

лексику. Це пояснюється як свідомим розмежуванням церковно-слов'янської й української літературної мови в той час, пов'язаним із жанровими та стилістичними атрибутами текстів, так і критерієм зрозумілості.

3. Створена на базі ресурсів власної мови та адаптованих фонетично запозичень з польської мови в симетрії з польською моделлю, терміносистема на позначення різновидів гріхів виявилася стійкою і проіснувала без особливих змін до кінця XVIII ст., а частково – і до сьогодні. Відповідна ж церковнослов'янська лексика не справила помітного впливу на розвиток термінології української мови і для ширших верств населення залишилася малозрозумілою. Про це свідчать численні маргінальні та внутрішньотекстові глоси в церковнослов'янських текстах XVII–XVIII ст.

Roman Kyseliov

TERMINOLOGICAL PARALLELS OF EDITIONS “INSTRUCTIONS FOR CONFESSION” (Kyiv, 1671) AND “THE PIECE OF GOD WITH MAN” (Kyiv, 1669)

The terminological set of names of sins in Ukrainian language edition “Instructions for confession” (Kyiv, 1671) is compared with corresponding Church Slavonic set in the treatise “The piece of God with man” (Kyiv, 1669). It is established that author of the Ukrainian text had his pattern in Polish terminological model.

Barbara Skinner

UNIATE MORAL THEOLOGY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

This article addresses the increasing distinctions between Uniate and Orthodox theology in the eighteenth century, as a vital aspect of how the confessional identities of these two Eastern-rite churches were drawing further apart. Specifically, this study assesses the use of moral theology handbooks by the parish clergy in the Uniate Church and explores how some characteristics of the Uniate moral theology bears a striking contrast to similar Orthodox lit-

erature for priests. In general terms, Uniate moral theologies, based on the Roman Catholic models, incorporated a legalistic, rational, and practical perspective on the teachings of the faith that comprised a dramatic philosophical leap from Orthodox patristic theology and pastoral practice. In particular, the emphasis on the law and legal constructs in society in the Uniate moral theology texts, from general explanations on the forms of law to specific and lengthy descriptions of contracts, had no parallel in Orthodox theology. Compared to Orthodox texts, excerpts from Uniate moral theology handbooks provide convincing evidence of a striking contrast in religious culture and mentality that helped to reinforce a distinctive Uniate identity.

By the eighteenth century, the physical distance between Orthodox Keiv and the major centers of Uniate religious thought in Vilnius and western Belarus and Ukraine was representative of the increasing intellectual and spiritual distance between the Uniate and Orthodox theology. A key factor in the different development of Uniate and Orthodox religious thought in this century was the extent of Uniate appropriation of Catholic moral theology. By the late eighteenth century, Uniate parish priests were expected to own at least one moral theology handbook, and bishops examined the candidates to the priesthood on these teachings before ordination. Compared to similar instructional literature for Orthodox priests, the different emphasis and contents of Uniate moral theology handbooks reflected increasing cultural differences between the Uniate and Orthodox communities, which in turn reflected the more rigidly defined confessional identity of both Eastern-rite faiths by the end of the early modern period.

This paper explores some characteristics of Uniate moral theology handbooks from the eighteenth century, particularly those aspects that contrast with standard Eastern-rite norms. Reflecting my own interests in the cultural history of the Uniate Church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, I do not assess the theological concepts themselves, but how the concepts are presented, and particularly what this indicates about the intellectual and social orientation of the Uniate parish priests and the identity of the Uniate Church as a whole ¹.

Confessionalization — defined as the process of developing distinct confessional identity and practices with social, cultural, and political ramifications — was a later development for the Uniate Church, coinciding with the expansion of Uniate jurisdiction and the demise of Orthodoxy in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth over the course of the eighteenth century. Prior to the eighteenth century, the characteristics of Uniate confessional identity were vague. Aside from the general acceptance of Roman doctrine, the practices of the day-to-day religious services and

¹ This article incorporates research and arguments that are also presented in the third chapter of my forthcoming book, *The Western Front of the Eastern Church: Uniate and Orthodox Conflict in 18th-Century Poland, Belarus, Ukraine and Russia* (De Kalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois Univ. Press).

rites, as well as church administration and clerical education, differed from district to district and indeed from parish to parish. Not until the Synod of Zamość in 1720 did the Uniate Church have a clear and unified stipulation of standards of rite, sacramental practices, administration, and goals of clerical education. Certainly, these were guidelines that took time to be implemented – and in some cases proved impossible to implement fully – yet the drafting of clear norms and ideals was an important step in the process of confessionalization.

Church historians have most often viewed the Synod as an avenue of “Latinizing” the Uniate Church due to its incorporation of more Latin elements into the practices and standards of the church. I urge modern scholars instead to recognize the decrees of Zamość as an important part of the process of confessionalization for the Uniate Church, in terms of setting Uniate confessional markers of their own. Accusations of “Latinization” dismiss the fact that the Uniate Church remained firmly based on the Slavonic liturgy and a married parish clergy in the Eastern tradition. Despite the alterations in the Uniate service books to incorporate Roman doctrine, the Slavonic liturgy and Eastern rite remained the most vital Uniate connection to the Eastern Christian tradition. The eighteenth century, however, brought a more urgent need to recognize and standardize the Western (Latin) elements adopted by the Uniate Church that distinguished Uniate from Orthodox practices. The Zamość Synod was central to this process. Moreover, post-Zamość efforts to solidify Uniate confessional identity through the more regular use liturgical books corrected to include the Roman doctrine, more widespread catechismal instruction, and the use of moral theology in clerical training began to give the Uniate Church a much more solid and well-defined confessional identity.

This article, then, addresses the Uniate use of moral theology as an important part of the process of refining and promoting a separate Uniate confessional identity. Ideally, according to Zamość decrees, candidates for the Uniate priesthood would study theology in seminaries. In reality, insufficient numbers of and staffing of seminaries, as well as the impoverishment of the candidates for the Uniate priesthood that prevented many from leaving home to study, meant that the Synod’s goals for clerical education were never fully realized. Instead, informal study of moral theology handbooks based on Catholic models and short courses on moral theology at the cathedrals in preparation for ordination became standard for Uniate clergy. While such study could not replace seminary training, it nevertheless began to distinguish the training of Uniate priests from that of their Orthodox counterparts. By the end of the century, the study of moral theology had become an essential ingredient of Uniate clerical education.

Uniate acceptance of Roman Catholic doctrine in 1596 had opened the door to the heritage of Roman Catholic theology, which had diverged

significantly during the era of scholasticism from the patristic theology of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae* aimed to present the truths of the Christian path to salvation according to man's ability to reason, and served as the primary source for considering issues of sin, virtue, law, and human action. The clerical role of assessing sin and penitence was the practical avenue of enacting this theology in day-to-day life. Roman Catholic moral theology derived from the union of Thomistic studies and the tradition of penitential literature as it had evolved through casuistry (examination of Christian ethics on a case-by-case basis).

The evolution of moral theology in the early modern period reflected a changing intellectual environment as well as the increasing demands on parish clergy during the era of reform and confessionalization. First, as philosophical and scientific inquiry in the Western world shifted its focus from the metaphysical to the physical world and from assessing general or universal concepts to assessing the particular or concrete, Roman Catholic theology also shifted its emphasis from universal or abstract truths to more empirical and practical issues. In this context, commentaries on the *Summa Theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas, which had continued to be the life-source of Roman Catholic theology, began to separate practical/ethical and speculative/mystical lines of inquiry. Additionally, penitentiaries, which formed the basis for handbooks of moral theology in the seventeenth century, became increasingly juridical and legalistic in nature, reflecting again the empirical and practical emphasis in the European mentality of the age ².

This evolution in Catholic approaches to theology occurred just as the Council of Trent placed more demands on the training of the parish clergy, with the goal of increased involvement in the moral and religious development of their parishioners. Seminary training was the new norm for all parish clergy (though building and staffing the seminaries was a slow process) and involved a much shorter course of study than that of the university. The need for instructive manuals that could be easily consulted by parish priests gave rise to the publication of compendiums of moral theology, written in more simple language and providing guidelines for priests in their duties as confessors and pastoral leaders. The Society of Jesus initiated the effort toward developing such manuals, with the *Institutiones morales* by Juan Azor, S.J. (published 1600 in 3 volumes) serving as the first such compendium that was widely used, including in Poland ³. Not only Jesuits, but Dominicans in particular, as well as Franciscans, Piarists, Theatines, Augustinians, and eventually Uniate Basi-

² See: Cessario R., O. P. *Introduction to Moral Theology*. Washington, 2001; Bajda J. *Teologia moralna (kazuistyczna) w XVII–XVIII wieku // Dzieje teologii katolickiej w Polsce*. T. 2: *Od odrodzenia do oświecenia*. Cz. 1: *Teologia humanistyczna* / Ed. Mariana Rechowicza. Lublin, 1975 S. 269–300.

³ See: Bajda J. *Teologia moralna*. S. 271–275; Moral Theology // *New Catholic Encyclopedic*

lians, produced similar works. The most popular and influential manual for the late seventeenth and eighteenth century was the *Medulla theologiae moralis* by Hermann Busenbaum (first published in 1645), which proliferated in Poland and had some 200 editions in all Catholic countries of Europe ⁴.

In the production of their own moral theologies, Polish theologians clung longer to some maintenance of the speculative, ascetic aspects of morality than their contemporaries in the West. By the eighteenth century, however, the legalistic and practical nature of the West European moral theologies predominated in Polish versions as well ⁵. Discussions of moral and sacramental issues were legalistic in both method and sources, with frequent citations from canon law scholars, papal bulls, and decrees of Church councils – especially Trent. The use of reason, logic, and philosophical ethics in cases of conscience took precedence over the discussion of New Testament teachings or spiritual concepts. This practical approach to the theology of sin and penitence had no equivalent in the Orthodox Church, which continued to rely upon the general concepts of Christian values as expressed in the New Testament and the writings of the church fathers as the foundation of its pastoral guidance.

The subordination of spiritual concepts to the rational argumentation of moral theology in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was later criticized within the Catholic Church as a stagnant stage of its theological development ⁶. For the Uniate Church, however, the influence of this rational, legalistic approach to theology produced a substantively different philosophical and theological outlook compared to the Orthodox tradition and helped in bolstering a Uniate identity that was clearly distinct from Orthodoxy. Uniate moral theologies, based on the Roman Catholic models, created a religious mentality that overlay the mysteries of the sacraments and Christian faith with a legalistic and rational perspective on the teachings of the faith and on categorizing sin in day-to-day life. In this way, Uniate moral theology incorporated a dramatic philosophical leap from Orthodox patristic theology and pastoral practice.

By the late seventeenth century, Basilian clergy and Uniate hierarchy who had studied Catholic moral theology in Rome began to compile and

⁴ Bajda J. *Teologia moralna*. S. 284. The edition of Busenbaum consulted here was *Medulla theologiae moralis facili ac perspicua methodo resolvens casus conscientiae, ex variis probatisque autoribus concinnata*. Cologne, 1712. The contents are, in brief: Book I: on norms of moral acts, arising from internal norms of the conscience and external norms of law; Book II: on the theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity; Book III: the Ten Commandments and the commandments of the Church; Book IV: precepts of clerical and secular positions; Book V: on determining the nature and gravity of sin; Book VI: on the sacraments; and Book VII: on ecclesiastical censure. Considered a short and usable volume, this edition is 752 pages long and has a detailed alphabetical index.

⁵ Bajda J. *Teologia moralna*. S. 281–291.

⁶ Bajda J. *Teologia moralna*. S. 279; *New Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 9. P. 1121.

produce moral theologies specifically for the Uniate Church. Leon Kiszka, who at that time was the protoarchimandrite or superior of the Basilian order in Lithuania, published the first such book in 1693 ⁷. (Kiszka later became the Uniate Metropolitan who oversaw the Synod of Zamość in 1720.) Other compilers of moral theologies were for the most part teachers and preachers in the Basilian educational and pastoral network rather than members of the hierarchy. Indicating a full appropriation of the Roman Catholic moral theology tradition, the Uniate moral theology handbooks cited the same sources as those in the Roman Catholic manuals: the decrees and canons of the Council of Trent; the scholastic writings of Ss. Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, and others; and the writings of Jesuits who influenced the development of the handbooks of moral theology, such as Suarez, Vasquez, Sanchez, and Azor ⁸. Making the moral theology handbooks their own, however, distinct from the Roman Catholic tradition, the Uniate authors included papal decisions on the practices of the Greek-rite churches, as well as citations of Greek theologians, such as Gregory of Nazianzus, on the form and method of the Greek sacraments. Bringing the moral theology tradition into the Uniate community in Poland-Lithuania, Kiszka also emphatically cited Univ Archimandrite Varlaam Szeptycki's *Trebnik* of 1681 for references to the correct practices of the sacraments ⁹.

The Uniate monastic clergy (Basilians) produced and distributed moral theology handbooks with the goal of providing accessible explanations of the practices of the faith for the parish priest. Throughout the Ruthenian provinces of the Commonwealth, candidates for the Uniate priesthood continued to rely heavily upon home study for basic literacy and knowledge of the rite and ritual – as did their Orthodox counterparts. While the number of Uniate priests with formal education in the form of classical Latin studies in the public schools or the schools of Basilians and the various Roman Catholic teaching orders was increasing by the final decades of the eighteenth century, the number of those who attended seminary – even after the establishment of Uniate seminaries in the 1780s in Zhytomyr and Radomyśl – remained small. Instead, parish priests often relied on their cathedral stays before examination for necessary training in theology. Particularly in the dioceses of Lutsk and Pinsk, the cathedral schools were a central source for parish priests to gain training

⁷ *Now Rożnych Przypadków, z Pełni Doktorow Theologii Moralney zjawiony. To iest: Kazusy Ruskiemu Duchowieństwu*. Lublin, 1693. A Ruthenian translation of Kiszka was also widely consulted: *Собрание припадков краткое, и духовным особам потребное...* Супрасль, 1722 и Унев, 1732. On the latter, see: Корзо М. *Украинская и Белорусская катехетическая традиция конца XVI–XVIII вв. Становление, эволюция и проблема заимствований*. М., 2007. С. 436–444.

⁸ As noted in: Kiszka L. *Now Rożnych Przypadków*; Narolski J. *Teologia Moralna albo Do Obyczajów Sציągająca się przez Pewnego Bazyljana Kapłana Prowincyi Litewski zebrana na dwie części podzielona*. Vilnius, 1777; Koronczewski A. *Teologia Moralna dla sposobiących się do stanu kapłanskiego. Y owszem: dla wszystkich duchownych staranie dusz ludzkich mających*. Cz. 1-2. Suprasl, 1779.

⁹ For example, Kiszka L. *Now Rożnych Przypadków*. S. 45–46, and 48.

in moral theology, as well to perfect their training in the Slavonic rite ¹⁰. After ordination, with the numerous moral theology texts in circulation, priests were also expected to consult these manuals regularly to reinforce their knowledge. In 1789, Metropolitan Theodosius Rostocki demanded that all parish priests own a moral theology text, as well as the basic catechism, in order to adequately teach their parishioners the elements of the faith as required by the Synod of Zamość. In his words, in order for priests to do their job well, “each must have a Moral Theology, with which to perfect himself [in the knowledge of the faith]” (...każdy z nich mieć powinien Teologią Moralną, z ktoreyby siebie doskonalił), in addition to the catechism and lessons on the Gospel, as directed by the Synod of Zamość. When a priest was found to be lacking these books, he was granted one month to acquire them. If he failed to do so, he would have to perform penance ¹¹.

The most specific reference to moral theology texts owned by parish priests uncovered in my research were parish visitations in 1793 to the deaneries of Krasnystaw, Lublin, Chełm, and Dubno in the Chełm diocese (conducted under Bishop Porfiry Wazynski, who presided 1790–1804). The visitators categorized the books owned by parish priests aside from Uniate catechisms as either moral theology or meditational literature (also from the Catholic tradition). The ownership of meditational literature was rare, but the visitators noted numerous moral theology texts, with priests often owning more than one ¹².

Given the general poverty of Uniate parishes, the number of moral theology handbooks the priests owned was significant. In the Krasnystaw parishes, 21 parish priests owned 34 moral theologies among them; and 17 priests owned 26 manuals in the Dubno deanery – a total of 60 moral theology handbooks among 38 parishes ¹³. The most popular moral theol-

¹⁰ Bishop Stefan Rudnicki-Lubieniecki of Lutsk, for example, founded a school at his residence in Rozhyshche in 1773. See: Bienkowski L. *Organizacja Kościoła Wschodniego w Polsce // Kościół w Polsce*. Vol. 2 / Ed. by Jerzy Kłoczowski. Krakow, 1969. S. 978. Parish reports in this region from 1797 note the almost universal attendance of priests in this diocese to this school and mention of moral theology as a subject of study there (Российский государственный исторический архив [далее – РГИА]. Ф. 824, оп. 2, д. 116).

¹¹ Metropolitan Teodozjusz Rostocki, “Wszem wobec i kazdemu z osobna komu o tym wiedziec nalezy czyniemy wiadomo; iz My z Duchowienstwem Rządowi Naszemu podległym, na Synod Dyecezyalny tu zebrany, po ustanowieniu Synodalnych Sędziów, Examinatorów, Spowiedników, Sensorów Bedellow i Instygatora, następujące Ustawy namowiliśmy.” May 16, 1789 (Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. Stare Druki. Sygn. 144432).

¹² Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie. Zespół Chełmski Konsystorz Greko-Katolicki [dalej – APL, ChKGGK]. Sygn. 799 (Wizyta Generalna Dekanatów Krasnostawskiego i Lubelskiego w roku 1793).

¹³ APL, ChKGGK. Sygn. 799. Within this sample, only one priest had no books at all, and no information was available on three priests. The visitations noted the moral theologies by author or editor: Kiszka, Narolski, Koronczewski, Szczurowski, Rotarius, the “Począjów Ruski,” and Busenbaum. The least owned (only one copy was recorded) was Busenbaum (*Medulla*, cited above). For full citations of Kiszka, Narolski, and Koronczewski see footnotes 7 and 8. The text by Timoteusz Szczurowski was likely *Missya Bialska: Prawo kanoniczne o wszystkich ustawach i dekretach synodalnych we wszystkich materyach i wydarzeniach, tak sumiennych, jako też i sądowych*,

ogy manual in this region (21 of 60) was that of Father Józef Narolski, a doctor of theology and professor at the well known Basilian school in Zhyrovtyse and later in Vilnius. Kiszka's manual, owned by twelve priests in the visitations consulted, apparently maintained its popularity throughout the eighteenth century. The dominant language of the moral theologies in this western Ruthenian region was Polish. Ten copies of Latin-language moral theologies were owned primarily in conjunction with other manuals, as Latin was still not very well known among the Uniate parish clergy.

Certainly, further east in the Ukrainian provinces, the Ruthenian-language moral theologies produced not only in Pochaiv, but in Univ and Lviv, must have had their greatest distribution. Parish reports from 1797 from the remaining Uniate parishes in the Volhynian region and parish visitations from the early 1790s to deaneries in the Right Bank also noted expectations of moral theology as a regular part of the parish priest's education, though they presented no detailed information on which particular texts were used¹⁴. Even for the Uniate parishes of the Metropolitan diocese in regions that came under Uniate jurisdiction quite late in the eighteenth century, the Uniate hierarchy made efforts to collect information on the knowledge of moral theology among the parish priests¹⁵. Many of these priests had been ordained in the Orthodox Church, and only a few were conversant in the Uniate moral theology. Nevertheless, the consistent reporting on this aspect of the parish priests' education underscores the level to which it had become a standard goal of Uniate clerical training.

Compared to the usually lengthy Roman Catholic manuals, Uniate moral theologies adhered to a simpler format and less complex legal and ethical discussion. Roman Catholic manuals – most still written in Latin – continued to contain a section that was truly a penitentiary, discussing the specific duties of the priest as confessor¹⁶. Uniate moral theologies

*na rozmowy w jedenastu księgach podzielone, a ku zbawiennej wiadomości ludziom wszelkiego stanu i urzędu, tak duchownego, jako i świeckiego, pod zaszczytem Jaśnie Wielmożnego X. Arseniusza Głonskiego, biskupa Brzeskiego, Koadjutora Włodzimierskiego, zebrane z poważnych Autorów, staraniem i pracą X.T.S. w Świętej Teologii i Prawie Kanonicznem Doctora, Proto-Notaryusz, etc. Suprasl, 1792; "Rotarius" referred to Thomas Francisco Rotarius, *Apparatus Universae Theologiae Moralis*, originally published in 1702 (reprinted by Basilian presses); "Poczajów Ruski" likely referred to *Богословия правоучительная содержащая в себе поучение о стых тайнах, о Добродетелех бгословских, о заповедах Бжжих и церковных, о грехах, о казнях и карах церковных, вкратце собранное особом духовным, наипаче же пресвитером парохияльным*. Почаев, 1751, with multiple editions in subsequent years.*

¹⁴ РГИА. Ф. 824, оп. 2, д. 116 for 1797 parish reports from Volhynia. Parish visitations from the Right Bank that noted the priests' knowledge of and/or possession of books of moral theology were found in РГИА. Ф. 823, оп. 3, д. 1179 (Moshensk deanery) and д. 1185 (Kaniv deanery).

¹⁵ РГИА. Ф. 823, оп. 3, д. 1193: "Общие церковно-статистические ведомости (по деканатам)," submitted May 1794, just as Catherine II had initiated the campaign to convert the Uniate parishes in the Right Bank to Orthodoxy.

¹⁶ In the moral theology of Rotarius, for example, the ministry of penitence (explaining sin, confession, satisfaction, penitence, absolution, conscience) comprises Part I, followed by Part II on the laws of God (the 10 commandments), and Part III on the laws of the church, the seven sacraments, and the punishments of the church (censure, excommunication, interdict).

as a rule eliminated this detailed section on the ministry of penitence and focused on the general ministry of all the sacraments, as well as a discussion of the laws of God and the Church that included an abbreviated enumeration of sins and their variations. Without the penitentiary section, the moral theologies for the Uniate Church were more of an expanded catechism, with explanations of the basic components of the faith, as well as descriptions on the procedure of performing the sacraments. Notably, the Uniate manuals took care to describe the specific characteristics of the Uniate's Greek rite in the practice of the sacraments, carefully noting the distinctions with the Latin rite, as well as with the rituals of the Orthodox Church¹⁷. Except for the some of the bulkier Ruthenian-language manuals and the works of Szczurowski, Uniate moral theologies were small, easily portable, pocket-sized books. All of them, large and small, had good tables of contents, some had indexes by subject, and the chapters and sections were well marked for easy use.

Aside from serving as valuable guides to the religious and theological trends in the Uniate Church – the study of which I leave to specialists in theology – the Uniate handbooks of moral theology also provide insight into the influences on Uniate culture and identity. These handbooks provide an entrée into the Uniate mentality and worldview in the eighteenth century. Certainly, this was the worldview presented by Basilian professors, drawing on and often simply copying from Roman Catholic theologians, but the texts nevertheless supply convincing evidence of a strengthening Western intellectual and social orientation within the instructional and reference materials for Uniate parish priests.

The most obvious non-theological aspect of the Uniate moral theology handbooks that had no parallel in Orthodox theology was the emphasis on law and legal constructs in society. The relevant sections of the Uniate moral theologies reflected basic tenets of Western civilization. The sections devoted to elaborating the laws of God (the Decalogue) introduced basic Western concepts of law as a natural development from the precepts of the Ten Commandments. Kiszka, the first Uniate compiler of a moral theology (1693), opened his section on the Ten Commandments (Part III) with an overview of the meaning of commandments and an explanation of the forms of law:

Przykazanie nazywa się roźnie, to iest: Prawem, konstytucya, y Statutem. Prawo zowie się Przykazanie, ktore daie Papież, Cesarz, Krol, albo Rzeczpospolita

¹⁷ For example, the manuals pointed out the distinctions in the sacraments of baptism and confirmation from the practices of the Orthodox, and the distinctions in the performance of the Eucharist from the practices of the Roman Catholics (especially the use of leavened and unleavened bread). Additionally, the manuals discussed the ceremonies of the Uniate Church not celebrated by the Latin-rite Catholics and the use of the Julian calendar for its holidays.

The exception to this generalized description of Uniate moral theologies, of course, were those directly translated from the Latin. For example, *Богословия Нравоучительная повсемественное честным Отцем Паулом Гавриилом Антоине, пресвитером и учителем С. Богословия, перее Латинским диалектом потонку Исписанное. Многожды в пользу Парохов и духовником издаваемое, ново Монахами Чина Стаго Василия Великаго на Русский диалект преведеное*. Почаев, 1776, retains an opening section on conscience and sin.

wolna. Konstytucya y Statut zowie się to Przykazanie, ktore daie Xiaze albo Rzeczpospolita, więszemu Panu podległa. Czworakie zas iest Prawo: Boskie, wieczne, ludzkie, y naturalne: Prawo wieczne iest Madrość Boska grzechy zakazująca, do cnot stymulująca, Praw Boskie iest to, ktore Bog dał nam na piśmie, a to iest dwoiakie: Stare, ktore było dane przez Moyzesza, y nowe, ktore było dane przez Chrystusa w Ewangelyi. Prawo ludzkie iest to, ktore stanowi człowiek mający władza nad pospolstwem od Boga, y to iest dwoiakie: Duchowne, ktore stanowi osoba iaka duchowna, naprzykład: Papież, Sobor, albo Biskup; y świeckie, ktore stanowi świecka Persona Cesarz, albo Krol. Prawo naturalne iest sam rozum ludzki ktory rzadzić moze iezeli uczynek iaki dobry iest, albo zły.

Kiszka noted certain conditions necessary in making law, including the just nature of the law, its intent for the good of society (*dla dobra pospolitego*), and its open acceptance by society¹⁸. Basic Western concepts of justice, common welfare, and transparency of law, then, were already incorporated into Uniate explications of church doctrine by the late seventeenth century.

This emphasis on law reflected the environment of respect for the Western legal tradition and legislative practices in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The explication of law in Kiszka's manual was developed more elaborately in later moral theologies. Narolski's moral theology from 1777, for example, introduced the Pope in Rome as the *legislative* head of the Church – the one who must approve the ecumenical, national, provincial, and diocesan church councils that make canon law in addition to the *Corpus Juris* and papal bulls. Similarly, Narolski described the secular authorities in light of their *legislative* authority above all other powers, mentioning in particular Emperor Justinian's *Codex*, *Institutes* and *Digest* as important foundations of secular law. Narolski stressed the difference between external law imposed by God, the Church, and the State, and the internal law of one's conscience (following the thinking inherent in Roman Catholic penitentiary literature)¹⁹. Moreover, this explanation confronts the reader in the first pages of the manual, as Narolski placed the section on law and the ten commandments in Part I of his moral theology. Priests consulting this manual encountered a description of the law and legal development of social precepts in the first order of importance²⁰.

¹⁸ Kiszka L. *Now Roznych Przypadkow*. S. 225–226. The source Kiszka cites here is Bonaventura, "C. de Legibus."

¹⁹ Narolski J. *Teologia Moralna*. Part I. S. 1–9.

²⁰ In 1693, when the Uniate Church was still trying to define itself, Kiszka had focused the first section of his moral theology on the sacraments of the church, especially noting the distinctions in ritual in the Ruthenian Rite (*u Rusi*) from both the Roman Catholics (*u Rzymian*) and the Orthodox (*Dyzunity*) (Kiszka L. *Now Roznych Przypadkow*. – S. 31–133). His second section addressed censure and clerical punishment. Only after that did Kiszka turn to the laws of God and the Church. Later in the century, after the Uniate Church had become more secure in its standing and identity, Narolski placed the lessons on the laws of God first before his discussion of the sacraments of the church. While he was the only author of Uniate moral theologies studied here to present the material in this order, his manual was the most popular one, at least according to data from the Chełm diocese.

Uniate moral theologies also contained sections on the importance of honoring contracts as an important social precept that fell within the obligations of a Christian. This was a characteristic of Roman Catholic moral theologies, but was a new area of instruction for Uniate priests. As citizens of the Commonwealth obedient to its legal traditions, Uniate priests were expected to promote respect for contractual obligations. Kiszka introduced this subject as another necessary aspect of the priests' training for their duties as confessor, and he inserted this topic as an extension of his discussion on marriage.

Poniewaz Malzenstwo iest kontrakt zawarty między dwiema osobami potrzebna rzecz iest, aby w osobliwym Rozdziale była mowa o kontraktach, o których wiedzieć Kapłanowi, do spowiedź słuchania rzecz iest wielce potrzebna, Kontrakt tedy iest zmowa wielu person z obligacya spełnienia tego, co się przez kontrakt z przysięga, lub bez przysięgi rozboruie...Wiedzieć też trzeba, że kontrakt z błędu uczyniony, z zdrady, nie iest ważny, uczyniony zaś boiaźni irytowany bydz nie może...bo iezeliby boiaźn zadana była niesprawliwie nie waży kontrakt...²¹

As in Roman Catholic moral theologies, the obligation to fulfill a contract was a case of conscience and thereby an important topic for compendia of cases and guidelines for priest-confessors. Kiszka cites particular kinds of contracts, including purchases and sales (mentioning specific practices within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth), loans, rents, work partnerships, employment, promissory contracts, deeds of donation, and the delegation of property in wills and testaments ²².

The most detailed Uniate presentation on this topic was compiled by Father Antoni Koronczewski, whose moral theology devoted 156 pages to a description of contracts. The only longer sections in this handbook were those discussing the fundamental components of the Uniate faith – those describing the sacraments (219 pages) and the commandments of God and the Church (178 pages) ²³. Introducing the section on contracts, he explained:

Wiadomość czyli Nauka o Kontraktach Duchownym Osobom a szczegulniey Parochom y Spowiednikom wielce iest potrzebna y uzyteczna, w tych bowiem nayczęściey a co większa, że przez subtelnosc y dowcip, co zawzdy grzech w swym rodzaju pomnaze, ludzi wszelkiego Stanu y Kondycyi wkłaią się sumienia, żeby więc Spowiednik mógł ie ztych wyprowadzić labiryntów, y błędnych zapędów,

²¹ Kiszka L. *Now Roznych Przypadkow*. S. 158–159. This section cites Aristotle's Ethics 3.

²² The variety of contracts mentioned in Kiszka follows closely the information included, for example, in Busenbaum's *Medulla theologiae moralis*, as well as in Rotarius' *Apparatus Universae Theologiae Moralis* (both cited above), which were in circulation in Poland and used by both Roman Catholics and Uniates. Both of these authors inserted their discussion on contracts within their explication of the seventh commandment ("thou shalt not steal").

²³ *Teologia Moralna* (1779), cited above. Father Koronczewski was both head priest (*archiprezbyter*) of the cathedral in Brest and the head deacon (*archidyakon*) of Volodymyr when this manual was published. While Koronczewski does not cite all of his sources, he reveals a solid grounding in the fundamental legal concepts of Western Europe.

potrzeba by sam pierwszy poznał drogi, któremi w Kontraktach bez nadwężenia sumienia chociaż należy²⁴.

Koronczewski provided parish priests a detailed explanation of the various forms of contracts in order to give the clergymen the means to offer effective guidance and correction to their parishioners. Indeed, Koronczewski's extensive presentation provided virtually a portable course in contract law. Not only did this moral theology handbook contain a discussion of contracts in general as well as a lengthy description of particular types of contracts, the author also informed the priest of the necessary components of each kind of contract in such a way that the priest would have no problem drawing up the contracts himself. The types of contracts described were exhaustive, including: first, non-mutual or unilateral contracts such as the promissory and donation contract, last will and testament, and statements of borrowing and deposit; and, secondly, mutual contracts such as exchanges, buying and selling, money loans, the "sin" of charging interest or usury (and the role of the Jews in this capacity), money changing, rents, investments, immovable property contracts, companies, profits from gaming, extension of credit, and payment of debt²⁵. Reflecting the European tradition of honoring contractual obligations, Koronczewski wrote, "Každy Kontrakt ważnie uczyniony nawet nagi, choć do Prawa powodu nie daie, na sumieniu obliuguie, aby każdemu Wiara była dotrzymana, inaczey nie moglyby stać między ludźmi społeczność y Towarzystwo..."²⁶

The contents of this chapter in Koronczewski were appropriate to the increasingly sophisticated social-economic situation in Poland-Lithuania at this time. The author's conviction that this was important material for the parish priest to understand is of great interest. The fundamental tenets of the faith were insufficient for effective clerical leadership. The priest also had to understand and be part of the increasingly complex real world of his parish in order to maintain credibility as a confessor, whose ultimate role was that of a judge of the right or wrong behavior of his communicant. Knowing the law and the conventions of contractual obligations was a necessity.

Several more examples of the centrality of law and legal concepts in the Uniate moral theologies are worth noting. In all of the handbooks consulted in this study, discussion of the commandment "thou shalt not steal" included a legal description of restitution or compensation of property²⁷. Additionally, most of the manuals addressed at length the system of jus-

²⁴ Koronczewski A. *Teologia Moralna*. Vol. 2. S. 254. The discussion on contracts is the fourth and longest section in this volume, "Traktat o kontraktach". S. 254–410.

²⁵ Koronczewski A. *Teologia Moralna*. Vol. 2. S. 290–410.

²⁶ Koronczewski A. *Teologia Moralna*. Vol. 2. S. 285.

²⁷ Kiszka L. *Now Roznych Przypadkow*. S. 294–313; Narolski J. *Teologia Moralna*. S. 49–83; Koronczewski A. *Teologia Moralna*. Cz. 1. S. 314–344; Szczurowski T. *Missya Bialska*. Book III, roztowa 12. S. 24–40; *Богословия правоучительная*. Ч. 2, гл. 4.

tice. Narolski elaborated on the requirements for a just court system promoting “a proper and orderly process” with judges who acted ethically and humanely, always bearing in mind the sanctity of the law. Kiszka describes the need for judges who can give justice in the court by listening quietly and respectfully to the arguments, and professionally attending to the case without playing favorites²⁸. Discussions of the eighth commandment (“thou shalt not bear false witness”) also yielded ample descriptions of legal jurisdiction in matters of lying, slander, falsification, calumny, and other means of defamation, with an emphasis on the importance of upholding the honor of others²⁹.

While hardly inspirational in a spiritual sense, these compendia of moral theology reflected the growing distance between Uniate forms of instruction to parish priests and those available to their Orthodox counterparts. Ruthenian Orthodox priests in the Commonwealth were by the late eighteenth century largely dependent on the catechisms and instructional materials that came from across the Russian border, most of which were produced by clerical authors of Ruthenian origin and with Kyiv Academy training. One of the few manuals for Orthodox priests produced at this time, *О должностях пресвитеров приходских*, was co-written in 1776 by Smolensk Bishop Parfenii Sopkovskii and Mogilev Bishop Georgii Koniskii, both Kiev Academy graduates and eventually members of the Holy Synod³⁰. This manual, which was adopted as a textbook in the St. Petersburg Spiritual Academy in 1797 offers a meaningful comparison to the Uniate moral theologies. First, the Orthodox manual lacks transparent organization and has no obvious conceptual chapter divisions (contrasting with all of the Uniate handbooks), making it difficult to consult for particular issues. Secondly, the argumentation focuses on timeless, universal concepts characteristic of Eastern theology, steeped in patristic thought, rather than on particular examples to reflect the realities of the contemporary world. For example, in the section on the teaching obligations of the parish priest, *О должностях пресвитеров* cites numerous verses from the epistles of St. Paul to support theoretical concepts, but offers no practical examples. Certainly, the emphasis on particular examples in the Catholic literature and the Orthodox emphasis on generalities is to be expected given the traditional Roman Catholic use of casuistry and the general absence of such a tradition in Orthodox moral literature. As

²⁸ Narolski J. *Teologia Moralna*. S. 100–101, in his section on the commandments of the Church in a separate chapter titled “On the Position and Administration of Secular Persons, especially belonging to the Courts” Kiszka L. *Now Roznych Przypadkow*. S. 316.

²⁹ While all authors mention the variety of crimes associated with this commandment, Korczewski provides the most detailed legal description (Cz. 1. S. 344–364).

³⁰ According to the Russian National Library rare books catalogue, the 1776 and 1777 editions were published in St. Petersburg. I consulted the Moscow, 1787 edition. Other editions include Kiev, 1779, St. Petersburg, 1789, and Moscow, 1796. See also Парфений (в миру Павел Сопковский) // *Русский биографический словарь*. Т. 13. СПб., 1902. С. 329.

a result, the Orthodox manual seems much more detached from the day-to-day stresses of the eighteenth-century worldly reality.

This rejection of the particularism of the Catholic moral theologies, however, allowed the Orthodox literature to project more effectively the mystical principles of the spiritual world. Read in comparison with Uniate moral theologies, *О должностях пресвитеров* is striking in its unwavering adherence to the patristic sources and universal concepts that remained the foundation for Eastern Orthodox theology. Despite the incorporation of outward Latin forms and the infiltration of Western philosophy and theology into the more sophisticated Orthodox seminary literature of the eighteenth century³¹, core theological attitudes characteristic of the Eastern Orthodox Church apparently remained dominant in the limited literature created for consultation outside of the seminary. Aside from the New Testament, the authors of *О должностях пресвитеров* relied on traditional Orthodox sources of the ecumenical church councils and the early church fathers, particularly St. John Chrysostom. While Catholic moral theology – following the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas – accommodated the mystical with the rational and concrete world, this Orthodox literature adhered more completely to the mystical universalism of patristic thought. By insisting on the universals and avoiding the constraints of particular circumstances, the discussion of pastoral practice always reverted to spiritual values, making the discussion relevant regardless of the changing realities of the eighteenth-century world.

Similarly, the Orthodox book of instruction from the eighteenth century written as daily lessons for both lay and clerical heads of households, *Краткие поучения*, also presented explanations based on the writings of the Apostles and church fathers, without providing examples from the contemporary world³². In striking comparison to the explicit Uniate emphasis on external law, this Orthodox lesson book's 27 lessons "on the law" avoided discussing legal principles entirely. Instead, it discussed general guidelines of Christian ethics: that which makes the Christian strive to do good, overcoming temptation with a "clean heart," scriptural guidance to good behavior, avoiding sin and weaknesses, the duties of a Christian to do good deeds, the importance of good works to faith, the rewards of a good life after death, the importance of goodness rather than rank in the measure of man's greatness, avoiding deviations from the path of righteousness, etc³³. Basically, these lessons focused on internal discipline in

³¹ See: Знаменский П. В. *Духовные школы в России до реформы 1808 года*. Казань, 1881.

³² *Краткие поучения о главнейших спасительных догматах веры*. М., 1787. In its introduction, this book claims to be the manual on the primary dogma of the faith and commandments that Peter I envisioned and commanded to be published within his *Духовный Регламент* in 1721; it exists in numerous editions. The compiler was Metropolitan Gavriil Petrov.

³³ *Краткие поучения*. Гл. 9. This emphasis on Christian principle is also consistent with the abundant Scriptural references in Samuel Pufendorf's *On the Duty of Man and Citizen According to Natural Law* (see version translated by Michael Silverthorne and edited by James Tully, New York, 1991), which Catherine II had translated, edited, and published in 1783.

guiding one's actions via religious and ethical concepts. The only mention of external laws was in the introduction to the book, in which the author(s) writes that the well-being of the Fatherland (благосостояние Отечества) "...составляется хранением законов гражданских: но они утверждены законом Бжим, а не может там исполнен быть закон гражданский где не исполняется закон Бжий." Thus subordinating man's law to God's law, this lesson book gave no other comment on external laws, civil or criminal.

The same book defined the "true citizen" in this manner: "Добродетельный только человек может быть добрым гражданином... Понеже такого только гражданина всякое безвинное и благородное упражнение всегда состоит в неразрывном согласии с благодетельством всех около него находящихся, с цветущим состоянием общества, со удовольствием каждого человека"³⁴. Accordingly, the next lesson on the obligations of citizens instructed each to know his/her requirements, choose what is good, control passions, support good and oppose evil, bear in mind God's union with man and society, avoid luxury and riches, and search only for God's love, doing good deeds for other people and good works for the benefit of society³⁵. The lessons motivated the reader to follow Christian virtues, merging spiritual and civil requirements, but they were silent on the role of external laws or regulations.

While the different treatment of law in Uniate and Orthodox manuals is an obvious point, it is one worth taking into consideration. The contrasting approaches within Uniate moral theology handbooks and comparable Orthodox literature reflects the diverging mentality and social constructs of the two Eastern-rite faiths in the eighteenth century. The Uniate Church had adopted not only Catholic doctrine but the heritage of Western theology, built on Western intellectual and social/legal foundations that had diverged in nature and practice from those of the early church fathers still consulted in Orthodox theology. The level of emphasis on practical questions of day-to-day life and external legal constructs in the discussion of religious norms and cases of sin and conscience within the Uniate moral theologies of the eighteenth century contrasted markedly with the spiritual universals that remained the basis of Orthodox explanations of religious practices. While on the one hand, the dry legalism of the Uniate moral theologies can be seen as lacking in spiritual content, on the other hand, the adoption of this theology reinforced a separate, Westward-leaning identity of the Uniate Church. As moral theology handbooks became required references for all Uniate parish priests, the different approach to theology in these manuals compared to similar Orthodox literature did much to reinforce a separate Uniate identity. In this sense, the production and use of Uniate moral theology handbooks were a vital part of the process of confessionalization for the Uniate Church.

³⁴ *Краткие поучения*. Гл. 14, Lesson for February 27.

³⁵ *Краткие поучения*. Гл. 14, Lesson for February 28.

Барбара Скіннер

УНІЙНЕ МОРАЛЬНЕ БОГОСЛОВ'Я У XVIII ст.

Ця стаття акцентує увагу на зростанні розбіжностей між унійним та православним богослов'ям у XVIII ст. як на поштовху до того, аби конфесійні ідентичності цих двох Церков східного обряду почали рішуче розходитися. Зокрема досліджується використання посібників з морального богослов'я парафіяльними священниками Унійної церкви і показано, яким чином деякі характерні риси унійного морального богослов'я призводять до різкого протиріччя з аналогічною православною літературою для священників. Якщо узагальнити, то унійне моральне богослов'я, базоване на римо-католицьких моделях, увібрало в себе легалістичний, раціональний та практичний погляд на вчення про віру, що драматично контрастувало з православною патристичною теологією та священницькою практикою. Зокрема наголошення на законі та юридичних складових суспільства в унійних текстах з морального богослов'я — від загальних правничих форм до конкретних і розлогих описів угод — не має паралелі у православному богослов'ї. Порівняно з православними текстами витяги з унійних посібників моральної теології досить чітко показують різючу відмінність у релігійній культурі та ментальності, яка давала змогу формувати окремішню унійну ідентичність.