation, if they wanted to keep their flock.

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[70] Marek Melnyk, Spór o Zbawienie. Zagadnienia Sotereologiczne w świele Prawosławnych Projektów Unijnych Powstałych w Rzeczypospolitej (koniec XVI – połowa XVII wieku. [Discussions on Salvation. Questions of Soteriology in the light of Orthodox Union Projects, Emerged in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (the End of 16th- First Half of 17th Century)]. (Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo Uniwersztetu Warmińsko-Mazurskiego, 2001), 184.

CHAPTER 2: Relation to Tradition

'Oh, my Ruthenian noblemen and noble women, and people of all estates, a man who changes his faith for another one is like Proteus who changes his forms […] but those who lost their faith once have nothing else to lose'.[71] This strong statement made by Kal'nofoyskyi suggests that confessional identity was seen as the strongest argument for belonging or excluding someone from a particular community. However, in the conditions of the preparation to second Union, the tendency was both to soften the confessional differences between the Churches and still to preserve their distinctness.

The best solution in this situation was to emphasize the non-confessional features of the Church. One of them was to show that the Church, as a community of believers, has its long and noble history. However, this program faced serious problems. It was hard to bridge the past and the present, if there were almost no connections between *Teraturgema* and the medieval works on the level of common rhetoric, metaphors etc. The other problem was that the language of the treatise was not Church Slavonic but Polish and the Bible which was used by the author was not Ostroh (Orthodox Bible, 1581), but the Polish Catholic Bible translated by Jakub Wujek (1599). Hence, to stress at least the historical continuity was one of the author's main concerns.

Thus, in this chapter I will discuss historical arguments aimed at establishing the Orthodoxy of the Church through the continuity between the medieval past and present; then I will show how Kal'nofoyskyi uses the textual material from the chronicles and Lives of Saints to create the miracle accounts, and finally I will demonstrate how he treats medieval sources.

For Petro Mohyla and his surroundings the link between religion and nation was already observed because, even in *Teraturgema,* conversion into the Orthodox faith entailed the demand

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[71] «Panowie moi Rusaci y Panie Ruski, y wszelkiego stanu człowieka z wiary w wiarę iako Protheus z formy w formę się mienił […] **kto wiarę raz traci, więcey nie ma coby vtracil**» in *Τερατουργнμα lubo cuda*, 284.

to learn Ruthenian. However, in this respect Kal'nofoyskyi did not diverge from intellectual environment of his Polish contemporaries and predecessors. Stanisław Orzechowski, the most famous and eloquent Polish preacher, promulgated the idea of a bond between the Commonwealth and Catholic religion.[72] In the *History of Poles (Historia Poliaków, 1582)* Martin Kromer stressed the connection between the people (*naród*) and Catholicism. This link was one of the polemic arguments against conversions into new confessions.[73]

2. 1. History on the Service of *Konfessionsbuildung*

The gentry of the Commonwealth were not expected to know the differences in complicated theological questions and, even more, these difference should not be lightened according to the policy of 'soteriological universalism'. But the Orthodox Church still should be distinguished from the Catholic. The question was how to represent it. Moreover, it should be recognized by the political elite in a favorable light, though it demanded a 'set of efforts employed to represent the Church'.[74] Tolochko argues that one of the main arguments against the Union lay in showing the historical dignity and self-sufficiency of the Ruthenian nation.[75] Even if I would not consider it as an argument *against* Union, it was a direct way to gain the necessary symbolic capital for the newly renovated Church.

It had already been noticed by scholars that Kyiv's past was re-emphasized by Church intellectuals in the 17th century.[76] The last tried to establish continuity between the origins of the Kyivan Rus and 17th century Ukraine. Petro Mohyla accepted the conception of the Primary

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[72] Marian Rechowicz, Teologia Pozytywno-Kontrowersyina: Szkoła Polska w XVI Wieku, 62.

[73] Ibid., 67.

[74] Liudmila V. Charipova, "Peter Mohyla and St Volodimer: Is There a Symbolic Link?" *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 80, No. 3 (Jul., 2002): 439-458.

[75] Oleksiy *Tolochko*, «Nestor-litopysets»: Bilya Dzherel Odniyeï Istoriohrafichnoï Tradytsiï, 19.

[76] Oleksiy *Tolochko*, "On *Nestor* 'the Chronicler'," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies,* vol. 29 (2007); Oleksiy *Tolochko*, «Nestor-litopysets»: Bilya Dzherel Odniyeï Istoriohrafichnoï Tradytsiï" [Nestor the Chronicler: at the Source of a Historiographical Tradition], *Kyïvska Starovyna*, No 4, (1996); Natalia Jakovenko, "Symvol «Bohokhranymoho hrada» u pam'yatkakh kyïvskoho kola (1620—1640-vi roky" ["Symbol of "God-protected City" in the monuments of the Kyiv circle (1620-1640)] in. *Paralel'nyi Svit. Doslidzhennya z istoriï uyavlen ta ideỹ v Ukraïni XVI-XVII st.* [The Parallel World. The Studies from the History of Conceptions and Ideas in 16-17th century Ukraine], (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2002).

Chronicle, according to which, the Rus nation sprang from Japheth, and the key figure of medieval history was prince Volodymyr the Great. For instance, in a panegyric dedicated to Petro Mohyla and written by the pupils' of Mohillian collegium, the Rus nation is called the 'people of Volodymyr'.[77]

Hence, the attention of the metropolitan was drawn to the figure of Volodymyr the Great. As St. Volodymyr, who baptized the Kyivan Rus, Kyiv metropolitan probably saw himself as a new great patron of the Orthodoxy because, to some extent, the Church politics of Petro Mohyla could not be seen apart from his own image-building. As suggested by Charipova, the metropolitan, born in an aristocratic family, associated and presented himself as 'the prince of the Church'.[78] Even if it is hard to say that the metaphorical 'correspondence' between the princes was consciously stressed by the Mohylian circle, Afanasij Kal'nofoyskyi definitely concentrates his special attention on this medieval prince.

The publication of *Teraturgema* (1638) continues the metropolitan politics of re-discovering the medieval history of Rus. Volodymyr is the only person in a quite long list of merely enumerated princes who draws the author's attention. The main deed of Volodymyr, according to Kalnofoyskyi, was apparently the baptism of the Kyivan Rus because he "was the first who baptized himself and the Kyivan Rus".[79] Probably, to emphasize the role of Volodymyr, Kal'nofoyskyi did not go into detail, describing previous attempts at baptism. Moreover, the author goes on by stating that because of his marriage with Anna from the Byzantine emperor family, Volodymyr 'became friends" with the emperors Constantine and Basil.

Kal'nofoyskyi opportunely mentions that Volodymyr's relics were found among the ruins of the Tithe Church in 1635. The discovery of relics, especially the head of St. Volodymyr, and

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[77] Ihor Ševčenko, *The Many Worlds of Peter Mohyla in Ukraine between East and West* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), *172.*
[78] Liudmila V. Charipova, "Peter Mohyla and St Volodimer: Is There a Symbolic Link?", 454.
[79] «który pierwszy Państwa Rokosolańskie, y siebie pierwszego w duchowney obmywszy Krztu świętego kapieli, oświęcił», *Τερατουργнμα* lubo cuda, 124.

their solemn transfer to the Sofia Cathedral were deeds aimed at establishing the visible link between Volodymyr and Mohyla, but also providing the continuity within ages. In Charipova's opinion, the transfer of these relics to Sofia Cathedral is similar to the transfer of St. Clement's relics organized by St. Volodymyr and described in the Hypatian chronicle.[80]

Another historical argument which was meant to demonstrate the dignity of the Ruthenian nation was the emperor's gift to the descendant of prince Volodymyr the Great – Volodymyr Monomakh. According to Afanasij Kal'nofoyskyi, Emperor Constantine presented "His Caesar Crown" («Korona swoia Caesarska») to Volodymyr Monomakh in order to restrain him from raiding Byzantine territory.[81] Kal'nofoyskyi compares this gift with a gift of the emperor Otton III, given to Boleslaw the Brave in 1000, during so called Gniezno meeting. This allusion is quite easy to understand: the history of the Kyivan Rus and the Polish kingdom are of equal origins. The authority of both kings was acknowledged by different but symbolically equal emperors of the great Roman Empire.

There are other episodes aimed at elevating the status of the Ruthenia nation which are not present in the introduction, but an attentive reader will find them in the text of miracle entries. The origins of the Kyivan Rus and some information on the founders of Kyiv (Kyi, Shchek and Khoryv) are included in miracle №45.[82] The author calls Kyi the first prince of Rus and founder of Kyiv. Interestingly, in this case he did not refer to Nestor, whose role as the first Chronicler was promoted by the Mohylian circle and which I will discuss further in this chapter, but to the Polish historians, Marcin Bielski and Jan Długosz. This might mean that the newly established tradition which would blossom quite soon, were not yet absorbed and internalized.

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[80] Liudmila V. Charipova, "Peter Mohyla and St Volodimer: Is There a Symbolic Link?", 448.
[81] *Τερατουργнμα* lubo cuda, 124.
[82] Ibid., 255.

The mentioning of Saint Andrew, who is known as an apostle of Rus, in miracle №47, was meant to demonstrate that the Orthodox Church is an Apostolic Church, and in this way to elevate its prestige. Kal'nofoyskyi explains that many relics are kept in Kyiv because Saint Andrew blessed this place. This remark is not accidental – it has a claim for equality with the Roman Apostolic See. This motif was already observed by Natalia Jakovenko in the polemic works against the Union of Brest.[83] In these writings, the idea of the journey of Saint Andrew was used to support the superiority of the Orthodox Church over the Catholic. I believe, in the case of Kal'nofoyskyi, this remark was not intended to show the superiority because the general style of the treatise is rather peaceful, but it echoed the previous writings and at the same time reminded the reader of the high status of Kyiv, which was especially promulgated after the capital of the Orthodox metropolitan was moved back from Vilnius after a break of two centuries.[84]

Thus, although *Teraturgema's* goal was not to give an account of Ruthenian history, Kal'nofoyskyi eagerly supplied his miracle stories with the examples from the past. He showed that the origins of the Kyivan Rus were both noble and Christian, blessed by Apostle Andrew and recognized by the emperors of the Byzantine Empire. The bond between the Church and the 'nation' in the early-modern sense was proved valid within the centuries. These details, chosen with a strict accordance to the will of the metropolitan, were aimed at obtaining a symbolic capital which was necessary for a dialogue with competing Churches on equal terms and wining the sympathies of the educated members of the elite.

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[83] Natalia Jakovenko, "Symvol «Bohokhranymoho hrada» u pam'yatkakh kyïvskoho kola (1620—1640-vi roky)", In *Paralel'nyi Svit. Doslidzhennya z istoriï uyavlen ta ideў v Ukraïni XVI-XVII st.* [The Parallel World. Studies from the History of Conceptions and Ideas in 16-17th century Ukraine], Kyiv: Krytyka, 2002.

[84] A brilliant essay on how Kyiv became the powerful propagandistic symbol as a 'city protected by God" in the discourse of Kyiv Church intellectuals in 1620-1640 read in Natalia Jakovenko, "Symvol «Bohokhranymoho hrada» u pam'yatkakh kyïvskoho kola (1620—1640-vi roky)" ["Symbol of "God-protected City" in the monuments of the Kyiv Circle (1620-1640)] in. *Paralel'nyi Svit. Doslidzhennya z istoriï uyavlen ta ideў v Ukraïni XVI-XVII st. [Parallel World. The Studies from the History of Conceptions and Ideas in 16-17th century Ukraine]*, (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2002).

Having discussed historical arguments which were employed by Kal'nofoyskyi in order to sustain the Orthodox claims for dignity and noble origins, I will further analyze how he uses the material from the medieval sources. As far as first three miracles in *Teraturgema* have their prototypes in the ancient chronicles and Lives of Saints, they give us a unique chance to look closely at the early-modern historical 'workshop'.

2.2. Textual Relations of *Teraturgema* to the Medieval Texts

If in the case of the early-modern miracles, it is hard to detect from which sources they were taken (because it might be church books, author's own imagination or other sources), it is much easier to identify the source for medieval miracles. Being a 'historian' and erudite, Kal'nofoyskyi had a lot of possibilities to show his knowledge. However, he chooses only three cases from medieval Rus history: the death of Theodosius from Pechersk, the death of the first prince-martyr Igor and the translation of relics of Borys and Hlib to the Church in Vyshhorod. So, I will use this opportunity to see how Kal'nofoyskyi used the textual material in order to understand what his strategies in 'dealing' with history were.

For the first miracle entry dedicated to the death of Theodosius of Pechersk, Kal'nofoyskyi used the texts of medieval *Pateryk* and its early-modern translation into Polish - *Paterykon*. The final version of *Pateryk* (The Lives of Saints) was composed in the second half of the 15th century.[85] Comparing texts, I used the last so-called second Kassian edition of *Pateryk* (1462), which, I presume, was available to Kal'nofoyskyi.[86] Concerning *Paterykon,* it was just published in 1635 in the printing house of Kyiv Cave Monastery. So Kal'nofoyskyi definitely had it at hand. Being quite elaborative in his search for miracles, Kal'nofoyskyi did not limit it to the available and just printed work of Kosov (*Paterykon),* but tried to find some additional information in the older source. The same diligence he showed writing the second and third miracle entries, when he needed to consult the medieval chronicles. Probably, the author used the

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[85] Dmutro Abramovych, introduction to *Kyyevo-Pecherskyy̆ Pateryk* [*Kyiv-Cave Pateryk*],(Kyiv: Chas, 1991).
[86] For instance, it was used by Kosov in 1635 when he translated *Pateryk* into Polish.

Khlebnikov copy of the Hypatian chronicle, which was available to him because exactly at this time it was revised by Petro Mohyla.[87]

The first miracle entry consists of three miracle stories that happened after the death of Theodosius from Pechersk, the founder of Kyiv Cave monastery. The first miracle story describes the funeral of the saint. Theodosius made a will to be buried secretly so that nobody knew the place of his relics. But on the day of his death people from Kyiv came to the monastery; thus brothers could not bury the saint because they did not want to trespass his command. Happily, a heavy rain started and forced the guests to leave the monastery. In the medieval and early-modern versions of the Lives of Saints, these events are not called a miracle. However, Kal'nofoyskyi uses this textual material to create a separate miracle story. How he altered the text and which text he actually used we can observe from the table below.

Table 2.1 The Comparison of Accounts on the Translation of Relics of St. Theodosius in Pateryk, Patericon, and Teraturgema

Pateryk (1462)	*Paterykon (1635)*	*Teraturgema (1638)*
Having closed the gates, brothers did not let anyone inside, according to the command of saint. They were sitting near him and waiting until people would go out for they could bury him according to his will. And a lot of Boyars came and were staying near the gates. And then, because of God's will, it became cloudy and rain started, so they had left the place. And when it stopped raining and the sun shined, they brought him to the abovementioned cave, left him there and closed it.[88]	People from Kyiv, **because of God's Revelation,** gathered in front of the gates and waited until [the saint] would be carried near the monastery gates, which were closed that time according to his last will. But brothers did not carry him because they wanted that people left the place. What God did easier- the rain poured and people had to leave the place. And brothers with a great honor carried him to the place where he ordered to bury	And haven seen from the Church doors a big gathering of the Orthodox people on the Church threshold, who came to the funeral of St. Theodosius, (**therefore, God himself revealed them, wishing to show that the death of his saint and true follower is gratifying to him because monks did not announce about this**). Then they stopped the funeral because devout brothers remembered the second command of our saint Patriarch. That time (the saint told that nobody should know the place where his saint body should be buried) when they were in the Church with a sorrow waiting near the relics for people came back to their houses, and in one hour the sky became covered with black clouds, it poured and people went home. When people moved home, the sun immediately lightened its circles; Saints and Brothers carried the body of saint Patriarch to the cave, which till today is

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[87] Borys Kloss. introduction to *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisyeĭ* [*Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles*], vol. 2. Hypation Chronicle (Moscow: Yazyki russkoĭ kultury, 1998), L, M.

[88] Bratiy zhe vrata zatvoryvshym y nykoho zhe pustyashchym, po povelĐniyu blazhenaho, y bĐshya prysĐdyashche nad nymy, ozhydayushche, dondezhe razyĭdutsya lyudie, y tako tohda pohrebut eho, yakozhe blazhenyĭ zapovĐda. Byashe zhe y bolyare mnozy pryshly, y tiy pred vraty stoyashche. Y se po smotreniyu bozhiyu, pooblachysya nebo y snyde dzhd, tozhd tiy tako razydoshasya. Y abie paky dozhd prestashe y solntse vsia, y tako toho nesshe v prezhe rechennuyu pecheru, polozhysha y zapechatlĐsha. In *Kiêvo-Pecherskiĭ Pateryk*, 74.

himself.[89]	called after Theodosius, and buried him there.[90]

From the comparison of the texts in table 2.1, it is possible to make two conclusions. Firstly, the miraculous line is stressed in the narrative of *Teraturgema,* whose length is much longer and presented with more details. In the medieval *Pateryk,* the gathering of people near the monastery is not interpreted as God's deed. In the early-modern *Paterykon*, this is already explained in terms of "God's revelation", and in *Teraturgema* God's revelation is not only stated but explained in brackets, meaning that the crowd gathered not by chance but it was a sign that God sees this death as devout.

Secondly, Kal'nofiyskyi used not the new published version of *Paterykon*, but the medieval manuscript - *Pateryk*. This can be demonstrated, for instance, by the fact that the passage about the appearance of the sun when the people came back is not present in *Paterykon,* while it is mentioned in *Pateryk* and *Teraturgema*. Thus, Kal'nofoyskyi tries to extend the text by getting information from the older source. Different wordings and absence of the vocabulary from *Paterykon* suggest that Kal'nofoyskyi did not copy these passages, but either skillfully paraphrased them, or relied only on *Pateryk* because the correspondence between the old Lives of Saints and *Teraturgema* is more evident. This could be also proved by another example, namely, the inclusion of the direct speech of Prince Swiatosław to *Teraturgema.* Because it is absent in the *Paterykon,* it could only be taken from the *Pateryk.* To support this, I will again

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[89] Ludżie z **Boskiego iakiegoś obiawienia** z Kiowa zebrali się przed wrota, czekaiac poki będżie nieśiony przed wrota Monasterskie, ktore na ten czas zawarte były, wedlug roskazania świętego: ale Braćia nie nieśli, życzac, aby się roześli ludzie; **a co Pan Bog sam sprawił latwie**/ gdy desz wielki wylał na ten czas, iż się rozeyść ludżie muśieli, a Braćia z vczćiwośćia wielka nieśli go do oney Pieczary, w ktorey roskazał śiebie pochować, 33.

[90] Alic obacza przez drzwi Cerkiewne ludżi prawowiernych wielkie zebranie w przyśionku Cerkiewnym ktore się na pogrzeb s. Teodozego (**snadz o tym sam Pan im obwieśćił, chcac to okazać, iż iest mu wdżięczna śmierć świętego y wiernego iego; ponieważ Zakonnicy o tym nie oznaymowali**) zgromadziło, dali przeto pogrzebowi pokoy, a pomniac na wtore przykazanie świętego Patriarchy naszego nabożni braćia. Tego wieku y czasu (roskazał był święty, aby nikt niewiedżiał o Ciała iego świetego pochowaniu) zawarci w Cerkwi przy Reliquiach byli, żalosnie oczekiwaiac, ażby się lud pospolity do swych rozyszedł domow, y stało się po godżinie, że niebo obłokami zaczerniwszy się, deszcz spory wylało, y ludżi rospędziło. Ci odeszli, a słońce tudżież krągi swoie slicznie oświećiło; Swięći zaś Oycowie y Braćia niesli Ciało S. do Pieczary, ktora y po dżiś dżień s. Theodozego zowiesię, y pogrzbli ie, 186.

compare the accounts given by three sources on the sign which appeared in the form of a pillar

of fire to prince Swiatosław after the death of Theodosius from Pechersk.

Table 2.2. The Comparison of the Accounts on the Sign which Appeared to Prince Swiatosław in Pateryk, Paterykon, and Teraturgema

Pateryk (1462)	Paterykon (1635)	Teraturgema (1638)
The most Orthodox prince Swiatosław, when he was near the monastery of our saint, saw the post of fire that rose from the earth to sky above the monastery. And nobody, except the prince, saw this. Hence, he understood that the saint had departed into the Lord and **he told to people who were with him: 'this means, as I think, that saint Theodosius passed away".** Because the day before I visited him and saw that he had a serious illness. **And he sent a messenger to see whether his death was true and it was indeed so. And he cried a lot over him.**[91]	That time Swiatoslaw was near the monastery, and soon after saint Theodosius had died, he saw the post of fire from the earth to sky and he came to conclusion that saint Theodosius said goodbye to this world; because recently visiting the saint and he saw him very ill.[92]	In the time of the death, the most devout Prince Swiatosław went out to the field and, being not far away from the monastery, (which is old now, but that time it was a Cave monastery) and saw there one post of fire, which began in the monastery and stretched to the sky. **And he told to his servants: 'As I suppose and this post teaches me, today Saint Father Theodosius leaves us because I visited him the day before and I saw his serious illness'** Thus, he concluded about his death. But, being not yet convinced and wanting to know it for sure, **he sent one of his Boyars to the Cave, who, having observed the same what saintly Prince said, came back with news about the death of saint. And when prince Swiatosław heard this, he cried over the death of his spiritual Father and the servant of God.**[93]

Thus, the comparison of the texts in the table 2.2 shows that Kal'nofoyskyi took the

direct speech of prince Swiatosław and a report of the messenger about the death of the saint

from old *Pateryk*.

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[91] BlahovÐrnyi zhe knyaz Svyatoslav bÐ nedaleche ot manastyrya blazhenaho stoya, y se vydÐ stlp ohnen ot zemlya do nebesy sushch nad manastyrem tÐm. Seho zhe yn nykto zhe vydÐ, no tochiyu knyaz edyn,y yako zhe ot toho razumÐty emu prestavlenie blazhenaho, y hlahola k sushchym s nym: «se, yako zhe mnyu, dnes blazhenyỹ Feodosie prestavysya». BÐ bo prezhde toho dne byl u neho y vydÐv bolÐzn eho tyazhku zÐlo. Y poslav uvÐdÐty ystye prestavlenye eho, y se byst tako, y plakasya po nem mnoho,74.

[92] Swiatosław był na ten czas nie daleko Monastera, a skoro święty Theodozyus vmarł, widział słup ognisty od ziemie aż do nieba, y domyślił się, że święty Theodozyus pożegnał się z tym światem; bo nie dawno nawiedzaiąc, widżiał bydż barzo chorego, 33.

[93] Teyże śmierci godziny wyiechawszy sobie wielce pobożne Xiążę Swiatosław na pole, y będąc nie daleko Monastyra starego teraz, na ten czas Pieczarskiego obaczył sam ieden, słub ognisty, ktory się wżiawszy z Monastyra, aż do Niebios przeciągnął: Y rzecze do swoich sług: Jako mniemam y słup mię ten vczy, dzisia Swiety Oćiec Theodozy od nas odchodżi, ponieważ był dniem przedtym v niego, a widzac wielce ciężka iego chorobę, tak o śmierći concludował: wszakże tym się ieszcze nie kontentuiac, a chcac wiedżieć doskonale coby się dżiało, posyła iednego z swoich Bolarow do Pieczary, ktory toż obaczywszy co świętobliwy Xiążę powiedział, zwroćiwszy się przyniosł wieść o śmierći swiętego: o tey vsłyszawszy Xiażę Swiatosław, płakal Oyca swego w duchu, y sługi Bożego odeszćia., 186.

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The next two medieval miracle entries look very atypical in comparison to other miracle stories. Firstly, they do not have any relation to the monastery, which might lead us to the supposition that the aim of the treatise, despite its stress on the miraculous power of the relics, goes beyond the local interests of the monastery and, thus, is a part of a wider metropolitan politics. Secondly, they all involve members of the princely families and, in this way, they create a visible example of continuity and give an idea of the 'noble' origins of the Orthodox Church and its first martyrs. Thus, I will look more closely at them.

The second miracle entry tells about the death of the first prince martyr Igor. He is known as a martyr ('*strastoterpec*') because he was killed by his Boyars without any resistance. The tradition of the 'sufferers of non-resistance' was developed and became very popular in the medieval Rus' Orthodoxy.[94] Ka'nofoyskyi quite selectively translates the account given in the chronicle. He omits direct speeches of the prince, appeals to God, details which are not directly related to his death. It gives an impression that he tries to remain in the length and size of next miracle entries. However, one of the alterations might reflect the adaptation of this medieval 'standard' of miracle to the tradition of the early-modern description, which we can observe from table 2.3:

Table 2.3 The Comparison of the Accounts On the Miracle with the Prince Igor in the Hypatian Chronicle and Teraturgema

Hypatian Chronicle	*Teraturgema*
And [they] took him and lay in the church of saint Michael. That night God showed the great sign over him, lightening the candles above him in that church.[95]	And [they] took him to the church of saint Archangel Michael: there God blessed him with a great miracle, where the Heaven Hand was lightening all candles through the all night long and **filled the church with the singing of the heaven musicians and aromas**.[96]

[94] Fedotov George P., *The Russian Religious Mind. Kievan Christianity: the 10th to the 13th Century*. (New York: Harper Torchbooks, the Cloister Library. Harper. Brother, 1960), 94-132.
[95] "y vzemshe y polozhysha v tsr**e**kvy st**e**ho Mykhayla na tou noch B**e** proævy nad nyn͡i znamenye velyko . zazhhoshaŝ sv˗ch˗ vsy nad nyn͡i v tsr**e**kvy toy", Hypatian Chronicle, last modified May 6, 2012, http://krotov.info/acts/12/pvl/ipat15.htm.
[96] Y zaniesli ie do Cerkwie S. Michała Archanyoła: tam leżące wielkim Cudem Pan bydż świętym oświadczył, gdy wszystkie swiece niebeska ręka zapalone cala noc one oswiecaiąc, y śpiewaniem gornych Muzikantow, tudzież y woniami przewdżięcznemi Cerkiew się napołniła, 188.

In this passage, we can see the adjustment of the text to the standards of the Polish hagiography. In the European hagiography, the motif of the miraculous aromas was much more widespread than the appearance of light. The pleasant aromas let out by the holy relics were seen as signs of God's Grace. However, comparing to the aromas, light was seen as a more important sign.[97] The inclusion of these signs in the translation means that the author wanted to bring the work closer to the common standards in the Polish hagiography.

Other adaptations reflect the current status of Kyiv and the metropolitan. So, seemingly insignificant additions to the text of the original are important because they re-focus the emphasis in the miracle accounts. Kal'nofoyskyi stresses the belonging of martyrs Borys and Hlib to Kyiv past, calling them 'Kyivan' princess, while in the original they are just Borys and Hlib. Secondly, he emphasizes the role of the metropolitan. In the chronicle the metropolitan together with episcopes advised princes how to solve their discussion on the place where the relics should be buried, while in *Teraturgema* the metropolitan himself gave his advice to the princes.

Summing up, the alterations, done by Kal'nofoyskyi, were, in my opinion, dictated by the wish to have a more complete and standard miracle account which is organized in a separate paragraph in the treatise and marked as 'miracle' (cud) on the marginalia than to give a 'notification' about the miracle as given in the medieval sources. Thus, the 'form' of the entry determines how much information he should have looked for and what he should cut off if the chronicle accounts were longer than necessary. Some small alterations were aimed at adjusting the text to the reader and current political and social situation.

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[97] Maria Starnawska. *Świętych życie po życiu. Relikwie w kulturze religijnej na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu.* [The Saint's Life after Life. The Relics in the Religious Culture on the Polish Lands in the Middle Ages]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo DIG, 2008, 453–455.

2.3. The History Workshop of Afanasij Kal'nofoyskyi

The impetus to look at the 'diligence' with which Kal'nofoyskyi treats his sources to a certain extent came from reading a very insightful article of Kyiv historian Oleksiy Tolochko – "On 'Nestor the Chronicler'.[98] Following his argumentation, since the mid-1630s Kyiv Cave monastery became the center of promoting and 're-discovering' medieval Ukrainian history. Sylvestr Kosov, a colleague of Kal'nofoyskyi and author of *Paterykon*, calls the monastery a 'treasure of Ruthenian history, the nest of saint fathers, where God saved ancient annals".[99] The number of actions, undertaken by the monastery, consisted in promoting the idea that the Primary Chronicle, the most important source of the medieval history of Rus, was written by one of its monks – Nestor the Chronicler. They even found his burial place, wrote his vita and since from1638 were able to show his relics – everything was done to prove, according to Tolochko, that the most ancient historical tradition of Rus' was born there.[100]

The metropolitan himself did not neglect reading the ancient chronicles. His acquaintance with them is supported by the fact of his handwriting on the marginalia of the Hypatian chronicle. [101] In 1635 he ordered to copy of the Khlebnikov's edition of the Hypatian chronicle and two years later, in 1637, he repaired the Khlebnikov edition itself. The metropolitan's handwriting can be observed on the marginalia near the entries on the metropolitan Constantine.[102] It is worth mentioning that before the early 1620s, these chronicles were not known in Kyiv.[103]

Kal'nofoyskyi, being a monk at this monastery, was not reluctant to write 'history'. He left a testament, which is interesting because of the included list of books that belonged either to

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[98] Oleksiy *Tolochko*, "On *Nestor* 'the Chronicler'," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies,* vol. 29 (2007).
[99] Oleksiy *Tolochko*, «Nestor-litopysets»: Bilya Dzherel Odniyeĭ Istoriohrafichnoĭ Tradytsiĭ, 19.
[100] Ibid., 19-28.
[101] Kloss B. M., introduction to *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopiseĭ* [*Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles*], vol. 2. Hypation Chronicle (Moscow: YAzyki russkoĭ kultury, 1998), L, M.
[102] Kloss B. M., introduction to *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopiseĭ* , M.
[103] Oleksiy *Tolochko*, «Nestor-litopysets»: Bilya Dzherel Odniyeĭ Istoriohrafichnoĭ Tradytsiĭ, 18.

him, or, partly, to the library of the Mohylian collegium. Apart from classics, the works of Cicero, Vergil, Horace, Tacitus, Seneca, Plutarch and others, there was a work entitled [an epitome] of *Chronologiae Sancti Patri nostri Nestoris pro recompositione pueris danda, ut sciant gentis suae acta* [(an epitome) of the Chronology of our Holy Father Nestor to give a Systematic Guide to the Boys so that They Would Know the Deeds of their Nation]. This was actually a textbook for history. The true title is unknown because only the 'Latin' part of the testament remained uninjured.[104] However, it is evidence that in the conditions of the competition with the Catholic Church, Kyiv intellectuals started cherishing and promoting their own chronicler.

Tolochko's article, to which I referred in the beginning of this sub-chapter, demonstrates that the Primary Chronicle was falsely attributed to the monk Nestor, who was a hagiographer, but not the chronicler. However, the significance of this attribution is not in its false character but in the power of abstraction because Nestor ceased being associated even with the Primary Chronicle and started to be associated with any chronicle. Kal'nofoyskyi himself, citing the work written by his contemporary Zaharij Kopustenskyi, marked on the marginalia that it was taken from 'Nestor'.[105] Although Kal'nofoyskyi pretends to be a credible-looking, in truth he gives false references.

The reluctant attitude of Kal'nofoyskyi to accurately presenting the accounts taken from sources could be illustrated by the example of the third miracle entry. It describes two very important figures in Orthodox history – Borys and Hlib. Both were canonized already in medieval times.[106] For composing this miracle entry Kal'nofoyskyi used the Hypatian chronicle. In the chronicle, there are two entries, dedicated to the translation of the relics. The first was in

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[104] Volodymyr Aleksandrovyč, **"**The Will and Testament of Afanasij Kal`nofojskij", 415–428.
[105] Oleksiy *Tolochko*, «Nestor-litopysets»: Bilya Dzherel Odniyeï Istoriohrafichnoï Tradytsiï**: 21-22.**
[106] George Fedotov P., *The Russian Religious Mind. Kievan Christianity: the 10th to the 13th Century*, 94-132.

1072, done by the initiative of the princes Izyaslav, Svyatoslav and Vsevolod, and the second was in 1115, initiated by their offsprings Volodymyr Monomakh, David and Oleg.

Kal'nofoyskyi combined two different chronicle entries and created from them one account. Chronologically the first entry in the Chronicle is quite short in length but it contains the 'miraculous' element, meaning the appearance of aroma when the coffin with the saint's relics was opened. The second entry is much longer and it was taken by Kal'nofoyskyi as a basis of his story. However, the second account had a serious shortcoming. The translation of relics to a new church, a big gathering of people and the discussion of princes as to where was better to keep them – contains nothing miraculous. Thus, Kal'nofoyskyi takes the longer chronicle account and supplies it with the miracle from the earlier chronicle account. Hence, he mixed two different events in one text, saying that 'this also happened during the translation'.[107] Such an attitude towards presenting the past even in its "miraculous form" shows that the author cared more about form than accuracy.

The description should have a miraculous element as far as it is called 'miracle'. Thus, he could neglect the exactness. This also demonstrates that it is more important for Kal'nofoyskyi to be adequately understood by his contemporaries than be precise in his translations and reveals his attitude towards the past as a material to create a 'credible'-looking story. In order to be more comprehensible, he omits all the 'unnecessary' names of the Boyars, which probably made sense at the time when the chronicle was composed but told nothing for his contemporaries.

Hence, it was the process of re-discovering Tradition and at the same time creating it. I believe that the metropolitan and his surroundings were aware of the changes which they introduced; otherwise, Kal'nofoyskyi would not need to consult old *Pateryk,* if the just printed 'translation' was at hand. The analysis of the first medieval miracle entries reveal a pragmatic

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[107] „Trafiło się przy tymże przenoszeniu", *Τερατουργнμα lubo cuda,* 190.

attitude to history which was more a rhetorical means to support the ideas of the dignity of the Ruthenian nation and the Orthodox Church. At the same time the alterations made by Kal'nofoyskyi were partly dictated by the genre in which he wrote when the miraculous character of the event should be stressed even if it was not so in the older sources.

Kal'nofoyslyi successfully made use of the previous tradition because the choice of St. Theodosius, Boris and Hlib goes in line with the previous tradition of their veneration in the Kyiv Orthodox Church. And at the same time he showed that God 'blessed' the Orthodox Church much earlier than the Uniate Church, whose first miracle in the treatise on miracles is dated in 1523 and that the first martyrs of the Orthodox Church, unlike Catholics and Uniate, came from the princely families.

The small number of medieval miracles presented in *Teraturgema* could be explained by the fact that the treatise was planned as a continuation of *Paterykon* (1635), the early modern adaptation of the medieval Lives of Saints. However, it was enough to gain a necessary 'symbolic capital'.

CHAPTER 3: The New Orthodoxy

'I have resolved to found schools, so that the youth may be

properly enlightened in piety, virtuous habits, and the liberal arts.'

Petro Mohyla[108]

The changes started when Jesuits arrived in Poland in 1565. They gave a powerful drive to the transformation of the schooling system of the Catholic Church, meaning establishing new printing houses, founding collegiums, re-working a curriculum, in general forming a new generation of theologians who would confidently carry the banner of the renewed Church. This in the long run gave impetus to the Kyiv Orthodox Church to re-estimate and re-affirm its policy. I would ally here with the metaphor of Ihor Ševčenko that the "the enemy was to be fought with the enemy´s weapons."[109]

Hence, in this chapter I will discuss what was adopted from the 'Latin education". I will analyze exhortations in the paraeneses to miracles which I consider examples of the Catholic moral theology, intellectual authorities and religious concepts used by the author.

For the metropolitan, but also for some part of his contemporaries, piety and the liberal arts acted in close coordination.[110] The Latin scholarship of the metropolitan milieu could not be doubted. The College, founded by Mohyla, had a library of 2,500 volumes and, as stated by Charipova, 90 per cent of the books were in Latin and published in the West.[111] All these preparations were made to establish a dialogue with the competing Churches, while the transformation of the Orthodox Church itself was not imposed by authorities, quite the opposite -

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[108] Charipova, "Peter Mohyla and St Volodimer: Is There a Symbolic Link?", 452.
[109] Ihor Shevčenko, The Many Worlds of Peter Mohyla. In *Ukraine between East and West* (Edmonton, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1996), 164-186, quotation p. 170.
[110] Charipova, Peter Mohyla and St Volodimer: Is There a Symbolic Link?" 452.
[111]Liudmila V. Charipova, "Latin Books and the Orthodox Church in. Ruthenia: Two Catalogues *of* Books Purchased by. Peter Mohyla in 1632 and 1633," *Oxford Journals, Humanities Library* 4 (2) (2003), 129.

it was not greeted by them. Even the foundation of the Orthodox collegium of Jesuit type (the Mohyla collegium) was not welcomed by the Catholic and Uniate nobility.[112]

However, to implement the acquired knowledge was the only way to be understood by the opponents. Thus, Petro Mohyla and his followers basically did not have any other chance except accepting the Latin erudition. The metropolitan wrote once that 'there exist a few Slavonic books on theology, and none at all on politics. Greek books are difficult to obtain, and they cost too much, while Latin books on these subjects are readily available'.[113]

3.1. Miracle Paraenesis as a Form of Moral Theology

„The world is a forest through which we should come to the Fatherland".[114] Despite there being no references on the marginalia, these words strictly resemble Augustine metaphor of living as a way of knowing God, first present in his *On Christian Teaching*, "so in the mortal life we are like travellers away from our Lord: if we wish to return to the homeland where we can be happy we must use this world, not enjoy it".[115]

In the context of the post-Tridentine society, these words presupposed a new type of religious behavior different from the contemplative ascetic ideals. The new believers should not close themselves in the monastery, quite the opposite – they should live in the world but remain good Christians. Thus, Kyiv Metropilitan wrote, 'it is no small thing to live in a monastery, trying to save one's own soul. Yet it is a much bigger thing to live among the pious, giving them a godly example to follow and to save the others thereby'.[116] In these circumstances, believers needed a guideline and the Church gave it – it was moral theology.

[112] Ihor Shevčenko, The Many Worlds of Peter Mohyla, 164-186

[113] Charipova, "Peter Mohyla's Translation of the Imitation of Christ", *Historical Journal.* 46 (2003), 261.

[114] "Swiat ten puszcza iest, pzez ktora nam trzeba iść do oyczyzny", Тератоургнма lubo cuda, 212.

[115] Augustine. On Christian Teaching. In Leitch, Vincent B. The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism. New York and London: Norton, 2001, 157.

[116] Charipova, Peter Mohyla's translation, 246.

Acknowledged by scholars, the first Orthodox fundamental work on moral theology was written by Innokentyi Gizel and published in the printing house of Kyiv Cave Monastery in 1669.[117] It was called the *Myr s Bohom choloviku* (Man's Peace with God) and, according to Margaryta Korzo, it was the first attempt to create a fundamental work on Christian ethics which could combine both theoretical and practical aspects.[118] At the same time it was meant as a guide for the preparation to the sacrament of confession. However, the terminological apparatus of moral theology was already present in the works of Petro Mohyla, namely in the foreword to the *Nomokanon* (1629) and in *Trebnyk* or *Euchologion* (1646).[119] I would argue that the first steps of the moral theology could be already observed in *Teraturgema,* in the paraeneses to miracles. But firstly we should discuss what moral theology is.

The impetus to change the approach towards teaching theology came from the Jesuits. In *Monita quaedam quibus adiuvari potest vera religio maxime in Germania et Galia* [Some Pieces of Advice Which Might Be Useful for the True Religion Mostly in Germany and Gaul] (1554) Ignatius Loyola wrote that students concentrated too much on philosophy which was time-consuming and out of the contemporary debates, while there were many more questions which demanded urgent attention. Accepting the Protestant strategy of the *loci communes*, they came out for creating synopses from the Holy Scriptures, tradition, council decisions and authoritative thoughts on the urgent issues. Loyola stated, "instead of deepening in philosophical theology, it is more necessary to educate many theologians who will be able to preach and exhort in lots of places."[120]

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[117] The first volume of three-volume critical edition of the selected works of Innokentyi Gizel is dedicated to the scholar evaluation of his work. *Inokentij Gizel'. Selected Works,* edited by Dovga, Lesia. Kyiv, Lviv: Svichado, 2010.

[118] Korzo, Margaryta. «Myr s Bohom choloviku» Inokentiya Gizelya v konteksti katolytskoï moralnoï teolohiï kintsya XVI – pershoï polovyny XVII st.. ['*Man's Peace with God' by Inokentij Gizel' in the Context of Catholic Moral Theology in the end of 16 - First Half of 17th Centuries]. In Inokentij Gizel'. Selected Works,* edited by Dovga, Lesia. Kyiv, Lviv: Svichado, 2010: 191-258.

[119] Korzo, Margaryta. «Myr s Bohom choloviku», 193.

[120] Bronisław Natoński. „Humanizm Jezuicki i Teologia Pozytywno-Kontrowersyjna w XVII i XVIII wieku. Nauczanie i Piśmiennictwo". [Jesuit Humanism and Controversial Theology in 16-17th Centuries. Instruction and Works.] in *The History of Catholic Theology in Poland* [Dzieje teologii katolickiej w Polsce]. vol. 2, From the

The policy of the Catholic Church was different towards people from North and South Europe. More theologians were needed in Northern Europe, which 'suffered' from Protestantism. Students from North Europe were supposed to study only positive theology and the course of their studies lasted two years less than the same for the people from Southern Europe who should have additionally studied scholastic theology.[121] The students from North Europe were not supposed to be profound theologians but rather effective and well-trained in arguing when it was necessary to defend the position of the Catholic Church. Such was a generation of theologians who came to preach in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

This new positive theology was also called controversial. And if in the 16th century the term pointed to the on-going polemics, already in the 17th century it developed into a separate theological division – *theologia controversa.*[122] The summarized versions of this theology were presented in the textbooks of Johannes Eck *Enchiridion locorum communium adversus Lutherum et alios hostes ecclesiae* [Handbook of Common Places against Luther and other Enemies of the Church] (Landshut, 1525) and Peter Canisus *Summa doctrinae christianae* (Vienna, 1555) – because 'controversies are bound with catechisms".[123]

Moral theology or *theologia moralis* developed from a positive theology. It functioned in the realm of casus and in a sense it was closer to jurisprudence then to theology itself.[124] The goal of moral theology was rather to find a right solution in the concrete life situations than to exhort and contemplate the foundations of the Christian life. The main method of moral theology was the analysis of concrete moral problems (*casus conscientiae*), which believers faced. The first textbooks of moral theology were *Theologiae moralis summa* (1591) Enrique Henriquez, *Institutionum moralium* (1600) Juan Azor and *Opus morale* (1610) by Thomas Sanchez.

Renaissance to Enlightment [Od Odrodzenia do Oświecenia]. part. 1, Humanistic Theology [Teologia Humanistyczna], ed. Marian Rechowicz, 91.

[121] Bronisław Natoński, "Humanizm Jezuicki i Teologia Pozytywno-Kontrowersyjna w XVII i XVIII wieku. Nauczanie i Piśmiennictwo", 100.

[122] Ibid., 89.

[123] Ibid., 96.

[124] Jerzy Ks. Bajda. *Teologia Moralna (Kazuistyczna) w XVII-XVIII wieku*, in *The History of Catholic Theology in Poland* [Dzieje teologii katolickiej w Polsce]. vol. 2, 273.

The moral theology developed into three branches: university moral theology of the general principles, practical or casuistic moral theology written for confessors in the form of Summa, and *Institutiones morales* which combined elements of the previous approach. *Institutiones morales* combine tractates on conscience, law and sin from the *Summa Theologica* with the explanations of the Ten Commandments for the confessors, and the maxims on the sacraments.[125] Hence, the questions of conscience, law, and sin, but also the concrete questions of the Decalogue or sacraments, became the subject of moral theology.[126]

Even though moral theology could not be seen as a product of merely Jesuit thought because it developed in the course of the Catholic Reform, it was mainly popularized and implemented in the education through the *Ratio et institutio studiorum,* the Jesuit plan of studies.[127] The Roman Catechism and Peter Canisus *Summa doctrinae christianae* became compulsory readings for students in the Jesuit collegiums and collegiums founded on their model.[128] Kal'nofoyskyi, who supposedly studied in the brotherhood's school based on the Jesuit model, must have been aware of moral theology.

However, my hypothesis of the implementation of the principles of moral theology into treatise on miracles could be challenged by two objections. Firstly, one may argue that the Orthodox tradition also had its variant of moral theology. As a style of exhortation "paraenesis" comes back to the epistle of Saint James, and it was theorized by Clement of Alexandria.[129] As a genre of parable, it might be known to Kyiv Orthodox intellectuals due to medieval popular texts attributed to Saint Ephrem of Syria, which were incorporated into the wide-spread collections of

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[125] Giuseppe Angelini, Giuseppe Colombo and MarcoVergottini. *Historia teologii – Epoka nowożytna* [History of Theology. Modern Epoche], translated by Wiesław Szymona. (Krakow: Wydawnictwo M, 2008), 222-225.

[126] Franciszek Greniuk. *Katolicka teologia moralna w poszukiwaniu własnej tożsamości* [Catholic Moral Theology in a Search of own Identity] (Sandomierz : Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne i Drukarnia, 2006), 43.

[127] It was also carried by the Dominican and Franciscan orders. The orders had different preferences in authorities: when the Dominicans of Salamanca favoured *Summa Theologica* by Thomas Aquinas and partly Peter of Lombard and their main Tridentine author was Bartholomew Medina, the Franciscan order honoured St. Bonaventure and Duns Scotus. *Jan Pryszmont. Historia teologii moralnej* [History of the Moral Theology]. (Warsaw: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1987), 117.

[128] Bronisław Natoński, "Humanizm Jezuicki i Teologia Pozytywno-Kontrowersyjna w XVII i XVIII wieku. Nauczanie i Piśmiennictwo", 101.

[129] "Paraenesis", last modified March 19, 2011, Catholic Church org, http://www.catholicculture.org/culture/library/dictionary/index.cfm?id=35395

sermons and comments on the Old Testament (*Paleja Tolkovaja*, *Prolog*, *Izmaragd*) and due to the exhortations in the Homiletic Gospels.[130] Thus, the *paraeneses* to miracles could also be seen as a 'genuine' Orthodox way of moral instructions. However, till the 18th century "Orthodox" moral theology ('*nravstvennoe bogoslovie*') was more 'ascetical and hagiographical materials, borrowed from works of hermits, fathers and teachers of the Church and translated collections for moral education'.[131] The further analysis of the terminological apparatus of paraeneses does not support the idea of the continuation of medieval Orthodox ethics.

Second objection could be that there is no structural resemblance of *Teraturgema* to the classical works on moral theology, which were composed as detailed classifications of all possible sins and collections of casus. However, I would argue that the first part of the miracle entry seems to play the role of the *casus*. Except the informative function, it illustrates the concrete situation in which the pilgrim is supposed to take a decision. The instructions in the paraeneses correspond to the miracle plot, namely they explain why the particular deed should be rewarded or punished.

Moreover, *paraenesis* always contains an appeal to the reader to follow the 'heroes' of miracles if they acted godly. This corresponds with the new tendencies in the devotional literature. After the Catholic Reform, the promotion of the imitation of the saints or even people of good faith which was seen as more achievable for believers than 15th century *Imitatio Christi.*[132] Thus, Kal'nofoyskyi could suggest, for instance, "Look at noble lady Janowa Pigłowska, who does not swear or grumble but only asks for mercy".[133] References and the

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[130] Oleg Zholobov, *Korpus drevnerusskikh spiskov paranesisa Yefrema Sirina* [The Body of Old-Slavonic Copies of Ephrem the Syrian Pareaneses] (RGADA, SIN. 38).

[131] Korzo, Margaryta. «Myr s Bohom choloviku» Inokentiya Gizelya v konteksti katolytskoï moralnoï teolohiï kintsya XVI – pershoï polovyny XVII st., 192.

[132] Lecture given at CEU by Csilla Gábor (Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj) on Saints as Signs: Post-Tridentine Arguments and Interpretations on Sanctity, May 29, 2012.

[133] "Pra: Czy: gdy kłopot iaki burzliwy nieszczęśćia wicher nawieie na ćie, nie przypisuy złe przyczynę Bogu; boć ten iest przyczyna grzechu, ktorego samowolnie pełni; więc że czlowiek miłuiacy zbrodnie często weń wpada, poydżie zatym, że on sam a nie kto inny będzie iego przyczyna. Patrz na te Szlachetna Pania Janowa Pigłowska, że w tym rażie nie laie, ani narzeka, ale o miłoserdżie prośi.", Тератоυргнма lubo cuda, 252-253.

vocabulary, used in paraeneses, as well incline us to assume that they were borrowed from the textbooks on moral theology.

Moral theology stresses the individual responsibility and the freedom of man to take a decision (in this respect, it follows the Augustinian tradition of interpreting free will[134]). Kal'nofoyskyi exhorts, "the Orthodox reader, when the troubles (the violent storm of misfortune) overwhelm you, do not impute the bad cause to God, because the cause for sin is our self-will; a man who tolerates felony, often commits it; thus, he and no one else is the cause of sin."[135] In another case he referred Thomas Aquinas that it is blasphemy to attribute to God what could not be attributed to him.[136] He also quotes Aquinas when it is needed to explain what sin is. "You may ask what sin is. Sin is a crime against duty, or sin is a will remote from God, or sin is abandonment of heavenly things and grasping the worldly things".[137]

At the same time Kal'nofoyskyi suggests that nothing is happening without God's will – "it is a rare year without war. But what is war? It is a cure for our evil deeds and if we did not abandon them, God would create others: death, pestilence and dying, tears. Because if war does not make improvements – death would help".[138] Thus, the believer should accept what is given by God and see everywhere God's supreme will. Following this line, the author warns against giving way to despair. "The Orthodox reader, you are the master of your affects and passions, watch over not to let unnecessary and life-punishing sorrow, because this and also big laziness are the most harmful among all the devil's operations, through which the devil usually wins, and

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[134] Giovanna Brogi Bercoff. «Myr z Bohom choloviku» yak systema moralnoï filosofiï [*'Man's Peace with God' as a System of Moral Philosophy]. In Inokentij Gizel'. Selected Works:* 103-133.

[135] **"**Pra: Czy: gdy kłopot iaki burzliwy nieszczęśćia wicher nawieie na ćie, nie przypisuy złe przyczynę Bogu; boć ten iest przyczyna grzechu, ktorygo samowolnie pełni; więc że czlowiek miłuiacy zbrodnie często weń wpada, poydżie zatym, że on sam a nie kto inny będzie iego przyczyna. Patrz na te Szlachetna Pania Janowa Pigłowska, że w tym rażie nie laie, ani narzeka, ale o miłoserdżie prośi.", Τερατουргнма lubo cuda, 252-253.

[136] „Teraz wiedz że bluznierstwo iest gdy kto przypisuie Bogu to co onemu nie przyslurza", Τερατουргнма lubo cuda, 260.

[137] "Spytasz snadż co by był grzech: Grzech iest wykroczenie prżećiwko powinnośći, albo Grzech iest wola oddalona   od Pana Boga, albo Grzech iest opuszczenie rzeczy niebieskich, świeckich się chwycenie", Τερατουргнма lubo cuda, 205.

[138] "Rzadko rok ktory mamy bez woyny: coż to iest: Lekarstwo na złośći nasze; ktore iesli nie opuśćimy, y drugie Pan zaraz nagotuie: śmierć, powietrze, y vmiranie geste, zaczym iesli woyna poprawy nie vczyni, śmierć restawruie.", Τερατουргнма lubo cuda, 263.

most of all through sorrow".[139] Thus, to have a hope in God is a precondition for a moral development and approaching Him.

Another precondition is a clear conscience. The emphasis of moral theology was made on the confessions of sins; hence, the questions of the quality and quantity of sins and how they can be relieved were of main importance and lay at the foundation of the new moral theology.[140] A lot of miracles end with the sacrament of confession, after the pilgrim was already cured. In one of the miracles, Kal'nofoyskyi expresses quite clearly his opinion on conscience: "So, if you have a **clear conscience**, and if you long for the Creator of angels and you for protection and liberation from troubles, [the angels] will be said to look after you that on all your roads you do not harm your feet by stone."[141]

The believer should continuously work on his own perfection. „Orthodox reader, it is so true that when one vice links to another vice and one sin mixes with another, this creates a good rope to bind legs and hands of a man and to throw him into individual darkness".[142] Therefore, Kal'nofoyskyi gives instructions to the Orthodox reader and monks how to resist temptations: "Firstly, keep the fast; secondly, pray; thirdly, read the Holy Scripture; fourthly, always think on God and work every day for knowing him".[143] Referring to Augustine, Kal'nofoyskyi heartens the believer, "Orthodox reader, take an advantage from this and be on the alert to sin: if you slip, do not be desperate because there are no saints or good men who are without sins but they do not

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[139] „Praw. Czyt. Ty panuiac nad affektami y passiami twemi y biorac w poddaństwo twoie, waruy przypuśćić niepotrzebnego y żywot każacego smutku, boć nad wszystka dyabelska operatia szkodliwsza iest smutku y lenistwa wielkość, ponieważ ktorych dyabeł zwcięża, zwycle ża naywięcey przez smutek", Τερατουργημα lubo cuda 263.

[140] *Jan Pryszmont.* Historia teologii moralnej, 117.

[141] **"**Tak y ćiebie gdy czyste miawszy sumnienie, tworce Aniołow y twego o tych żadać będżiesz custodia z biade liberuie, y roskaże abyćię tak pilnowali, iżbyś na wszystkich drogach twoich nie obraził o kamień nogi twoiey", Τερατουργημα lubo cuda, 249.

[142] "Zaprawdę Praw: Czyt: gdy wystempek do wystempku przydaie się, y grzech z grzechem kręcac to, snie się, powroz się dobry skręcy, a na coż: aby nim człowieka grzesznego ręce y nogy zwiazano: a wrzuconogo w osobne ćiemnosći", Τερατουργημα lubo cuda, 269.

[143] "pirwsze: post zachoway y czuy: drugie, modl się, y Boskie sobie rozbieray rzeczy. Trzećie, pisma święte czytay. Czwarte, miey myśl świeta y vstawiczna ku Bogu, tudżież y codżienna prace ręczna wprzeki poznowaniu.", Τερατουργημα lubo cuda, 253.

cease to be saint or good. So, it is hard to resist all sins together but, after the victory on the first and oldest sin, the second sin will retreat easier".[144]

The scope of questions touched by Kal'nofoyskyi goes beyond the mere spiritual needs. He considers quite practical issues of the believers' attitude towards Church. For example, the necessity to pay money for the help they receive, which was not a characteristic of the Orthodox Church, is justified in the treatise by the authority of Augustine and Aquinas. "*Jałmużna* [donated money] is a deed done by a man, who needs help, for God, it is a treasure sent to the heavenly Fatherland".[145] The author develops his argumentation in another miracle entry by warning that no one should take any of the Church possessions because taking anything from the Church is the worst crime among all other crimes.[146] Probably, not accidentally, he mentions that the courts are unjust if they confiscate Church property. The other 'practical' advice, but with a polemical insight, is related to the veneration of the 'holy oils'. The faithful should not believe accusations that the holy oils do not help but honor them.

Dealing with such type of exhortations, it is always a danger to overestimate the influence of the new intellectual trends on the existing tradition, especially if both Western and Eastern Christian traditions have common intellectual roots, but the new emphases (freedom of will, confession of sins and clear conscience) in the style of paraeneses together with the different authorities cited could be seen as markers of the new cultural influences. Thus, pride is a deadly sin in both traditions but if the medieval Orthodox Homiletic Gospels illustrates it with the

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[144] "Ztad tedy Prawosławny Czytelniku bierz sobie pożytek, warowania się grzechu: y lubo przyda się posliznać, nie desperuy abowiem żaden Swięty y sprawiedliwy nie był bez grzechu, iednak ztad nieustaie bydz Swięty lubo Sprawiedliwy; gdyż zatrzymywa dobrym affectem swiętobliwość; więc że wszystkim oraz oprzeć się trudno, ieden pierwey zwyćięż y starszy, łatwiey drugie vstapią", Тератоυргнма lubo cuda, 205.
[145] "Jałmużna zasię iest vczynek w ktorym daie cożkolwiek potrzebuiącemu z spol pobolenia, dla Pana Boga, ta iest skarb do niebeskiey Oyczyzny przesłany", Тератоυргнма lubo cuda, 202.
[146] Тератоυргнма lubo cuda, 199.

example of the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican,[147] Kal'nofoyskyi would refer to the authority of Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, indicated on the marginalia, singling out pride as the most dangerous sin.[148]

The fact that Thomas Aquinas and Augustine are the most often cited authors in *Teraturgema* signifies an intellectual re-orientation of the Kyiv Orthodox elite. Even if no one doubts that the Augustinian legacy had a serious impact on the Catholic or the Protestant devotion,[149] the introduction of the Roman Doctor (*Doktor Rzymski Augustin*) in the Orthodox treatise is definitely an innovation. The same is with Thomas Aquinas whose second book of *Summa Theologica* constituted the basis of the textbooks on moral theology[150] and became a reference book for Kal'nofoyskyi.

Now I will proceed to the analysis of the treatise on the level of the religious terminology but firstly I will discuss which Bible Kal'nofoyskyi used because in the time of religious controversies the citation of particular books and authorities could give a hint to what religious "camp" the author belongs. The choice of the Bible translation evidently reveals the religious preferences of the author. Which of these translations did Kal'nofoyskyi use, did he translate the passages from Latin himself or did he use the Church-Slavonic Ostroh Bible (1581), questions which could help to place the treatise within the different religious traditions.

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[147] *The Jevanhelije učytelnoje of Meletij Smotryc'kyi* [The Homiletic Gospel of Meletij Smotryc'kyi], with an introduction by Favid Frick, vol. 2 (Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature. Cambridge Mass., 1987), 27-35.

[148] "Boć zaprawdę w diabłech właśnie nie masz tylko dwa grzechy, pycha y zazdrość; mowi Doktor Rzymski Augustin: Zazdrość iest złość diabelska, ktora sam diabeł winien, y nieodpokutowanie ze złośći winien.", 249.

[149] During the Reformation the Augustinian legacy and imprint became even more prominent. Partly, it was stimulated by the publication of the first critical edition of his work, done by Johannes Amerbach in 1506. The Protestants received the direct access to the Augustinian corpus. They especially stressed the Augustinian theory of election and reprobation, justification and volition, while the other aspects of his theology were ignored. The Augustinian theories on grace and justification had an important influence on Martin Luther. In Stone M. W. F. *Augustine and medieval philosophy.* in The Cambridge Companion to Augustine, ed. Eleonore Stump and Norman Kretzmann (Cambridge University Press, 2001), 262.

[150] The book itself consisted in two parts: *prima secundae* and *secunda secundae.* The first part deals with the general moral principles and the second part analyzes the concrete examples from moral life. Korzo, Margaryta. «Myr s Bohom choloviku» Inokentiya Gizelya, 198.

3.2. Bible Citations and the Religious Vocabulary of *Teraturgema*

The Reformation brought the text of the Bible to the center of attention.[151] In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, there were several full translations of the Bible in Polish: the Catholic Leopolita (1561) and Jakub Wujek Bibles (1599), the Calvinist Brest (1563) and Gdansk Bibles (1632), and also the Antitrinitarian Szymon Budny Bibles (1570-72). As we can see, all of them were published and went in use before *Teraturgema* was written. The Bible of Jakub Wujek might draw our special attention because it was the most 'Jesuit' Bible among all Catholic Polish translations.[152] The original Jakub Wujek's New Testament of 1593 was revised by Clementine Vulgate in 1599. The committee, which did the revision, was headed by a leading Polish Jesuit, Stanisław Grodzicki. The corrections were so significant that the final version could be hardly attributed to Wujek anymore.[153] Actually, this variant became the most spread in the Commonwealth.

David Frick suggests that Mohyla's editors used the Gdańsk and Wujek Bibles when they revised the Homilary Gospel for publication in 1637, but their preferences were given to the Protestant Bible.[154] Thus, both Bibles were available for Kal'nofoyskyi. The analysis of the Bible citations in *Teraturgema* suggests that he consistently used the Wujek Bible. This means that this 'Jesuit' Bible better fitted the needs of the treatise than the Protestant Bible, keeping the unity of the text on the levels of content as well as on the level of rhetoric preserved.

The orientation on the Catholic samples could also be observed by the examples of Church titles. According to Rechowicz, the original achievement of the Polish theology was the doctrine on the characters of the Church. In the 16th century, among theologians there was no

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[151] This could be nicely illustrated by the worlds of the Puritan John Foxe "God conducted the Reformation not by the sword, but by 'printing, writing, and reading' in Daniel B. Cledenin, *Eastern Orthodox Christianity a Western Perspective.* (Michigan:.Backer Academic Grand Rapids), 78.

[152] David Frick A. "Petro Mohyla's Revised Version of Meletij Smotrickyi's Ruthenian Homiliary Gospel. American Contribution to the Tenth International Congress of Slavists" (Sofia, September 1988). Linguistics", edited by. A. M. Schenker. (Columbus, 1988), 112.

[153] David Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology in the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation: Chapters in the History of the Controversies 1551-1632* (Berkeley, CA, 1989), 168.

[154] Frick, Petro Mohyla's Revised Version of Meletij Smotrickyi's Ruthenian Homiliary Gospel, 112.

consensus on the marks of the Church. The leading theologians of the age, such as Pedro de Soto and Melchior Cano, distinguished there properties, Johann Eck and Peter Canisius – four, Robert Bellarmine – fifteen. The most prominent Polish theologian and the author of *Confessio fidei christiana catholica,* Stanislaus Hosius (1504-1579), according to Apostles' Creed, distinguished four characteristics of the Church – that it is One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic, which were adopted by the Council of Trent.[155] These properties were defined in the Roman Catechism (1566), the concluding document of the Council:

> The distinctive marks of the Church are also to be made known to the faithful, that thus they may be enabled to estimate the extent of the blessing conferred by God on those who have had the happiness to be born and educated within her pale. […] The first mark of the true Church is described in the Nicene Creed, and consists in **unity**. […] The second mark of the Church is **holiness**. […]The third mark of the Church is that she is **Catholic**; that is, universal. […]The true Church is also to be recognised from her origin, which can be traced back under the law of grace to the **Apostles**.[156]

The inclusion of these definitions in the title of the Church definitely entailed anti-Protestant polemics. The stress on these four properties of the Church was adopted by the majority of the Polish polemists.[157]

In these circumstances, the Orthodox Church also adopted the Catholic method of self-representation. In the miracles, it is called "*Swięta Wschodnia Catholicka Apostolska Cerkiew*" – that is *Holy Eastern Catholic Apostolic Church.* In miracle № 60, it is named *Holy Catholic Oriental Church.* Thus, the Orthodox Church accepted the properties of the 'holiness', 'Catholicism', and Apostolic roots. The inclusion of the attributions *Eastern* or *Oriental* in fact reflects the recognition of the other Church and suspensions of the claims for universality.

Before the restoration of the metropolitan, there were no needs to define the Church as an institution; thus in the polemists referred to the protection of the Orthodox faith. In the works written under supervision of the metropolitan, the Church started to be called *Tserkva*

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[155] Marian Rechowicz, Teologia Pozytywno-Kontrowersyina, 66.
[156] Article 9. 'I Believe in the Holy Catholic Church; the Communion of Saints" in The Catechism of The Council of Trent, last modified 2 May 2012, http://www.catholicapologetics.info/thechurch/catechism/trentc.htm.
[157] Marian Rechowicz,Teologia Pozytywno-Kontrowersyina, 66.

Vostochnaya Pravoslavnaya that is the Eastern Orthodox Church and it became the main agent of religious life. Thus, adopting a new title, which is constantly mentioned in the treatise, the Orthodox Church defined its place within other Churches.

Coming closer to the analysis of the religious terminology, it is necessary to keep in mind that in some occasions it could be a tricky guide but often promising. The Polish linguist and historian of the Church, Konrad Górski argues that the Reformation strongly influenced the formation and reconsideration of religious terminology. Both Catholics and Protestants might have used completely different, as well as very close concepts. For instance, the term *'pokuta'* ('repentance') was used by the Catholics, but also by Lutherans and Calvinists even if they understood it differently. At the same time, terms such as a *'pokajanie'* (also 'repentance□) and *'ponurzanie'* ('immersion') could be used only by Antitrinitarians. Hence, in this case vocabulary strictly marked the differences between the confessions.[158]

I will concentrate mostly on two terms that were used by Kal'nofoyskyi: good deeds (*dobre uczynki)* and assuredness (ufność), which respectively represent Catholic and Protestant visions of 'dealing' with God. One of the key terms of the Catholic soteriology was doing good deeds (*meritum)*. The Catholic Encyclopaedia explains *merit* as 'a property of a good work which entitles the doer to receive a reward (*præmium, merces*) from him in whose service the work is done'.[159] However, the Orthodox tradition presupposed that God's Grace is a source for salvation and mere 'good work' is not enough for salvation. Hence, the Christian was required to do good deeds but on the level of duty and not as an additional vote (the same concerns such practices as fasting and praying).[160]

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[158] Konrad Górski. *Słownictwo reformacji polskiej.* [The Vocabulary of the Polish Reformation] in *Z historii i teorii literatury.* (Seria II., Warszawa, 1964), 386–387.
[159]"Meritum" in Catholic Encyclopedia, last modified 2 May 2012, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10202b.htm
[160] Berezhna Liliya. "Shukayuchy «tretiẙ shlyakh» eskhatolohiya i spasinnya u tvorakh Ipatiya Potiya ta Meletiya Smotrytskoho" [In a Search of the Third Way: Eschatology and Salvation in the Works of Ipatij Potij and Meletij Smotrytskyj]. *Kyïvska Akademiya*, no 6. (2008), 29.

The fragment from the Orthodox Confession of the Faith, written under the direct supervision of Petro Mohyla, with the explanation of the "good deeds" supports the abovementioned statement. After the part dedicated to seven deadly sins, Mohyla writes about the three sins against the Holy Spirit. The first is "excessive hope towards God's mercy without doing good deeds". In this passage the idea of *meritum,* or good deeds, is fully expressed:

Table 3.1. The Orthodox Confession of the Faith. On the Excessive Hope on God's Grace

The Orthodox Confession of the Faith (1645) (part III, Love)
«**Question № 34:** What is the excessive hope on the Grace of God? **The answer:** The excessive hope is the excessive boldness. Those, who grow bolder and become impudent, say that if God wants I will be saved and if He does not want, I will perish. […] Hence, they sin when they hope to get Eternal life with the only Faith and without good deeds" [161]

The polemics with the Protestant objection of the good deeds is clear from this passage. It seems that Mohyla took the resolutions of the Council of Trent into account, especially, that the faith without the "good deeds" means vanity and unconcern:

> If any one saith, that **by faith alone** the impious is justified, in such wise as to mean, **that nothing else is required** to cooperate in order to the obtaining the grace of Justification, and that it is not in any way necessary, that he be prepared and disposed by the movement of his own will: **let him be anathema**.[162]

The attitude of Kal'nofoyskyi towards 'good deeds' is not very clear because in one of the paraeneses he says that "those who have faith but do not do good deeds are like those who

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[161] Vopros, Ĭd Chto êst mnogoe oŷpovanĩê na bĬgodat bzh̃ĭyu? Õvt. Mnogoê oŷpovanĩê ẽst mnogaya smÐlost […]. Takovi sut, izhê smÐlêtvuyut i glagolyut dêrznovênnō, ashche khoshchêt bg̃ spasusya. i ashche ne khoshchêt pogibnu […]. PodobnÐ grÐshat, i izhe êdinoyu vÐroyu, bez dobrykh dÐl nadÐyutsya naslÐdetvnti vÐchnuyu zhizn.

[162] Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical Notes, last modified January 18 2012, in *Christian Classics Ethereal Library* // http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/creeds2.v.i.i.iv.html.

everyday approach to Heaven but still have a distance".[163] However, he does not really stress the notion of 'good deeds', concentrating mainly on personal perfection, such as fasting and praying, and what is more important – having faith.

Many times he uses such a concept as *ufność*. According to *Górski, it* was used mainly among Calvinists and it meant the assuredness in God and eventually was connected to the idea of predestination. However, it was used mainly in the lofty style as a synonym to the words 'faith', 'hope' and 'trust' in God that surely provoked objections from the Catholic side. The Polish Jesuit and Doctor of Theology, Jakub Wujek, commented on this issue "Why Saint Paul describing the faith does not mention *ufność* but speaks about Hope."[164]

Apart from the fact that Kal'nofoyskyi often uses this notion, its importance for him could be illustrated by the following example. He describes three categories of pilgrims. The first category is usually healed in the Caves because of their perfect faith; the second category is healed in order to test their faith if they would not blaspheme after the miracle, and the third category of believers did not get any help – "they come with faith but they do not have perfect *ufność* and a clean heart […]. So they leave the place as they came."[165]

Thus, *ufność* usually accompanies the faith. For instance, in miracle №60, pilgrims come to the monastery with faith and *ufność* – "and they came with her to the place of the holy Kyiv Cave monastery and fasted with faith and great *ufność*"[166]. Significantly, in the Uniate treatise of miracles the concept *ufność* is mentioned eight times. Thus, in the case of Kal'nofoyskyi it could not be seen as an Orthodox perception of the Calvinist vocabulary because it was also used by

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[163] „Abowiem ktorzy wierza, a vczynkow dobrych nie czynia, sa podobni owym, ktorzy co dzień iada, a zawsze od nieba iednaka maia distantia", Тератоѵргнма lubo cuda, 245.

[164] "Czemu Paweł świty opisując wiar tej Dufności nie wspomina, ale miasto niej Nadziej kładzie", cited from Izabella Winiarska *Słownictwo religijne polskiego kalwinizmu* [The Religious Vocabulary of the Polish Calvinism], 180.

[165] "Trzeći że z wiara przychodza, doskonaley iednak, iż o co prosza, odniosa, ufnośći nie maią, ni serca czystego, czego zawsze nietylko w takim rażie potrzeba, przecz iako przyszli tak odchodza", Тератоѵргнма lubo cuda, 276.

[166] «y przyszli z nia na miesce Swiętego Monastyra Pieczarskiego, z wiara y *ufnośćia* wielka pośćili", Тератоѵргнма lubo cuda, 283.

Greek-Catholics. Therefore, it is a term used by several confessions even if it was criticized by Catholics.

In *Teraturgema* we can observe the interplay of different traditions. Thus, it is hard to mark strictly what the heritage of the pre-Reformation Orthodoxy was, what came from Calvinism or Lutheranism, and what could be seen as Catholic influence. When there is no black and white oppositions, the nuances of meanings become very important. Referring to Thomas Aquinas on marginalia, Kal'nofoyskyi suggests that "the conversion to God could be done in three ways: through Grace, merit or predestination".[167] Thus, in one sentence he combines very differing approaches to God, namely Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant, supporting them by the authority of Thomas Aquinas.

It can be stated for sure that Kal'nofoyskyi, the Orthodox monk, is not afraid to show his Latin education and to apply it to the Orthodox case. Unlike Petro Mohyla who in 1623 did not want to show his familiarity with the Latin sources adapting *De Imitatione Christi* by Thomas á Kempis,[168] in 1638 Kal'nofoyskyi was not afraid of demonstrating his knowledge of Latin authorities refuting the opinion of the 'conservative' Orthodox Church elite that 'tempted by Latin and worldly knowledge, some people have lost their piety".[169]

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[167] «Toż nawrocenie do Boga troiakie iest, przez laskę, zasługę y przez przedugotowanie», Τερατουργнма lubo cuda 283.
[168] Charipova, "Peter Mohyla's Translation of the Imitation of Christ".
[169] Charipova, Latin Books and the Orthodox Church, 146.

CONCLUSIONS

The Reformation and the Catholic Reform had a direct influence on the Kyiv Orthodox Church. Scholars can judge differently whether it developed into a 'pseudomorphosis' of Orthodoxy, or opened new intellectual horizons. However, in both interpretations it entailed serious changes in 'presenting' Orthodoxy through establishing new educational institutions, the emergence of the huge scope of new genres in the literature of the Orthodox Church, and finally creating the Church as an institution which ultimately took part in the altering of the political life of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Teraturgema, the treatise on miracles, written by the Orthodox monk Afanasij Kal'nofoykyi, is an example of a new genre, though it is impossible to look at it outside the broader perspective. Protestant skepticism about the miraculous power of the holy shrines, holy relics and icons and the intercession of saints challenged the practices and even the foundations of the Catholic Church but it had an effect on the Orthodox Church as well. To reaffirm the miraculous potential of the holy shrines but also the potential of the Church as an institution, the communion of saints was the most urgent issue. This gave an impetus to the emergence of such a specialized genre as a treatise on miracles.

I.

Teraturgema was one of the treatises on miracles that emerged in the Polish-Lithuania Commonwealth in this time, the other two were written by Catholics and Greek-Catholics. They emerged in different points in time, thus they represented not only different religious angles but also a chronological dynamic, namely what was urgent in the time of their publications. In relation to the Catholic and Uniate treatises, *Teraturgema* is more complex, albeit in Orthodox devotional literature miracles never existed as a separate genre. I can distinguish three main

trends in which the differences took place: the level of composition, the level of rhetoric and the level of the narrative (plots).

The improvements done by Kal'nofoyskyi on the **level of composition** are quite significant. If in the Catholic treatise, the length of the miracle account varies from the one-sentence notification to the more-or-less developed narrative, in the Uniate treatise the miracle accounts are never reduced to one sentence, however, they are often of different length, the miracle entries in *Teraturgema* are composed according to the rules of rhetoric. They have an introduction, main body and conclusion. The length of the miracle is standardized, usually one page and a half, every miracle has a number, and they all are situated in chronological order. Thus, the author did not just adopt the format but changed it according to the norms of a good style of writing. This also means the audience to whom it was written should be more demanding and elaborating in its literary tastes.

The **level of rhetoric** presupposed making the miracle look credible. The Catholic treatise just informs that some miracles had happened. It almost did not give any information regarding to whom and when it happened. The Uniate treatise already gives the names and the origins of the pilgrims. Moreover, it supplies the miracles with testimonies given by people of good reputation. *Teraturgema* starts with the formal oath which should be pronounced by the pilgrim to confirm the truthfulness of his words. Besides that, usually mentioned in the text of the miracles was that they were confirmed later not just by the 'people of good reputation' but in front of the metropolitan himself. Thus, the attention to the 'credibility' had grown significantly within 60 years.

On the level of **narrative (plots),** the confession of the pilgrim is not specified in the Catholic treatise, even if the second publication of the text coincided with the activation of inter-confessional life in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In the Uniate treatise, only one Calvinist lady and two Orthodox people took part in the miracle description and they are

presented in a negative light. In the Orthodox treatise, people of different confessions come to the monastery and got cured there. This definitely shows much more inclusive and religiously 'tolerant' position without aspiration to convert. There are only two cases of conversion from the Catholic and Calvinist sides, and such a distribution could be seen as an attempt to preserve inter-confesional balance. Both of them entailed the demands to learn Ruthenian. In the cases of the miracle-punishment, Antitrinitarians are punished the worst, which reveals who was seen as the most 'dangerous' enemy of the Orthodox Church.

The analysis of plots also reveals that the anti-Protestant polemic potential of the works increased, not due to the growth of the accusations or reprimands but due to the examples which visibly show the necessity for appeal to the help of the Church. The most spectacular way to show the need of the Church protection were the cases of exorcism which significantly increased between the first till the last treatise. There are no cases of exorcism in the Catholic treatise, while in the Uniate treatise there are 2 cases of exorcism and 15 in the Orthodox treatise. Exorcism gives proofs for the idea of the saints' intercession and the help of the exorcist without whom the person could not be relieved from demons.

II.

'Historical' arguments were used by Kal'nofoyskyi to show that Orthodoxy is a faith which is worthy of the noble nation. With the help of three 'medieval' miracles Afanasij Kal'nofoyskyi tried both to demonstrate the ancient roots of the Ruthenian people and also to prove that the miracles started to happen in the Orthodox Church much earlier than in the Uniate. The status of the Orthodox religion was supported by the 'authority' of its first confessors who were of princely origin. The historical parallels, such as comparison of Boleslaw the Brave and Volodymyr Monomakh, drown by Kal'nofoyskyi, were meant to legitimize the claims for equality between Ruthenian and Polish nations – but also between Orthodoxy and the Catholicism.

While writing these miracles, Kal'nofoyskyi consulted medieval *Pateryk* (the Lives of Saints) and the Hypatian Chronicle. Strangely, he did not use only the printed translation into Polish of the Lives of Saints – *Paterykon* (1635), which he definitely had at hand. I believe this shows certain skepticism towards the new translation. Kal'nofoyskyi himself was not very accurate in presenting sources. For instance, he merged two different events represented in the different chronicle accounts just in order to create one complete miracle story in *Teraturgema*. Selecting the material from sources, he probably was more influenced by practical considerations to create a complete and standard miracle account than to give the correct 'data'. The genre of the miracle treatise determined how much and what kind of information should be taken from the source, placing the 'miracle' in the center of attention.

III.

The cultural preferences of Kal'nofoyskyi were given to the Catholic West. In this respect, he acted in close coordination with the metropolitan. In the paraeneses to miracles we can observe the first steps of the moral theology. The emphasis on the confession of sins, freedom of will, and individual responsibility, together with the citations of Augustine and Thomas Aquinas reveal the influence of the new Catholic moral theology.

Another dependency on the Catholic intellectual tradition was displayed in using the Wujek Bible, the most 'Jesuit' among the Polish translations of the Bible. Having at hand 'Orthodox', 'Protestant' and probably Polish Catholic translation of the Bible (*Leopolita*), he gave allegiance to that Bible most popularized by the Jesuits. This goes in line with employing the elements of the moral theology which also were mainly popularized by the Jesuits. Apart from this the title of the Orthodox Church – Holy Eastern Catholic Apostolic Church – was modeled on the Catholic sample accepted on the Council of Trent – that is the One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church.

The religious terminology used by the author does not allow us clearly to detect his religious preferences because he used terms both from the Catholic and from the Protestant sides. Thus, such terms as 'good deeds', as an element of Catholic soteriology, and the assuredness in God, as a way of Protestant thinking, are almost equally used in the text. It brings us to the idea that for Kal'nofoyskyi these terms were not alien and self-excluding but valid as a way of approaching to God and justified by the Holy Scriptures.

Summing up, *Teraturgema* is a much more complex treatise on miracles than the similar Catholic and Uniate treatises. Evidently, its aim was wider than simply to describe the miracles that happened in the Kyiv Cave Monastery. It was written to praise the Church and the Ruthenian nation through demonstrating both its noble and Christian past and to exhort the readers on the example of miracles, employing the methods of moral theology. Kal'nofoyskyi borrowed the idea of treatise from the competing Churches but he significantly altered it, adjusting to the needs of the Orthodox community. Thus, probably it was not the mere cultural borrowings but the creative process of reforming and adapting.

With the lapse of time, the works, published after *Teraturgema,* were getting more and more elaborative, crowning by the treatise on the moral theology *Man's Peace with God* (1669) whose author was confident enough to revise the ideas of the Catholic moral theology and to write the treatise in refined Church Slavonic, illustrating by this that the claims for 'intellectual' equality almost turned into practice.

After all, there are a lot of questions for further analysis. The most appealing for me are the questions of the intellectual preferences of Afanasij Kal'nofoyskyi. Which books did he use? Did he quote them correctly? Did he adopt his translations from Thomas Aquinas or Augustine to the Ruthenian audience? These questions are important because the intellectual preferences go

in line with the religious 'choices'. This opens a door to a more complex vision of the early-modern Orthodox intellectual world and gives inspiration for further research.

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