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UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX EDUCATION IN HISTORICAL RETROSPECTIVE

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Abstract

The article reflects the historical background and challenges of the Orthodox Church in establishing religious education in the process of spreading Orthodox Christianity. From historical analysis, one can observe the evolution of not only Orthodox education, but also church teaching, which in turn increased the rates of literacy and education in the population. Because of the work in the dioceses, namely the opening of educational centers, schools, colleges, etc. the general level of education increased. However, with the historical collapse and tumultuous events of Ukraine's past, the success of the Orthodox Church in these efforts has varied significantly in different historical periods. To combat the crisis conditions of the Church in the field of education, under the guidance of diocesan ministers, church educational institutions began to work well, which in turn increased the popular authority of Orthodoxy and consolidated its position in this area. Through such ministry, the Orthodox clergy integrated the principles of morality, Christian teaching, and religious traditions into the general educational process, investing in subsequent generations the basis of a conscious religion of Orthodoxy. Scholars do not deny the progressive role of the Church in raising the levels of education, writing, and faith. In addition, the initiative of the Church in the introduction of public education was positively received by the imperial authorities and secular forces, making it competitive with Catholic and Protestant education on the territory of Ukraine. Analyzing the current state of Ukrainian religion demonstrates the relative uniformity of the spread of religious trends and religious tolerance towards them. Only at the beginning of the 21st century did national and full-fledged autonomies within the Church become known, considering the objective historical and dialectical development of the church structure.

The education of the believing population is the mission of Orthodoxy and, respectively, educated believers are a priority for the image of the Orthodox Church of Ukraine.

Keywords: religious education, spiritual education, Ukrainian Orthodox education, Ukrainian Orthodox Church, historical aspect.

Introduction

The relevance of this study is confirmed by the inalienability of the educational component in the religious life of believers and as a necessary pedagogical service of the Orthodox Church. The existence of today's model of the school is due to some extent to the foundation of the educational tradition of Orthodox priests and religious figures; the goal of introducing an educational element to believers supports the spread and consolidation of the popularity of the Orthodox dogma on the territory of Ukraine. The intellectual influence of the Church on education renders its educational work among believers and creates a separate interest among religious scholars in the analysis of the historical process of Orthodox education in Ukraine. Therefore, the merit of Orthodoxy in the formation of Ukrainian education and science deserves research attention. We intend to consider Ukrainian spiritual education from a historical perspective. We wish to highlight separate analytical and statistical data on the activities of educational institutions under the Orthodox Church of Ukraine. Likewise, we wish to characterize the peculiarities of Ukrainian Orthodox education, which is part of the entire Orthodox world, and present historical data on the pivotal reformist decisions in the process of the beginning and development of the formation of Ukrainian Christianity of the Eastern Rite.

The Main Part of the Study

The study begins by describing the development of the system of Orthodox theological education in Ukraine in the context of a retrospective analysis. First, it is necessary to determine the main periods of development for the Orthodox Church, because, for many centuries, theology in Ukraine has developed along with it. Metropolitan Macarius (Bulgakov) wrote 12 volumes on the history of the Russian Church and developed a periodization that is still commonly referenced. He singles out the Kievan or pre-Mongol period, the Moscow period before the division of the Russian metropolis in 1469, and the establishment of the patriarchate in 1587. The next period contains the history of the Russian South-Western Church from the division of 1469 to the Union of Brest in 1596, followed by the patriarchal period (1589-1700), which existed in parallel with

the Kiev Metropolis; then follow the synodal period (1700-1917) and, lastly, the post-revolutionary period, which began in 1917.

The periodization proposed by Metropolitan Macarius mainly considers the history of the Russian Orthodox Church. We cannot consider the development of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine without first identifying certain historical periods. There is very little research in this direction, and leading historians build periodization based on the socio-political aspect, which does not always correspond to reality and appears one-sided. Regarding theology, A. I. Osipov names two key stages of its formation in the Orthodox Church: the first lasts from the time of the apostles to the 15th century, and the second from the first half of the 16th century, a time that is associated with the founding of the Kiev Theological Academy and the Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy. Thus, the researchers focuses on the institutional aspect of development.

In this work, we are guided by two criteria: the first reflects the main stages of the historical development of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (UOC), and the second measures the political, social, and cultural development of Ukraine. The proposed periodization is conditional and does not claim to be exclusive but is used due to theoretical necessity.

Researchers such as K. Kislyuk and A. Kucher identify the following stages in the development of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine, given in Table. 1.

1. The existence of a single Kiev Metropolis (from the middle of the 10th to the middle of the 13th century)
2. The period of the collapse of the unified Kiev Metropolis (XIV - the middle of the XV century)
3. The period of formation of the original Ukrainian Orthodox Church (1468 - 1596)

4. The period of deep crisis and split of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine (1596 - 1620)
5. Brief revival of an independent Orthodox Church in Ukraine (1620 - 1686)
6. During this period, the history of the UOC is inextricably linked with the history of the ROC (1686 - 1919)
7. Soviet period (1920s - late 1980s)
8. History of the Orthodox Church in independent Ukraine

Tab. 1 The main stages in the development of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine

The first three periods account for the emergence and development of spiritual education in Ukraine. The Orthodox Church on the territory of Kievan Rus' was of great importance, because it gave education not only to the future clergy, but also to the children of *boyar* (aristocratic) families. For a long time, schools were not divided into spiritual and secular; only priests or monks were teachers, and they were considered to be the most educated representatives of society. The disciples acquired knowledge through the study of the Bible and theological literature, and the first "primers" were the book of Psalms and the liturgical book "Apostle." Church educational institutions operated at each parish church and monastery.

In the 13th century, as a result of the invasion of the Tatar-Mongols, the cells of education and culture moved to the West, to the Galicia-Volyn principality, which remained independent for another century. Fraternal schools from the end of the 16th century played a decisive role in establishing spiritual enlightenment. Only the Orthodox were admitted to them, and, later, seminaries and collegiums arose from their foundation. The active development of education with the assistance of the Orthodox Church led to the creation of the Kiev-Mohyla Academy and several colleges throughout Ukraine, in particular Chernigov, Pereyaslav, and Kharkov.

It was in the early 1630s that a collegium appeared in Kyiv, which, in 1701, became the Kiev-Mohyla Academy. According to I. Ogienko, it became one of the first higher theological

educational institutions in the Orthodox world. In the 18th century, the Kyiv Metropolis was subordinated to Moscow. The organization of theological schools was subordinated in 1721 to the Spiritual Regulations. According to the latter, two types of institutions were established: academies and seminaries, where classical languages and sciences were studied, and hierarchal schools, where future priests were taught the basic rules of the faith. During this period, the spiritual institutions of the Orthodox Church began to unify as a single system of theological education, which was fully formed in the 19th century.

Functioning as part of the Russian Orthodox Church from the beginning of the 19th century led to a serious reform of Orthodox education; because of the reforms of 1808-1814, 1867-1869 and 1884, an institutional education system was created. In general, education took two forms. The first were church institutions, which were attached to churches. The second were secular institutions, which, in terms of content, were similar, barring theological courses. Before the October Revolution, theological education could only be obtained in theological academies; there were no theological faculties at universities, although church history and theology were studied, which distinguished Russia and, accordingly, Ukraine from European universities.

Consequently, during the 19th to the early 20th centuries, a model of spiritual enlightenment of the all-Russian standard was formed in the Orthodox Church, subordinate to the Russian Orthodox Church. Changes and additions to the statutes of religious institutions provided flexibility, appropriate reforms in management, structure, and administrative composition.

The period of Ukraine's incorporation in the Soviet Union led to a deterioration in the position of the Orthodox Church as a whole. Terror was carried out against the church, and higher religious educational institutions were closed *en masse* and suffered military devastation. After a recovery period, some educational establishments were restored. The Soviet period became the most tragic and difficult for the Orthodox Church in Ukraine. The pre-revolutionary system of spiritual education was completely destroyed, as the state exercised total control over the activities of the church and all its institutions. Towards the end of this period there was a minor revival of the church, and the Church began to focus on social service.

During the period of Ukraine's independence, the threefold level system of religious institutions that had existed before the 1917 revolution was restored. Today there are religious schools, seminaries, and academies. Higher theological education affords the possibility of writing dissertations and obtaining scientific degrees. The modern Orthodox Church in Ukraine embodies

all the assets of this historical development. Orthodox education has gone from disparate theological schools to the branched structure that exists today. The adaptation of the Orthodox Church to the changing world, the modernization of its approaches and, at the same time, the preservation of tradition, made it a national, spiritual basis for the Ukrainian people, who fought for their independence for many centuries.¹

During the years of independence, historical science in Ukraine evolved from a critical understanding of the Soviet legacy to the discovery of new figures and views on certain events and processes. Academician O. V. Sukhomlinsky notes, "...a large amount of new, unknown material has been added to the historical and pedagogical discourse. It was partly known, but during the development of Soviet historical and pedagogical science, these sources were 'taboo' or they were evaluated negatively. In the Soviet period, the opinion about the reactionary essence of the activity of the church prevailed."

V. Struminsky and M. Konstantinov noted that the progressive role of the Orthodox Church and education at the initial stage has now turned into a reactionary one. N. Yarmachenko argued that, although parish schools were based on historically established religious feelings, they were alien to the people and "did not meet their social needs." As early as the 11th century, there were schools attached to churches in Ukraine, which had a religious direction. These institutions had a territorial monopoly on the religious services of the laity and were similar to modern parishes. With the advent of Christianity on the territory of Ukraine, a need arose for folk literacy, which was solved by these institutions. For many centuries, the clergy themselves took care of the education of the people, founding schools at churches, at first only for the children of noble people, and then for everyone.

During the 11th-15th centuries, the clergy were actively engaged in the dissemination of writing and faith among the people. The Stoglav Cathedral in 1554 tasked the priests with the obligation to open schools at the churches. Their teachers were the priests or deacons themselves. The purpose of such schools was to teach writing, literacy, and liturgical music, as well as to educate students in the fear of God, protecting them from the sinful world.

¹ В. М. Попович, "Розвиток системи православної богословської освіти в Україні: ретроспективний аналіз." [Development of the system of Orthodox theological education in Ukraine] Грани, no. 5(109) (2014): 6–11.

The Orthodox Church in the Western Ukrainian lands in the 16th century was in a state of decline. Only at the end of the century did it become clear that the only basis on which all social strata could be united was the Orthodox Church. Of particular concern was the illiteracy of the Ukrainian population. The vast majority of schools in individual counties were church schools. Starting from the 19th century, the government of the Russian Empire made a successful attempt to reform school education, the result of which was a system of public schools that functioned according to a single curriculum. For this purpose, the Ministry of Public Education was established in 1802, and the territory of Ukraine was divided into two school districts: Kharkiv and Vilna.

In 1804, the name of the elementary school was changed to “parochial.” The purpose of these institutions was to provide elementary education to the population. In provinces, cities and villages, each parish, or two together, depending on the number of parishioners, had to have at least one parish school. From 1805, by imperial decree, diocesan hierarchs were obligated to create mandatory schools at parishes and appoint priests capable of teaching.

There were also some regional peculiarities. For example, Hugo Kollontai, the curator of the Vilna school district, wrote that he did not introduce the Russian language into the curriculum of parish schools, because the people do not use this language for scientific purposes, only socially. In the statute, there was no mention of the Ukrainian language at all. Parish schools were divided into men's and women's and were intended for artisans, peasants, and nobles. There were two categories of parish schools. The first were called small and contained a two-year course of study. The second were called large, offering education for four years. In small schools, similar subjects were presented as in large ones, but in an abbreviated form: these were calligraphy, reading, calculation, catechism, morality, practical mechanics, natural history, and local land description.

In 1807, Tsar Alexander I issued the “Charter for parochial schools” of the Kiev, Volyn, and Podolsk provinces, in which one can clearly trace the class character of these educational institutions. Peasant children were mainly taught a variety of agricultural work, characteristic of their region; only in winter could they learn other subjects that are taught in the parish school. All children were required to memorize spiritual songs about virtues and the destructiveness of sins. The charter issued in 1814 assigned a priority role to the clergy in the organization of primary public education. The duty of the diocesan leadership was to call on the parish clergy to educate

and support church schools to teach peasant children to read, write, pray, and begin learning the catechism.

In 1830–1831, after the Polish uprising, the government's policy was to close Polish schools. More than 290 parish schools were opened on the Right Bank under Ukrainian Orthodox churches. The languages of instruction were Ukrainian and Russian. A wide network of institutions needed to coordinate their activities, for which the Holy Synod was responsible. In 1836, the Holy Synod issued a decree that set out the basic rules of education that should guide the clergy. This decree contained 11 paragraphs, including provisions on the duty of priests to instruct children in the faith.

Official statistics state that, in 1838, there were 1,500 parish schools, and, in 1853, this number increased to 4,820. The reason for the significant growth was the decree of May 12, 1837, where capable confessors were encouraged to introduce elementary education among peasant children. The second half of the 19th century was a period of large-scale reforms in the Russian Empire, which also affected education. In 1861, the Metropolitan of Kyiv issued a decree according to which a school was to be opened in each parish. The “Regulations on Primary Public Schools,” dated June 14, 1864, established the following rules: local priests could become teachers, and those who received the appropriate education in religious institutions were at a socio-economic advantage. The following subjects were to be studied in schools: the first four steps of arithmetic, reading from books of the civil and church press, writing, the Law of God, and church singing.

The programs and curricula were approved by the Holy Synod. Paragraph 34 allowed both Russians and Greek Uniates to be teachers. The natural language of the population was used as the teaching language, which is why many schools in Right-Bank Ukraine were Ukrainian-speaking. Unfortunately, Ukrainian did not remain the language of instruction for long, because, in 1865, a royal decree was issued establishing Russian as the natural language of the population.

For a quarter of a century, K. Pobedonostsev (1827-1907) was engaged in the affairs of education. He was Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod and went down in history as an author of civil law, a monarchist, an ideologist of parochial schools, and the “evil genius of Russia.” The democratic intelligentsia assessed his activities with the following lines: “Pobedonostsev for the Synod, Obedonostsev at the court, bringing misfortune for the people, Donostsev simply – under the tsar.” Pobedonostsev made attempts to unite “the altar and the throne,” and began to consider schools as a means of strengthening the monarchical power in the country. Pobedonostsev proved

the need for the functioning of public schools. With his active assistance, the emperor himself resolved the issue of supporting theological folk schools. In a written review of the state of the Right Bank provinces, Alexander II noted: "It is desirable that the clergy continue to actively contribute to the functioning of parish schools. I draw special attention to this both to the Ministry of Public Education and to the Holy Synod." Twice a year, the emperor received a report on the activities of schools, which testified to the importance of this issue.

On June 13, 1884, the commission of the Holy Synod developed special "Rules on parochial schools." Their main essence was that the archbishops, as agents of the Synod, with particular perseverance of the church must work to establish the people's primary enlightenment in the spirit of piety, guided by the tenth canon of the seventh ecumenical council: "it is yours to teach young men." Alexander III, in a commentary to these rules, wrote that he also hoped that the parish clergy would become worthy of their high calling in this important matter.

The obligation of the clergy was to introduce Orthodox teaching in schools, to teach children the faith and Christian morality, and to acquire pedagogical abilities. For the development of schools, in addition to the funds of the parish, donations from clergy and secular persons were also collected. Count D. Tolstoy, Minister of Public Education, emphasizing the importance of the latter, wrote: "I consider it the duty of the Ministry to encourage the clergy in matters of school education by all means."

Consequently, during the 19th century, there was an active development and spread of parochial schools. Such success is explained by the support of their activities by the government and the Ministry of Public Education, due to the lack of primary education for the general population. In educational reforms, the imperial government strove not to go beyond the three foundations of "Orthodoxy, autocracy and nationality." If, in the Left-Bank Ukraine, parochial schools did not receive much recognition, then, in the Right-Bank Ukraine, they became centers of Orthodoxy, which for a long time was suppressed by Polish Catholicism. The teachers were priests and clerks who mostly spoke the national language (Ukrainian), sometimes preaching their sermons in it. "The clergy of the Right Bank were Ukrainian in nature," stated priest Fyodor Kulchinsky. Church and folk traditions of the Ukrainian people were preserved here.

By the beginning of the 20th century, in the Kiev, Podolsk, and Volyn provinces, parochial schools accounted for 80% of all primary educational institutions. As a result of this, in 1902, the "Regulations on Church Schools of the Department of the Orthodox Faith" were adopted. This

document established the goals and objectives of parochial schools, regulating the rules for their activities: teachers' salaries, staff, rights and obligations of participants in the educational process, etc. A significant turbulence related to public education was caused by the first Russian revolution of 1905, when the people began to put forward their own requirements for the quality of education. After the above-mentioned events, the attitude of the Russian intelligentsia towards parish schools turned sharply negative. Campaigns took place regarding the transfer of children to secular schools, arguing that church schools were engaged only in the spread of the Orthodox faith without otherwise meeting the needs of society. Spiritual personalities, on the contrary, convinced people of the effectiveness of parish schools. The confrontation resulted in fewer peasant children attending school, their parents not knowing which one to choose.

Further complicating the existing situation was the fact that the Russian Orthodox Church also sought to secure its position in the field of public education by any means available. Appropriations for parish schools from above were constantly growing. In 1907, the Holy Synod allowed teaching in Ukrainian at the request of the Podolsk clergy, as well as the introduction of the subject of “Ukrainian language” in the Church Teachers' School in Vinnitsa, which trained teachers for parish schools.

Before the First World War, the number of parochial schools grew. The war greatly worsened the quality and availability of education, especially in the western part of the empire, because it became a frontline zone. Parish schools in this region no longer received appropriations from the Holy Synod and the government. Despite this, these schools gave a good education to entire generations of Ukrainians. The government of the Russian Empire tried to use schools as ideological centers of the state. Most of the parish schools were subordinated to the Holy Synod, which prioritized its missionary goal over the education. These institutions educated not only the Orthodox, but also Jews, Lutherans, and Catholics. The pro-Russian ideas of these schools were perceived positively by the population, because they promoted the Orthodox faith, which is highly regarded by Ukrainians.

A deep analysis of the functioning of parochial schools in Ukraine showed that the most favorable and successful period for them was from 1881 to 1905, during which significant funds were allocated for their development. Schools subordinated to the Ministry of Public Education were financed almost 2.5 times less than parish ones. Well-known teachers S. Miropolsky, S. Rachinsky, V. Zenkovsky, K. Pobedonostsev promoted the schools' development. It was they who

contributed to the formation of the legislative framework through the provisions, charters, and decrees that regulated the activities of parochial schools. Also, before the beginning of the 20th century, many textbooks and scientific and methodological journals were created, which ensured the quality of educational resources.²

From 1843 to 1917, diocesan women's schools operated as an integral part of the church organization. They helped thousands of young women receive an education and enter the workforce. The basis of the educational process was the pedagogical concept of the Kharkiv Archbishop Ambrose (Klyuchar), who was an active organizer of church education. His concept included three postulates: in faith in God, the foundation of morality; the focus of the child on the joy of a good deed and the pain of sinful deeds; and imparting in children the qualities of a strong will, endurance, and a good spirit. The quality of teaching in diocesan women's schools, however, was significantly lower than in men's schools. This is explained by material and human resources, specifically that mostly young inexperienced graduates were hired to teach in women's schools, or teachers who had retired from the men's institution. Thus, all experienced teachers, if possible, worked in men's schools, and women's schools functioned as somewhat of a training ground.

Despite this, the number of women's diocesan schools was constantly growing. For example, as of 1892, there were 44 institutions of this type, and more than 13,000 students studied in them; by the end of the century this number had increased to 25 thousand. The diocesan schools enjoyed the trust of the people, because, in six years' time, it was possible to receive a pedagogical education and attain a job as a teacher.³

Since 1919, the Seminary in Kremenets has been the center of spiritual education in Volhynia. Its students were predominantly Ukrainian-speaking people from rural areas. Since 1927, the Kremenets Seminary received state support and was endowed with the rights of state secondary schools, which gave the right to graduates to enter any university in Poland. The number of students fluctuated between 200 and 300. In 1932, a reform of the school education system was

² С. Б. Бричок. "Історія становлення та розвитку церковнопарафіяльних шкіл в Україні." *Педагогічні науки*, [History of formation and development of church-parish schools in Ukraine]. no. 40 (2005): 288–97.

³ Світлана Лисенко. "Єпархіальні училища як шлях освіти та соціалізації жінок у XIX – на початку XX ст." [Diocesan schools as a way of education and socialization of women in the XIX - early XX centuries.] *Молодь і ринок*, no. 1(96) (2013): 57–62.

initiated, which also affected seminaries in Volyn. Instead, it was planned to create a theological lyceum; later the idea appeared of creating such an institution in Warsaw.

The Orthodox Lyceum in Warsaw was opened in 1939. Teaching was carried out in Polish. During this time, the liquidation of the Kremenets seminary took place, until the Soviets came into power. There were problems with spiritual education in Volyn, and the elimination of the seminary made them even more untenable; deputy S. Tymoshenko spoke about this in 1935, but in vain, as the authorities were determined to Polonize everything Ukrainian.

Even earlier, in 1925, the Faculty of Theology was opened as part of the University of Warsaw. At a solemn meeting, the rector stated that Poland did not interfere with any religion, so the teaching staff of the newly created unit had the task of becoming a scientific center, in addition to providing quality general education. Admission of applicants to the theological faculty of the Orthodox Church began immediately after its official opening. Graduates were given primacy when they were appointed to the parish, which was supposed to encourage pro-Polish sentiments in society.

Indeed, among the priests of the Kremenets district, the vast majority were graduates of the theological faculty of Warsaw University. An example is Alexander Stetsyuk, who graduated in 1931 and became the rector in the village of Dunaev. A significant direction in the spread of Orthodoxy was educational activity. The Polish authorities supported the de-Moscowization of church life in order to gain authority among the Orthodox population. Currently, there remains a struggle for the assertion of autocephaly and the growth of the national consciousness of minorities. There was also an active defense of the Orthodox faith by Ukrainian deputies. Educational institutions remained centers of the Orthodox faith.⁴

Conclusions

From the end of the 16th century, a network of fraternal schools appeared in Ukraine. The theological education of the Orthodox Church was in its early stages of formation. In the 17th

⁴ Ірина, Скакальська and Інна Швалюк. “Релігійна освіта у міжвоєнній Польщі: відкриття православного богословського факультету у Варшавському університеті.” [Religious Education in Interwar Poland: Opening of an Orthodox Theological Faculty at the University of Warsaw]. In Українське православ'я у контексті вітчизняної історії та суспільних трансформацій: пам'яті митрополитів Василя (Липківського) та Іоана (Боднарчука) : матеріали конф., 73–76, 2014. Всеукр. науково-практичної.

century, educational institutions were subordinate to church administration and depended mainly on the influence of bishops. Later, the centralization of administration took place on the initiative and under the supervision of the Holy Synod. Parish schools were beginning to form a unified system of theological education, which became the basis for future reforms. Theological education in the Soviet period was characterized by a certain decline due to restrictions and oppression: state control over the Church and the destruction of the pre-revolutionary education system. This period influenced the institutional functioning of schools and staffing, which was reflected in the further development of the Orthodox Church.

In accordance with the above, we discovered that the system of Orthodox education is quite flexible and able to withstand all trials. Orthodox education corresponded to its time, was regulated by the highest leadership of the Church, and was effectively implemented by ordinary clergy, who performed in educational and religious functions and had progressive successes, despite difficult reforms, prohibitions, and revisions of the theological component. The listed factors can be considered peculiarities of Ukrainian spiritual education in its historical retrospective. Advances in education strengthened the confidence of the believing population in the Orthodox Church and raised the general level of education, not counting access to the free receipt of educational benefits. At the same time, the church, in tandem with the state, carried out, on the one hand, the imperial autocratic policy of consolidating the Orthodox faith as a moral foundation, and, on the other, the preaching mission of the Gospel. The Orthodox faith, in the conditions of continuous religious and socio-political upheavals, was able to maintain strength and confidence, and the Church was able to develop a certain intellectual mobility, rightfully earning its historical status of “the founder of Ukrainian education and science.”

Translated from Ukrainian into English by Mariya Ovchar and Valentyna Kuryliak