

# Kyiv Theological Academy Professors at the Beginning of the 20th Century: At the Intersection of Cultures

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## Abstract

This article attempts to reveal intercultural connections at the Kyiv Theological Academy at the beginning of the 20th century by reconstructing the spiritual biographies of two theological academy professors: Archimandrite (later, Archbishop of Berlin and Germany) Tykhon (Tymofii Liashchenko) and Petro Kudriavtsev. The article demonstrates how different cultural traditions intersected and combined in the spiritual experience of these figures. The author of the article argues that, as a result of revolutionary events in 1917–1919, both Kyiv Theological Academy professors experienced transformations in personal cultural identity, and their spiritual biographies reveal a transition from Russian to Western European and a combination of both (Tykhon (Liashchenko) identities), and from Russian to Ukrainian ideological cultural orientation (Petro Kudriavtsev).

**Key Words:** Kyiv Theological Academy, Tykhon (Liashchenko), Petro Kudriavtsev, spiritual biography, intercultural connections, church life, Ukrainian language of worship, Ukrainian culture, Russian culture, western European culture.



Professor of the Kyiv Theological Academy Petro Kudriavtsev, one of the first researchers of the historical and cultural heritage of the Kyiv Academy, intending to show images of the Academy's past "in their concrete, vital integrity," did this through the prism of reproducing spiritual biographies of theological academy professors.<sup>1</sup> It is worth emphasizing how valuable and effective Kudriavtsev's choice of approach to studying pages in the history of the Academy was. He not only reconstructed external aspects of the vitae of theological academy professors, but also tried to express the diversity and uniqueness of their personal worldviews, which reflect the prism of cultural and historical realities of the times formed and presented in their works. The

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1 See "My priobshchili by vashi vospominaniia k nashim i postaralis by ikh sokhranit dlia istorii proshlogo Kieva i Kievskoi Akademii..." (Pisma Petra Pavlovicha Kudriavtseva k Alekseiu Afanasevichu Dmitrievskomu (1924–1929 gg.) ['We Would Add Your Memoirs to Ours and Try to Save Them for the History of the Past of Kyiv and of the Kyiv Academy...'] (Letters of Petr Pavlovych Kudriavtsev to Aleksei Afanasevich Dmitrievskii, 1924–1929)]," *Vestnik Ekaterinburgskoi dukhovnoi seminarii* 2.8 (2014): 389.

emphasis on personal spiritual experience, which “emerges in a rather wide area of communication presented by many cultures,” is the main feature of the humanistic turn in modern historical science that consists of understanding culture as a place of human communication and interaction.<sup>2</sup> The study of diversity, a polylogue of the voices of different cultures, their intersection, adjacency or opposition, and dialogism or confrontation through the prism of human individuality, is the fundamental methodological approach of contemporary historians. Let us apply the method of Kudriavtsev and attempt to recreate images of the past of the Kyiv Academy in their full color and concrete manifestations by reconstructing the spiritual biographies of its professors Tykhon (secular name Tymofii Ivanovych Liashchenko) and Petro Pavlovych Kudriavtsev. They belonged to opposing camps of the theological academy professorship and had different worldviews, philosophical beliefs, and social and civil positions. However, a common feature of these figures is that due to the historical flow of the eventful beginning of the 20th century, their spiritual biographies became an expression of the clarification of the intersection and the intertwining of cultural traditions, which, in its turn highlights the picture of intercultural ties of the Kyiv Theological Academy at the beginning of the 20th century.

Archbishop Tykhon (secular name Tymofii Ivanovych Liashchenko) (1875–1945) was an alumnus, teacher, and inspector of the Kyiv Theological Academy, and a well-known church figure of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad (ROCA).<sup>3</sup> Tymofii Liashchenko participated in Kyiv Theological Academy life from 1905, when he entered the Academy<sup>4</sup> already being a priest and having considerable experience in teaching The Law of God

2 M. L. Tkachuk, *Kyivska akademichna filozofia XIX—pochatku XX st.: metodolohichni problemy doslidzhennia* [Kyiv Academic Philosophy of the 19th—Beginning of the 20th Century: Methodological Issues of Research] (Kyiv: ZAT “Vipol,” 2000), 117.

3 See more about him in L. A. Pastushenko, “Tykhon (Liashchenko Tymofii Ivanovych),” in *Kyivska dukhovna akademiia v imenakh: 1819–1924*, vol. 2, ed. M. Tkachuk (Kyiv: Vydavnychiy dim “Kyievo-Mohylianska akademiia,” 2016), 669–72; L. A. Pastushenko, “Arkhivna spadshchyna arkhiepyskopa Tykhona (Tymofii Ivanovycha Liashchenka) u fondakh Instytutu rukopysu Natsionalnoi biblioteky Ukrainy imeni V. I. Vernadskoho [The Archival Heritage of Archbishop Tykhon (Tymofii Ivanovych Liashchenko) in the Holdings of the Institute of Manuscripts, V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine],” in *Biohrafichnyi pidkhid u vyvchenni istorii ta spadshchyny Kyivskoi dukhovnoi akademii*, ed. M. L. Tkachuk (Kyiv: Vydavnychiy dim “Kyievo-Mohylianska akademiia,” 2016), 199–213.

4 See *Liashchenko Timofei Ivanovich. Avtobiografiia. Chernovik. Prilozhenie: studencheskii bilet i vizitnaia kartochka* [Autobiography. Draft Document. Appendix: Student Card and Visiting Card], 1908 [Manuscript] (Manuscript Institute, V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, f. 216, no. 1, p. 1); *Formuliarnyi spisok ekstraordinarnogo professora arkhimandrita Tikhona* [Record of Service of Extraordinary-Professor Archimandrite Tykhon] [Manuscript] (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv, f. 711, desc. 1, no. 10964, p. 2).

in the schools of his native Voronezh province.<sup>5</sup> In 1909, priest Tymofii Liashchenko graduated from the Academy with a Candidate's degree in theology,<sup>6</sup> and as the best alumnus stayed at the Department of Patrology, receiving a professorial scholarship.<sup>7</sup> In 1910, he began teaching at the Kyiv Theological Academy. During his application for the vacant cathedra at the Department of Pastoral Theology with Ascetical Theology and Homiletics, which took place at a meeting of the Kyiv Theological Academy Conference on 5 November 1910, priest Liashchenko failed to gain enough votes. However, shortly after, on 1 December 1910, the Holy Governing Synod appointed him to this chair as acting Associate Professor.<sup>8</sup> On 4 April 1913, after the successful defense of his work *The Life of St. Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria* (Kyiv, 1913),<sup>9</sup> he received a Master's degree in Theology and the title of Associate Professor.<sup>10</sup> On 17 August 1913 he was elected an Extraordinary Professor. During 1910–1913 Liashchenko headed a preaching group of Kyiv Theological Academy students, realizing in practice the instructions he gave to Academy students in his course of Pastoral Theology.<sup>11</sup> Other evidence of his theological academic career success is his appointment as an inspector of the Kyiv Theological Academy with the rank of Archimandrite on 29 July 1914.<sup>12</sup> In 1915 Archimandrite Tykhon (Liashchenko) twice served as the rector of the Kyiv Theological Academy. In his ideological beliefs he

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- 5 Tymofii Liashchenko was born in Kulakovka settlement, Ostrohozhsk region of Voronezh province (today a village in the Rossoshanskii district of Voronezh oblast in the Russian Federation) in a peasant family.
- 6 After the defence of his candidate's work *The Life of St. Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria*, Manuscript Institute, V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, f. 304, no. 2052.
- 7 See in *Iz vlechenie iz zhurnalov Soveta Kievskoi Dukhovnoi Akademii za 1908–1909 uchebnyi god* [Extracts From Records of the Kyiv Theological Academy Council, 1908–1909 Academic Year] (Kyiv, 1909), 415–18, 486, 488, 490; *Iz vlechenie iz zhurnalov Soveta Kievskoi Dukhovnoi Akademii za 1909–1910 uchebnyi god* [Extracts From Records of the Kyiv Theological Academy Council, 1909–1910 Academic Year] (Kyiv, 1910), 650–52.
- 8 *Iz vlechenie iz zhurnalov Soveta Kievskoi Dukhovnoi Akademii za 1910–1911 uchebnyi god* [Extracts From Records of the Kyiv Theological Academy Council, 1910–1911 Academic Year] (Kyiv, 1911), 187–94, 198–206, 209–11, 232; *Formuliarnyi spisok arkhimandrita Tikhona*, 3.
- 9 This defence took place at a public meeting of the Kyiv Theological Academy Council on 4 April 1913.
- 10 *Formuliarnyi spisok arkhimandrita Tikhona*, 4.
- 11 See *Propovednicheskii kruzhok studentov Kievskoi duhovnoi akademii. Rukovoditel Liashchenko Timofei Ivanovich. Materialy deiatelnosti* [The Evangelical Group of Kyiv Theological Academy Students. Liashchenko Tymofii Ivanovych, Leader. Records], 1910–1913 [Manuscript] (Manuscript Institute, V. I. Vernadskyi National library of Ukraine, f. 216, no. 84–116).
- 12 On 2 August 1914 priest Tymofii Liashchenko took his monastic vows with the name of Tykhon (he received the tonsure from Metropolitan of Kyiv and Halychyna, Flavian (Horodetskyi)); on 6 August of the same year he received the rank of archimandrite. See *Formuliarnyi spisok arkhimandrita Tikhona*, 3.

belonged to the right wing of theological academy professors, who denied the need for any (especially liberal) innovations in the Academy's theological life.

A demonstration of Archimandrite Tykhon's (Liashchenko's) philosophical and ideological beliefs in pre-revolutionary years was the work *Asceticism as the Basis of Russian Culture* (Moscow, 1915), which was written as an answer to the political and historical realities of the day, associated with the First World War and the military confrontation between the two empires, Russia and Germany. The work of Archimandrite Tykhon reflects general attitudes of Russian religiously oriented intellectuals at the beginning of the 20th century. In particular, Russian religious thinkers united around the *Put* publishing house (Nikolai Berdiaev, Sergei Bulgakov, Evgenii Trubetskoi, Vladimir Ern and others) and regarded the confrontation between the two empires as a watershed for the future of Russia, "a religious moment, a supra-political, supranational, and idealistic moment,"<sup>13</sup> since it was about the confrontation between two directions of cultural development, "two deep self-determinations of human will," the Russian religious one and the Western atheistic one.<sup>14</sup> The aforementioned thinkers argued that Russia was a protagonist in the war, endowing the Russian people with a historical mission of pointing the true way to the world, the way of universal assertion of the Christian ideal. The central idea of Archimandrite Tykhon's work became the idea of confrontation between the Russian and German (in a broader sense, Western European) cultures. According to Archimandrite Tykhon, among the national traits of the German people were rudeness, selfishness, and cruelty. He thought these features generally typical for Western European culture, denoted by rationalism (with its cult of ratio opposing God and religion), individualism (advocating the ideal of an emancipated God-man with his unlimited power and rights), and materialism, which caused a real revolution in the realm of human life, limiting the latter only to earthly presence and serving only material interests. Regarding German culture as an evil threatening all mankind, Archimandrite Tykhon opposed it, in the spirit of Slavophilia, to the ideals of Russian culture and, in a broader sense, to the culture of Orthodox Christianity. The basic features of Russian culture, according to Archimandrite Tykhon, were humility, love for one's neighbor, self-denial and others, united by the general ideal of asceticism, the foundation of Christian life. Archimandrite Tykhon's philosophical concept of the cultural development of mankind is a vivid expression of a typical outlook of the conservative wing of the Kyiv Theological Academy professorship with Russian imperial identity, featuring such typical traits as Russophilia, Orthodoxy, and devotion to the autocrat.<sup>15</sup> Arguing for the principles of the Russian national idea, Archimandrite Tykhon was a member of the Kyiv club of Russian nationalists.

The revolutionary years of 1917–1918 radically changed the established traditions of the Kyiv Theological Academy and the usual course of the life of its professors. Like

13 E. A. Hollerbakh, *K nezrimomu gradu. Religiozno-filosofskaia gruppа "Put" (1910–1919) v poiskakh novoi russkoi identichnosti* [Towards the Invisible City. The "Put" Religious and Philosophical Group (1910–1919): The Search for a New Russian Identity] (St. Petersburg: Aleteia, 2000), 248.

14 Hollerbakh, *K nezrimomu gradu*, 44.

15 Tkachuk, *Kyivska akademichna filosofia*, 137.

most academics, Archimandrite Tykhon took an active part in the church, civil-political, and educational life of Kyiv.<sup>16</sup> Instructed by the Kyiv Theological Academy Conference in 1919, he visited General Anton Ivanovich Denikin at the General Headquarters of the Armed Forces of South Russia, applying for the issuance of money for the maintenance of the academic corporation.<sup>17</sup> During this mission Archimandrite Tykhon became ill with typhus in Odessa, and was taken to the Bulgarian city of Varna together with the field hospital.

As it later turned out, Archimandrite Tykhon (Liashchenko) was destined to leave Russia forever and spend the rest of his life abroad, directly encountering the world of Western European culture, which he had previously criticized. In the 1920s-1930s he became one of the notable and influential figures in the church and cultural life of the Russian Orthodox Church abroad. In Bulgaria, in 1920–1921 Archimandrite Tykhon was installed as the Dean of the Church of St. Nicholas of Myra at the Russian Embassy in Sofia, and was also engaged in teaching activities: he taught patristics at the local Theological religious school.<sup>18</sup> Together with his former students of Bulgarian origin (Kyiv Theological Academy graduates), he considered the possibility of opening a theological academy in Sofia, but did not realize this intention because of the Bulgarian government's resistance.

By the authority of Archbishop Eulogy (Georgievskii), who headed Russian Orthodox parishes abroad, beginning with May 1921 Archimandrite Tykhon (Liashchenko) was made the Dean of St. Vladimir's church at the Russian Embassy in Berlin.<sup>19</sup> Extant correspondence of Archimandrite Tykhon with the rector of the Kyiv Theological Academy (which was transformed into the Kyiv Orthodox Theological

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16 Archimandrite Tykhon (Liashchenko) was, in particular, a delegate of the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council (1918), a member of the Cultural commission, created in 1918 under the Ministry of Religions of the Pavlo Skoropadskyi government; the commission worked on issues of severance between Ukraine and Russia. In May 1918 Council of Kyiv pastors elected him honoured member and head of the Commission on missionary and educational affairs in Kyiv and the Kyiv Eparchy.

17 *Zhurnaly zasedanii Soveta Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii* [Records of Meetings of the Kyiv Theological Academy], 1919 [Manuscript] (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv, f. 711, desc. 3, no. 4072, p. 7).

18 See A. K. Klementev, "Zhizn i trudy Timofeia Ivanovicha Liashchenko, v monashestve Tikhona, arkhiepiskopa Berlinskogo (v ego perepiske s prof. N. N. Glubkovskim) [The Life and Works of Timofei Ivanovich Liashchenko, Monastic Name Tykhon, the Archbishop of Berlin (Correspondence with Prof. N. N. Glubkovskii)]," in *Rukopisnoe nasledie deiatelei otechestvennoi kultury XVIII–XXI vekov. Materialy Mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii*, ed. R. I. Kraineva (St. Petersburg: RNB, 2007), 115.

19 Evlogy, Metropolitan [Georgievskii], *Put moei zhyzni. Vospominaniia mitropolita Evlogiia. Izlozh. po ego rasskazam T. Manukhinoi* [The Path of My Life. Memoirs of Metropolitan Evlogii. Retold According to His Stories to T. Manukhina] (Paris: YMCA-Press, 1947), 91.



Academy), Bishop Vasylii (Bohdashevskiy), dated 1922,<sup>20</sup> expresses not only the rich life of the former Kyiv professor, but also his complex spiritual experiences caused by forced emigration. His first letters are full of sincere grief over Kyiv and the Academy, as well as the desire to help former colleagues, who were left without any livelihood by the Soviet authorities.<sup>21</sup> However, over time, Archimandrite Tykhon was more and more immersed in the eventful church and intellectual life of Europe. In particular, in subsequent letters to Bishop Vasylii (Bohdashevskiy) he enthusiastically described the revival of the religious life of Russian emigrants:

the interest in religion among the refugee population, especially among the intelligentsia, has been increasing. Even the former rector of Petrograd University, Grimm, makes reports about the existence of God and the need for religion to save Western culture and the world.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, the need for pastors with professorial experience is very high. And in particular, as a pastor I have been fated to minister to such a flock that, I am sure, no one has ever had—the blossom of our hereditary, administrative, and learned intelligentsia. There is much work to do, and the work is very serious.<sup>23</sup>

Inspired by the idea of developing the Russian Orthodox Church abroad and reviving the persecuted on Soviet territory religious values in the bosom of Western European culture, Archimandrite Tykhon took an active part in the “Russian All-Abroad Church Council” that took place in Sremski Karlovci from 21 November to 2 December 1921. In 1922 he went to Poland, where he was preparing for his episcopate in Grodno Eparchy under the direction of Metropolitan of Warsaw Heorhii (Yaroshevskiy), and also assisted the creation of the Orthodox Theological Faculty at Warsaw University.<sup>24</sup> Due to the dissolution of church relations between the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad and Metropolitan Heorhii, who supported the autocephaly of the Polish Orthodox Church, Archimandrite Tykhon left Poland. In autumn 1922 Metropolitan Eulogy (Georgievskii) appointed him to be Dean of the Berlin parish. On 11 May 1924, according to the decision of the Synod of Hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad, Archimandrite Tykhon (Liashchenko) was consecrated Bishop of Berlin. In

20 *Tikhon, arkhimandrit. — Vasiliiu, episkopu Kanevskomu. Pisma. 1 yanvaria — 28 noiabria (11 dekabria) 1922 g. iz Berlina v Kiev [Tykhon, Archimandrite. — To Vasylii, Bishop Kanevskii. Letters. 1 January — 28 November (11 December) 1922 From Berlin to Kyiv] [Manuscript] (Manuscript Institute, V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, f. 191, no. 872–76).*

21 In 1922 Archimandrite Tykhon sent provision parcels to Kyiv through the ARA American charity organization (American Relief Administration).

22 This concerns Russian historian Ervin Grimm, the rector of the University of St. Petersburg (Petrograd) in 1911–1918.

23 *Tikhon, arkhimandrit*, no. 874, 2.

24 *Tikhon, arkhimandrit*, no. 873, 2.

October 1924 he participated in the work of the Bishops' Assembly of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad in Sremski Karlovci and was elected its secretary by the participants of the assembly. By the decision of the Synod of Hierarchs on 10 October 1924 Bishop Tykhon was appointed Bishop of all Orthodox parishes in Germany. After the cessation of church communication with Metropolitan Eulogy (Georgievskii), and due to the formation of German Orthodox parishes into an independent eparchy of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad, a synodal decree dated 1 July 1926 appointed Tykhon (Liashchenko) Bishop of Berlin and Germany.

We can see that fate paradoxically willed Bishop Tykhon to find himself in the fold of the German culture that he had criticized before. He had to spend the rest of his life getting used to it, finding his place in it, and even cooperating with Nazi authorities. In particular, from 1933 on Bishop Tykhon made efforts to legalize Orthodox parishes of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad by Nazi Germany and to receive sequestration of church property.<sup>25</sup> The Nazi government tried to use the parishes headed by Bishop Tykhon for the purposes of a unification campaign of the Russian Orthodox Churches in Germany that began in September 1935. The campaign had its ideological basis in an international propaganda effort creating an image of the Nazi regime as a defender of the Russian Orthodox Church (as opposed to the Bolshevik Soviet government), thus winning favor in the Balkan countries with their majority Orthodox population.<sup>26</sup> Under these circumstances, Bishop Tykhon persisted to finally induce the Prussian government to grant public legal status to the Berlin and German Eparchy that he headed (dated 14 March 1936) and to approve its statute (previously approved by the Synod of Hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church on 23 October 1935), as well as to allocate large funds for the construction of the Orthodox Cathedral of the Resurrection of Christ in Berlin in April 1936.<sup>27</sup> Later, Tykhon emphasized the enormous historical, cultural, clerical, and socio-political importance of that event, pointing out that even under conditions of Church oppression in Soviet Russia, "the basis of Russian culture and statehood—the Orthodox faith is still alive, strong and fruitful"<sup>28</sup> (even if, paradoxically, it was built up and strengthened, thanks to the efforts of Bishop Tykhon, in the bosom of the contradictory to the "Russian spirituality," German spirit). Ranking as the Archbishop of Berlin and Germany (starting from 28 September 1936), he collaborated with the Nazi regime to add "eulogian" parishes to the Berlin Eparchy. However, the uncompromising position of Archbishop Tykhon against the supporters of Metropolitan Eulogy (Georgievskii) led to further escalation of inter-church conflict. That fact contradicted the interests of German authorities who

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25 M. V. Shkarovskii, *Krest i svastika. Natsistskaia Germaniia i Pravoslavnaia Tserkov* [*The Cross and Swastika. Nazi Germany and the Orthodox Church*] (Moscow: Veche, 2007), 512.

26 A. K. Nikitin, *Natsistskii rezhim i russkaia pravoslavnaia obshchina v Germanii (1933–1945)* [*The Nazi Regime and the Russian Orthodox Community in Germany, 1933–1945*] (Moscow: Tserkovno-nauchnyi tsentr "Pravoslavnaia entsiklopediia," 1998), 237–38.

27 On April 26, 1936 the Prussian government allocated a large sum of money for church construction.

28 Klementev, "Zhizn i trudy," 115.

sought to unify Orthodox parishes in Germany. So, having lost governmental support, Archbishop Tykhon was released from heading the eparchy by the decision of the Synod of Hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad, dated 24 February 1938.<sup>29</sup>

Summarizing the experience of Archbishop Tykhon's (Liashchenko's) church policy under Nazi rule, it can be stated that mutually beneficial relations existed between the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad under the leadership of Tykhon and the Nazi regime: the Prussian government chose and used Karlovchans to establish their ideology; in turn, Archbishop Tykhon used the church "manoeuvre" of the Nazis to build the Russian Church abroad. Moreover, Tykhon won from the church situation created by the Nazi regime, as the unification of the eulogian parishes, planned by the Reich, never took place, while Karlovchanian parishes received significant political and financial support.<sup>30</sup> Thanks to this support Archbishop Tykhon made every possible contribution to the development of the Russian Orthodox tradition in the bosom of Western European culture.

The spiritual biography of his teacher and colleague at the Kyiv Theological Academy, Petro Pavlovych Kudriavtsev (1868–1940), an outstanding theological and academic philosopher and historian, a religious, educational, and cultural figure, is also quite representative in the light of intercultural ties in the theological academic and church environment of the early 20th century.<sup>31</sup> Born far from the centre of Russia,<sup>32</sup> he entered the Kyiv Theological Academy<sup>33</sup> in 1888, where after four years he received a degree in theology.<sup>34</sup> As one of the most successful students of his class, he remained at the Kyiv Theological Academy at the Department of the History of Philosophy, receiving a professorial scholarship. On 10 June 1897 Kudriavtsev was

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29 Tykhon retired on 11 June 1938 and stayed at the Rakovica Serbian Orthodox monastery near Belgrad. He was the Head of the Academic Committee, created by the first hierarch of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad, Metropolitan Anastasii (Grybanovskii) in Belgrad. In September 1944, together with the Assembly of Hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad, he moved from Belgrad to Karlsbad (today Karlovy Vary), where he soon died on 11 February 1945 and was buried at the municipal cemetery.

30 It should be noted that the "collaboration" of Bishop Tykhon with the Nazi regime was only a formality, not an indication of inner ideological support of the regime.

31 A more detailed biography of Kudriavtsev is available in L. A. Pastushenko, "Kudriavtsev Petro Pavlovych," in *Kyivska dukhovna akademiia v imenakh: 1819–1924*, vol. 1, ed. M. Tkachuk (Kyiv: Vydavnychiy dim "Kyievo-Mohylianska akademiia," 2015), 729–35.

32 He was born in Alekseevskoe village in the Chernski region of Tula province (which is now a village in the Teplo-Ogarevskii region of Tula oblast of the Russian Federation).

33 After graduating from Efremovskoe religious school and Tula Theological Seminary.

34 After the defence of his Candidate's dissertation concerning a church's history topic on 11 June 1892 *The most important local churches in the East in the 2nd and 3rd centuries and their interaction in developing Christian thought and life in this period.*



elected as acting Associate Professor of this department.<sup>35</sup> Based on the public defense of his monograph, *Absolutism or Relativism? The Experience of a Historical and Critical Study of Pure Empiricism of the Modern Age in its Relation to Morality and Religion. Prolegomena*, which took place on 17 October 1908, he obtained his Master's degree in theology and the title of Associate Professor. In January 1909 he was elected as an Extraordinary Professor at the Department of Philosophy, a position which he held until the Academy was closed by the Bolsheviks in 1919.<sup>36</sup> In 1922–1924, he took part in the work of the Kyiv Orthodox Theological Academy.

Petro Kudriavtsev played an exceptional role in reforming academic-theological life at the beginning of the 20th century. He became head of the left wing of the Kyiv theological academy professorship, and directed his efforts to radically transform academic-theological life on the principles of self-government, elections, and the freedom of academic research. Such a reformist attitude of the professors distinguished the Kyiv Theological Academy from other contemporary Russian educational institutions, as a progressive institution open to innovative processes. This is attested to by one of the professors of St. Petersburg University: "The Kyiv academy is number one when it goes about freshness and progressiveness. And this is clear because it is in the hands of a person such as Kudriavtsev..."<sup>37</sup> During 1905–1918 Petro Kudriavtsev took part in the work of several commissions established for the purpose of reforming the theological school and for preparing a new theological and academic statute.<sup>38</sup>

Petro Kudriavtsev is one of the key figures of the Kyiv religious and philosophical renaissance of the early 20th century. He was a founder and chairman of the Kyiv religious and philosophical society (1908–1919), which united the Kyiv intelligentsia who were convinced in the need to reform socio-political, cultural, and educational life, regarding Christianity as a powerful factor in the future revival in all spheres of social life. Beginning with 1914 he was a member, and later a friend of the chairman

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35 *Izвлечение из протоколов Совета Киевской духовной Академии за 1896–1897 учебный год* [Extracts From Protocols of the Kyiv Theological Academy Council, 1896–1897 Academic Year] (Kyiv, 1898), 102, 129–30. *Formuliarnyi spisok o sluzhbe ekstraordinarnogo professora KDA Statskogo Sovetnika Petra Pavlovicha Kudriavtseva* [Record of Service of Kyiv Theological Academy Extraordinary-Professor Petro Pavlovych Kudriavtsev] [Manuscript] (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv, f. 711, desc. 1, no. 10928, p. 2).

36 *Formuliarnyi spisok Kudriavtseva*, 3.

37 E. P. Kudriavtseva, *Vospominaniia* [Memories] [Typescript] (One Street Museum, no number, p. 6).

38 In particular, in 1905—in the commission of the Kyiv Theological Academy on the preparation of a Project of the most acute temporary changes in Orthodox Theological Academies' statute, in 1906—in developing "The project of the statute of Orthodox Theological academies." In 1917—in the Commission of the Holy Synod on reforming higher theological schools, in 1918—in the Commission on developing the Temporary statute of the Kyiv Theological Academy, the Commission on issues of implementing the new statute into academic life.

of the Kyiv scientific and philosophical society, founded at St. Volodymyr University.<sup>39</sup> Kudriavtsev was also a member of the Kyiv pedagogical society of mutual aid, which aimed to unite all Ukrainian teachers (in 1902–1905 he was chairman of the society).

Arguing for the need for church reform in his numerous journalistic works, as well as for the revision of the relationship between the state and the Church, the revival of church life on the basis of unity, creativity, and freedom, in the revolutionary years of 1917–1918 Kudriavtsev actively participated in many socio-political and church events on the territory of the former Russian Empire.<sup>40</sup>

A remarkable feature of Petro Kudriavtsev's spiritual biography is that during the attempts to form Ukrainian statehood (1917–1919) he, a Russian by origin and a well-known specialist and teacher of Russian philology and literature,<sup>41</sup> stood for the significance and value of the Ukrainian language and culture, and contributed to the development of Ukrainian culture and Ukrainian church life. A rather demonstrative step, which conveys Kudriavtsev's attitude to Ukrainian culture, is his bringing up an issue of the status of the Ukrainian language at the 1917–1918 Local Council of the Orthodox Church of Russia. In particular, at the meetings of the sixth section of the pre-council conference (related to the issues of faith and worship, preaching, and Old Belief), as well as during the work of the council's 13th section concerning the language of worship, the Kyiv professor made speeches on the necessity of worship both in Ukrainian and Russian. Emphasizing the urgency and essential need to translate liturgical texts into an understandable native language for the laity, and taking into consideration the fact that the church was entering the age of the "creative prosperity of the church and religious forces of our nation," Kudriavtsev substantiated a proposition about the admissibility of worship in Ukrainian and Russian, although warning against a hasty replacement of the language of worship in contemporary conditions when traditions of church creativity continued to be neglected. After all, he stressed, the language of worship is a poetic language, and translation requires a creative rather than

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39 He was also a member of the Orthodox religious and educational association. 1897—a member of the historical, and archaeological association at the Kyiv Theological Academy.

40 A delegate of the Kyiv Eparchy congress (12 April—18 April 1917), where he was elected a member of the newly formed Eparchial Rada (a high eparchial body under the hierarchy). A delegate of the Kyiv Theological Academy on the Kyiv eparchial council (May 1918), convened to elect a new Kyiv metropolitan (in place of murdered Metropolitan Volodymyr (Bohoiavlenskyi)). Took part in the All-Russian Local Council and All-Ukrainian Orthodox Council.

41 At the beginning of the 20th century Kudriavtsev taught philology and Russian literature in several Kyiv secondary schools—The second women's eparchial school of the ecclesiastical department (1898–1919), the private women's gymnasium of Maria Klussinsh, a private women's gymnasium at the Evangelical and Lutheran church, in 1911–1914 he gave lectures on modern Russian literature at Zemstvo courses organized in Poltava and Kherson for teachers to raise their level of skills. One of the main directions of Kudriavtsev's work was studying Russian philology and literature.

a mechanical approach, which requires consolidation with poetic-religious inspiration of past church poets. At the same time Kudriavtsev found the partial use of Russian, and especially Ukrainian (when reading Holy Scripture and prayers, in certain songs, etc.) to be permissible and even desirable, therefore, applications of each parish concerning worship in Russian or Ukrainian were to be satisfied after a translation was approved by church authorities. Kudriavtsev's thesis about the possibility of the partial use of the Ukrainian and Russian languages in worship and satisfaction of the relevant petitions of church communities was used as the basis for project decisions on the issues of the liturgical language, prepared at meetings of the council's subsection.<sup>42</sup>

The question of the use of the Ukrainian language in liturgical practice was more fully considered by Kudriavtsev in his article "On the Liturgical Use of the Russian (and Ukrainian) languages."<sup>43</sup> The Kyiv professor was convinced that the need to replace the Church Slavonic language is more tangible and urgent in Ukraine than in Russia, where the attachment to established church tradition remains. Taking into account the importance of the biblical word in the Ukrainian religious tradition, he emphasized the growing need for "expressive reading, and accessible, vital interpretation of the Word of God."<sup>44</sup> Reflecting on the problems of the translation of the liturgy into Ukrainian, Kudriavtsev advocated the need for a creative approach to the translation of naturally poetic liturgical texts, since "artistic creations" require "artistic translation."<sup>45</sup> When asked whether the Ukrainian language had the proper lexical means to express "intimate motions of a religiously-minded soul and sublime concepts of Christian theology,"<sup>46</sup> Kudriavtsev answered positively. On an obvious example of Taras Shevchenko's poetry (where the sweet-sounding Ukrainian language is used in quiet words of prayers and blessings), he proved the idea that the Ukrainian language has "rich means for expressing the lyrical side of religious life."<sup>47</sup>

Rather than remaining aside of the development of church life in Ukraine, Kudriavtsev took an active part in the preparation and work of the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council (1918). From a note "On the History of Convocation of the All-Ukrainian Church Council"<sup>48</sup> published in the *Slovo* newspaper we learn about his

42 See N. Balashov, Archpriest, *Na puti k liturgicheskomu vozrozhdeniiu* [Towards a Liturgical Renaissance] (Moscow: Kulturno-prosvetitel'skii tsentr "Dukhovnaia Biblioteka," 2001), 125–45.

43 See P. P. Kudriavtsev, "O bogoslužebnom upotreblenii russkogo (a takzhe ukrainskogo) yazyka [On the Liturgical Use of the Russian and Ukrainian Languages]," *Tserkovno-obshchestvennaia mysl* 13–14 (1918): 23–29; 15–16 (1918): 16–20; 17–18 (1918): 10–18.

44 Kudriavtsev, "O bogoslužebnom upotreblenii," 13–14 (1918): 27.

45 Kudriavtsev, "O bogoslužebnom upotreblenii," 15–16 (1918): 17.

46 Kudriavtsev, "O bogoslužebnom upotreblenii," 15–16 (1918): 18.

47 Kudriavtsev, "O bogoslužebnom upotreblenii," 15–16 (1918): 18.

48 P. P. Kudriavtsev, "K istorii sozyva Vseukrainskogo Tserkovnogo Sobora. Dve popravki k state nekoego 'Tserkovnika' v gazete 'Nasha Rodina' [On the History of the Convocation of the All-Ukrainian Church Council. Two Amendments to the Article of a Certain *Tserkovnik* in the *Nasha Rodina* Newspaper]," *Slovo* 25 (1918): 1.

personal contribution to the efforts of the Kyiv Theological Academy professors who sought to resolve the intra-church conflict on the eve of the Council. As Kudriavtsev wrote, pro-Ukrainian church circles formed the All-Ukrainian Church Rada, which was concerned with the preparation of the Council convened to establish autocephaly of the Ukrainian Church. However, these measures did not have the support of the then functioning pro-Russian Ukrainian episcopate, and holding the Council without the participation of the bishops would contravene canonical norms. Participating in fierce debates at Council meetings aimed at resolving this conflict in a canonical manner, it was Kudriavtsev who proposed a formula that helped to achieve a “pre-council reconciliation” of the Ukrainian and pro-Russian church circles: “The Central Rada, acting in agreement with the bishops of the Ukrainian eparchies, is eligible to convene an All-Ukrainian Church Council.”<sup>49</sup>

Elaborating on the theme of church formation as one of the priorities in his religious journalism, Kudriavtsev tried to understand the ways of development of church life in Ukraine in 1917–1918. At an open meeting of the Kyiv religious and philosophical society (14 October 1918), he publicly lectured on “Church Issues in Ukraine.”<sup>50</sup> This report is worth special attention as testimony of a living participant in contemporary Ukrainian church events and includes an attempt to generalize the diverse and contradictory life of the church, as well as to comprehend its main tendencies. Outlining the current state of development of the church and of religious life on the Ukrainian lands, Petro Kudriavtsev evaluated it as unsatisfactory, since, in his opinion, the church movement referred only to the form of church life (church policy, formation of church structures, the question of relations between Church and state, Ukrainian and Russian elements, bishops, clergy and faithful, and others), but not to its content. According to Kudriavtsev, church life in Ukraine was marked with the struggle between two church movements, progressive and conservative. This struggle first became apparent in the confrontation between pro-Ukrainian and pro-Russian church forces regarding the issue of autocephaly (first session of the All-Ukrainian Church Council). The second stage of the church struggle was marked by a confrontation between those who supported the “church-progressive platform” and conservative forces in addressing issues of the decentralization of church governance and the involvement of believers in church formation, and the autonomy of theological academies (second session of the Council). Although representatives of the church-conservative movement subsequently united around the metropolitan of Kyiv, Antonii (Khrapovytskyi), representatives of the progressive movement formed their “headquarters” at the Ministry of Religions in the government of Pavlo Skoropadskyi, headed by Vasyl Zenkovskyi.

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49 Kudriavtsev, “K istorii sozyva,” 1.

50 P. P. Kudriavtsev, “Tserkovnyi vopros na Ukraine (Doklad, chitannyi v otkrytom zasedanii Kievskogo religiozno-filosofskogo obshchestva 14-go oktiabria 1918 g.) [Church Issues in Ukraine: Report Given at the Open Meeting of the Kyiv Religious and Philosophical Association on 14 October 1918],” *Slovo* 18 (1918): 4; 23 (1918): 4.

As the Minister of religions and concerned with the development of Ukrainian national culture, Zenkovskii appointed Kudriavtsev to form and lead an Academic Committee under the Ministry of Religions. The choice of Kudriavtsev to head a competent body intended to stimulate the revival of Ukrainian church culture was due to the fact that Kudriavtsev, as Zenkovskii indicated, although “born a Russian, loved and understood Ukraine, and, what is most important, understood both the light and dark sides of the Ukrainian church and knew boundaries of the national element in church life.”<sup>51</sup> Petro Kudriavtsev saw the task of the Committee as broad cultural and educational work aimed at the revival of church and religious life in Ukraine and the development of spiritual enlightenment based on Orthodox tradition. Due to the authority and professionalism of Kudriavtsev, the Committee brought together the best available academic scholarly forces (mostly Kyiv Theological Academy and University professors) and performed significant work in many areas: organizing the translation of the Bible, liturgical books and church rules into the Ukrainian language; preparing a Ukrainian theological encyclopedia, Ukrainian-language scholarly theological works and books of ecclesiastical and religious content (first of all, hagiography, especially of those saints respected on the Ukrainian lands), popular scholarly books on religious issues; developing curricula and textbooks on Scripture; addressing school matters; publishing materials on the history of Ukraine related to the development of religious poetry, church architecture, music, philosophy, and others.<sup>52</sup>

The study of Ukrainian culture became the main subject of Kudriavtsev’s academic work during his cooperation with the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, too. From 1919, Petro Kudriavtsev worked in various commissions studying the Ukrainian cultural heritage in many dimensions and directions. While executing separate academic assignments of the Historical and Philological Department, he, in particular, collected materials on the history of philosophical studies on the Ukrainian territories in the 18th and 19th centuries.<sup>53</sup> Working as a member of the Permanent Commission of the Academy of

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51 V. Zenkovskii, Protopresbiter, *Piat mesiatsev u vlasti (15 maia—19 oktiabria 1918 g.)*. *Vospominaniia [Five Months in Power (15 May—19 October 1918). Memoirs]* (Moscow: Krutitskoe izdatelskoe podvore, 1995), 98.

52 See in The Central State Archive of the Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine f. 1071, desc.1, no. 407–12. “Pratsia v Uchenomu Komitetovi [Work in the Academic Committee],” *Slovo* 31 (1918): 4. “Pratsia v Uchenomu Komitetovi [Work in the Academic Committee],” *Slovo* 32 (1918): 4. “Pratsia v Uchenomu Komitetovi (Prodovzhennia) [Work in the Academic Committee (Continuation)],” *Slovo* 33 (1918): 4. “Khronika: Uchenyi komitet pri Ministerstve Ispovedanii [Chronicle: Work in the Academic Committee of the Ministry of Religious Affairs],” *Tserkovno-obshchestvennaia mysl* 17–18 (1918): 30–31. V. I. Ulianovskii, *Tserkva v Ukrainskii Derzhavi 1917–1920 rr. (doba Hetmanatu Pavla Skoropadskoho) [The Church in the Ukrainian State, 1917–1920: Era of Pavlo Skoropadskyi’s Hetmanate]* (Kyiv: Lybid, 1997), 55–70.

53 See *Zvidomlennia pro diialnist Ukrainskoi Akademii Nauk u Kyievi do 1 sichnia 1920 roku [Report about the Work of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv until 1 January 1920]* (Kyiv: vydannia Ukrainskoi Akademii nauk, [1920]), XXI. P. P. Kudriavtsev, *Zametka ob izuchenii filosofskogo*



Sciences to compile a Biographical dictionary of Ukrainian figures (1924–1930s),<sup>54</sup> he continued an affair he had begun in pre-revolutionary times—studying the spiritual heritage of figures and students of the Kyiv Academy.<sup>55</sup> Working in the Commission on studying the history of Kyiv and right-bank Ukraine (1924–1930s), Kudriavtsev researched the literary heritage of Kyivan Rus<sup>56</sup> and pages of the history of the Kyiv Academy in a broad cultural and educational context.<sup>57</sup> The intercultural relations of Ukraine became the object of Kudriavtsev's study during his work in the Jewish Historical and Archaeological Commission of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (in the late 1920s), which studied Jewish history and culture on Ukrainian territory,<sup>58</sup> and also in the

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*dvizheniia na Ukraine* [A Note on the Study of the Philosophical Movement in Ukraine], c. 1920s–1930s [Manuscript] (Manuscript Institute, V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, f. X, no. 34691, p. 30).

- 54 See P. P. Kudriavtsev, *Avsenev Petr Semenovich (Feofan)* [Manuscript] (Manuscript Institute, V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, f. X, no. 5344). P. P. Kudriavtsev, *Amfiteatrov Antonii*, 1929 [Manuscript] (Manuscript Institute, V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, f. X, no. 5345). P. P. Kudriavtsev, *Amfiteatrov Fedor Egorovich. Biograficheskie zametki* [Amfiteatrov Fedor Egorovich. Biographical Notes] [Manuscript] (Manuscript Institute, V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, f. X, no. 5346). P. P. Kudriavtsev, *Amfiteatrov Yakov Kosmich (1802–1848). Biograficheskii ocherk*. [Amfiteatrov Yakov Kosmich (1802–1848). Biographical Sketch] [Manuscript] (Manuscript Institute, V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, f. X, no. 5346). P. P. Kudriavtsev, *Artemonovich Andrei Fedorovich (1828–1887)* [Manuscript] (Manuscript Institute, V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, f. X, no. 5347).
- 55 *Postiina Komisiia dlia skladannia Biohrafichnoho Slovyka ukrainskykh diiachiv* [Permanent Commission on the Compilation of a Biographical Dictionary of Ukrainian Religious Figures] [Manuscript] (Manuscript Institute, V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, f. X, no. 4791–4794, p. 20–22, 33, 36, 52).
- 56 P. P. Kudriavtsev, “Dekilka storinok iz kulturnoi istorii davniogo Kyieva. Bibliohrafichna dovidka [Notes on the Cultural History of Old Kyiv. Bibliographical Reference],” *Kyivski zbirnyky istorii i arkheolohii, pobutu i mystetstva* 1 (1930): 114–23.
- 57 P. P. Kudriavtsev, “Do istorii osvity na Ukraini. Dva nevydani uryvky z avtobiohrafichnoi zapysky Or. M. Novytskoho [On the History of Education in Ukraine. Two Unpublished Extracts From the Autobiographical Record of Or. M. Novytskyi],” *Zapysky istoryko-filolohichnoho viddilu VUAN* 13–14 (1927): 174–84. P. P. Kudriavtsev, “Shche dvi slovi pro Or. M. Novytskoho [Another Two Words on Or. M. Novytskyi],” *Zapysky istoryko-filolohichnoho viddilu VUAN* 25 (1929): 229–32. P. P. Kudriavtsev, “Osvitni mandrivky vykhovantsiv Kyivskoi akademii za kordon u XVIII st. [Educational Trips of Kyiv Academy Students Abroad in the 18th Century],” *Kyivski zbirnyky istorii i arkheolohii, pobutu i mystetstva* 1 (1930): 285–94.
- 58 In the course of his work, P. Kudriavtsev studied the Jewish influences on the works of I. Franko. See P. P. Kudriavtsev, *Dekilka sliv pro siuzhet Frankovoi poemy “Smert Kaina.” Bibliohrafichna dovidka* [Notes on the Plot of Franko's Poem “Death of Cain.” Bibliographical Reference], 1930 [Manuscript] (Manuscript Institute, V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, f. X, no. 34029). P. P. Kudriavtsev, “Yevreistvo, yevrei ta yevreiska sprava v tvorakh Ivana

Byzantine Commission of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (on 5 February 1929 he was elected its head), which studied Byzantine influence in various fields of Ukrainian life and culture in connection with the history of Byzantium,<sup>59</sup> as well as the historical and ethnological department of the Ukrainian scientific association of oriental studies (from 1929).<sup>60</sup>

Summing up, we can conclude that Petro Kudriavtsev, due to his diverse and wide-ranging activities in various spheres of Ukrainian cultural life, organically found his place in the Ukrainian cultural sphere. A Russian by birth, he can be named a perfect Ukrainian scholar, teacher, church, religious, and public activist.

In this exploratory study, the outlined biographies of Archbishop Tykhon (Liashchenko) and Petro Kudriavtsev show that as a result of the revolutionary events of 1917–1919 Kyiv theological academic professors experienced significant transformations of their beliefs and cultural and worldview priorities; and in many cases were also bound to experience transformations in cultural self-identification for the purposes of determining choices. Tykhon (Liashchenko), known in pre-revolutionary Kyiv as a passionate supporter of the Russian national idea who was unwavering in his belief in the incompatibility and irreconcilable opposition of Western European and Russian cultures, had to spend a significant part of his life (25 years) in Western Europe, mainly in Germany, which he had criticized, combining in his activities and work the Russian and European cultural styles. Kudriavtsev, born in the Russian outskirts, an outstanding connoisseur and admirer of Russian literature and language, managed to understand and properly assess the richness and uniqueness of the Ukrainian language and cultural tradition and manifested himself in his activities and works as an organic and integral part of Ukrainian culture.

It is also worth mentioning that in post-revolutionary times, despite all the vicissitudes of fate, students and teachers of the Kyiv Theological Academy kept their most important connection and factor of their cultural identity—their belonging to the Kyiv Theological Academy and its academic traditions. Both Archbishop Tykhon

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Franka. [Judaism, Jews and the Jewish Question in the Works of Ivan Franko],” in *Zbirnyk prats Yevreiskoi Komisii istoriko-arkheohrafichnoi komisii*, book II, ed. I. Halant (Kyiv, 1929), 1–81.

59 P. P. Kudriavtsev, *Komisiia dlia vyvchennia vizantiiskoho pysmenstva (stattia dlia “Yuvileinoho zbirnyka”)* [Commission on the Study of Byzantine Writers: Article for the Anniversary Collection], 1929 [Manuscript] (Manuscript Institute, V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, f. X, no. 18680). P. P. Kudriavtsev, *Ukrainoznavstvo i vizantynoznavstvo* [Ukrainian and Byzantine Studies], c. 1930s [Manuscript] (Manuscript Institute, V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, f. X, no. 22883). *Protokoly zasidan ta inshi materialy Vizantolohichnoi Komisii za 1926–1930 rr.* [Minutes and Other Documents of the Byzantine Commission, 1926–1930] [Manuscript] (Manuscript Institute, V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, f. X, no. 21493–21546).

60 *Anketa vstupu do Vseukrainskoi Naukovoї Asotsiatsii* [Entry Form to the All-Ukrainian Scientific Association] [Manuscript] (Manuscript Institute, V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, f. X, no. 24512).

(Liashchenko), and Petro Kudriavtsev remained devoted to the Academy until the end of their lives, striving to save and reconstruct it in cultural memory in different ways and under different circumstances. Archbishop Tykhon, in particular, maintaining his spiritual connection with the Kyiv Theological Academy in emigration, tried to open a theological academy in Bulgaria using his alma mater as a model; later, he worked on opening an Orthodox theological faculty at the University of Warsaw; in Germany, he conducted widespread preaching and pastoral work among the émigré intelligentsia, many of whom were academic professors. Petro Kudriavtsev, acutely feeling the end of the Kyiv Theological Academy era and watching its last figures completing their earthly paths<sup>61</sup> one after another, tried to preserve the memory of the glorious past of the Kyiv Academy, its prominent figures, and their creative heritage for future generations.

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61 See "My priobshchili by vashi vospominaniia," 377–423.

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