## **Comenius and Ukraine**

The Ukrainian reception of the ideas and the works by Comenius has already been researched. Two Ukrainian emigrant philosophers Dmytro Chyzhevsky (1894-1977) and his close friend Panas Fedenko (1893-1981) may be named founders of such researches. They both firstly started to investigate the influence of the ideas by Comenius on the Ukrainian society in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and about connection between Comenius' political plans and Bohdan Khmelnytsky Uprising. We shall consider this aspect later. It is worth to note, that Ukrainian reception of Comenius is rather specific and has not been investigated completely yet. There is not information about Ukraine in the texts by Comenius. Ukraine has not been mentioned in the published biographical materials of the outstanding Czech philosopher and pedagogue. The publications concerned with political relations between Comenius and Khmelnytsky based on some letters of Comenius and also on other historical documents of 17<sup>th</sup> century connected with Comenius' life and activity. We have to notice, that beyond abovementioned Fedenko, the best nowadays Comenius' biographer Milada Blekastad (1917-2003) describes the connection between Comenius' political plans and Khmelnytsky's politics. Thus, the investigation of the problem Comenius and Ukraine may be realized in two aspects: 1) connection of Comenius' ideas and politics by Khmelnytsky; 2) the reception of Comenius' ideas (pedagogical, theological, and philosophical) in Ukraine. Let us consider these aspects in the historical context.

To investigate the reception of John Amos Comenius' ideas in Ukraine is a complicated task to do since many aspects of Comenian Studies have not been researched or have been intentionally ignored in Ukraine. Moreover, the works nonetheless published contained plenty of mistakes, incorrect references, misinterpreted facts, wrong dates, etc. During the Soviet period the impartial and really scientific research like "Comenius and the Ukrainian Nation's Struggle for Liberation in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century", "Comenius, the Theologian", "Comenius as a Religious Man", etc. could not have possibly existed. It is necessary to mention here that Comenius' theological and philosophical works as well as his poetical heritage, his ideas on poetry remain absolutely unknown for the Ukrainian reader (obviously, for the Russian reader as well). This kind of research in Comenian Studies still needs to be done in Ukraine. In this context not only the topicality of Comenius' ideas for the present day is meant, but also the necessity for the Ukrainian reader to discover the true Comenius, a theologian, philosopher, poet, hidden under the popular slogan 'a great pedagogue and reformer'.

Generally, Comenius' reception in Ukraine may be divided into four chronological periods. The 1<sup>st</sup> period is the stage of acquaintance with the texts and theories of Comenius during his lifetime in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. This aspect is hardly known and its analysis needs a thorough archive and resources study. Among the works already done in this field, only one thesis on the reception of Comenius' *Didactica magna* by Symeon Polots'kyj (1629-1680) written by Boris Mitjurov can be mentioned. His article was published in Prague in the magazine "Pedagogika"<sup>4</sup>, and afterwards made a chapter in his book about Comenius' pedagogical ideas in Ukraine. But

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>For more detail information, see articles: Mnich R. *Die Comeniusforschung in der Ukraine. Ergebnisse und Perspektiven.* In: *Comenius und Weltfriede. Comenius and World Peace.* Hrg. von W.Korthaase, Sigurt Hauff, Andreas Fritsch. Berlin 2005, S.633-644; Mnich R. Trzy recepcje Jana Amosa Komeńskiego. W: *Jan Amos Komeński a kultura epoki baroku* ("Studia Comeniana Sedlcensia". Tom 1. Red. Barbary Sitarskiej i Romana Mnicha, Siedlce 2007, s. 133-142. In this context very interesting is article by Georgy P. Melnikov about the reception of Comenius' ideas in the Eastern-Slavic lands: *Komenský u výchdních slovanů*, in: *Johannes Amos Comenius. The Legacy to the Culture of education.* Praha 2009, p.463-469.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See *Jan Amos Komenský o sobě*. Praha 1987.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Milada Blekastad, *Comenius. Versuch eines Umrisses von Leben, Werk und Schicksal des Jan Amos Komenský.* Oslo-Praha, 1969 (s. Index).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> "Pedagogika", Praga 1964, № 4, S. 473-481.

B.Mitjurov was not the first to write about this period: Comenius' influence on Polots'kyj has been studied in 1913 by V.P.Rodnikov<sup>5</sup>, who published his article in the "Works of Kiev Theological Academy". Later, the influence of Comenius' text *Lux e tenebris* on Polots'kyj and Rodnikov's article were mentioned in the book *The Paths of Russian Theology*<sup>6</sup> by Georgij Frolovskyj.

The second period embraces the eighteenth century. During that time Comenius' texts written in Latin were well-known throughout Europe, and therefore could not have been omitted by Ukrainian writers, philosophers, and men of culture such as Theophan Prokopovych, Georgij Konys'kyj, Grygorij Skovoroda, and others. The study of this period leaves mush to be desired for the present day<sup>7</sup>.

A fascinating example which illustrates the paradoxes of Ukrainian historiography of the twentieth century is a research devoted to Comenius' attitude to Ukrainian War of Liberation in the seventeenth century. In Prague in 1932 there was published an article by Panas Fedenko entitled *Political Plans of J.A.Komenskyj in Ukraine*<sup>8</sup>. The article was published in a selection of scientific works of Ukrainian High Pedagogical Institute named after Mykhajlo Drahomanov. It was a profound scientific research with an appropriate analysis of archives, foreign resources and Comenius' correspondence. A general conclusion of the article stated Comenius' sympathy and interest in Ukraine, his hope for the united actions of Cossaks and Comenius' adherents in their struggle against the Catholic Poland.

In 1946 in the magazine "Radyans'ka shkola" ("Soviet School") Professor M.D.Dadenkov published an article *Comenius and the Ukrainian Nation's Struggle for Liberation in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century<sup>9</sup>.* In fact, this publication repeated the material gathered by Panas Fedenko, but without mentioning any references and Fedenko himself. Instead, M.Dadenkov referred to the "History of Ukraine-Russ" by Mykhajlo Hrushevskyj, writing that Janush Radziwill, the supreme commander of Lithuanian army, and Bohdan Khmelnytsky's son Yurij were married to the sisters. This fact may be considered as important since Janush Radziwill was a close friend of Comenuis and has sent his children to him to study. However, M.Dadenkov summarized that by now it remains unknown "whether there were close relations between Comenius and such Ukrainian statesmen as Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Hetman of Ukraine, or Petro Mohyla, the founder of Kyiv Academy" <sup>10</sup>.

M.Dadenkov's article is interesting also by the fact that the author, unlike Fedenko, could not cite Comenius' correspondence fully, especially extracts connected with the "defeat of Moskovites": "a poor people is those Moskovites, born for defeats, used to nothing else but pinches", "the most ignorant and stupid tribe" (Gens ignavissima, stupidissima) <sup>11</sup>.

Finally, the same topic was touched upon by the author of the article *Jan Amos Komenski and Ukraine* published in the "Ukrainian Historical Magazine" in 1967 (No 3) dedicated to the commemoration of the 375<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Comenius' birthday. The article was signed by a cryptonym Y.I. (certainly – Yaroslav Isajevych). In this short article besides the name of Panas Fedenko and his work mentioned, the author presented a long list of bibliography on the matter and new resources. The stress was laid on the role of teachers' magazines issued in Galicia in the nineteenth century ("National School", "School Gasette") in the course of acquaintance of Ukrainian pedagogical circles with the works of Comenius, giving references on certain publications and even authors (Omeljan Partyts'kyj, for example).

<sup>7</sup> We can name only one article by Chyzhevsky about the existence of the works by Comenius in Theophan Prokopovych's library. See Чижевский Д. Произведения Коменского у восточных славян в XVII-XVIII веке, в: "Slavia", Ročník XXXIX, Praha 1970, s. 512-530.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Родников В.П. *Два темных места в нашей педагогической литературе XVI-XVII вв*., в: "Труды Киевской духовной академии", 1913, Книга II, № 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Флоровский Г. *Пути русского богословия*, Париж 1983, с.80, 532.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Феденко П. *Політичні пляни Я.А.Коменського та Україна*, в: "Праці Українського високого педагогічного інституту ім.Михайла Драгоманова у Празі". Науковий збірник. Т.ІІ. Під загальною редакцією Василя Сімовича, Прага 1932, с.1-17 (388-404).

<sup>9</sup> Даденков М.Ф. *Коменський і визвольна боротьба українського народу в 17 віці,* в: "Радянська школа", 1946, № 3, с.30-34.

<sup>10</sup> Даденков М.Ф. *Коменський і визвольна боротьба українського народу в 17 віц*і, в: "Радянська школа", 1946, № 3, с.30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Феденко П. *Політичні пляни Я.А.Коменського та Україна*, в: "Праці Українського високого педагогічного інституту ім. Михайла Драгоманова у Празі". Науковий збірник. Т.ІІ. Під загальною редакцією Василя Сімовича, Прага 1932, с.17 (404).

The most profound research on "Comenuis and Ukraine" has been published in 1971 by Borys Mitjurov under the title "Pedagogical Ideas of John Amos Comenius in Ukraine" The book is significant, though not sizeable. B.Mitjurov has summed up his long-term researches in Comenian Studies, having composed them around several main problems in this book. Certainly, the book is not free from ideological connotations common for this time, but even under these circumstances the author managed to say much about Comenius himself and 'Comenius and Ukraine' in particular.

In Chapter I "Epoch of John Amos Comenius" (P.7-56) B.Mitjurov wrote about J.A.Comenius' life, activity and pedagogical theories, stressing the similar points in views of Comenius and the Ukrainian scholars of the same epoch. Chapter II is devoted to the heritage of Symeon Polots'kij, Comenius' follower in Ukraine. Chapter III deals with the influence of Comenius' pedagogical views in Ukraine in the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth. Chapter IV tells about Comenius' impact on Ukrainian pedagogical theory in the second half of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth. Chapter V represents an interpretation of Comenius' heritage in the Soviet period.

Today the book of B.Mitjurov is a valuable research, because of its considerable informative materials, collected by the author. A year before, i.e. in 1970, a famous Soviet publishing house «Знання» ('Znannja') published B.Mitjurov's brochure on Comenius intended for a wide circle of readers.

Of course, in the context of this thesis it is important to mention the works on Comenius published in the Ukrainian emigrant editions after the World War II. Under the focus of our attention will be two articles only contributed to the magazine "Визвольний шлях» ('Vyzvol'nyj shljakh). In Issue 8, 1959 an article *John Amos Comenius and Ukraine* by Jevhen Aletiano-Popivs'kyj has been published<sup>13</sup>. The author states the lack of the research works focused on the problem, which is put in the headline, as a starting point for further discussion: "Whether there were any relations between J.A.Comenius and famous Ukrainian statesmen, Bogdan Khmelnytsky in particular, or earlier with archbishop Petro Mohyla, the founder of Kyiv Academy, we do not know. But we do know, that people who were of great political and public influence of that time and met Bogdan Khmelnytsky and metropolitan bishop Petro Mohyla, were in close personal relations and steady contact with Comenius" <sup>14</sup>. The author also analyses the two stages of Comenius' relations to Ukraine: the first stage is characterized as fearful and alerted when Comenius was against the war between Cossacks and the Poles, while the second stage, which is marked by Comenius' positive treatment of Cossacks who opposed Catholic reaction in Europe.

Blanca Jerzhabkova investigates and analyzes another aspect of Comenius' influence on Ukrainian pedagogy in the same magazine "Визвольний шлях" Issue 9, 1981<sup>15</sup>. In the Introduction she characterizes the role of Comenius in Europe and points out five aspects of his influence on Ukraine and Ukrainian pedagogy: 1) Comenius' contacts with Ukraine; 2) Comenius' influence on Ukrainian schooling; 3) translations from Comenius' and his publications in Ukraine; 4) the works about Comenuis, written by the Ukrainian scholars; 5) the review on commemoration of the 300<sup>th</sup> centenary of Comenius' birth in Ukraine in 1892. The list of translations from Comenius done in Ukraine as well as its analysis is of special interest here (later, we will focus on a translation published in Peremyshl' in 1852 in detail).

On the basis of the materials collected in the libraries of Ukraine and Germany about Comenius pedagogical ideas' reception in Ukraine, the following conclusions can be made. The reception of J.A.Comenius' (1592-1670) intellectual heritage has several aspects, three of which receive priority. First of all, the priority is given to Comenius' ideological beliefs and plans connected with the European political situation in the seventeenth

<sup>15</sup> Єржабкова Б. *Вплив Яна Амоса Коменського на українську педагогіку*, в: "Визвольний шлях", 1981, кн.9 (402), с.1112-1117.

 $<sup>^{12}</sup>$  Мітюров Б.Н. Педагогічні ідеї Яна Амоса Коменського на Україні, Київ 1971.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Алетіяно-Попівський Є. *Ян Амос Коменський і Україна*, в. "Визвольний шлях", 1959, кн. 8/68 (142), с.931-936.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Алетіяно-Попівський Є. Ор.сіt., с.931.

century, his reflections about the role of Ukrainian Cossacks and his hope for the united actions of Orthodox Cossacks and Protestants in opposition to Catholics.

The second priority is given to the topic "Comenius and Ukraine", which deals with the similarities of pedagogical ideas of Comenius and those fixed in the codices of the Ukrainian brotherhoods in the seventeenth century. First of all, the possible influence of the codices of the Ukrainian brotherhoods on Comenius' pedagogical system is to be investigated here. This aspect may also be enlarged by the comparative study of Comenius' ideas and Ukrainian polemic literature, Ivan Vyshnevets'kyj's works in particular as proposed by Vasyl' Shevchuk.

The article Labour for Humankind written by V.Shevchuk was published in the magazine "Вітчизна" ("Vitchyzna") (No 11) in the jubilee year of 1970<sup>16</sup>. The thesis is full of interesting information about Comenius' life and activities: Comenius' relation to Ukraine, episodes from his private life, cardinal Richelieu's invitation to organize a pansophic school in Paris, a questionable correspondence of Bogdan Khmelnytsky and Cromwell, etc. Certainly, due to the demands of the time, V.Shevchuk wrote that "the great Czech reformer" "supported the idea of union between Ukrainian and Russian people", "suffered the bitterness of Russian army defeat" 17. Evidently. these ideas stand no criticism in the light of the abovementioned citations from Comenius about the Moscovites. In 1990 it was V.Shevchuk who wrote an article about Comenius for the Ukrainian Literary Encyclopedia<sup>18</sup>.

In 1970, the year of Comenius' jubilee, a Ukrainian magazine "Радянська школа" ("Radjans'ka Shkola") also prepared a number of publications. In Issue 11 two articles have been published: The Great Czech Pedagogue and Humanist by A.G.Konforovych<sup>19</sup> and Pedagogical System of J.A.Comenius by B.N.Mitjurov<sup>20</sup>. Both articles have been written in the manner typical for the Soviet period, but at the same time contained rich informative data. Especially instructive was the article written by B.Mitjurov supported by a long list of references which included the principal books on Comenius of Ukrainian and Russian researchers. The author also tells some historical episodes, one of which concerns G.Floryns'kyj, the rector of Kyiv University. On March 14, 1899 he had a public lecture "John Amos Comenius as a Friend of Humankind", in which he stressed "the demand of the great pedagogue to "teach everyone everything" without violence and punishment, to teach using the native language, to give equal right for education for men and women". G.Floryns'kyj also acknowledged that Comenius' ideas "up till now are the problems of the future, that the school, up-bringing, and teaching remain too far from the high ideal sketched by Comenius"21.

In Chapter IV (P. 99-108) of his book Brotherhood Schools of Ukraine and Byelorussia in the XVI-XVIIth Centuries (Kyiv, 1958), a remade and enlarged by the author edition of the first Russian edition, J.Medyns'kyj made an attempt to describe the influence of Ukrainian brotherhood schools on J.A.Comenius' pedagogical system. J.Medyns'kyj states that "investigating the interrelation of Comenius' pedagogical system and the practice of Ukrainian and Byelorussian brotherhood schools, we will be able to illustrate the influence of these schools on Comenius' pedagogy or at least the leadership of such schools in solving a number of pedagogical questions" 22. Such a conclusion generalizes J.Medyns'kyj's previous researches, connected with the question of Ukrainian brotherhood schools influences on Comenius' pedagogy. Moreover, analyzing the text of the Rules of a Well-Organized School by Comenius and the codex of L'viv Brotherhood School of 1586, J.Medyns'kyi concludes that "the order of a pupil's admittance to the school introduced by Comenius has been thoroughly elaborated by the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Шевчук В. *Подвиг для людства*, в: "Вітчизна" 1970, № 11, с.192-200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Шевчук В., с.199-200. The same thoughts, but not proved by documents, about Comenius we can find in the book *Українська література* в загальнослов'янському і світовому літературному контексті (Volume 1, Київ 1987, с.108, 122).

Шевчук В. Коменський Ян Амос, в: "Українська літературна енциклопедія", том2, київ 1990, с.544-545.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Конфорович А.Г. *Великий чеський педагог-гуманіст*, в: "Радянська школа" 1970, № 11, с.50-55. <sup>20</sup> Митюров Б.Н. *Педагогічна система Я.А.Коменського*, в: "Радянська школа" 1970, № 11, с.55-60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Мітюров Б., с.59

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Мединський Є.М. *Братські школи України і Білорусії в XVI-XVII століття*х, Київ 1958, с.100.

codex of L'viv Brotherhood School 70 years before the *Rules of a Well-Organized School* of Comenius had been issued<sup>23</sup>.

The third priority of Ukrainian Comenian Studies deals with the reception of Comenius' pedagogical heritage in Ukraine, that is, the acquaintance with his works and with the very figure of the scientist. Apparently, before the nineteenth century Comenius' texts written in Latin could have been read by the Ukrainian scholars in the original, and since the nineteenth century in Russian translations in Eastern Ukraine and in German or Polish translations on the territory of Western Ukraine (first of all in Galicia and Bukovyna).

It should be stressed that Comenian Studies in Galicia prove to be of particular interest and deserve a special research. Here are only some perspectives. In Peremyshl' in 1849 there was published a fascinating bilingual (Ukrainian and German, Gothic type) book under the title Selection of Necessary Names Matching the Picture World of Comenius for the Beginners in German Language Learning ("Собраніе найпотребнейших назвиск под змисли подпадающих речей на способ образкового света Коменского для начинающих учиться немецкого язика"). This special handbook of the German language, composed on the basis of the extracts from J.A.Comenius' texts, has been created by Josyf Levyts'kyj (1801-1860), a Ukrainian writer, linguist and pedagogue. Since 1825 he has been a chaplain of the archbishop in Peremyshl' and a teacher in different Galician villages. J.Levyts'kyj is the author of the first printed in Galicia grammar book of the Ukrainian language written in German "Grammatik der ruthenischen, oder kleinrussischen Sprache in Galizien" (1834) and of the German grammar for students (1845). It was Levyts'kyj who wrote a Foreword for the abovementioned book, stating that in his initiative he followed Comenius, who also intended to teach foreign languages in an easy way "as if playing"<sup>24</sup>. The book consists of 24 chapters and Appendix (Anhang). The titles of the chapters correspond to the content of the extracts from Comenius: "Der Mensch", "Die Glieder des menschlichen Leibes", "Die verschiedenen Staende", "Der Vogel", "Das Thier", "Der Fisch", "Das Gewuerm", "Das Vieh", "Der Garten", "Der Feldbau". Levyts'kyj's book is a unique intention to interweave Comenius' texts and the fundamentals of his didactics.

It is necessary to underline that in Galicia Comenius was a well-known figure in a number of aspects. Ivan Franko's works appear to be the best proof here. Comenius "the founder of contemporary pedagogic" <sup>25</sup> is mentioned by Franko nearly as often as Comenius the reformer in the context of the history of the religious reformation movement in Europe, or the history of "Czech Brothers" <sup>26</sup>. Among the publications about Comenius in Galicia in the nineteenth century there is a thesis *Amos Comenius*, *His Life and Deeds* by Omeljan Partyts'kyj (1840-1895), the editor of "Gazetta Shkil'na" ("School Gazette"). In this work O.Partyts'kyj tells about Comenius' life and creative activities and stresses that "his glory and cause embraced the whole Europe and his name is not forgotten up till now" <sup>27</sup>.

The life and intellectual heritage of John Amos Comenius remains under the focus of the researchers' attention since his death until today, fascinating the reader with its unknown dimensions. For example, the fact about Comenius' interest in America, its political system, and languages is rarely mentioned while in Comenius' works America is often referred to in the texts on politics or philosophy. He was especially interested in the language of American Indians (the language of kichua tribe in particular). Preparing the edition of *Theatrum universitatis rerum*, Comenius collected the material about all the four continents, including America<sup>28</sup>.

As we have mentioned above, the real and impartial research of Comenius' reception in Ukraine has just begun. The problem is still more complicated because of its connection with a number of important aspects: the

<sup>25</sup> Франко І. Зібрання творів у 50-ти томах, том 42, Київ 1984, с.17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Мединський Є.М. *Братські школи України і Білорусії в XVI-XVII століття*х, Київ 1958, с.103.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> *Собраніе...*, Перемишль 1849, с.3.

 $<sup>^{26}</sup>$  Франко I. Зібрання творів у 50-ти томах, том 42, Київ 1984, с.38 (інші місця див. у покажчику).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Партицький О. Амос Коменський, в: Народна школа, 1875, № 5, с.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> See Tazbir J. Europa Środkowowschodnia wobec "odkrycia Ameryki", w: Tazbir J. Prace wybrane. Tom 3. Sarmaci i świat, Kraków 2001, s.16.

history of Ukraine, the War of Liberation in Ukraine, multi-lingual resources (in Ukraine Comenius' texts and the reports about them could have been found not only in Ukrainian, but also in Latin, Church Slavic, Polish, even German). For example, in L'viv in 1931 Comenius' portrait appeared on the cover of the magazine "Filomata" (1931, N 36). The Polish text is given below. "Filomata" is a magazine issued in Polish in L'viv University in 1930s.

## NA OKŁADCE: JAN AMOS KOMENSKÝ

Komenský urodził sie w r. 1592 w Uherskim Brodzie jako syn młynarza z Komny (stad łac. nazwisko Comenius). Choć wcześnie osierocony, zdołał jednak nabyć wszechstronnego wykształcenia. Studja uniwersyteckie odbywał w zach. Niemczech, w Herborn i w Heidelbergu. Uczył potem w Przerowie. Po przegranej Czechów na Białej Górze (w r. 1620) nastąpiła reakcja katolicyzmu, objawiająca się m. i. też w tem, że tępiono wszystko, co czeskie. W r. 1627 wydano mandat przeciw niekatolikom, i Komenský był zmuszony szukać schronienia zagranicą. Znalazł je w Lesznie Pozn., gdzie osiadł pod opieką Rafała Leszczyńskiego. Tu, pracując przez 12 lat jako nauczyciel w gimnazjum łacińskiem, poczynił wiele doświadczeń na polu nauczania języków, których rezultatem było dzieło lanua linguarum reserata 1631. Była to czytanka łacińska, wzorowana na istniejącej już lanua mnicha irlandzkiego Batha, a zawierała możliwie najwięcej materiału w ograniczonej liczbie ustępów. Dążył bowiem Komenský do tego, ażeby przy łatwiejszej i naturalniejszej metodzie nauczania wpoić również wiele wiadomości realnych. Wpływ tej książki był w całej Europie przemożny, do dziś układ pierwszych czytanek przypomina lanuę Komenskiego. Dla ożywienia nauki podawał uczniom polskie przysłowia w przekładzie łacińskim. Gdy sława jego jako pedagoga rozeszła się po świecie szeroko, zaproszono go do Londynu (w r. 1641) i do Sztokholmu, dla zorganizowania pracy naukowej i oświatowej. Wrócił jednak wkrótce do Leszna (w r. 1648) jako biskup braci czeskich i nawiązał znajomość z Krzysztofem Opalińskim, któremu też pomagał w organizowaniu gimnazjum w Sierakowie. Program tej szkoły zawiera cały system dydaktyczny Komenskiego. Na wezwanie Rakoczego opuszcza Leszno i udaje się do Szaroszpatak w celu organizowania tam szkolnictwa. Ukończywszy swoje zadanie, wraca do Leszna (r. 1654), ale długo już tu nie bawił. Zbytnie sympatje dla Szwedów naraziły go Polsce. Nie odmówił też, gdy otrzymał zaproszenie do Amsterdamu, dokąd pod koniec życia się przesiedlił i gdzie wydał w r. 1657 tom zbiorowych dzieł swoich. Umarł w r. 1670.

To summarize all the abovementioned, it is necessary to acknowledge that sporadically the name of Comenius can often be found in contemporary works of Ukrainian historians and literary critics as well as in the context of Renaissance ideas in Ukraine<sup>29</sup> or the history of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy<sup>30</sup> or in connection with general aspects of cultural relations between Ukraine and Western Europe<sup>31</sup>. However, up till now in Ukraine there is no scientific and impartial biography of Comenius, which could reflect the controversies of the epoch, religious movements of the time and the unique figure of the famous theologian, philosopher, poet, and thinker. Ukrainian researchers' second task is obviously mastering of Comenian Studies done by Dmytro Chyzhevsky, the translation of his works on Comenius, realization of his really sensational discovery of the unknown Comenius' manuscript<sup>32</sup>. Finally, the third task is the publication of Comenius' basic texts in translations supported with the commentaries, without which a scientific research is absolutely impossible.

We have to stress the basic difference between Polish, Russian and Ukrainian reception of Comenius. Polish reception was rather negative in religious and political aspects, because Comenius supported Sweden in the Polish-Swedish war, and as theologian came out against Catholicism. Russian reception was neutral in the political aspect and rather positive in the ideological one. Comenius was perceived by Russian society as an opponent of Catholicism and as a representative of Slavonic community. We have such image of Comenius in Russian general and religious encyclopaedias. Ukrainian reception was positive in the political aspect since Khmelnytsky and also in the religious aspect and it is still waiting for its researcher.

<sup>30</sup> Хижняк З.І., Маньківський В.К. *Історія Києво-Могилянської академії*, Київ 2003, с.83, 124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Філософія Відродження на Україні, Київ 1990, с.272.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Наливайко Д. Очима Заходу. Рецепція України в Західній Європі XI-XVIII ст., Київ 1998, с. 226-227, 260-261.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> In this aspect see articles about Dmytro Chyzhevsky in the book by Werner Korthaase *Biд Меланхтона до Коменського і Чижевського* (Дрогобич, 2004)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> This idea is presented in the most biased way in the book by Jędrzej Giertych *U źródeł katastrofy dziejowej Polski: Jan Amos Komensky.* Londyn 1964.