

OVIDIUS UNIVERSITY OF CONSTANTA
DOCTORAL SCHOOL
DOMAIN: THEOLOGY

SUMMARY PHD. THESIS
CHURCHLY RELATIONS BETWEEN
MOLDOVA AND KIEV IN THE 17th
CENTURY: THE PARADIGM OF A
CULTURAL CORRESPONDENCE

COORDINATOR:
Prof. Dr. Nechita RUNCAN

CANDIDATE:
Victor Ovidiu CÎRCEIE

CONSTANTĂ
2020

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 4

1. Argument and objectives of the research 4
2. Relevance and timeliness of research 6
3. Short framework of the paper 7
4. Methodology used 9

CHAPTER I - HISTORICAL RETROSPECTIVE ON POLITICAL-RELIGIOUS RELATIONS IN THE MOLDOVAN-UKRAINE SPACE UNTIL THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. MATRIX OF SOME ORTHODOX IDENTITY CORRESPONDENCES 10

- 1.1. The Kiev Church - a religious and cultural dynamizing landmark 10
 - 1.1.1. Historical coordinates of the Kiev Orthodox Metropolitan Church 10
 - 1.1.2. The confessional configuration of the Kiev space - a field of confrontation of Catholic proselytism with Orthodoxy 13
- 1.2. The "Kiev problem" in political and religious relations with Moldova 18
 - 1.2.1. Kiev in the policy of the Moldavian rulers until the 15th century 18
 - 1.2.2. Kiev cultural imprints within the Romanian church 29
 - 1.2.3. Peculiarities of the Moldovan diplomacy towards Kiev Russia (15th-16th centuries). Religious landmarks 34
- 1.3. Moldovan-Ukrainian relations in the first half of the seventeenth century. Romanian foundations in the Kiev space 45
- 1.4. Saint Metropolitan Dosoftei in the context of Moldovan-Ukrainian relations 62
 - 1.4.1. Presence and end of life in the Polish-Ukrainian space 62
 - 1.4.2. Theological work of Metropolitan Dosoftei - testimony of the orthodoxy of the faith in the Eucharistic dispute of the seventeenth century 66

CHAPTER II - SAINT MITROPOLITAR VARLAAM - CONTINUATION OF CHURCH RELATIONS BETWEEN MOLDOVA AND KIEV 84

- 2.1. The premises of Metropolitan Varlaam's connections with the Orthodox Churches of Kiev and Russia 84
- 2.2. Diplomatic and cultural missions undertaken by Varlaam in the Kiev area 86
 - 2.2.1. The first mission to Kiev in 1628 86
 - 2.2.2. The second mission to Moscow in 1636 90
 - 2.2.3. Kiev's contribution to the development of Moldovan education - Vasilian School of the Three Hierarchs 94

2.3. Iasi printing house as a result of church reciprocity between Moldova and Kiev 99

CHAPTER III - SAINT MITROPOLITAN PETRU MOVILA - EUROPEAN-SPARKLESS EFFECTIVE SCHOLAR AND REPRESENTATIVE OF ORTHODOXY AT THE INTERSECTION OF CONFESSITIONAL TRENDS 101

3.1. The presence of Metropolitan Petru Movilă in the historical-theological research 101

3.1.1. International interest in the work and activity of the Kiev metropolitan 102

3.1.2. The man, the theologian, metropolitan Petru Movilă in Romanian historiography 105

3.2. Petru Movila - a metropolitan of European stature. Biographical references 108

3.2.1. The Movila family in the pages of Romanian history 108

3.2.2. Debates on the year of birth: 1596 112

3.2.3. The studies of the metropolitan - first steps towards erudition 115

3.2.4. Petru Movilă as archimandrite of the Pecerska Lavra 118

3.3. Intensification of religious culture as a metropolitan 120

3.3.1. Invigorating church life 124

3.3.2. Kiev education reform 127

3.3.2. Editorial activity under the sign of dynamizing Orthodox values 131

3.3.3. Representative movilene writings 133

3.4. Metropolitan Petru Movilă's relations with the Roman Countries 138

CHAPTER IV - THE SYNOD OF 1642 IN IAȘI - AN EXERCISE OF COLLABORATION AND INTERORTODOX DIALOGUE 144

4.1. The political and religious context in the south-eastern European space in the 17th century 144

4.2. Confession of Faith - Synthesis of Orthodox Teaching 160

4.2.1. Confessions of faith from the sec. XVI-XVII - aspects of Christian confessional identity 160

4.2.2. The theological context in which the Confession of Petru Movilă appeared 181

4.2.3. Synod of Kiev - 1640 185

4.3. The Synod of Iasi (1642) - important religious event on the religious map of the Orthodox world 186

4.3.1. 186 participants

4.3.2. Conduct of synodal works 187

4.5. The universal echo of the importance of the Iași Synod 190

CHAPTER V - RECEIPT IN THE ORTHODOX SPACE OF THE CONFESSION
OF FAITH OF MITROPOLITAN PETRU MOVILA 192

5.1. Confession of the Movillian Faith - Intention to Renew Orthodox Teaching
by Using the Methods of Western Theology 192

5.1.1. Confession of Faith - A Dynamic Exercise for Establishing Orthodox
Identity Against Confessional Interconnections 192

5.1.2. Critical perspectives on Catholic influences in the movilean work 196

5.1.3. Confession of the Movilean faith - an effort to ecumenical mobilization
of Orthodoxy. Premises and models for inter-Christian dialogue 207

5.2. The relevance and capitalization of the Orthodox Confession from Iași
(1642) in the Romanian Orthodox Church 217

CONCLUSIONS 225

REFERENCES 229

1. Sources: chronicles, documents 229

2. Specialized literature 230

This thesis intends to bring forward a religious context of the eighteenth century, which engaged in a comprehensive dialogue Orthodox Church signed in Moldova and Kievan Church. This context is of utmost importance in the history of the Romanian Orthodox Church, as it highlights the dynamic religious state in Southeast Europe, capturing the synodal event in Iasi in 1642, an event in which the participants legitimized the *Confession of Faith* of St. Metropolitan Peter Mound.

The relevance of such a research is confirmed, first of all, by the contextualization of the events from the 15th century. XVII in the south-eastern European space, a situation that is repeated today, the crisis of Christianity no longer being provoked as then by Catholic and Calvinist proselytizing intentions, but by aggressive secularization, aggressive atheism and neo-Marxist cultural ideologies. The basic idea is that, perhaps more than ever, it is necessary for the Orthodox Churches to cooperate with each other, in order to have a visible pan-Orthodox identity at the global social level and, at the same time, to stimulate ecumenical collaboration with other Churches. and promote ecumenical Christian identity values.

The doctoral thesis captures the relations between Moldova and Kiev in religious and cultural terms, developed in the seventeenth century, highlighting the act of correspondence, fraternity and common intention to update and preserve the Orthodox identity in this European space. These relations were also supported by political attitudes that capitalized on diplomacy in the Christian spirit. The seventeenth century was a provocative one for the whole of Christendom , but especially for Orthodoxy, the latter being the target of proselytizing attacks by the Roman Catholic Church and the Calvinists. Concerned with recovering the loss caused by the break-up of the Protestant Churches (Lutheran and Calvinist) in Rome, especially after the union of Brest-Litovsk (1596), the Roman Catholic Church intensified its proselytizing propaganda - supported by political power - in Ukraine. Transylvania and other places where the Orthodox were . This, claimed and the French ambassadors attached to the Ottoman Sublime Porte and countries Romanian, determined to create a strong enough tension, tension felt both in Transylvania and Moldova and the Romanian Country. For their part, the Protestants - after trying to make allies against the Roman Catholics the Orthodox , through the letters of Lutheran theologians sent to the Patriarchate of Constantinople - intensified proselytism among the Orthodox ; if in Transylvania they used Calvinist principles, in the two principalities they sought to use the promotion of writing in the language of the people. Thus , from the beginning of this century, Orthodoxy was attacked on two fronts of proselytism. Among actions of proselytism remember publication *Confessio* attributed to Cyril Lucaris , who - between 1629 and 1633 - has

seen no less than two editions in Latin, four French, one German and one in English. Because the content they Calvinised the occurrence of the above mentioned *Admissions* of the triggered reaction Orthodox. Thus were held the synods of Constantinople (1638), Kiev (1640), Iasi (1642), Moscow (1666-1667), Jerusalem (1672) and Constantinople (1691), in which the attitude of rejection of this *Confession* from the Churches The Orthodox, led by the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, the Patriarchate of Antioch and the Patriarchate of Alexandria, was firmly expressed. Registering this attitude, to counter attacks proselytizing manifested Orthodox Churches, it highlights the effort of St. Peter Mogila, Metropolitan of Kiev, Galicia and Russia (Small) to form first, a short book of instruction, called the *Russian Orthodox Catechism* (1632), which he presented at the Synod of Kiev (1640), held between September 8 and 18, in the "Hagia Sophia" Cathedral in Kiev; to this catechism, later, was added the composition of a more developed *Expositio fidei* (Exposition of the Faith), which will be presented at the Synod of Iasi, held between September 15 and October 27, 1642. Participants in the work of the synod that took place in the capital of Moldova and enjoyed the support of voivode Vasile Lupu were: Porphyry, former Metropolitan of Nicaea; Hieromonk Meletius Sirigul, the most learned Greek of the seventeenth century, who made the corrections and the Greek translation of the *Confession*, as delegates of the Ecumenical Patriarch Parthenius I (1639-1644); Isaiah Trofimovich Kozloski, abbot of the "Saint Nicholas" Monastery in Kiev; Iosif Cononovich Gorbachev, rector of the Kiev Academy; Ignatie Oxenovici Starușici, preacher of St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev, as delegates of the Kiev and Russian Churches; Metropolitan Varlaam of Moldova, as the host, accompanied by bishops Evloghie of Roman, Anastasius of Radauti and George of Huși, with Sophrony Pociațki, Abbot of the Monastery "Holy Three Hierarchs" and rector of the Academy of Iasi, car is corrected confession of Petru in certain points and in accordance with the teaching of the Church.

This synodal event brought to the fore the prominent figure of Saint Metropolitan Petru Movilă. Petru Movilă (1596-1646) verified his vocation as a man of culture and a brand church representative, through his actions remaining alive in the consciousness of posterity as a model, as a vector of theological and cultural representation. Surprisingly, Petru Movila gave up the thought of becoming a lord in Moldova and entered the monastic dinner. Here, climbing all the hierarchical steps, he was anointed, in 1633, as metropolitan of Kiev. In this position he put into practice a strategic plan for the renewal of the Orthodox Church in relation to the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant churches. He understood that Orthodoxy's participation in

the confessional dialogue in the multinational and multi-denominational Polish state required the training of Orthodox in modern science and culture. Therefore, you get Lavra Archimandrite of Pechersk , reorganized board and printing, and it becomes Metropolitan of Kiev, founded the first *Academy modern Orthodox*, founded on Greek and Latin culture, emulating the institutions of superior education in the West. School and printing houses are forces that propel the Kiev cultural current in the world of Eastern Orthodoxy and in the Western Christian space. This cultural current is distinguished by fidelity to the Orthodox Church, in the superior form of modern times and also by promoting the autonomy of the Orthodox Church within the Polish state. Petru Movilă's autonomous policy proved, however, without perspective in the Polish feudal state, undermined by social, ethnic and confessional contradictions . After a year of repose great Mitro policies, prelates Ukrainians gave autonomy ecclesiastical and opted for union with Moscow. The same thing will happen politically, by submission to the Russian state.

In the logic of those mentioned above, our research is guided by the following objectives: 1) the analysis of religious relations between the Church of Moldova and the Kiev Church in the seventeenth century; 2) presentation of the Kiev contribution to the development of religious culture in Moldova under the metropolitan patronage of St. Varlaam; 3) the contextualization of the personality dimension of Saint Metropolitan Petru Movilă in the Christian multiconfessional religious dynamics from the 15th century. XVII in the south-eastern European space; 4) highlighting the landmark event with universal resonances of the Synod of Iasi from 1642; 5) emphasizing the profile, content and identity of *the Movilă Confession of Faith* in the context of the proselytizing intentions of the sec. XVII.

The topicality of the analyzed theme is suggested, first of all, by the event of 1642, in which the theological consensus of some orthodox churches was pronounced regarding a theological issue that demanded its legitimacy. The presentation of the event in Iași from 1642 opens the line of research on the importance of *the Movillene Confession of Faith* , a normative work of the Eastern Church. It is structured in three major parts - *faith, hope, love* - following the model of St. Augustine (*cf. Enchiridion ad Laurentum sive de fide, spe et caritate*). These three great Christian virtues are presented, in catechetical form, in 361 questions and answers. The first part refers to *faith* and explains the Symbol of Nicaea, the seven Holy Sacraments and various precepts of the Church. The second part has *hope* at its center and comments on the Lord's Prayer and the nine Beatitudes. The third part deals with *love*, the definition of vices and virtues , as well as the explanation of the commandments of the Decalogue. *The Orthodox confession* of Petru Movila,

based on the Holy Scripture and the patristic writings, discussed in Kiev and perfected in Iasi, after receiving the pan-Orthodox seal of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, became the official guide, in Orthodox faith and morals, in the centuries in which the Church was divided into various denominational factions.

The Synod of Iași, in which the works of the synods approved the *Confession of Orthodox Faith* of Saint Metropolitan Petru Movilă (1642), is constituted, "over the centuries, in a chance and a challenge, maintaining a wide topicality"¹. In a chance, because it makes us understand that Orthodoxy has always been open to dialogue and the restoration of unity, while at the same time detesting, in the most firm way, any proselytizing action.

In order to have a good framework and a broad analysis of the objectives of the proposed research, the doctoral thesis is structured in five chapters, with related subchapters. The first chapter - *Historical retrospective on political-religious relations in the Moldovan-Ukrainian space until the 17th century. Matrix of orthodox identity correspondence* - it is carried out on two levels of analysis: The Kiev Church - a religious and cultural dynamizing landmark in the 15th century. XVII, respectively "The Kiev problem" in political-religious relations with Moldova. The sub-topics discussed here dream of the confessional configuration of the Kiev space as a confrontation between Catholic proselytism and Orthodoxy, Kiev's position in the politics of Moldovan rulers until the 15th century, Kiev cultural imprints within the Romanian church, the peculiarities of Moldovan diplomacy towards Kiev Russia 15th-16th centuries) and the Romanian foundations in the Kiev space.

Chapter II - *Saint Metropolitan Varlaam - continuator of the church relations between Moldova and Kiev* - is an update of the development and fruition of the relations between Moldova and Kiev under the spiritual patronage of Metropolitan Varlaam. Here, the following topics were considered: a) diplomatic and cultural missions undertaken by Varlaam in the Kiev area; b) Kiev's contribution to the development of Moldovan education - the Vasilian School of the Three Hierarchs; c) Iași printing house as a result of the church reciprocity between Moldova and Kiev.

Chapter III - *Saint Metropolitan Petru Movilă - effervescent scholar of European stature and representative of Orthodoxy at the intersection of confessional tendencies* - focuses on the versatile personality of the Kiev metropolitan, by highlighting the dominant elements that made him a model of the era and an assumed representative of identity Orthodox. Basically, the chapter is reserved for the personality of Metropolitan Petru Movilă in terms of his biography, his actions to revive

¹ *Mărturisirea de Credință. locul și rolul ei în tradiția Bisericii Ortodoxe. Relația dintre teologia academică și teologia doxologică*, coordonatori: Pr. Ion Vicovan, Pr. Dan Sandu, Emilian-Justinian Roman, Doxologia, Iași, 2013, p. 21.

the Kiev religious culture, his relations with the Romanian Lands. Here, too, Petru Movilă's intentions of "universal" union are critically analyzed.

Chapters IV - *The Synod of 1642 in Iași - an exercise in collaboration and dialogue between the Orthodox and* V - *The reception in the Orthodox space of the Confession of Faith of Metropolitan Petru Movilă* - are in full thematic congruence in the sense of continuity of two themes that revolve around the same issues: the reason and purpose of the Synod of Iasi in 1642. Thus are discussed in Chapter IV the political and religious context in the southeastern European space in the seventeenth century, the confessions of faith in the century XVI-XVII, the theological context in which the *Confession* of Petru Movilă appeared, the works, the participants in the Synod of Iași (1642), so that in chapter V we can develop the data about the Movilean *Confession*: the Catholic influences that breathe in it, the intention to be reaffirmation of Orthodoxy and its reception in the Eastern Christian space.

Since our analysis aims to address four major themes (the relations of churches in Moldavia and Kiev in the seventeenth century, the contribution of St. Metropolitan Petru Movila to the development of religious culture in Moldova, the Synod of Iasi in 1642, Confession of Movillian Faith), we used the historical method - criticism doubled by the analytical one. Both methods allowed us to pay as much attention as possible to the historical, political and religious framework of relations between Moldova and Kiev in the seventeenth century. These methods also offer us the possibility to critically and correctly evaluate the data and information regarding the event of 1642 and the theological content of Petru Movilă's *Confession of Faith*.

This doctoral thesis intended to present the relations between the churches of Moldavia and Kiev in the XV-XVII centuries, especially on the synodal event of 1642 in Iasi, which brought to the fore the exponential figure of the Holy Hierarch Movila, and how it was decided in synodal consensus on the legitimacy of the Petru *Confession of Faith*.

The relationship of the Church of Moldova with the Kiev Church is outlined in terms of cultural relations in particular. Given the geographical proximity of the two Orthodox centers in southeastern Europe, it was impossible to single out does not take place, and complicated establish a relation of reciprocity between Moldova and Kiev actually suggested first size unit and missionary Christianity Orthodox, in which all canonical church centers - bishops, metropolises, patriarchs - regardless of national identity, interrelate on the basis of original and canonical identity and the principle of unity and catholicity. In this framework of reciprocity, universal, but viewed in a particular way, is Moldova-Ukraine, a relationship that has generated fruitful church relations, of complementarity, in which the Orthodox spirit was very well highlighted.

For a systematic presentation of this topic in the first place, I sketched insight into specific religious Ukrainian space, presenting historical coordinates of Metropolitan of Kiev stating that complicated the Ukrainian space meet both a present Orthodox and one Catholic, the report is not very big. Since complicated the reality - based its the historical research - that complicated Kiev, and other Slavic peoples, are part of the work of Christianisation coming from Byzantium, this establishes a first common point Moldovan-Ukrainian Orthodox interference.

What is noteworthy about Kiev Christianity is its polarity. Entering the sphere of the Lithuanian principality due to the politico-social context of the then history, the Ukrainians will become a ground, a support for the confrontation of Catholicism with Orthodoxy, and then the Calvinist presence of Protestant origin will threaten as a real danger the traditional line of Christianity. . Thus, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Kiev faced a crisis of political and social adaptation in the fight against Catholic proselytism. Catholic propaganda, which tended to convert the Orthodox population to the papal church, intensified when the political union between Poland and Lithuania was proclaimed in Liublin in 1569, or, as some historians believe, the Lithuanian state was incorporated into the Polish state. From now on, the history of Lithuania is confused with that of Poland, and the Orthodox population shares the same fate as the Catholic population. The political union opens wide the gates of a Polish-Catholic influence on Ukrainians and indirectly of Western culture.

Chapters I and II frame the cultural-ecclesiastical relations between the two Orthodox centers, until 1642. I drew the diplomatic lines between the Moldavian lords and Kiev, diplomacy on which, moreover, the ecclesiastical and economic relations will be constantly supported. and cultural. Among these Romanian rulers are Mircea the Elder, Alexander the Good and Stephen the Great, who practically configured due to his political genius the Moldovan-Russian relations under the rule of the positive note. Next, I sketched the cultural-ecclesiastical relations between the two Orthodox centers, until 1642, a moment of reference in the life of the Church of Moldavia. Kiev was in this century midpoint between Moldova and Poland, both present on the political scene century of XVII century . The religious atmosphere of the culture of the 16th and 17th centuries, the common faith, Orthodoxy, which connects the Romanians with the Ukrainians, makes possible a rapprochement between these two peoples. And if we take into account the immediate proximity between the Romanians from Moldova and the Ukrainian Ukraine and the one from Podolia, the economic interests that connected these two countries, the big trade that Lviv, the capital of Galicia, does with the Moldovan and even the Wallachian cities, then we understand why these relationships had to be so intense. It speaks usually Polish influence on our culture of the eighteenth century and overlooks the fact that the Polish people of compact masses was far from

us as the distance and especially spiritual trends. Poland was once the vanguard of Catholicism in Eastern Europe, with aggressive tendencies to conquer Orthodox countries. In the context of cultural relations we mention the chronicler Grigore Ureche who studied in Lvov, Miron Costin who studied at Bar, a city where in those days there was a Jesuit college, and Costin attended this Jesuit college, intended for the training of Polish noble youth. Here we find the explanation of Miron Costin's erudition, his system of thought, his sympathies for Polish institutions, as well as his deep knowledge of Latin and Polish.

But a special contribution to the Romanian-Ukrainian interculturality is given by the Romanian emigrations in the Polish territories and the establishment of those "Orthodox fraternities", as a source of Orthodox life in an effervescent Catholic setting. Along these lines, we presented the Moldovan foundations in Poland, the most important of which is the Church in Lvov, and the major contribution of Moldovans, whether rulers, boyars or ordinary people, to the constant Orthodox life in this Polish area.

In the following chapters we have presented in detail the Moldavian-Ukrainian relations under church report, placing in these relations as reference points the Metropolitan of Kiev - of Romanian origin - Petru Movila, Metropolitan Varlaam - directly engaged in the international event of 1642, the Synod of Iasi and in the development of Moldovan printing and education.

Personalities of the history of our church and national Metropolitan Peter Mogila is one of the most important hierarchs of the eighteenth century bridge between Orthodoxy Romanian and Slavic, but also the creator of the school of theology and shield of faith Orthodox . Living in a time when Western propaganda, Catholic or Calvinist, exerted dizzying pressure on Orthodoxy, Metropolitan Movilă managed to embody the Eastern ethos, both through his famous Academy and through the composition of the famous *Confession of the Orthodox Faith* , a famous doctrinal and spiritual monument. of his age, but also through coagulation Orthodox dogmatic expression, made at the council of Iasi since 1642. *Confession* of Metropolitan Peter Mogila is a monument exposure Orthodox faith of the eighteenth century, and a bow and a model for all later catechetical expositions. Formed in need Calvinist missionary and Catholic missionary actions contraponderii aggressive work claimed doctrinal exposure and deepening spiritual all Orthodox space. Influence *Confession of Peter Knoll* on Eastern theological thought is clearly visible under all exposures catechesis and doctrinal rear.

The century in which Petru Movila lived and activated is one of the hardest for the Orthodox East, because the Turkish power was in full expansion, the Ottoman Empire being one of the formidable forces , to be feared in the entire civilized world

since then. The reform also got a big boost, penetrating, tenacity, and in Eastern Europe. Poland included Ukrainian territory today, identifying himself as one of the major European powers, the king led them Sigismund III, all favorable Orthodoxy, and no reform. Union of Brest-Litovsk in 1596, its spread, with aggressive intolerance, consequences for the Orthodox world, wilderness areas traditionally Orthodox and uprooting a true and solid paradigm of faith and life .

In this context, Metropolitan Movilă strives , by printing books - over 50 volumes, by exposing the Orthodox faith , by spreading the spirituality of the Pecerskaya Lavra , by training the clergy (with the help of the famous Spiritual Academy in Kiev) and by coalitioning the Orthodox world. with the help of the Synod of Iași , to curb these centrifugal forces , which pressed the free manifestation of the Orthodoxy of his time. He is the author of the Slavic Orthodox renaissance after the Brest-Litovsk Union, which restored the prestige of Orthodoxy in the Western Slavic space and restored not only many believers attracted to Uniatism, but also many places of worship, the best known being the Cathedral. "Saint Sophia" in Kiev. Activity pro-Orthodox Metropolitan mound embodied spiritual, missionary and doctrinal truth Orthodox appropriate an effective response to the challenges of his time, giving us the same time, and this day, a possible example and pattern of action to respond to the problems of our age.

Petru Movilă is one of the church militants who already at the beginning of the 17th century started to look for ways of understanding between different Christian branches. Over time, this Moldovan prince and great Ukrainian hierarch acted globally, thinking in perspective, both in the interests of the Ukrainian people and the entire European Orthodox world. An expressive recognition of this fact is the proclamation of the canonization of Metropolitan Petru Movilă by the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church.

In conclusion, there was a complementary relationship between Moldova and Kiev: Moldova helped maintain the constant Orthodox effervescence in Kiev and Poland undergoing an aggressive process of Catholicization, and Kiev has made an important contribution to the development of Moldovan education and printing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Avădanei, M., *Așezământul școlar de la „Trei Ierarhi”*, în „Mitropolia Moldovei și a Sucevei”, XVII, 1972.
2. Avădanei, Mihail, *Așezământul școlar de la Trei Ierarhi din Iași, prima instituție cu elemente de învățământ superior din Moldova*, în „Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei”, XLVII (1971), nr. 5-6.
3. Avădanii, Conf. M. I., *Academia domnească - treaptă nouă în dezvoltarea învățăturilor înalte din Moldova, în secolul al XVIII-lea*, în “Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei”, 1985, nr. 7-9.
4. Bădărău, Gabriel, *Contemporaneitatea colegiului vasilian de la Trei Ierarhi, o nouă treaptă în dezvoltarea învățământului din Moldova*, în „Teologie și Viață”, 1992, nr. 11-12.
5. Băileanu, Gh., *lașul în secolul al XVII-lea. Evenimentele, bisericile și cultura și arta în timpul domniei lui Vasile Lupu*, în „Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei”, XLIV (1968), nr. 1-2.
6. Bainton, Roland H., *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century*, Beacon, Boston, 1952.
7. Bezviconi, G., *Călători ruși în Moldova și Muntenia*, București 1947.
8. Bezviconi, G., *Contribuții la istoria relațiilor romano-ruse*, Editura Tritonic, București 2004.
9. Bilobid, O., V. Harlamov, *Descoperirea de sub fundația Catedralei Uspenia din Kiev*, în „Mitropolitul Petru Movilă, la 340 de ani de la moartea sa. 1647-1987”, Sibiu, 1988.
10. Bobâlna, Gb., „Idei și tendințe umaniste în activitatea și opera lui Petru Movilă”, în *Un veac de aur în Moldova 1643-1743*, Chișinău-București, 1996, pp. 16-36.
11. Bobâna, Gheorghe, *Petru Movilă. Profilul unui destin*, Chișinău, Știința, 1996.
12. Bodogae, Pr. Prof. Dr. Teodor, *Petru Movilă și sinodul de la Iași (1642)*, în „Revista teologică”, an XXXII, nr. 9-10 (sept.-oct.)/1942.
13. Bodogae, Pr. Teodor, *Din istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe de acum 300 de ani. Considerații istorice în legătură cu Sinodul de la Iași*, Sibiu, 1943.
14. Cazacu, Matei, *Pierre Mohyla et la Roumanie: Essai hislorique et bibliographique*, în “The Kiev Mohyla Academy. Commemorating the 350-th Anniversary of its Founding (1632)”, “Harvard Ukrainian Studies”, Special issue, vol. VIII, Number 1/2, June, 1984.
15. Chaninov, N. Brian, *Histoire de Russie (Les grandes études historiques)*, ed. 13, Paris 1928.
16. Cheresteșiu, V., *Marele învățător, om politic și luptător activ pentru prietenia româno-rusă*, D. Cantemir, Studii, VI, 1953, nr. 4.

17. Chifăr, N., „Sinodul de la Iași în contextul politico-religioase din prima jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea”, în *Sinodul de la Iași și Sf. Petru Movilă 1642-2002*, Trinitas, Iași, 2002.
18. Chifăr, Nicolae, *Istoria creștinismului*, vol. II, Editura Universității „Lucian Blaga”, Sibiu, 2008.
19. Ciurea. Pr. Prof. Dr. Alexandru, *Mărturisirea de credință a Spătarului Nicolae Milescu. „Stella Orientalis Occidentali splendens”*, în „Ortodoxia”, X (1958).
20. Cochrane, Arthur C., *Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth Century*, Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1966.
21. Constantinescu, B., *Românul Petru Movilă ca reprezentant al Bisericii Ortodoxe*, în “Columna lui Traian”, București, 1873.
22. Diaconescu, Traian, *Petru Movilă - un precursor al spiritului ecumenic modern*, în Petru Movilă, *Mărturisirea Ortodoxă a credinței universale și apostolice a Bisericii Orientale*, Institutul European, Iași, 2001.
23. Dianu, Ion, *Mitropolitul Varlaam ctitor de scriere și de carte românească*, în „Glasul Bisericii”, an. XL, 1981, nr. 1-2.
24. Dobianschi, A., V. Simion, *Arta în epoca lui Vasile Lupu*, București, 1979.
25. Dobrescu, M. S., *Împrejurările ce au provocat Sinodul de la Iași (1642)*, București, 1890.
26. Donos, N. *Historia Catehismi Russorum*, în „Mitropolia Moldovei”, an. XVIII (1942).
27. Dragomir, Silviu, *Contribuții privitoare la relațiile Bisericii românești cu Rusia în veacul XVII*, în „Analele Academiei Romane”, Mem. Sect. Ist. Ist. s. II, t. XXXIV, București 1912.
28. Dulles, Cardinal Avery, *A History of Apologetics*, Ignatius Press, San Francisco, 2005.
29. Duponcheele, Joseph, *L'etre de l'Alliance*, Cerf, Paris, 1992.
30. Dvomik, F., *Slavii în istoria și civilizația europeană*, trad. de D. Stanciu, București, 2001.
31. Elian, Al., *Contribuția grecească la „Mărturisirea Ortodoxă”*, în „Balcanica”, V, 1, 1942.
32. Elian, Al., *Cuvânt înainte la Mărturisirea de credință a Bisericii Ortodoxe*, București, 1981.
33. Guboglu, Mihai, *Mihai Viteazul în documente turcești*, în „Revista arhivelor”, anul LII, Vol. XXXVII, nr. 2, 1975.
34. Haight, C. (editor), *The English Reformation Revised*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987.
35. Hașdeu, B. P., *Arhiva istorică a României*, București, 1865, t. 1, par. I, nr. 155.
36. Hering, Gunnar, *Oekumenische Patriarhat und Europäische Politik 1620-1638*, Wiesbaden, 1968.
37. Hering, Gunnar, *Orthodoxie and Protestantismus*, în „Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik”, Akten 1/2, 31/2, 1981.

38. Lupaş, I., *Mitropolitul Petru Movilă în relaţiile lui cu românii*, în *Studii, conferinţe, comunicări*, IV, Sibiu, 1943.
39. Macarii (Bulgakov), mitropolit Moscovskii Kolomenski, *Istoria Russkoi Terkvi cniga şestoia*, Moscova, 1996.
40. MacCulloch, Diarmaid, *Istoria creştinismului*, traducere de Cornelia Dumitru şi Mihai-Silviu Chirilă, Editura Polirom, 2011.
41. Martinaş, I., *Petru Movilă şi Catolicismul*, Iaşi, 1943.
42. Păcurariu, Pr. Prof. Dr. Mircea, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Romane*, vol. I, Editura Institutului Biblic şi de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Romane, Bucureşti 1997.
43. Pali, Fr., *Les relations de Basile Lupu avec L'Orient orthodoxe et particulièrement avec le patriarcat de Constantinopole envisage surtout d'après les lettres de Ligariidis*, în „Balcanica”, VIII, 1945.
44. Panaiteanu, P. P., *Fundaţiuni religioase româneşti în Galicia*, „Buletinul Comisiei monumentelor istorice”, XXII, 1929.
45. Panaiteanu, P. P., *L'influence de l'oeuvre de Pierre Mogila, archevêque de Kiev, dans les Principautés roumaines*, în „Mélangés de l'Ecole Roumaine en France”, Paris, 1926.
46. Panaiteanu, P. P., *Movilă, Petru. Studii*, ediţie îngrijită de Ştefan S. Gorovei şi Maria-Magdalena Szekely, Editura Enciclopedică, Bucureşti, 1996.
47. Panaiteanu, P. P., *O carte necunoscută a lui Petru Movilă dedicată lui Matei Basarab*, în „Omagiu lui P. Constantinescu-Iaşi”, Bucureşti, 1965.
48. Panaiteanu, P. P., *Petru Movilă. Studii*, coordonat de Ştefan Gorovei şi Maria Magdalena Szekely, Editura Enciclopedică, Bucureşti, 1996.
49. Panaiteanu, P. P., *Un autograf al lui Petru Movilă pe un tetraevanghel al lui Ştefan cel Mare*, în «Revista Iсторică Română», voi. IX, 1939.
50. Scriban, F., *Viaţa mitropolitului Petru Movilă în „Mărturisirea bisericii catolice şi apostolice de Răsărit”*, Sibiu, 1914.
51. Ştefan S. Gorovei, *Întemeierea Mitropoliei Moldovei în contextul relaţiilor moldo-bizantine*, în „Teologie şi Viaţă”, 1993, nr. 8-10.
52. Şerbănescu, N., *S-a ținut un sinod anti-unionionist la Iaşi în anul 1595?*, în „Biserica Ortodoxă Română”, nr. 7-8/1963.
53. Şerbănescu, Niculae, *La trei sute de ani de la moartea mitropolitului Varlaam al Moldovei*, în „Biserica Ortodoxă Română”, LXXV (1957), nr. 10, p. 1012-1035.