

“Kyiv-Mohyla Academy Intellectual Space” as a Manifestation of Intercultural Communications (on the Basis of the Ukrainian Hierarchs’ Epistolary Legacy)

Svitlana Kagamlyk

Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv,
Center of Ukrainian Studies

Abstract

Based upon the Ukrainian hierarchs’ epistolary legacy, the article analyzes characteristic features of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy intellectual space, which was created by Academy alumni of different generations and various hierarchy levels. The author establishes that the closest relations were between correspondents belonging to the same or almost same hierarchy level and who were bonded together by the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy educational system and school comradeship, eventually obtained high positions in the hierarchy. Communication within the boundaries of individual centers (the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra, collegiums in Chernihiv, Kharkiv, and Pereiaslav, seats of Ukrainian bishops in Russia, etc.) depended on specificity of the environment. Predominant themes encountered in the letters of the Ukrainian bishops included needs of the alma mater, the Kyiv Academy, and the collegiums. The correspondence addressed issues of their legal status, academic staff, financial support, as well as the literary work and publishing activities of the hierarchs.

Key Words: intercultural communications, intellectual space, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy intellectual space, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Ukrainian hierarchs, epistolary legacy.



Introduction

Analyzing early modern Ukrainian education and culture utilizing interdisciplinary methodology, present-day researchers regard the appearance and operation of the first higher educational institution in Ukraine as an outcome of transformational processes in Europe and the manifestation of Ukrainian culture on the border between East and West.¹

¹ *Ukraina XVII st. mizh Zakhodom ta Shkhodom Yevropy. Materialy 1-ho ukrainsko-italiiskoho sympoziumu 13–16 veresnia 1994 r.* [Ukraine in the 17th Century Between the West and East of Europe. Materials of the 1st Ukrainian-Italian Symposium, September 13–16, 1994] (Kyiv: Venetsiia, 1994); Ihor Shevchenko, *Ukraina mizh Shkhodom i Zakhodom. Narysy z istorii kultury do pochatku*

A comparison of moral and religious models of education reveals numerous similarities between the Ukrainian orthodox system of education and the western catholic *Ratio Studiorum* plan for Jesuit education. Within the context of the transfer of European culture to the territory of Ukraine it is important to keep in mind that in Europe intellectual communities or environments were formed much earlier. They were aptly called Republics of Letters (*Respublica litteraria*, *Republique des Lettres*), which present-day researchers consider to be one of the most important phenomena of both the Renaissance era and the Enlightenment.²

Contemporary researcher Iryna Kolesnyk, applying methods outlined by Max Weber, Manuel Castells and Emile Durkheim, defines the term “intellectual community” as a dynamic and flexible network structure of intellectual practices in regard to communication and information.³ This structure includes different forms of communication, intellectual cooperation, exchanges of ideas, symbols, ideologies, texts, programs, and thoughts. According to Emile Durkheim, “archetypes of interaction,” i. e. personal interaction and communication, unite people creating communities, unions, and institutions.

The view on the Ukrainian cultural world as a structure of intellectual networks that cannot be described by commonly used schemes of intellectual and cultural historiography makes it possible to trace multiple strands of its family, service, and social connections to understand the motivations of cultural and intellectual work. Stressing the importance of intellectual communities based on 19th century materials, Kolesnyk states that in conditions characterized by the absence of statehood and institutional indeterminacy they were the means to legitimize Ukrainian culture, science, and education.⁴ This assertion can be fully applied to conditions prevailing in the 18th century imperial cultural discourse. Thus, using the novel approaches mentioned above and taking Ukrainian collegiums as an example, Liudmyla Posokhova demonstrates that in the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th century they were

XVIII st. [Ukraine Between East and West. Essays on Cultural History to the Early 18th Century] (Lviv: Instytut Istorii Tserkvy Lvivskoi Bohoslovskoi Akademii, 2001); *Relihiino-filosofska dumka v Kyievo-Mohylianskii akademii: yevropeyskyi kontekst* [Religious and Philosophical Thought at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy: The European Context] (Kyiv: Vydavnychiy dim “KM Akademia,” 2002); *Skhid—Zakhid. Kulturolohichniy zbirnyk 7: Universytety ta natsii v Rosiiskii imperii* [Skhid—Zakhid. Kulturolohichniy zbirnyk 7: Universities and Nations in the Russian Empire] (Kharkiv; Kyiv: Krytyka, 2005).

- 2 Valentina Trofimova, “‘Respublika uchenosti’: ideia, ideal i virtualnoe soobshchestvo yevropeiskikh intellektualov XV–XVIII vekov [‘The Republic of Scholarship’: Idea, Ideal and Virtual Community of European Intellectuals of the 15th-18th Centuries],” *Dialog so vremenem. Almanakh intellektualnoi istorii* 20 (2007): 90.
- 3 Iryna Kolesnyk, “Intelektualne spivtovarystvo yak zasib lehytymatsii kulturnoi istorii Ukrainy XIX stolittia [Intellectual Community as a Means of Legitimizing the Cultural History of Ukraine in the 19th Century],” *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal* 1 (2008): 174.
- 4 Kolesnyk, “Intelektualne spivtovarystvo,” 169–93.

the centers where the intellectual community was being formed. Its existence is shown by links between different generations of collegium professors and the experience of interrelated, consequential groups of intellectuals. In its turn, certain peculiarities of this community, according to Posokhova, make it possible to state that the seeds of the Ukrainian national intelligentsia appeared in it, and that these seeds ensured the continuity of the educational tradition from its early modern forms to present-day institutions.⁵

By adapting the notion of the "intellectual community" within the context of the matter at hand and drawing a broad analogy, it is possible to make an assumption as to the existence of a virtual Kyiv-Mohyla Academy intellectual space, in both personal and collective dimensions. In the personal dimension it united Academy alumni of different generations belonging to different hierarchy levels. In the collective dimension it included individual centers ("Mohyla intellectual communities"), including the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra, collegiums in Chernihiv, Kharkiv, Pereiaslav, and seats of Ukrainian bishops in Russia, around which the Ukrainian clerical and secular elite rallied. It is possible to claim the definite existence of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy intellectual space by providing evidence of long-term active social discussion within individual centers concerning certain integral ideas: theological, academic, cultural, and socio-political, which shows the above mentioned existence of "intellectual cooperation, exchange of ideas, symbols, ideologies." Leaving this task for later, this article deals with certain communicative, in particular epistolary, structures as a manifestation and prerequisite for the formation of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy intellectual space.

The Epistolary Legacy of the Ukrainian Bishops as an Information Source

The main form of communication used by Mohyla community members (in the present context those who attained high positions in the hierarchy), which makes it possible to identify the characteristic features of operation of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy intellectual space, is correspondence. It is a particularly valuable source of information that reflects the focal points of the epoch and the social environment of the highest ranks of the Ukrainian clergy. In particular, based upon the materials of Dymytrii Tuptalo, the bishop of the Rostov and Yaroslavl Diocese, Fedotova considers letters as unique "documents of the epoch," which reflect the high spiritual and linguistic culture of their authors, and identify the main features of the epistolary legacy of Baroque clerical writers: well-defined structure, consistent motifs, mythological imagery and quotes from the Holy Scripture, a flowery writing style, and "examples" from older books,

5 Liudmyla Posokhova, *Na perekhrestii kultur, tradytsii, epokh. Pravoslavni kolehiumy Ukrainy naprykintsi XVII — na pochatku XIX st. [At the Crossroads of Cultures, Traditions, Epochs. Orthodox Collegiums of Ukraine in the Late 17th – Early 19th Centuries]* (Kharkiv: Kharkivskyi natsionalnyi universytet imeni V. N. Karazina, 2011), 174.

shaped to create a clear-cut stylistic and compositional form.⁶ Not all of the letters' texts have been preserved. Sometimes one has to make do with extracts from them or just mentions of their existence. Nonetheless, even if it is not possible, due to the absence of a text, to determine the nature and circumstances that led to contacts between individuals, the very fact of the existence of such contacts is very important and allows, to a certain extent, to identify the circle of communication of the Ukrainian clerical elite. The processing of the extant correspondence of prominent church hierarchs: Lazar Baranovych, Stefan Yavorskyi, Feofan Prokopovych, Dymytrii Tuptalo, Samuil Myslavskyi, and the epistolary legacy of less known Mohyla community members, available in various publications and archival funds, provides the opportunity to analyze these materials according to certain themes and to model the network and specificity of communication between Ukrainian bishops, with both clerical and secular circles.

The correspondence between some of the bishops makes it possible to establish their circle of communication. Thus, the letters of Lazar Baranovych, the bishop of Chernihiv Diocese, published as far back as the 1860s, enable us to state that in the second half of the 17th century a unique literary fraternity of scholars, alumni of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, was formed on the basis of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra. They included Inokentii Gizel, Lazar Baranovych, Antonii Radyvylovskyi, Ioanykii Haliatovskyi, Dymytrii Tuptalo, Theodosii Sofonovych, Varlaam Yasynskyi, united by Kyiv-Mohyla Academy educational system, school comradeship, and relatively high positions in the hierarchy that they eventually attained. They were also drawn together by publishing activities at the Pechersk Lavra publishing house, where they initiated and were the authors of writings, oftentimes supporting and rendering assistance to each other.⁷

It is known from similar sources that Metropolitan of Riazan, Stefan Yavorskyi, maintained close ties with his Academy friends and compatriots. Even though he was in Moscow, owing to his correspondence with Chernihiv bishops Ioann Maksymovych and Antonii Stakhovskyi, and Hetman Ivan Mazepa, Stefan Yavorskyi was well informed about political and cultural life in Ukraine, taking personal interest in publishing his works in Chernihiv, and expressing his wish to cloister himself in a Ukrainian monastery to dedicate himself to scholarly and literary work.⁸

Fedotova has established that the major part of the epistolary legacy of Dymytrii of Rostov (Dymytrii Tuptalo) is comprised of letters addressed to Feolog, a monk of the Chudov Monastery in Moscow (40 letters); the remaining correspondence was

6 Maryna Fedotova, *Epistoliarnoe nasledie Dimitriia Rostovskogo* [*Epistolary Heritage of Dymytrii of Rostov*] (Moscow: Indrik, 2005), 9.

7 *Pisma preosviashchennogo Lazaria Baranovicha* [*Letters From His Eminence Lazar Baranovich*] (Chernigov, 1865).

8 *Pismo Stefana Yavorskogo k namestniku mitropolita Kievskogo Ioanikiu Seniutovichu* [*A Letter From Stefan Yavorskii to Ioanikii Seniutovich, Viceroy of the Metropolitan of Kyiv*] (1704) [Manuscript] (Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 18, desc. 1, no. 7); "Pisma mitropolita Stefana Yavorskogo [Letters from Metropolitan Stefan Yavorskii]," *Trudy Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii* 4 (1866): 539–55.

addressed to Stefan Yavorskyi, the bishop of Riazan Diocese and Locum Tenens of the Patriarchal See; Iov, the metropolitan of Novgorod, and to other individuals.⁹

The correspondence of Feofan Prokopovych, the bishop of Pskov Diocese and eventually metropolitan of Novgorod, which is included in present-day publications of the philosophical works of the widely known educator, shows the circle of his principal correspondents, mainly secular and clerical individuals from among Kyiv-Mohyla Academy alumni: Yakiv Markevych, Supremus Thesaurarius, whom he called his "blood brother"; Irodion Zhurakovskiy, the archbishop of Chernihiv; hetmans Danylo Apostol and Ivan Skoropadskiy; Arsenii Berlo, the bishop of Mohyliov Diocese; Lavrentii Horka, the bishop of Veliki Ustiug Diocese; Rafail Zaborovskiy, the rector of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, and others.¹⁰

In order to systematize the entire corpus of various published and non-published correspondence between Ukrainian bishops extant, it would be useful to divide it into basic topical units. It is worth noting that we mainly took into account private correspondence which, in comparison to official correspondence, more significantly reveals the characteristic features of communication and spiritual world of the Ukrainian hierarchs belonging to the Kyiv-Mohyla school of thought. Objectively speaking, better preservation of later period sources provides more possibilities to delve into issues relevant to the 18th century. Within this context, materials of the five-volume collection of documents concerning the history of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, compiled by Nikolai Petrov,¹¹ and documents of Ukrainian and Russian archive funds, serve as invaluable source of information.

Correspondence Concerning the Needs of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

A sizable corpus of the epistolary legacy of Ukrainian Orthodox Church hierarchs is dedicated to the needs of their alma mater, the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, its legal status and personnel, as well as to the financial support of the institution. Thus, in a letter to Stefan Yavorskyi, the metropolitan of Riazan, Varlaam Yasynskiy, the metropolitan of Kyiv, asks him to be an ardent protector of the Academy before the Tsar.¹² As a result of the efforts invested by Stefan Yavorskyi to advocate the interests of the Kyiv-Bratskyi Monastery and the Academy, in 1703 the tsarist government has granted the monastery a land title in accordance with Hetman Ivan Mazepa's recommendations.

9 Fedotova, *Epistoliarnoe nasledie Dimitriia Rostovskogo*, 17–44.

10 Feofan Prokopovych, *Filosofski tvory v triokh tomakh* [*Philosophical Works in Three Volumes*], vol. 3 (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1981), 189–308.

11 Nikolai Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty, otnosiashchiesia k Kievskoi Akademii. Ch. II (1721–1795)* [*Acts and Documents Relating to the History of the Kyiv Academy, 1721–1795*], vols. 1–5 (Kyiv, 1904–1908).

12 Stepan Golubev, "Gedeon Odorskii, byvshii rektor Kievskoi Akademii v nachale XVIII stol. [Gedeon Odorskii, Former Rector of the Kyiv Academy at the Beginning of the 18 Century]," *Trudy Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii* 12 (1900): 585.

Correspondence concerning the magistral staff of the Academy is attested to by a letter by Amvrosii Zertis-Kamenskyi, the archbishop of Moscow, addressed to Arsenii Mohylianskyi, the metropolitan of Kyiv, dated 4 June 1770. The letter contains information about a teacher of French found by him to work at the Academy, together with mentions that the teacher's travel expenses and part of his annual salary had been paid by him (the rest of the salary being paid by the Kyiv hierarchy).¹³ Other than confirming the existence of close relations between the bishops, both of whom were from the Mohyla community, the letter clearly demonstrates that the metropolitan cared about the educational process and staff-related issues of the Academy; it also shows the support extended by former students of the Academy to their alma mater.

Speaking about the needs of the Academy in regard to teachers and professors, the metropolitans of Kyiv, being benefactors of the institution, often approached the heads of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra, where a large number of Academy alumni were concentrated. Thus, in the 1740s Rafail Zaborovskyi, the metropolitan of Kyiv, corresponded with the archimandrite of Pechersk Monastery, Tymofii Shcherbatskyi, and an abbot of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra (addressee unspecified) in regard to sending teaching staff to the Academy.¹⁴ In special cases, when teachers were highly required, the metropolitan approached them personally. On 30 August 1743, Rafail Zaborovskyi personally approached Varnava Starzhytskyi, a Lavra hieromonk, inviting him to teach philosophy.¹⁵

The availability of textbooks was a significant problem for the Academy's educational process. In this connection, correspondence between Tymofii Scherbatskyi, the metropolitan of Kyiv, and Davyd Nashchynskyi, prefect of the Academy, concerning philosophy textbooks, is very representative. The prefect proposed, among other things, to substitute the outdated Pourchot system with the Baumeister system, which was widely used in Western European educational institutions at the time. Before replying to the letter, the metropolitan sought advice from former Rector Heorhii Konyskyi, who was the then archbishop of Belarus, and only after the latter confirmed the rationale for the implementation of the new approach, did he give permission to use the new textbook in the teaching of philosophy.¹⁶ The educational process required other publications, too. As can be seen from the letter of Arsenii Mohylianskyi, the metropolitan of Kyiv, to Havryil Kremenetskyi, the archbishop of St. Petersburg, dated 5 June 1768, the issue under discussion was getting freshly published Catechisms and Dialogisms from the archbishop, together with two Calendars, which the Kyiv bishop intended to give to Kyiv-Mohyla Academy students.¹⁷

A number of the Kyiv priests' letters illustrate the importance they paid to the financial situation of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. In particular, the letters of Rafail

13 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol. 3, 476–78.

14 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol. 1.1, 200–01.

15 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol. 1.1, 200.

16 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol. 2, 175–81; Ivan Graevskii, *Kievskii mitropolit Timofei Shcherbatskii* [*Kyiv Metropolitan Timofei Shcherbatskii*] (Kyiv, 1910), 233.

17 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol. 3, 381.

Zaborovskiy, metropolitan of Kyiv, show that he made great efforts in improving the financial situation of the Kyiv-Bratskyi Monastery, which directly affected the financial situation of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. As the educational institution had lost the right to receive, as was previously, 200 *karbovantsi* annually from the Military Treasury to pay teaching personnel, the Kyiv bishop addressed everyone who might help solve the problem: Hetman Danylo Apostol (who, in his turn, lodged a plea with Empress Anna Ioannovna), the Synod, Prince O. Shakhovskiy, Pskov Bishop Stefan Kalynovskiy, the Metropolitan of Novgorod, Feofan Prokopovych, and others.¹⁸ It is worth noting that Feofan Prokopovych replied to Rafail Zaborovskiy's request with a sharp rebuke, as he was of the opinion that the decline of the Kyiv-Bratskyi Monastery was due to the fault of its administrators.¹⁹ As an example, he pointed out his own successful management of Kyiv-Bratskyi Monastery affairs when he served as rector of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy.

Letters of the Ukrainian hierarchs contain information about donations they made in their efforts to render assistance to the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. Thus, in 1762 Tymofii Shcherbatskyi, the metropolitan of Moscow, in a letter informed his successor in Kyiv, Arsenii Mohylianskyi, that he had sent 100 *karbovantsi* to Samuil Myslavskiy, rector of the Academy, via Antonii, the archbishop of Vladimir (formerly Catholicos-Patriarch of All Georgia), to cover some of the expenses of the educational institution.²⁰ In his turn, Havryil Kremenetskyi, the metropolitan of Kyiv, in his letter of 4 September 1779 to Rector Kasian Lekhnytskyi, informed the latter that he had donated 34,000 *karbovantsi* to the Academy, and gave strict instructions as to the way the interest on the donated sum was to be used.²¹

Correspondence Concerning the Collegium Educational Process on Ukrainian Territory

The Ukrainian bishops' correspondence with their Academy colleagues often dealt with various educational issues. Thus, when preparing to open the Pereiaslav Collegium (1738), Arsenii Berlo, the bishop of the Pereiaslav Diocese, communicated with the archimandrite of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra, Hilarion Nehrebetskyi, in regard to the school premises. Arsenii and Hilarion were bonded by ministering at the Pechersk Monastery—both of them took their monastic vows there and studied at the Lavra's monastic school with its centuries-old history of Lavra ascetic saints, which played an important role in their spiritual growth. In these letters to the Pereiaslav Diocese clerical staff, Arsenii Berlo described the process of finding the right premises and Hilarion Nehrebetskyi's support.²² The fact that Chernihiv hierarch Kyrylo Liashevetskyi cared about the main

18 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol.1.1, 176–91.

19 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol.1.1, 185.

20 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol. 3, 215.

21 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol. 4, 55–57.

22 Aleksandr Lazarevskii, "Iz semeinoi khroniki Berlov [From the Berlov Family Chronicle]," *Kievskaia starina* 1 (1899): 114.

educational institution of his Diocese is attested to by his letter to Arsenii Mohylianskyi, the metropolitan of Kyiv, dated 22 June 1767, in which he requested the ordainment of Hryhorii Romanovskiy, a professor of the Chernihiv Collegium.²³

Close contacts between the Ukrainian bishops within Kyiv-Mohyla Academy intellectual space in the Russian Empire facilitated staff exchanges between educational institutions, solving staff problems. Thus, on 15 September 1768 Amvrosii Zertis-Kamenskyi, the archbishop of Moscow, requested Kyrylo Liashevetskyi, the bishop of the Chernihiv Diocese, to grant the position of collegium professor to his nephew Gedeon Kamenskyi who was at the Kyiv Pechersk Monastery at the time.²⁴ It is known that Gedeon Kamenskyi taught rhetoric at the Chernihiv Collegium and was ordained by the abbot of the Novgorod-Siverskyi Monastery.²⁵

Staff exchange between Chernihiv and Kyiv are mentioned in the correspondence between Feofil Ihnatovych, the bishop of Chernihiv Diocese, and Samuil Myslavskyi, the metropolitan of Kyiv, in September 1784. Granting a request of the former to send four teachers from the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy to the Chernihiv Seminary, four persons were dispatched: Grammar Professor Hierodeacon Serapion and three students: Hryhorii Kelembet, Ivan Radyshevskyi, and Ivan Yeleniev.²⁶

Later, the same method of the correspondence was used by Hilarion Kondratkovskyi, the bishop of Novgorod-Siverskyi, who (in September 1785) wrote Samuil Myslavskyi about permission being given to Chernihiv seminary students to continue their studies at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, studying, in particular, Greek and French. Samuil Myslavskyi gave his consent, and, as a result of their communication, a corresponding Synod decree appeared.²⁷ A letter of Havryil Kremenetskyi, the metropolitan of Kyiv, to Ahhei Kolosovskiy, the bishop of Belgorod, dated 18 June 1778, which contained a request to keep teachers of German and French at the Kharkiv Collegium, shows that the Ukrainian priests shared their experience in regulating the educational process in educational institutions headed by them.²⁸

23 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol. 3, 358.

24 *Ob otpravke ieromonakha Gedeona v Chernigov k uchitelskoi v tamoshnei kollegii dolzhnosti* [About the Dispatch of Hieromonk Gedeon to Chernigov to the Teachers' Office in the Local Collegium] (1768) [Manuscript] (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv, f. 128, desc. 1 zahalnochernetskyi, no. 261, p. 2–2 back).

25 *Ob opredelenii na mesto ieromonakha Gedeona, otpravlennogo v Chernigovskoe uchilishche vo uchitelia ieromonakha Nektariia* [On the Appointment of Hieromonk Nektarii in the Place of Hieromonk Gedeon, Dispatched to the Chernihiv School as the Teacher] (1768) [Manuscript] (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv, f. 128, desc. 1 zahalnochernetskyi, no. 262, p. 1–2).

26 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol. 5, 74–75.

27 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol. 5, 97–99.

28 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol. 4, 241.

Correspondence Concerning Educational Process Improvement in Educational Institutions in Russia and Belarus

The Kyiv-Mohyla Academy alumni who were appointed by Russian authorities to head dioceses in Russia and Belarus actively corresponded with their compatriots on issues of educational process improvement at schools and seminaries opened or reformed by them, which was a necessary means of carrying out their cultural and educational activities.

Thus, to set up his own educational facility, Gedeon Vyshnevskiy, the bishop of Smolensk, on 12 December 1729 was granted permission by a Synod to call up learned monks, from the Kyiv Pechersk and other Ukrainian monasteries belonging, first of all, to the Kyiv and Chernihiv dioceses to teach at the seminary.²⁹ This explains the active correspondence between Gedeon Vyshnevskiy and high-ranking Ukrainian clergy. On 17 July 1730 Vyshnevskiy wrote to Rafail Zaborovskiy, the archbishop of Kyiv, on the problem.³⁰ As a result of this letter, in August 1736 three Academy alumni were sent to Smolensk: cathedral Hierodeacon Melhisedek Bohdanovych, novice Ivan Hortynskiy from the Pustynno-Mykolaivskiy Monastery, and novice Sysoi Shmyhelskiy from Zolotoverkho-Mykhailivskiy Monastery.³¹ Some time later, as can be seen from a letter of another Kyiv priest, Metropolitan Tymofii Shcherbatskiy (not dated, however, not earlier than February 1751) addressed to the same archbishop, student Pylyp Krasnohorskiy arrived to teach at the Smolensk Collegium of his own will.³²

As can be judged from archival documents, besides the heads of the Kyiv Metropolitan See, Gedeon Vyshnevskiy was also in correspondence with archimandrites of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra. Thus, on 26 January 1747 he made it known that the Lavra alumni who were dispatched to him earlier, philosophy teacher and prefect of the seminary Tyt Rusychevskiy and teacher of poetics Helasii Maliakhovskiy, were relieved of their duties, and requested other teachers to be dispatched, in particular, Arsenii Piontnytskiy, who had teaching experience in Smolensk. Following this request, Lavra Hierodeacon Isaiia Zeleskevych was dispatched to help out Gedeon.³³ On 16 December 1759 Gedeon once again requested to be dispatched a Lavra alumnus who had completed a theology course and was able to teach senior students.³⁴ Again, the administration of the Pechersk Monastery rendered its assistance to the Smolensk bishop in his

29 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol. 1.1, 140–41.

30 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol. 1.1, 144.

31 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol. 1.1, 143–51.

32 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol. 2, 7.

33 *Pismo Gedeona Vishnevskogo, yepiskopa Smolenskogo, do Pecherskogo arkhimandrita Timofeia Shcherbatskogo* [A Letter From Gedeon Vishnevskii, Bishop of Smolensk, to Timofei Shcherbatskii, Archimandrite of the Pechersk Lavra] (January 26, 1747) [Manuscript] (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv, f. 128, desc. 1 KDS, no. 36, p. 1–1 back).

34 *Ob otpravke iz Lavry k yepiskopu Smolenskomu Gedeonu ierodiakona Moiseia Kochenevskogo dlia ucheniia v shkole* [About the Dispatch of Lavra Hierodeacon Moisei Kochenevski as a School

educational activities: in 1762–1763 Moisei Kochenevskyi and Mykolai Tsvit, who were previously members of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra fraternity, taught in Smolensk.³⁵

Sometimes communication was facilitated by a third party. As an example, we can mention the correspondence in 1763 between Pavlo Koniuskevych, the metropolitan of Tobolsk, and the Lavra administration, which was facilitated by Sylvestr Yunytski, archimandrite of the Moscow Vysokopetrovskyi Monastery. As a result, two Pechersk hieromonks, Savatii Isaievych and Veniamin Bialkovskyi, were dispatched to teach at the Tobolsk Seminary.³⁶ Correspondence in 1769 between Afanasii Volkhovskyi, the bishop of Rostov, and Zosima Valkevych, the archimandrite of Pechersk, attests to the fact that the above mentioned Savatii Isaievych taught at the Rostov seminary.³⁷

Also evident are the educational contacts between Tymofii Shcherbatskyi, the metropolitan of Kyiv, and the heads of the Vladimir and Kazan Dioceses, who were Ukrainians by origin. Thus, on 7 June 1751 Luka Konashevych, the bishop of Kazan, wrote about promotions of teachers in his seminary, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy alumni who had taken their monastic vows with the Kyiv bishop's blessing. At the same time, he requested to be sent other students who wished to teach in Kazan; those willing to accept positions were promised good conditions.³⁸ In his reply, sent on 21 September, Tymofii Shcherbatskyi wrote the supplicant that he had sent his best students of theology, Pylyp Yadrylo and Hryhorii Khalchynskyi to Kazan.³⁹ In a similar way, in a letter dated 6 September 1753, Platon Petrunkevych, the bishop of Vladimir, expressed his gratitude for being sent two teachers, hieromonks Hervasii and Symeon, to his seminary.⁴⁰

Teacher to Gedeon, the Bishop of Smolensk] (1760) [Manuscript] (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv, f. 128, desc. 2 chernetskyi, no. 35, p. 2).

35 Svitlana Kagamlyk, *Kyievo-Pecherska lavra: svit pravoslavnoi dukhovnosti i kultury (XVII–XVIII st.)* [The Kyiv Pechersk Lavra: The World of Orthodox Spirituality and Culture (17th–18th Centuries)] (Kyiv: Natsionalnyi Kyievo-Pecherskyi istoryko-kulturnyi zapovidnyk, 2005), 173.

36 *O vysylke iz Lavry chrez archimandrita Moskovskogo Vysokopetrovskogo monastyria Silvestra po pismennomu k nemu trebovaniu Vysokopreosviashchennogo Pavla, mitropolita Tobolskogo, trekh chelovek v uchitelia iz monashestviuushchikh Lavry* [About the Dispatch of Three Monks From the Lavra Monastery as Teachers, on the Written Request of His Eminence Paul, the Metropolitan of Tobolsk, Through Silvestre, the Archimandrite of the Moscow High-Petrine Monastery] (1763) [Manuscript] (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv, f. 128, desc. 1 zahalnochernetskyi, no. 87, p. 1–16).

37 *Po doneseniiu yepiskopa Rostovskogo Afanasii ob opredelenii ieromonakha Kievopecherskoi Lavry Savatii uchitelem v Rostovskuiu seminariiu* [The Report of Bishop of Rostov Afanasii on the Admission of the Hieromonk of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra Savatii to the Rostov Seminary as a Teacher] (December 8, 1768) [Manuscript] (Russian State Historical Archive, f. 796, desc. 49, no. 312, p. 1–13).

38 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol. 2, 10.

39 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol. 2, 11.

40 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol. 2, 93.

In search of teachers, some of the bishops of the Russian dioceses contacted Ukrainian bishops simultaneously. Thus, with this aim in mind, Ioann Dubynskyi, the archbishop of Nizhnii Novgorod, corresponded with two bishops, Smolensk Bishop Gedeon Vyshnevskyi and Kyiv Bishop Rafail Zaborovskyi. As a result, Antonii Kosakovskyi, a native of Poland, arrived from the Smolensk seminary. At the same time, as Bishop Dubynskyi informs, Vasyl Kunashevych and Mykyta Dolhanovskyi were dispatched by Kyiv Bishop Rafail Zaborovskyi.⁴¹ They were given the tasks of teaching grammar and rhetoric, translation of the Catechism, and preaching.

There is also evident the correspondence between Kyiv hierarchs and Belarusian priests of Ukrainian origin. On 13 June 1786 Heorhii Konyskyi, the bishop of Mohyliov, requested Samuil Myslavskyi, the metropolitan of Kyiv, to send several monks who were professors of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy to Mohyliov to teach Hebrew, Greek, and German.⁴² In his reply, Myslavskyi informed the bishop that untenured Hieromonk Platon had been dispatched to Mohyliov.⁴³

Correspondence Related to Literary and Publishing Activities of the Hierarchs

This theme is best reflected in the epistolary legacy of Dymytrii Tuptalo, the metropolitan of Rostov, which, according to M. Fedotova, "to a great extent explains the creative laboratory of the writer."⁴⁴ A significant part of Dymytrii Tuptalo's correspondence deals with his work on *The Lives of the Saints*. Thus, in his letter to Iov, the metropolitan of Novgorod, written in October 1704, he requested to be sent the hagiographies of Saint Abraham of Rostov and holy bishops of Rostov Leontii and Iakov.⁴⁵ Later, Dymytrii asked his friend, monk Feolog, to send him *The Life of Abraham of Rostov*.⁴⁶ In another letter the hagiographer requested Feolog to find information about Saint Micah, and then glued the reply to his hand-written Menologion opposite the Prophet Micah's Day. This circumstance attests to the fact that Dymytrii Tuptalo attached great importance to his correspondence with Father Feolog and to the information the latter provided to be used in his own book.

Also evident are four letters of the holy hierarch Dymytrii addressed to Stefan Yavorskyi, dated 4 and 11 December 1707; 24 February 1708, one undated letter (in Fedotova's opinion, written after 8 January 1709), and a reply from Stefan Yavorskyi

41 Nikolai Petrov, *Znachenie Kievo-Mogilianskoi akademii v razvitii dukhovnykh shkol v Rossii s uchrezhdeniia sv. Sinoda v 1721 g. i do poloviny XVIII veka* [*The Significance of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in the Development of Theological Schools in Russia From the Decree of the St. Synod in 1721 Until the Middle of the 18th Century*] (Kyiv, 1904), 46.

42 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol. 5, 147.

43 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol. 5, 147.

44 Fedotova, *Epistoliarnoe nasledie Dimitriia Rostovskogo*, 11.

45 Fedotova, *Epistoliarnoe nasledie Dimitriia Rostovskogo*, 32–33.

46 Fedotova, *Epistoliarnoe nasledie Dimitriia Rostovskogo*, 33.

(dated 19 December 1707) with high praise of the scholar's work on *The Cell Chronicler*.⁴⁷ It is evident that the two scholars agreed that whoever died first was to have a funeral provided by the one still alive.

As can be seen from Dymytrii Tuptalo's epistolary legacy, book exchanges occupied a significant place in the cultural communication of the Ukrainian clergy. Besides the examples mentioned above, other examples exist, too. Thus, Bishop of Kazan Luka Konashevych, in his letter to the Metropolitan of Kyiv, Tymofii Shcherbatskyi (dated 7 June 1751), expressed his gratitude for the book he had received, Vasyl Hryhorovych-Barskyi's *The Wayfarer*, stressing that this kind of information was very important to him.⁴⁸ From a letter of Havryil Kremenetskyi, the bishop of Kyiv, dated 12 December 1776 and addressed to a Moscow priest, we learn that the issue at hand were Greek-Slavic and Latin-Slavic dictionaries compiled by Hieromonk Yakiv Blonytskyi.⁴⁹ Also, the name of the addressee was not mentioned in the letter, it is likely that it was Kyrylo Florynskyi, the vicar of the Moscow Diocese and the bishop of Sevs'k (1768–1778), who maintained close contacts with Kyiv.

The correspondence between the Ukrainian hierarchs also reflects the theme of clergy participating in the compilation of the Ukrainian legal code *Prava, za yakymy sudytsia Malorosiiskyi narod* (Rights of Little Russians in a Court of Law). In this connection, the letter of Hilarion Rohalevskyi, the archbishop of Chernihiv, to Rafail Zaborovskyi, the archbishop of Kyiv, dated 23 September 1723, is quite representative. In the letter he suggests to join forces in defending the rights of clergy in the compilation of the code.⁵⁰ Beside the fact that the letter confirms the participation of clergy in activities of the Committee for the codification of the Little Russian law in the capacity of translators of "legal books," the letter is important as it demonstrates that the hierarchs, acting together, stood up for the rights of the Ukrainian Church.

Correspondence Concerning Book Exchange and Book Publishing at the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra

The analysis of correspondence concerning book exchange and literary and publishing activities shows that in regard to these issues the hierarchs maintained the closest relations with the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra, which had the most advanced publishing house of the time.⁵¹ A good example of such communication is the correspondence between Lazar Baranovych, the archbishop of Chernihiv, and Inokentii Gizel, the

47 Fedotova, *Epistoliarnoe nasledie Dimitriia Rostovskogo*, 251–52.

48 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol. 2, 10.

49 Zoia Khyzhniak, ed., *Kyievo-Mohylianska akademiia v imenakh (XVII–XVIII st.): Entsyklopedychne vydannia [Kyiv Mohyla Academy in Names (17th–18th Centuries): Encyclopedic Edition]* (Kyiv: Vydavnychi dim "KM Akademiia," 2001), 75.

50 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol. 1.1, 29–30.

51 See about book publishing at the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra in the 17th–18th centuries: Kagamlyk, *Kyievo-Pecherska lavra*, 188–261.

archimandrite of Pechersk Lavra, as well as other church leaders: Varlaam Yasynskyi, Antonii Radyvylovskyi, Ioanykii Haliatovskyi, concerning the publication of his works by the publishing house, in particular *Horns of the Evangelical Message* and *Apollo's Lute*.⁵²

Lazar Baranovych's correspondence attests to the active cooperation among Kyivan scholars in the second half of the 17th century which, in particular, was demonstrated in the form of collective book reviewing and editing. Thus, while sending *Apollo's Lute* to the Lavra's publishing house, Lazar Baranovych requested Inokentii Gizel to edit the book.⁵³ In another letter Baranovych expressed his gratitude for the editing of his works.⁵⁴ In his turn, Ioanykii Haliatovskyi forwarded the manuscript of his work, *The Truthful Messiah*, to Lazar Baranovych, Inokentii Gizel, and Varlaam Yasynskyi to read.⁵⁵

Close relations with the Lavra administration were maintained by its former brethren who achieved the position of bishop. In 1701 one of the first Ukrainians to become a Russian hierarch, Metropolitan of Tobolsk Filofei Leshchynskyi, sent a number of books from his own collection as a gift to the Lavra.⁵⁶ In 1756 Damaskyn Askaronskyi, the archimandrite of Iverskyi Monastery and later (from 1758) the bishop of Kostroma, in his letter to Luka Bilousovykh, the archimandrite of the Pechersk Lavra, expressed his gratitude for books that had been sent to him: *The New Testament, Apostle* and *Gospel* in a triptych case.⁵⁷

Using their high positions, the bishops who were formerly monks of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra rendered their assistance to their native abode in solving issues related to, among other things, publishing activities. Thus, in February 1757 Sylvestr Kuliabka, the archbishop of St. Petersburg, anonymously warned the Lavra administration about the attempts of some church leaders to profit from the fact that the Pechersk Lavra publishing house had forcibly decreased the number of its foreign language publications by setting up publishing houses of their own.⁵⁸ As is evident, the fears of the letter's author were not unjustified—in ten years time the Lavra had to protect its publishing house against encroachments against it by Arsenii Mohylianskyi, the metropolitan of Kyiv.

52 *Pisma preosviashchennogo Lazaria Baranovicha*, 93.

53 *Pisma preosviashchennogo Lazaria Baranovicha*, 75.

54 *Pisma preosviashchennogo Lazaria Baranovicha*, 74.

55 Kostiantyn Bida, "Ioannykii Haliatovskyi," *Bohosloviia* XXVI (1972): 77.

56 *Kniha prepodobnoho Feodora Studita* [*The Book of Venerable Theodore the Studite*] (The beginning of 18th century) [Manuscript] (Manuscript Institute, V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, f. 306, no. 223, p. 132).

57 *Raznye pisma do raznykh gospod* [*Different Letters to Different Members of the Nobility*] (1727–1756) [Manuscript] (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv, f. 128, desc. 1 drukarskyi, no. 7, p. 91–94).

58 *O vypechatanii v Lavrskoi tipographii na yazykakh nektorogo chisla knig* [*About Printing in Lavra Typography Some Number of Books*] (1757) [Manuscript] (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv, f. 128, desc. 1 drukarskyi, no. 42, p. 3).

Another former Kyiv Pechersk Lavra monk, Archbishop of Moscow Platon Malynovskiy, also rendered assistance to his native abode and maintained close relations with it via the monastery representatives. Following his plea to the Empress Elizaveta, Lavra representative Sofronii Ternaviot managed to defend the Lavra's monopoly on the publishing house in Kyiv after a long confrontation with Tymofii Shcherbatskyi, the metropolitan of Kyiv. He mentioned this in one of his letters to Luka Bilousovych, the archimandrite of the Pechersk Lavra, dated 5 November 1753.

Active cooperation bonded the Lavra and Arsenii Matsiievych, the metropolitan of Rostov, who had ministered at the Lavra. This is attested to by his active correspondence with the Pechersk archimandrite in 1751–1752. In particular, in a letter dated 13 December 1751, the bishop expressed his gratitude for sending him books published at the Lavra. Also, Arsenii Matsiievych donated 100 *karbovantsi* and presented the Gospel decorated with enamel as a gift to the Lavra. The Pechersk Lavra archimandrite replied with an expression of his gratitude.⁵⁹

Active correspondence with the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra concerning book exchange and books published on order was also maintained by other bishops of Ukrainian origin. Thus, in mid-17th century Veniamin Putsek-Hryhorovych, the bishop of Tver, actively corresponded with the Lavra. In 1756 he advised to re-publish Lazar Baranovych's *Spiritual Sword* upon the competition of some editing.⁶⁰ In the same year Putsek-Hryhorovych corresponded with the Lavra in regard to the publication of *The Description of the Holy Sepulcher*.⁶¹

We know about Hryhorii Konyskyi's correspondence with the Lavra. In May 1756 he requested the Lavra administration to publish a Catechism, compiled by him, based on the same-titled work by Feofan Prokopovych.⁶² Contacts between the Lavra and the Belarusian bishop were numerous. Thus, in 1764 on his request the Pechersk Monastery administration sent him Zernikov's manuscript in Latin from the monastery's library.⁶³ While working on his historical and legal books, Heorhii Konyskyi actively communicated with Arsenii Mohylianskyi, the metropolitan of Kyiv, and Hervasii Lintsevskiy, the bishop of Pereiaslav.⁶⁴

59 *O prislannom ot mitropolita Rostovskogo Arseniia v Lavru Yevanhelii* [About the Gospel Sent by Arsenii, the Metropolitan of Rostov] (1751) [Manuscript] (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv, f. 128, desc. 1 zahalnyi, no. 103, p. 1).

60 *Raznye pisma do raznykh gospod*, p. 92.

61 *Raznye pisma do raznykh gospod*, p. 99–99 back.

62 *Raznye pisma do raznykh gospod*, 90–90 back.

63 *O poslannykh v dar ot Lavry v Moskovskii Zlatoustovskii monastyr chastichkakh sv. moshchei* [About Particles of Holy Relics, Sent to Moscow Chrysostom Monastery as a Gift From the Lavra] (1763) [Manuscript] Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv, f. 128, desc. 1 zahalnyi, no. 265, p. 1–10).

64 "Pismo Georgiia Konisskogo, yepiskopa Mogilevskogo, k Gervasiu Lintsevskomu, yepiskopu Pereiaslavskomu, ot 18 fevralia 1766 goda [A Letter From Georgii Konyskii, Bishop of Mohyliov,

Other Ukrainian bishops corresponded with the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra in a similar way. In October 1751 Ioasaf Horlenko, the bishop of Belgorod, thanked the archimandrite of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra for 12-month calendars delivered courtesy of the Father Superior of the Synianskyi Monastery.⁶⁵ In September 1754 Pereiaslav bishop Ioann Kozlovych wrote that he had received four Gospels published at the Pechersk Lavra, one of which he left at the episcopal see, and three remaining ones being given to monasteries.⁶⁶ In February 1756 Sylvestr Hlovatskyi, the bishop of Suzdal, also expressed his gratitude, apparently for books received.⁶⁷ In May 1756 Serapion Liatoshevych, the bishop of Vologda, thanked Luka Bilousovykh, the archimandrite of Pechersk Lavra, for books delivered to him courtesy of Serapion's brother Iraklii Liatoshevych, these being *The Book of Psalms*, *The Akathist*, and *The Synopsis*.⁶⁸ In January 1759 Serapion requested the Lavra administration to publish some books at the Pechersk Lavra, according to the sample he had provided.⁶⁹

Thus, owing to the Pechersk publishing house and their products, the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra maintained close relations practically with all Ukrainian bishops who had a Kyiv-Mohyla Academy background and who headed dioceses of the Russian Church. The Lavra was the center around which they rallied.

Correspondence With the Secular Elite

The most representative example of active contact between Ukrainian clerical and secular elites can be found in the materials connected with the life of prominent philosopher and educator Hryhorii Skovoroda. It is evident that he actively corresponded with numerous church leaders: Hervasii Yakubovych, the archimandrite of Belgorod, who invited him to Kharkiv to teach at the collegium, Iov Bazylevych, rector of the Kharkiv Collegium, prefect Lavrentii Kordet, and especially with Ioasaf Mytkevych, the bishop of Belgorod. On the other hand, it is known that Skovoroda had influence on bishop Ioasaf who, after reading the poet's work entitled *Aesop's Fable*, expelled 40 young "idlers" who could not or did not want to study.⁷⁰

to Hervasii Lintsevskii, Bishop of Pereiaslav, Dated February 18, 1766],” in *Arkhiv Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*, part 1, vol. 2 (Kyiv, 1864), 149–52.

65 *Raznye pisma do raznykh gospod*, 75, 82.

66 *Raznye pisma do raznykh gospod*, 79–79 back.

67 *Raznye pisma do raznykh gospod*, 95.

68 *Raznye pisma do raznykh gospod*, 84.

69 *Pismo Preosviashchennogo Serapiona, yepiskopa Vologodskogo, do Pecherskogo arkhimandrita Luky Bilousovycha* [A Letter From His Eminence Serapion, Bishop of Vologda, to Luka Bilousovykh, Archimandrite of the Pechersk Lavra] (January 3, 1759) [Manuscript] (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv, f. 128, desc. 1 drukarskyi, no. 46, p. 1).

70 Anastasiia Nizhenets, "Diialnist H. S. Skovorody v Pereiaslavskomu i Kharkivskomu kolehiumakh [Hrygorii Skovoroda's Activity in the Pereiaslav and Kharkiv Collegiums],” in *Pedagogical ideas of H. S. Skovoroda* (Kyiv: Vyshcha shkola, 1972), 194.

We should also mention Skovoroda's correspondence with Kyrylo Liashevetskyi (who later became a Chernihiv hierarch), whom he came to know in 1755 when Kyrylo was the abbot of the Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius. In his letters Skovoroda addresses Kyrylo as one of his best friends: "Dear friend, dearest Kyrylo."⁷¹ From the content of the letters it is understood that this was the fourth letter to the addressee, therefore, their correspondence was quite active.

In a similar way, an example of active communication between the Ukrainian clerical and secular elites bonded by a Kyiv-Mohyla Academy education can be seen in the correspondence between Iov Bazylevych and Lavrentii Kordet. Their acquaintance began at the Kharkiv Collegium where both were teaching and where Bazylevych headed the educational institution. Later, when Iov Bazylevych has become the bishop of Pereiaslav, he maintained friendly relations with Lavrentii Kordet. The content of their letters shows that they corresponded for a long period of time. Their correspondence always dealt with the everyday life of the collegium.⁷²

Arsenii Mohylianskyi, the metropolitan of Kyiv, actively corresponded with Hryhorii Poletyka, who unselfishly helped him cope with his numerous problems. Thus, to improve the students' knowledge of western European languages at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, the priest subscribed, via Hryhorii Poletyka (who was the Synod's translator at the time), to news bulletins published in German and French to give his students an opportunity to hone their translation skills. In March 1759 Mohylianskyi also requested him to purchase the *Trudoliubivaia pchela* journal.⁷³

It was mentioned above that Feofan Prokopovych actively corresponded with Yakiv Markevych, a descendent of a family of prosperous Cossack aristocracy (more than 10 letters are extant).⁷⁴ Being a Kyiv-Mohyla Academy alumnus, Yakiv, just as Feofan, was acquainted with the progressive ideas of European scholarship of the day. They exchanged letters, books, and information about their own scholarly works.

Markevych's archive (Russian State Library collection) contains unpublished letters of high-ranking Ukrainian clergy, including the letters of Kyiv bishops Ioasaf Krovovskyi and Varlaam Vanatovych, and Chernihiv bishops — Antonii Stakhovskyi and Irodion Zhurakovskyi, addressed to hetmans and other Cossack leaders, which concerned the protection of clergy ownership rights, the settlement of land disputes with the Cossacks, and issues of everyday life.⁷⁵

71 Hryhorii Skovoroda, *Tvory u dvokh tomakh* [Works in two volumes], vol. 2 (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1973), 340–41, 384.

72 Andrey Tankov, "Propovednoie slovo v Belgorodskoi yeparkhii v XVIII veke [Sermons at the Belgorod Diocese in the 18th Century]," *Kievskie yeparkhialnye vedomosti* 37 (1897): 719; Posokhova, *Na perekhresty kultur, tradytsii, epokh*, 269.

73 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol. 2, 213–15, 312.

74 Prokopovych, *Filosofski tvory*, vol. 3, 189–98, 202–10, 218–23.

75 *Lysty dukhovnykh osib z koleksii Markevycha* [Letters of Clergy From the Markevych Collection] (17th-18th centuries) [Manuscript] (Department of Manuscripts of the Russian State Library, f. 152, desc. 1, no. 146–50, 152, 156, 162–67, 172–76, 184, 320, 357–58, 825–49).

The correspondence of various clergy members has been published. In particular, letters sent between 1713–1773 to an influential noble Polish Korsak family, descended from Ukrainian Cossack officers, who had family ties with Hetman Ivan Samoilovych.⁷⁶ Among are three letters from Ioasaf Krokovskiy, the metropolitan of Kyiv, twenty letters from Antonii Stakhovskiy, the archbishop of Chernihiv, the rest being from successors of the latter in the Chernihiv episcopal see: nine from Irodion Zhurakovskiy, the archbishop of Chernihiv, one from Feofil Ihnatovych, the bishop of Chernihiv, and one from Hilarion Rohalevskiy, the father superior of the Mharskyi Monastery, who later became the archbishop of Chernihiv. The letters stress great respect for Rafail Korsak as a benefactor of the Chernihiv Diocese, and contained requests to provide protection and financial assistance. The letters confirm that Rafail Korsak had great influence on issues concerning the appointment and dismissal of both black and white clergy of the Chernihiv Diocese; some of the letters imply that Korsak provided financial aid to the Chernihiv seminary.⁷⁷ In this group of letters is a letter in Polish authored by Filofei Leshchynskiy, the metropolitan of Tobolsk and a schemamonk, written, according to the date on the reverse side, in 1716 and containing an expression of gratitude for donations he had received when he stayed with the Korsaks on his way from Kyiv to Moscow.⁷⁸

It is also worth mentioning a number of published letters written by the hierarchs to Ukrainian hetmans concerning various issues. In particular, in 1751 Tymofii Shcherbatskyi, the metropolitan of Kyiv, wrote to Hetman Kyrylo Rozumovskiy informing him about dispatching Prefect Hryhorii Konyskyi to relay New Year greetings and to preach.⁷⁹ Earlier, we mentioned Feofan Prokopovych's letters of recommendation addressed to Hetman Danylo Apostol, the purpose of which was to ensure support for individual Kyiv-Mohyla Academy alumni.⁸⁰

Other facts also attest to written communication between the clerical and secular elites, reflected in several present-day studies. Liudmyla Posokhova states that active correspondence in 1771 between Samuil Myslavskiy, the bishop of Belgorod, and Ye. Shcherbinin, the governor of Sloboda-Ukrainian Province, made it possible to address a number of important issues concerning the educational process at the Kharkiv Collegium, in particular, to invite a foreign teacher of French, Peter Otton, from Moscow University.⁸¹ It is evident that Samuil Myslavskiy later used his experience of

76 "Lystuvannia dukhovnykh osib z arkhivu kniazia V. D. Holitsyna do vplyvovoi shliakhetskoi rodyny Korsakiv z ukrainskoi kozatskoi starshyny, rodychiv hetmana Ivana Samoilovycha, za 1713–1773 roky [The Correspondence of Clergy in the Archives of Prince V. D. Golitsyn With the Korsak Influential Noble Family, Descendants of Ukrainian Cossack Leaders, Relatives of Hetman Ivan Samoilovych, 1713–1773]," *Trudy Chernigovskoi gubernskoi arkhivnoi komissii* 8 (1911): 115–51.

77 "Lystuvannia dukhovnykh osib," 132.

78 "Lystuvannia dukhovnykh osib," 141.

79 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol. 2, 50–52.

80 Petrov, *Akty i dokumenty*, vol. 1.1, 171–72; Prokopovych, *Filosofski tvory*, vol. 3, 233, 236.

81 Posokhova, *Na perekhresty kultur, tradytsii, epokh*, 74.

patronage of the Kharkiv Collegium in the regulation of the educational process at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy.

Russian researcher A. Videneeva provides interesting details concerning Arsenii Matsievych's spiritual ministering at the Rostov episcopal see. One week after a fire broke in October 1758, Metropolitan Arsenii in a letter informed Prince N. Yu. Trubetskoi about the damage inflicted by the fire, in particular, the loss of a significant part of the bishop's archive.⁸² In this connection, the researcher notes that during the salvage operation priority was given to church relics and the state treasury, and historical documents had to be sacrificed. This, to a great extent, explains the fact that only an insignificant number of documents have survived.

Conclusions

The epistolary legacy of the Ukrainian hierarchs demonstrates the characteristic features of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy intellectual space created by the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy alumni belonging to different generations and hierarchy levels. The closest relations were between correspondents who belonged to the same or almost the same hierarchy level and who were bonded together by the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy educational system and school comradeship, eventually obtaining high positions in the hierarchy. Communication within the boundaries of individual centers (the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra, collegiums in Chernihiv, Kharkiv, Pereiaslav, seats of Ukrainian bishops in Russia, etc.) depended on the specificity of the environment (for example, in regard to the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra, publishing activities of the Pechersk publishing house, in which the hierarchs promoted the publication of books and authored many of them).

The prevailing themes encountered in the letters of the Ukrainian bishops were the needs of their alma mater, the Kyiv Academy, and the collegiums. The correspondence addressed issues of their legal status, academic staff, and financial support required for educational institutions. While providing assistance, the bishops of the Ukrainian dioceses cooperated, supported each other, and exchange their experience. The hierarchs who headed dioceses in Russia and Belarus also actively corresponded with their compatriots (Kyiv bishops and abbots of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra) on the issues of educational process improvement at schools and seminaries opened or reformed by them, which for them was a necessary means of carrying out their cultural and educational activities. Priority was also given to correspondence concerning literary and publishing activities of the hierarchs. The major part of these letters dealt with the issues of book exchange and book publishing at the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra. Owing to the Pechersk publishing house, the Lavra, together with the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, was the center around which the Ukrainian clerical elite rallied.

82 Alla Videneeva, *Rostovskii arkhieieiskii dom i sistema yeparkhialnogo upravleniia v Rossii XVIII veka* [*The Rostov Archbishop's Residence and the Diocesan Administration in Russia in the 18th Century*] (Moscow: Nauka, 2004), 45.

Kyiv-Mohyla Academy intellectual space modelled through the prism of the Ukrainian hierarchs' correspondence clearly shows that active contacts between the clerical and secular elites were an intrinsic component. They contributed to addressing important issues of cultural and educational development of the society. Further research into intellectual cooperation between the bishops and their correspondents, in particular, the exchange of ideas and creative achievements, will make it possible to outline Kyiv-Mohyla Academy intellectual space more clearly, showing it as a manifestation of intercultural communications of the Academy alumni on the territory of the Russian Empire.

Bibliography

- Bida, Kostiantyn. "Ioannykii Haliatovskyi." *Bohosloviia* XXVI (1972): 65–98.
- Fedotova, Maryna. *Epistoliarne nasledie Dimitriia Rostovskogo* [*Epistolary Heritage of Dymytrii of Rostov*]. Moscow: Indrik, 2005.
- Golubev, Stepan. "Gedeon Odorskii, byvshii rektor Kievskoi Akademii v nachale XVIII stol. [Gedeon Odorskii, Former Rector of the Kyiv Academy at the Beginning of the 18th Century]." *Trudy Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii* 12 (1900): 567–627.
- Graevskii, Ivan. *Kievskii mitropolit Timofei Shcherbatskii* [*Kyiv Metropolitan Timofei Shcherbatskii*]. Kyiv, 1910.
- Kagamlyk, Svitlana. *Kyievo-Pecherska lavra: svit pravoslavnoi dukhovnosti i kultury (XVII–XVIII st.)* [*The Kyiv Pechersk Lavra: The World of Orthodox Spirituality and Culture (17th–18th Centuries)*]. Kyiv: Natsionalnyi Kyievo-Pecherskyi istoryko-kulturnyi zapovidnyk, 2005.
- Khyzhniak, Zoia, ed. *Kyievo-Mohylianska akademiia v imenakh (XVII–XVIII st.): Entsyklopedychne vydannia* [*Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in Names (17th–18th Centuries): Encyclopedic Edition*]. Kyiv: Vydavnychy dim "KM Akademiia," 2001.
- Kniha prepodobnoho Feodora Studita* [*The Book of Venerable Theodore the Studite*]. Manuscript Institute, V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, f. 306, no. 223 [Manuscript].
- Kolesnyk, Iryna. "Intelektualne spivtovarystvo yak zasib lehitymatsii kulturnoi istorii Ukrainy XIX stolittia [The Intellectual Community as a Means of Legitimizing the Cultural History of Ukraine in the 19th Century]." *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal* 1 (2008): 169–93.
- Lazarevskii, Aleksandr. "Iz semeinoi khroniki Berlov [From the Berlov Family Chronicle]." *Kievskaiia starina* 1 (1899): 101–33.
- "Lystuvannia dukhovnykh osib z arkhivu kniazia V. D. Golitsyna do vplyvovoi shliakhetskoi rodyny Korsakiv z ukraiinskoii kozatskoi starshyny, rodychiv hetmana Ivana Samoilovycha, za 1713–1773 roky [The Correspondence of Clergy in the Archives of Prince V. D. Golitsyn With the Korsak Influential Noble Family, Descendants of Ukrainian Cossack Leaders, Relatives of Hetman Ivan Samoilovich, 1713–1773]." *Trudy Chernigovskoi gubernskoi arkhivnoi komissii* 8 (1911): 115–51.

- Lysty dukhovnykh osib z kolektsii Markevycha* [*Letters of Clergy From the Markevych Collection*]. Department of Manuscripts of the Russian State Library, f. 152, desc. 1, no. 146–50, 152, 156, 162–67, 172–76, 184, 320, 357–58, 825–49 [Manuscript].
- Nizhenets, Anastasiia. “Diialnist H. S. Skovorody v Pereiaslavskomu i Kharkivskomu kolehiumakh [Hryhorii Skovoroda’s Activity in the Pereiaslav and Kharkiv Collegiums].” In *The Pedagogical Ideas of H. S. Skovoroda*, 185–212. Kyiv: Vyscha shkola, 1972.
- O poslannykh v dar ot Lavry v Moskovskii Zlatoustovskii monastyr chastichkakh sv. moshchei* [*About Particles of Holy Relics, Sent to Moscow Chrysostom Monastery as a Gift From the Lavra*]. 1763. Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine, Kyiv, f. 128, desc. 1, no. 265 [Manuscript].
- O prislannom ot mitropolita Rostovskogo Arseniia v Lavru Yevanhelii* [*About the Gospel Sent by Arsenii, the Metropolitan of Rostov*]. 1751. Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine, Kyiv, f. 128, desc. 1, no. 103 [Manuscript].
- O vypechatanii v Lavrskoi tipographii na yazykakh nektorogo chisla knig* [*About Printing in Lavra Typography Some Number of Books*]. 1757. Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv, f. 128, desc. 1 drukarskyi, no. 42 [Manuscript].
- O vysylke iz Lavry chrez archimandrita Moskovskogo Vysokopetrovskogo monastyria Silvestra po pismennomu k nemu trebovaniu Vysokopreosviashchennogo Pavla, mitropolita Tobolskogo, trekh chelovek v uchitelia iz monashestvuiushchikh Lavry* [*About the Dispatch of Three Monks From the Lavra Monastery as Teachers, on the Written Request of His Eminence Paul, the Metropolitan of Tobolsk, Through Silvestre, the Archimandrite of the Moscow High-Petrine Monastery*]. 1763. Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine, Kyiv, f. 128, desc. 1, no. 87 [Manuscript].
- Ob opredelenii na mesto ieromonakha Gedeona, otpravlennogo v Chernigovskoe uchilishche vo uchitelia ieromonakha Nektarii* [*On the Appointment of Hieromonk Nektarii in the Place of Hieromonk Gedeon, Dispatched to the Chernihiv School as the Teacher*]. 1768. Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine, Kyiv, f. 128, desc. 1, no. 262 [Manuscript].
- Ob otpravke ieromonakha Gedeona v Chernigov k uchitelskoi v tamoshnei kollegii dolzhnosti* [*About the Dispatch of Hieromonk Gedeon to Chernihiv to the Teachers’ Office in the Local Collegium*]. 1768. Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine, Kyiv, f. 128, desc. 1, no. 261 [Manuscript].
- Ob otpravke iz Lavry k yepiskopu Smolenskomu Gedeonu ierodiakona Moiseia Kochenevskogo dlia ucheniia v shkole* [*About the Dispatch of Lavra Hierodeacon Moisei Kochenevski as a School Teacher to Gedeon, the Bishop of Smolensk*]. 1760. Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine, Kyiv, f. 128, desc. 2, no. 35 [Manuscript].
- Petrov, Nikolai, ed. *Akty i dokumenty, otnosiashchiesia k Kievskoi Akademii. Ch. II (1721–1795)* [*Acts and Documents Relating to the History of the Kyiv Academy, 1721–1795*]. Vols. 1–5. Kyiv, 1904–1908.
- Petrov, Nikolai. *Znachenie Kievo-Mogilianskoi akademii v razvitii dukhovnykh shkol v Rossii s uchrezhdeniia sv. Sinoda v 1721 g. i do poloviny XVIII veka* [*The Significance of*

- the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in the Development of Theological Schools in Russia From the Decree of the St. Synod in 1721 Until the Middle of the 18th Century*]. Kyiv, 1904.
- "Pisma mitropolita Stefana Yavorskogo [Letters From Metropolitan Stefan Yavorskii]." *Trudy Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii* 4 (1866): 539–55.
- Pisma preosviashchennogo Lazaria Baranovicha [Letters From His Eminence Lazar Baranovich]*. Chernihiv, 1865.
- Pismo Gedeona Vishnevskogo, yepiskopa Smolenskogo, do Pecherskogo arkhimandrita Timofeia Shcherbatskogo [A Letter From Gedeon Vishnevskii, Bishop of Smolensk, to Timofei Shcherbatskii, Archimandrite of the Pechersk Lavra]*. January 26, 1747. Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine, Kyiv, f. 128, desc. 1, no. 36 [Manuscript].
- "Pismo Georgiia Konisskogo, yepiskopa Mogilevskogo, k Gervasiiu Lintsevskomu, yepiskopu Pereiaslavskomu, ot 18 fevralia 1766 goda [A Letter From Georgii Konyskii, Bishop of Mohyliov, to Hervasii Lintsevskii, Bishop of Pereiaslav, Dated February 18, 1766]." In *Arkhiv Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*. Part 1, vol. 2, 149–52. Kyiv, 1864.
- Pismo Preosviashchennogo Serapiona, yepiskopa Vologodskogo, do Pecherskogo arkhimandrita Luky Bilousovycha [A Letter From His Eminence Serapion, Bishop of Vologda, to Luka Bilousovykh, Archimandrite of the Pechersk Lavra]*. January 3, 1759. Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv, f. 128, desc. 1 drukarskyi, no. 46 [Manuscript].
- Pismo Stefana Yavorskogo k namestniku mitropolita Kievskogo Ioanikiu Seniutovichu [A Letter From Stefan Yavorskii to Ioanikii Seniutovich, Viceroy of the Metropolitan of Kyiv]*. 1704. Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 18, desc. 1, no. 7 [Manuscript].
- Po doneseniiu yepiskopa Rostovskogo Afanasiia ob opredelenii ieromonakha Kievopecherskoi Lavry Savatii uchitelem v Rostovskuiu seminariiu [The Report of Bishop of Rostov Afanasii on the Admission of the Hieromonk of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra Savatii to the Rostov Seminary as a Teacher]*. December 8, 1768. Russian State Historical Archive, f. 796, desc. 49, no. 312 [Manuscript].
- Posokhova, Liudmyla. *Na perekhresty kultur; tradytsii, epokh. Pravoslavni kolehiumy Ukraïny naprykintsi XVII–na pochatku XIX st. [At the Crossroads of Cultures, Traditions, Epochs. Orthodox Collegiums of Ukraine in the Late 17th–Early 19th Centuries]*. Kharkiv, 2011.
- Prokopovych, Feofan. *Filosofski tvory v triokh tomakh [Philosophical Works in Three Volumes]*. Vol. 3. Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1981.
- Raznye pisma do raznykh gospod. 1727–1756 [Different Letters to Different Members of the Nobility]*. 1727–1756. Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine, Kyiv, f. 128, desc. 1, no. 7 [Manuscript].
- Relihiino-filosofska dumka v Kyievo-Mohylianskii akademii: yevropeiskyi kontekst [Religious and Philosophical Thought at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy: The European Context]*. Kyiv: Vydavnychy dim "KM Akademiia," 2002.
- Shevchenko, Ihor. *Ukraïna mizh Skhodom i Zakhodom. Narysy z istorii kultury do pochatku XVIII st. [Ukraine Between East and West. Essays on Cultural History to the*

- Early 18th Century*]. Lviv: Instytut Istorii Tserkvy Lvivskoi Bohoslovskoi Akademii, 2001.
- Skhid-Zakhid. Kulturolohichniy zbirnyk 7: Universytety ta natsii v Rosiiskii imperii* [Skhid-Zakhid. Kulturolohichniy zbirnyk 7: Universities and Nations in the Russian Empire]. Kharkiv; Kyiv: Krytyka, 2005.
- Skovoroda, Hryhorii. *Tvory u dvokh tomakh* [Works in Two Volumes]. Vol. 2. Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1973.
- Tankov, Andrei. "Propovednoe slovo v Belgorodskoi yeparkhii v XVIII veke [Sermons at the Belgorod Diocese in the 18th Century]." *Kievskie yeparkhialnye vedomosti* 37 (1897): 715–20.
- Titov, Fedor. *Vospitanniki Akademii na sluzhbe v Kievo-Pecherskoi lavre v sviazi s biografiei Sofroniia Ternaviota* [Graduates of the Academy in Service at the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra in Connection with the Biography of Sofronii Ternaviot]. Kyiv, 1913.
- Trofimova, Valentina. "Respublika uchenosti': ideia, ideal i virtualnoe soobshchestvo yevropeiskikh intellektualov XV–XVIII vekov [The Republic of Scholarship: The Idea, Ideal and Virtual Community of European Intellectuals of the 15th–18th Centuries]." *Dialog so vremenem. Almanakh intellektualnoi istorii* 20 (2007): 90–99.
- Ukraina XVII st. mizh Zakhodom ta Skhodom Yevropy. Materialy 1-ho ukrainsko-italiiskoho sympoziumu 13–16 veresnia 1994 r.* [Ukraine in the 17th Century Between the West and East of Europe. Materials of the 1st Ukrainian-Italian Symposium, September 13–16, 1994]. Kyiv: Venetsiia, 1994.
- Videneeva, Alla. *Rostovskii arkhieiereiskii dom i sistema yeparkhialnogo upravleniia v Rossii XVIII veka* [The Rostov Archbishop's Residence and the Diocesan Administration in Russia in the 18th Century]. Moscow: Nauka, 2004.



Svitlana Kagamlyk holds a PhD in History, and is a senior researcher at the Center of Ukrainian Studies, Kyiv Taras Shevchenko National University (Department of Philosophy). Her research interests include the 17th–18th century cultural life of Ukraine, especially the history of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra and Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, as well as the role and place of the Orthodox church elite in Ukrainian society of early modern times. She is the author of 112 articles in *Kyievo-Mohylianska Akademiia v imenakh* (Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in Names) (Kyiv: Vydavnychiy dim "Kyievo-Mohylianska akademiia," 2001). Her major publication is *Kyievo-Pecherska lavra: Svit pravoslavnoi dukhovnosti i kultury (17–18 st.)* (Kyiv Pechersk Lavra: The World of Orthodox Spirituality and Culture, 17th–18th Centuries) (Kyiv: Natsionalnyi Kyievo-Pecherskyi istoryko-kulturnyi zapovidnyk, 2005). She is currently completing a monograph on the intellectual and spiritual life of Ukrainian hierarchs of the 17th–18th centuries.