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**Comenius in the Work of Dmytro  
Chyzhevsky**

Theses of Doctoral Dissertation  
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## **Introduction**

In libraries and archives we can find countless studies or articles (but not written in Czech) which pay attention to the work of Dmytro Chyzhevsky, his significance and importance. For many years, these studies portrayed and interpreted Chyzhevsky only as a literary scientist, historian of philosophy, linguist or cultural historian. However, the extensive comeniological component of Chyzhevsky's work remained neglected for a long time. The German comeniologist Werner Korthaase (1937–2008) was the first one who started to reveal this comeniological component of Chyzhevsky's writings. He explains the lack of interest in Comenius by the fact that the authors of the studies about Chyzhevsky simply did not realize how important role Comenius played in European intellectual history. Simultaneously by the fact that the prominence of Comenius' contemporaries Francis Bacon or René Descartes easily pushed Comenius somewhere into the background. For a comprehensive picture, we can not forget the Soviet distortion of intellectual history in which Comenius' personality was limited to a mere

progressive educator. All this meant that Comenius' significance in the field of intellectual history could not be adequately appreciated and Chyzhevsky's pioneering comeniological discoveries and studies as well.

Although Dmytro Chyzhevsky himself emphasized and highlighted his own works dedicated to Comenius in many of his studies, we still can not find any publication in Czech language that would introduce Chyzhevsky's comeniological work in more detail. At the same time, we learn almost nothing from Czech literature about Chyzhevsky's life and his extensive work. Because of this fact, the aim of my thesis is to present Dmytro Chyzhevsky as a comeniologist, as a researcher who undoubtedly represents a breakthrough in comeniological research where he entered with his important comeniological discoveries in order to subsequently form a new image of Comenius. This work wants to accomplish this aim in five parts.

The first part, which deals with Chyzhevsky's life stories, brings new findings that are extremely interesting not only for the history of comeniology, but also for the

European history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. After all, very little attention has been paid to this issue in Czech environment, while Chyzhevsky is studied more intensively abroad, especially in Germany, Poland and Ukraine. However, foreign researchers have not yet systematically elaborated on the topic of Chyzhevsky's research of Comenius, which is particularly important for the Czech environment. At least partially fill this gap, this is one of the aims of this work. Thesis builds on previous Czech and foreign research on Chyzhevsky, but is also based on a new research of his unpublished literary legacy stored in University Library in Heidelberg.

The second part of the work is based on Chyzhevsky's studies devoted to Comenius' *Labyrinth of the World* because Chyzhevsky was the first one who minutely dealt with the stylistic and thematic components of this Comenius' consolatory work. Special attention is paid to the Chyzhevsky's study written in 1941 which was published in 2017. This chapter presents the circumstances of its formation, the rigmaroles accompanying its

non/publishing and tries to outline the place of this study among other scientific works about *Labyrinth*.

The third part reveals the philosophical background of Chyzhevsky's comeniological interest. For a proper grasp and correct understanding of Chyzhevsky's philosophical-comeniological interpretation, at first, it is necessary to present an interpretation of Comenius presented by Dietrich Mahnke because Chyzhevsky built his comeniological research on Mahnke's far-reaching findings. Chyzhevsky deepened Mahnke's knowledge and the result is a completely new grasp of Comenius which marked the beginning of the new era of comeniology. At the end of this chapter the comeniological view of the leading Czech comeniologist Jan Patočka is also presented. It is clear that Jan Patočka was inspired by results of Mahnke and Chyzhevsky. This part is interpreted in a comparative way, here Chyzhevsky's interpretation is compared with the interpretation of Comenius in the work of Dietrich Mahnke and Jan Patočka

The following fourth part depicts Comenius as the forerunner of pietism. Chyzhevsky proves that the pietists

defended ideas that are obvious and unambiguous in Comenius' work. Attention is paid especially to German pietism and its representatives who knew Comenius and drew on his legacy. From this point of view, Comenius' influence on August Hermann Francke and his circle is particularly important and diverse.

The last part presents Chyzhevsky's groundbreaking discoveries of Comenius' works, of which, of course, the greatest attention is paid to *Rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica* and its destinies which Chyzhevsky thoroughly analyzes. This part also focuses on Chyzhevsky's correspondence with the comeniologist Josef Hendrich which reveals many interesting things that accompany the publication of Comenius' life's work.

## **1. Comeniological research of Dmytro Chyzhevsky**

The key to the scientific growth of Dmytro Chyzhevsky was undoubtedly his work in Halle. While researching the local archives and especially the archives

of Orphanage of August Hermann Francke, he began to clarify links between the European East and West in 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, and especially between the then Russian and German culture. During his research on mysticism in the works of Skovoroda, Gogol and Dostoevsky in Halle Chyzhevsky discovered many remarkable and important documents that testify and strengthen these connections. Chyzhevsky decided to examine all Slavistic manuscripts stored in the archives of Halle's Orphanage. The result of this extensive work was not only the discovery of Comenius' work *Lexicon reale pansophicum* but above all the groundbreaking discovery of Comenius' manuscript of *Consultatio catholica* which not only strengthened Chyzhevsky's connections with Czechoslovak Republic but also revealed absolutely new view of the philosophical roots of Comenius' work and began Chyzhevsky's comeniological activity.

However, Chyzhevsky's attention in the comeniological area did not oscillate only around *Consultatio catholica*. Evidence of this is, for example, some of his *Lesefrüchte* published in *Zeitschrift für*

*slavische Philologie*, or articles *Comenius and Western Philosophy*<sup>1</sup> and *Comenius and German Pietists*<sup>2</sup> published in anthology *Co daly naše země Evropě a lidstvu*. Important are also two studies dealing with Comenius' *Labyrinth of the World* and extensive correspondence not only with comeniologists.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Erlenbusch, F., „Komenský a západní filosofie“, in: V. Mathesius (ed.), *Co daly naše země Evropě a lidstvu. Od slovanských věrozněstů k národnímu obrození*, Evropský literární klub, Praha 1940, pp. 181–186. This article was published also in German: „Comenius und die abendländische Philosophie“, in: Čyževskyj, D., *Aus zwei Welten. Beitrage zur Geschichte der slavisch-westlichen Beziehungen* (edice *Slavistische Drukken en Herdrukken* 10), Mouton & Co, 's-Gravenhage 1956, pp. 155–164 and in English: „Comenius and western philosophy“, transl. by P. Devlin, in: W. Korthaase, S. Hauff, A. Fritsch (eds.), *Comenius und der Weltfriede. Comenius and world peace*, Deutsche Comenius-Gesellschaft, Berlin 2005, pp. 237–249.

<sup>2</sup> Erlenbusch, F., „Komenský a němečtí pietisté“, in: V. Mathesius (ed.), *Co daly naše země Evropě a lidstvu. Od slovanských věrozněstů k národnímu obrození*, op. cit., pp. 185–188. In German: „Comenius und die deutschen Pietisten“, in: Čyževskyj, D., *Aus zwei Welten. Beitrage zur Geschichte der slavisch-westlichen Beziehungen*, op. cit., pp. 165–171.

<sup>3</sup> From comeniological point of view is important correspondence of D. Chyzhevsky with Jan Patočka, Dietrich Mahnke, Milada Blekastad, Josef Hendrich, Antonín Škarka, Klaus Schaller etc.



Until 1945, Chyzhevsky devoted to his discoveries seven Czech,<sup>4</sup> four German,<sup>5</sup> one Slovak<sup>6</sup> and two Russian<sup>7</sup> studies. These not-too-long articles had mainly informative character and the most important of them were published in the periodicals *Slovo a slovesnost* (1935,

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<sup>4</sup> „Ztracené části Pansofie Komenského nalezeny“, *Slovo a slovesnost* 1, 1935, no. 2, pp. 118–119; „Foliové vydání vševědného díla Komenského“, *Archiv o životě a spisech Jana Amosa Komenského* 14, 1937, pp. 6–11; „Dva nové nálezy z díla Komenského“, *Slovo a slovesnost* 3, 1937, no. 4, pp. 230–232; „Hallské rukopisy děl J. A. Komenského“, *Archiv o životě a spisech Jana Amosa Komenského* 15, 1940, pp. 85–107; „Několik drobných komenian“, *Slovo a slovesnost* 8, 1942, no. 1, pp. 35–36; „Nová komeniana hallská“, *Slovo a slovesnost* 6, 1940, no. 4, pp. 193–199; „Komeniana knihovny sirotčince v Halle“, *Časopis matice moravské* 63–64, 1939–1940, pp. 392–398.

<sup>5</sup> „Neue Comenius-Funde“, *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* 12, 1935, no. 1–2, pp. 179–183; „Analecta Comeniana“, *Kyrios. Vierteljahresschrift für Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte Osteuropas* 2, Berlin 1937, pp. 313–330; „Ein Beitrag zur Bibliographie der Comenius-Drucke“, *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* 21, 1952, no. 2, pp. 270–272.

<sup>6</sup> „Nový nález Komenského spisov“, *Slovenské pohl'ady* 51, 1935, no. 3, pp. 141–145.

<sup>7</sup> „Новые работы о Коменском“ [Novye raboty o Komenskom], *Русская школа [Russkaja škola]* 2–3, 1935, pp. 77–81; „Пансофия Коменского найдена“ [Pansofija Komenskogo najdena], *Русская школа [Russkaja škola]* 4, 1935, pp. 45–47.

1940), *Archiv pro bádání o životě a spisech J. A. Komenského* (1940), *Kyrios* (1937) and *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* (1940). In these articles Chyzhevsky discusses the structure of *Consultatio catholica*, attempts to clarify the relationship between the manuscript and the printed parts, and considers the ways how the work reached Halle.

## **2. Chyzhevsky's studies about *Labyrinth***

The *Labyrinth of the World and Paradise of the Heart* is probably Comenius' most famous work which has been subjected to many analyzes from Czech and foreign authors as well. Dmytro Chyzhevsky also contributed with his important interpretation to this list. For a long time, the public was acquainted with two Chyzhevsky's literary works dealing with Comenius' *Labyrinth*. First of them is English article published in 1953 depicting the thematic aspect of *Labyrinth* "Comenius' Labyrinth of the World. Its Themes and Their

Sources”;<sup>8</sup> second one is German article “Das ‚Labyrinth der Welt und das Paradies des Herzens‘ des J. A. Comenius. Einige Stilanalysen”<sup>9</sup> which focuses more on the style of the *Labyrinth* and was published in 1956. We knew only marginally that Chyzhevsky wrote a two-part study on the basis of which two above-mentioned separate articles of Chyzhevsky were published. It is Chyzhevsky’s typescript entitled “Zu Labyrinth der Welt” written probably in 1941, stored in the file of Antonín Škarka in the Museum of Czech Literature in Prague.<sup>10</sup> Czech translation of this study from Josef Hendrich is stored at the same place. However, this original version of Chyzhevsky's work about *Labyrinth* provides a

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<sup>8</sup> „Comenius’ Labyrinth of the World. Its Themes and Their Sources“, in: *Harvard Slavic Studies* 1, Cambridge 1953, pp. 83 ff.

<sup>9</sup> „Das ‚Labyrinth der Welt und das Paradies des Herzens‘ des J. A. Comenius. Einige Stilanalysen“, in: *Wiener slavistisches Jahrbuch* 5, Graz – Köln 1956, pp. 59 ff.

<sup>10</sup> A Ukrainian researcher Oksana Blashkiv drew my attention to the existence of this important Czech study written by Dmytro Chyzhevsky. This study was published together with my introductory study in: J. Stejskalová (ed.), *Dmytro Čyževskij. K Labyrintu světa* (edice *Parva philosophica* 26), Filosofia, Praha 2017.

comprehensive view of this pivotal work of Comenius and provides rich and holistic material for its deeper reflection.

Chyzhevsky's study "To the Labyrinth of the World" deals in the first part with the stylistic and in the second with the thematic features of *Labyrinth* and encourages to think about several new questions. In the first part, focused on some stylistic peculiarities of *Labyrinth*, Chyzhevsky closely follows the role of numerous so-called verb chains which are of extraordinary importance in the stylistics of *Labyrinth*. Chyzhevsky divides the verb chains according to various aspects and shows how their members are more closely connected to each other by different linguistic tools.

The starting point for the second part of the study is the fact that although there is a lot of good studies dealing with the thematic content of the *Labyrinth*, their shortcoming is the disregard for the diverse intersection of different topics, which is essential for the *Labyrinth*. Thus, Chyzhevsky aims to define as precisely as possible at least the themes that permeate the whole work and draws attention especially to the four main ones: the theme of the

spiritual journey, the theme of expelled truth, the theme of senselessness of the human world and the theme of Christ and the human soul.

The aim of many studies was to follow the various models that influenced Comenius' *Labyrinth* (linguistic, literary, thematic or philosophical). Perhaps most similarities were recognized in the Latin writings of Comenius' contemporary Johann Valentina Andreae with whom Comenius was evidently familiar. An important position in these studies is occupied by the findings of Jan Václav Novák from which we learn how *Labyrinth* was influenced not only by works of Johann Valentin Andreae and Johann Heinrich Alsted but also by the writings of other authors.<sup>11</sup> Regarding influences, *Labyrinth* was also thoroughly researched by Prokop Miroslav Haškovec who for the first time related *Labyrinth* also to some Czech writings.<sup>12</sup> Stanislav Souček used Haškovec's knowledges

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<sup>11</sup> Novák, J. V., „Labyrint světa a ráj srdce J. A. Komenského a jeho vzory“, *Časopis Musea království Českého* 69, 1895.

<sup>12</sup> Haškovec, P. M. „Některá themata literatur západních v českém písemnictví. I. Specula“, *Listy filologické* 43, 1916, č. 2, pp. 112–121, 252–263.

in his research and considered that a certain resemblance to the *Labyrinth* can be also found in Nathanael Vodňanský's work *Theatrum mundi minoris* and Václav Porcius Vodňanský's work *Duchovní město jménem Rozkoš duše*.<sup>13</sup> Dmytro Chyzhevsky knew very well all these works of his predecessors and used them within his research of *Labyrinth*'s resources. However, given that all previous works ignore the diversity of themes hidden in the *Labyrinth* and their constant intermingling, Chyzhevsky was able to go beyond their conclusions by focusing on those motifs and episodes which, despite their apparent marginal position, accompany the main theme and shape it to its full complexity. However, Chyzhevsky's intention was not to determine the Comenius' *Labyrinth*'s dependence on a number of related writings which he traced as sources for the literary forms

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<sup>13</sup> Souček, S., „Literatura“ (*Veškeré Spisy Jana Amosa Komenského*, svazek XV, *Archiv pro bádání o životě a spisech J. A. Komenského*, seš. 1, Brno 1910), *Časopis matice moravské* 36, 1912, pp. 95–144; Souček, S., „Komenského ‚Labyrint‘ u nás a v cizině“, *Archiv pro bádání o životě a díle J. A. Komenského* 7, 1924, pp. 17–54; Souček, S., „Dva české pramény Labyrintu“, *Listy filologické* 51, 1924, č. 4–5, pp. 271–280.

contained in the *Labyrinth*. Rather, he wanted to point out that none of these literary forms had made its mark in the *Labyrinth* for the first time, namely that each of them has its own history and is thus the traditional property of European literatures.<sup>14</sup> Chyzhevsky's study presents a number of older literary images, forms and themes whose representatives Chyzhevsky follows in European literatures from antiquity through the Middle Ages to Comenius (sometimes even after Comenius).

The *Labyrinth* was the only work of Comenius that Chyzhevsky analyzed in such depth and in my thesis I try to show that Chyzhevsky's study does not occupy a mere marginal position even today in the diverse range of interpretations of the *Labyrinth*. Its advantage remains that it presents a comprehensive view of the *Labyrinth* in an original way. It is an original and well-founded interweaving of various theoretical, methodological and

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. Pražák, E., „Komenského Labyrint a Cyprianův spis O potupení světa“, in: P. R. Pokorný (ed.), *Pocta Dr. Emmě Urbánkové. Spolupracovníci a přátelé k 70. narozeninám*, Státní knihovna, Praha 1979, pp. 269–270.

intellectual attitudes, especially literary, cultural-historical, religious and philosophical. D. Chyzhevsky draws attention here to the attributes of the *Labyrinth*, which, despite their obviousness, have never been sufficiently highlighted before him, and that is why this study remains topical and inspiring even after more than seven decades. Evidence of its quality also remains the fact that Chyzhevsky's findings have been repeatedly used and interpreted by other researchers, and many of them have remained unsurpassed. It could be said that Chyzhevsky foreshadowed the direction of contemporary literary theory which no longer closely follows a specific literary model, but at its headquarters is the diversity and variety of interdisciplinary literary practices and spiritual branches in general. I am convinced that this study is due to its scope interesting not only for comeniologists, but also for literary scholars, historians and other researchers.



### **3. Comenius' work as a synthesis of mysticism and rationalism**

The main comeniological link between Dietrich Mahnke, Dmytro Chyzhevsky and Jan Patočka is the observation of the spiritual connections and mutual relations in which Comenius and his work stand, the effort to define the appropriate place of Comenius in the intellectual history and history of European thought. Mahnke, Chyzhevsky and Patočka represent a breakthrough in comeniological research simply because they moved Comenius' philosophy to the center of their attention and they subjected it to a thorough investigation. The result was not only a deeper, real and sincere depiction of Comenius' philosophical thinking but also the related justification of the philosopher Comenius in relation to the determining tendencies of modern times. Thanks to them, today we view Comenius as an important European thinker standing alongside Cusanus, Bacon, Descartes, Leibniz and Spinoza.

The direction of comeniology was heavily influenced by one of the most notable directions of 20<sup>th</sup>

century research, namely phenomenology. Dietrich Mahnke, Dmytro Chyzhevsky and Jan Patočka were all comeniologists who were also pupils of Edmund Husserl, and drew from the heritage of other leading protagonists of the phenomenological school.

Mahnke's research is built on a distinctive conception of Baroque culture and philosophy. For Mahnke, the philosophy of the Baroque era is an embodiment of constructive rationalism. Thinkers of the 17<sup>th</sup> century tried to organise the entire natural and spiritual world more geometrically into a coherent, rational conceptual system. This idea was reflected in Descartes' philosophy, which is understood as a *mathesis universalis*, that is, an exact science that organises the separate sciences into a logically deductive system. Other Baroque metaphysicians like Thomas Hobbes and Baruch Spinoza built on René Descartes.<sup>15</sup> Mahnke also mentions

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<sup>15</sup> Cf. Mahnke, D., „Der Zeitgeist des Barock und seine Verewigung in Leibnizens Gedankenwelt“, *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Kulturphilosophie. Neue Folge des Logos* 1936, 2, pp. 107–108. Cf.

Leibniz, and in this context it is important to note that Mahnke not only paid attention to Leibniz's life and work, but also highlighted many remarkable connections between Leibniz and Comenius. For Mahnke Comenius was a typical representative of Baroque metaphysics and so of constructive rationalism. Mahnke thoroughly analysed Comenius' pedagogy, physics, metaphysics and pansophy, and concluded that we met with the same spirit in Comenius, which, following the model of mathematical science, led to the creation of Descartes' *mathesis universalis*, Leibniz's *scientia generalis* and Spinoza's naturalistic monism, all demonstrating infinite reality from a few definitions and axioms.<sup>16</sup>

Mahnke is convinced that Comenius' pansophy represents a magnificent effort to build a universal system

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also Schifferová, V., „K otázce barokní povahy Komenského filosofie. O komeniologické koncepci Dietricha Mahnkeho“, in: J. Beneš, P. Glombíček, V. Urbánek (eds.), *Bene Scripsisti. Filosofie od středověku k novověku. Sborník k sedmdesátinám Stanislava Sousedíka*, Filosofia, Prague 2002, pp. 276 f.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Schifferová, V., „K otázce barokní povahy Komenského filosofie. O komeniologické koncepci Dietricha Mahnkeho“, op. cit., pp. 277–288.

of rational order for human life in all its aspects, as well as the complex of the objective spiritual world. Comenius' pansophy, which is among the most significant masterpieces of the Baroque period, is perceived in only a limited fashion as an instrument of didactic skill or Baroque methodology. Similarly, according to Mahnke, Comenius is not correctly interpreted even in the theory and practice of youth education. Mahnke proves that Comenius is repeatedly wrongly classed among the representatives of pedagogical realism and the enemies of verbalism, or even among the supporters of the sensualistic principle of illustration.<sup>17</sup>

The conclusions of the Chyzhevsky's research are summarised in the short study "Comenius and Western Philosophy".<sup>18</sup> Chyzhevsky does not deny that

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<sup>17</sup> Cf. Mahnke D., „Der Barock-Universalismus des Comenius“, *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts* 21, 1931, pp. 97–99. Cf. also Schifferová, V., „K otázce barokní povahy Komenského filosofie. O komeniologické koncepci Dietricha Mahnkeho“, *op. cit.*, pp. 278–280.

<sup>18</sup> Erlenbusch, F. (Dmytro Chyzhevsky), „Komenský a západní filosofie“, in: V. Mathesius (ed.), *Co daly naše země Evropě a lidstvu.*

Renaissance philosophy plays an irreplaceable role in Comenius' philosophical thinking because Comenius followed up, and gained a number of impulses from, Renaissance thinkers and philosophers such as Bacon, Vives and Campanella. In addition, however, Chyzhevsky feels that "Comenius' philosophical effort, the goal of his philosophy and the nature of his philosophical worldview, are characteristic of his time and thus of the Baroque period."<sup>19</sup> Chyzhevsky is convinced that Comenius is characterised not by an individualistic view typical of the Renaissance period, but by the universalism of the Baroque era. At the heart of Comenius' thought, man does not stand in his nature, but in an essential relationship with God. Diversity, not dullness or monotony, is essential in Comenius' attempt to build a philosophical world view, and this diversity does not arise from the imprudent sorting of heterogeneous elements next to each other, but from the association of mutual opposites, in the organisation of all

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*Od slovanských věrozvěstů k národnímu obrození*, Evropský literární klub, Prague 1998, pp. 366–374.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 366.

human knowledge into a unified system. The key role here is played by the *pansophy* that best defines the Comenius' universalistic view, and thus determines the fundamental attributes of Comenius' worldview.<sup>20</sup>

Chyzhevsky notes that Comenius was not exceptional in his time in terms of his effort to organise all human knowledge into a unified and integral system. He is however persuaded that no other pansophist went beyond Comenius' results, because Comenius deduced from the ideal of pansophy pervasive and varied conclusions of a practical character, conclusions not unrealistic, but aimed at solving real life problems (the organisation of scientific work, the building of universal speech, the conciliation of individual Christian faiths, etc.).<sup>21</sup>

Jan Patočka, in his studies of Comenius, reveals that the essence of Comenius' work lies in the rationalisation of originally religious and mystical themes

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<sup>20</sup> Ibidem, p. 366.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. ibidem, p. 366.

and motifs. In his conclusions, Patočka followed the findings of Dietrich Mahnke and Dmytro Chyžhevsky.<sup>22</sup>

According to Patočka, Comenius belongs to a strange and curious world which has for a long time been considered a predecessor of Western European rationalism, which is only a quantitative overcoming of this strange world. The truth is that this strange world is indeed complex, but essentially mystical, and although this strange world certainly helped to break the unified medieval idea, it is fundamentally obsolete. Many efforts have been made to defend Comenius as a Baroque thinker, which is certainly reasonable, but as Patočka notes: “as it is possible to speak about the Baroque only as a response to the devastating direction of the previous period, which some called ‘the end of the Middle Ages’, others the Renaissance, so even Comenius cannot be grasped without

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<sup>22</sup> Cf. Věra Schifferová, *K otázce barokní povahy Komenského filosofie. O komeniologické koncepci Dietricha Mahnkeho*, op. cit., pp. 263–295; cf. also Věra Schifferová, *Comeniana aus dem Nachlass von Dietrich Mahnke. Die Korrespondenz zwischen Dietrich Mahnke und Dmitrij Tschizewskij aus dem Jahre 1935*, “Acta Comeniana” 2004, 18, pp. 213–223.

them.”<sup>23</sup> Although Patočka agrees with Mahnke’s view that Comenius’ attempt at a general organisation of education, Church and state life is infused with the Baroque impulse to re-establish the lost unity of medieval order, he disagrees with Mahnke that the base upon which Comenius longs to build this universal unity is also far removed from the Baroque epoch. In contrast to the starting point of the mathematical methodical process that is characteristic of Descartes and Leibniz, with Comenius we are still talking about Biblical-Neo-Platonic and mystical thinking.<sup>24</sup>

We must also keep in mind the second, rational side of Comenius’ thought and work, however. Comenius is, according to Patočka, a real fighter for the rational civilisation of the new era. Modern rationality is evident from Comenius’ every word, and is demonstrated by activeness, creativity, persistence, toughness, organising,

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<sup>23</sup> Patočka, J., Jan Patočka, „O nový pohled na Komenského“, in: V. Schifferová (ed.), *Komeniologické studie 1*, Oikoymenh, Prague 1997, p. 13.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 13–14.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 13–14.



purposefulness, usefulness, or planning. Comenius works with the new conception of an active man who rationally plans and organises his life, and who is oriented towards universal unity. Comenius entrusts this man even with his ideas about the last questions of Man and the end of history.<sup>25</sup>

According to Patočka, Comenius – in a unique and original way, by the means derived from Neo-Platonicmystical thinking, and especially from Cusanus – built one of the largest and most special rationalist conceptions of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, so different from those based on mathematical science. In one of his articles devoted to Comenius, Patočka identified the four major rationalist conceptions of the 17<sup>th</sup> century: mathematical science, modern state theories, historical methodology, and finally Comenius' systematic educational doctrine,

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<sup>25</sup> Cf. Patočka, J., „Náčrt Komenského díla ve světle nových objevů“, in: *Komeniologické studie* 1, op. cit., s. 109.

placing Comenius next to philosophers such as Descartes, Hobbes or Galileo.<sup>26</sup>

#### **4. Comenius and pietism**

Chyzhevsky points out that pietists defended and upheld the ideas and beliefs that are evident and recognizable in Comenius' work since 1630. Comenius played a significant role in German pietism and many pietists not only knew his work but also drew on it. Probably the most important of them was August Hermann Francke (1663–1727), founder of the social and educational institutions in Halle where he came in 1692 to develop his active Christianity, a thinker to whom we are grateful that today we can read Comenius' important works.<sup>27</sup>

Comenius' influence on Francke can be traced mainly in pedagogical activities, where we can first point

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<sup>26</sup> Cf. Patočka, J., „Komenský a hlavní filosofické myšlenky 17. století“, in: *Komeniologické studie* 1, op. cit., pp. 138–139.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Erlenbusch, F., „Komenský a němečtí pietisté“, in: V. Mathesius (ed.), *Co daly naše země Evropě a lidstvu*, op. cit., p. 375.

out the identity of moral-religious goal because education, virtue and piety are for both the embodiment of the fundamental meaning of education, in which case piety is the primary ideal for both authors. What is more, Francke expressed interest in Comenius as a whole. A collection of several Comenius' works, including the first part of *Consultatio catholica*, was published by Francke's Orphanage in Halle in 1702. A. H. Francke was enthusiastic about *Panegersia* and planned to publish also other works of Comenius, for which he obtained a manuscript from Netherlands. Thanks to Francke, a unique collection of *comenianas* was created, as the library of the Francke Foundations in Halle hid many comeniological treasures, including the first edition of *Panegersia*. Francke intended to publish all seven volumes of Comenius' major masterpiece, but because the manuscript had several gaps, its publishing could not be realized. Chyzhevsky speaks of the "little Comenius' Renaissance" in connection with Halle, because the work of the Halle's pietist circle on Comenius' writings was indeed enormous.

Chyzhevsky highlights Comenius as the forerunner of German pietism as he believes that parallel to each of his basic ideas can be traced to parallel points in Comenius' theological writings. However, Chyzhevsky points out that Comenius can be considered as a forerunner not only of German pietism, but of pietism in general.<sup>28</sup>

## **5. Chyzhevsky's discoveries of Comenius' works**

The beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century brings the emergence of pedagogical reformism, under the critique of which came the current way of education, as well as Comenius himself. However, comeniological research steadfastly proceeded and formed a new image of Comenius which again became the subject of attention of educators. Speaking of fundamental comeniological pillars, the 1930s were completely revolutionary for comeniology, as three fundamental discoveries were made which represent the rise of modern comeniology and

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<sup>28</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 379–380.

which are far-reaching for a proper understanding of Comenius' work. The discovery of *Consultatio catholica* was undoubtedly the largest and most serious comeniological finding and all comeniologists agree that *Consultatio catholica* fundamentally changed and shaped the image of Comenius.

In 1934, Chyzhevsky worked in the theological library of Francke's Orphanage in Halle and explored its department of manuscripts in order to find out what this department concealed. As a result, in addition to several Russian and Czech manuscripts, Chyzhevsky also discovered two Latin manuscripts of Comenius. One of them was *Lexicon reale pansoficum* where we find numerous valuable definitions and distinctions of philosophical terms that are highly important to our understanding of Comenius' philosophical views and perspectives.

The second of these Comenius' Latin manuscripts included parts of *Consultatio catholica*. The manuscript begins with its most extensive eight-degree part *Pansofia* because the preface, *Panegersia* and *Panaugia* are missing

here. *Pansofia* is followed by other parts, namely *Pampaedia*, *Panglottia* and *Panorthosia*. Chyzhevsky shows that although some parts do not bring much new, other parts are, on the contrary, oversaturated with new thoughts and ideas that are otherwise known to us only from small and insufficient indications in other Comenius' works and which are systematically developed here with clarity and comprehensibility. He emphasizes the importance of *Panglottia* and *Panorthosia* because here Comenius elaborates ideas that are far ahead of his time and which we encounter again, for example, in the case of Leibniz or Kant.

Chyzhevsky also followed in the footsteps suggesting that in addition to the Amsterdam octave edition there was also a foil edition, and he discovered this edition in one of the collections of the main library of Halle's Orphanage. Here he found a specimen of the foil edition of the preface and *Panegersia*. However, Chyzhevsky continued his search and made another highly significant discovery in 1940 when he uncovered in the same library the entire printed sheet of the foil edition

which included the preface, *Panegersia* (the same as the first copy of the foil edition), *Panaugia*, the same pages of *Pansofia* as in Halle's manuscript; *Panorthosia*'s print in this collection does not contain 112 but 140 columns and completely fills a gap in the manuscript; the last seventh part *Pannuthesia* (116 columns) was in a new specimen until chapter XIII, 15 (only the end of the eighth chapter and the last three chapters of the whole work are missing).

## **Conclusion**

There is a large amount of literature devoted to the work of Dmytro Chyzhevsky and from which we can learn a lot about Chyzhevsky Slavist, literary scholar or historian of philosophy. However, with the exception of the German comeniologist Werner Korthaase, no one has minutely dealt with the issue of Chyzhevsky's research on Comenius. At least partially fill this gap, that is the purpose of this work.

Dmytro Chyzhevsky was one of the most educated people of his time, he was extraordinarily literate in several humanities. Studies from this extremely diligent

researcher are very inspiring even after many decades – they often point to other extensive literature, very inspiring, but unfortunately forgotten today. It would certainly be very enriching and beneficial if Chyzhevsky's work was studied more systematically. However, this is not an easy task because his texts published in various languages are relatively difficult to access today, some of them are not available in Czech libraries at all. I think that it would be very deserving if his texts dedicated to Comenius were collected and published collectively in Czech translation, including as yet unpublished correspondence with comeniologists.

My research in the Department of Manuscripts and Old Prints of the University Library in Heidelberg allowed me to base this dissertation, at least in part, on archival materials. However, a thorough and complete exploration of Chyzhevsky's literary legacy deposited in Heidelberg and elsewhere would take much more time. I am convinced that Chyzhevsky can offer to the current research generation a number of important impulses and findings through yet unpublished letters, texts or studies.



It would be very desirable if research of published and unpublished part of his texts could continue and if it resulted in the above-mentioned comprehensive edition, which would make the results of his research accessible to the wider public.

## **Publication activity**

### Monograph:

*Dmytro Čyževskij. K labyrintu světa*, Filosofia, Praha 2017.

ISBN 978-80-7007-488-6.

### Articles:

Comenius and Gracian, in: Adriana Bečková, Jana Stejskalová (eds.), *Topics in Spanish Philosophy*, University of Pardubice, Pardubice 2018, s. 104–125.

ISBN 978-80-7560-109-4.

Aktuálnost Komenského výchovy k lidskosti, in: Andrzej Borkowski, Roman Mnich (eds.), *Comenius and the Problem of Interdisciplinarity*, Wydawnictwo IKRiBL, Siedlce 2017, s. 101–108.

ISBN 978-83-64884-93-1.

Comenius in the Writings of Dietrich Mahnke, Dmytro Chyzhevsky and Jan Patočka, in: *Nasledie Jana Amosa Komenskogo vzgľad iz 21 veka. Materialy meždunarodnogo naučno-praktičeskogo foruma*, Peterschule, Petrohrad 2017, s. 139–147.  
ISBN 978-5-85902-151-2.

Komenský, Masaryk a jejich ideály humanitní, in: Jan Svoboda, Aleš Prázný (eds.), *Česká otázka a dnešní doba*, Filosofia, Praha 2017, s. 591–606.  
ISBN 978-80-7007-505-0.

Review:

Kateřina Šolcová, Comenius im Blick. Der Briefwechsel zwischen Milada Blekastad und Dmitrij Tschizewskij, *Acta Comeniana* 29, 2015, s. 206–209.  
ISBN 978-80-7007-483-1.

Editorial work:

Adriana Bečková, Jana Stejskalová (eds.), *Topics in Spanish Philosophy*, University of Pardubice, Pardubice 2018.  
ISBN 978-80-7560-109.