

Handwritten Candidate Works of Kyiv Theological Academy Students as Sources for Studying the Academy's Philosophical Heritage

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Abstract

This article is devoted to determining the source potential of the so-called dissertations collection of the Kyiv Theological Academy (Fund no. 304 of the Manuscript Institute of the V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine) in the study of its philosophical heritage. The author draws attention to the distinction of the hierarchy of educational and academic degrees in the Russian Empire (candidate's, master's, doctoral) the first, candidate's degree, not being a research degree, from today's hierarchy. The candidate's degree at that time was awarded to graduates of higher education institutions on the basis of their academic achievements and a final (candidate) work, which should be considered analogous to a diploma (qualification) work, not to dissertations intended for public defense for a PhD degree. The article reveals that the collection of candidate papers from the Manuscript Institute contains important sources for researchers of biographies of the graduates of the Kyiv Theological Academy (including many prominent individuals), its history, and academic heritage. Out of more than two thousand manuscripts stored in the Funds no. 304, the author has for the first time selected and systematized an array of candidate works on philosophical subjects (more than 100 units), substantiating their important role in the research of the philosophical heritage of the Kyiv Theological Academy.

Key Words: Kyiv Theological Academy, Manuscript Institute, V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, candidate works, philosophy, theology.



Introduction

September 28 (October 10 old style) 2019 marks the 200th anniversary of the founding of the Kyiv Theological Academy. The heir to the famous Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, the Kyiv Theological Academy (1819–1924) was the only Orthodox theological higher education institution in the lands of modern Ukraine under Russian Empire rule in the 19th to the beginning of the 20th centuries, destined to play a significant role in the

development of Ukrainian education and culture.¹ Among its graduates were not only clerics and church hierarchs of renown, but also prominent scholars, educators, state, public, and educational figures, writers, and artists from all over the Orthodox world.²

The Kyiv Theological Academy is also related to important milestones of the formation and development of philosophy in the Russian Empire in the 19th to the beginning of the 20th centuries. Despite the fact that the training of professional philosophers did not belong to the immediate functions of the Kyiv Theological Academy and that the study of philosophy was subordinated to the main goal of educating virtuous and enlightened servants of the word of God, the Kyiv Theological Academy made a significant contribution to the development of the tradition of professional philosophy, the formation of a professional philosophical community, and the staffing not only of theological academies, but also universities. Students and professors of the Kyiv Theological Academy made a significant contribution to the development of various philosophical fields of study: the history of philosophy, metaphysics, logic, epistemology, philosophical anthropology, psychology, ethics, the philosophy of education, the philosophy of religion, and others. Their creative reception of classical and modern European philosophy formed the basis for a productive dialogue with Western colleagues and thinkers and developed skills of critical analysis and independent philosophical creativity, thus laying the foundations of Orthodox religious and philosophical discourse. Influential translation and publishing activities, active participation in various educational courses and societies, discussions in newspapers and periodicals, and public educational events contributed to the spread of philosophical education and culture in the lands of the Russian Empire.

To be assured of the above, it will suffice to mention the names of an array of students and professors of the Kyiv Theological Academy, whose creative and educational achievements contributed to its philosophical heritage: Vasyl Karpov (1798–1867), Orest Novytskyi (1806–1884), Petro Avsieniev (1810–1852), Sylvestr Hohotskyi (1813–1889), Pamfil Yurkevych (1826–1874), Matvii Troitskyi (1835–1899), Petro Linytskyi (1839–1906), Hryhorii Malevanskyi (1840–1919), Markelin Olesnytskyi (1848–1905), Dmytro Bohdashevskyi (1861–1933), Petro Kudriavtsev (1868–1940), Vasyl

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- 1 See Maryna Tkachuk, "Kyivska dukhovna akademiia (1817–1924): storinkamy istorii [The Kyiv Theological Academy (1817–1924): Through the Pages of History]," in *Kyivska dukhovna akademiia v imenakh: 1819–1924*, vol. 1, ed. Maryna Tkachuk (Kyiv: Vydavnychi dim "Kyievo-Mohylianska akademiia," 2015), 9–55; Viacheslav Briukhovetskyi, "Zapovnennia lakuny [Filling Gaps]," in *Kyivska dukhovna akademiia v imenakh: 1819–1924*, vol. 1, ed. Maryna Tkachuk (Kyiv: Vydavnychi dim "Kyievo-Mohylianska akademiia," 2015), 6–8.
 - 2 For a complete list of graduates of the Kyiv Theological Academy, as well as biographical and bibliographic articles about the most notable persons related to the history of this educational institution, see *Kyivska dukhovna akademiia v imenakh: 1819–1924*, edited by M. Tkachuk, 2 vols (Kyiv: Vydavnychi dim "Kyievo-Mohylianska akademiia," 2015–16).

Ekzempliarskyi (1875–1933), Ivan Chetverykov (1875–1969) and others. It is obvious from this list that not every educational institution can boast such a number of prominent philosophical luminaries over one century.

It is worth noting that the vast extent of the philosophical heritage left by the Kyiv Theological Academy is represented not only by published monographs, textbooks, articles, translations, bibliographic reviews, but also numerous manuscripts.³

The purpose of this article is to draw the attention of historians of philosophy to the body of handwritten sources, which, of course, is of great importance in the further study of the philosophical development of students of the Kyiv Theological Academy. We have in mind the so-called dissertations collection of the Kyiv Theological Academy, which is stored at the Manuscript Institute of the V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine (Fund no. 304).⁴ Despite the fact that the availability of this collection is known to scholars today,⁵ the manuscripts contained in it have unfortunately not yet become the subject of professional analysis by researchers of the philosophical heritage of the Kyiv Theological Academy. Therefore, this article attempts to highlight sources from the mentioned body of manuscripts that are of particular interest for historical and philosophical research.

3 See Maryna Tkachuk, "Filosofska spadshchyna Kyivskoi dukhovnoi akademii: dzhereloznavchyi aspekt doslidzhennia [The Philosophical Heritage of the Kyiv Theological Academy: A Source Studies Aspect of the Research]," *Naukovi zapysky NaUKMA* 35 (2004): 45–51.

4 See *Kolektsiia dysertatsii studentiv Kyivskoi dukhovnoi akademii [Dissertations Collection of Students of the Kyiv Theological Academy]* [Manuscripts] (Manuscript Institute, V. I. Vernadskyi National Library, f. 304, dissertations 1–2512).

5 See the list of works stored in the Archive no. 304 at the Manuscript Institute of the V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine: Olga Krainiaia, "Dissertatsionnyi fond Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii v Institute rukopisi Natsionalnoi biblioteki Ukrainy imeni V. I. Vernadskogo [Theses Collection of the Kyiv Theological Academy at the Manuscript Institute of the V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine]," *Trudy Kyivskoi dukhovnoi akademii* 11 (2009): 164–92; protoiieri Vitalii Klos, "Rukopysni napratsiuвання vypusnykiv Kyivskoi Akademii, shcho znakhodiatsia u fondi № 304 Natsionalnoi biblioteki Ukrainy imeni V. I. Vernadskoho ta bibliotetsi Kyivskoi pravoslavnoi bohoslovskoi akademii [Handwritten Works of Kyiv Theological Academy Graduates, Stored in Archive No. 304 at the Manuscript Institute of the V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine and the Library of Kyiv Orthodox Theological Academy]," *Trudy Kyivskoi dukhovnoi akademii: bohoslovsko-istorychnyi zbirnyk Kyivskoi pravoslavnoi bohoslovskoi akademii Ukrainskoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy Kyivskoho Patriarkhatu* 10 (2012): 99–140; protoiieri Vitalii Klos & Roman Parii, "Rukopysni napratsiuвання vypusnykiv Kyivskoi dukhovnoi akademii (1893–1920) [Handwritten Works of Kyiv Theological Academy Graduates (1893–1920)]," *Trudy Kyivskoi dukhovnoi akademii: bohoslovsko-istorychnyi zbirnyk Kyivskoi pravoslavnoi bohoslovskoi akademii Ukrainskoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy Kyivskoho Patriarkhatu* 15 (2015): 203–62.

The Kyiv Theological Academy Student Dissertations Collection at the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine

The collection of manuscripts stored in Fund no. 304 of the Manuscript Institute is usually defined by researchers as a “dissertations collection” or a “dissertations archive” of Kyiv Theological Academy students of the 19th—beginning of the 20th centuries. Given that the manuscripts of Fund no. 304 are catalogued precisely as “dissertations” (each having a certain number), such a definition is not surprising. However, taking into account the modern understanding of a dissertation as a research work, written for public defense for an academic degree, the definition of manuscripts of Archive no. 304 as “dissertations” seems rather arbitrary and inaccurate. This is also obvious from the historical perspective, if one takes into account the “candidate’s—master’s—doctoral” hierarchy of education and academic degrees of the Russian Empire in the 19th and early 20th centuries, somewhat different from today’s.

For example, under the first Theological Academy Statute (1814–1869)⁶ both candidate’s and master’s degrees were educational. They were awarded based on final ratings lists that reflected academic achievements and students’ behavior. The rating lists took into account both grades obtained on exams and for written works—current (term) and final (“courseworks,” written at the end of a four-year academic program⁷). Graduates belonging to the “first grade” were awarded a master’s degree; the rest of the graduates received a candidate’s degree. An exception was made for those of the “second grade” list who were not sufficiently successful in mastering theological disciplines: they graduated from theological academies with the title of “Actual Student.” Unlike candidate’s and master’s degrees, the doctoral degree (in theology, church history, or canon law) awarded from 1814–1869 was a research degree: to obtain it, a master’s degree holder had to submit to the Academic Conference⁸ a work written in Latin or Russian in accordance with the requirements of the Theological Academies Statute.

Significant changes to how academic degrees were awarded were introduced by the Theological Academies Statute of 1869,⁹ as well as by the specifically developed

6 See “Vysochaishe utverzhdennyi 30 avgusta 1814 goda proekt Ustava dukhovnykh akademii [A Draft of the Theological Academies’ Statute, Highest Approved Granted on August 30, 1814],” in *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii. Sobranie pervoe*, vol. XXXII (Saint Petersburg, 1830), 910–54.

7 See *Akty i dokumenty, otnosiashchiesia k istorii Kievskoi Akademii. Otdelenie III (1796–1869)* [Acts and Documents Related to the History of the Kyiv Theological Academy. Section III, 1796–1869], vol. V, ed. F. I. Titov (Kyiv: Tipografia I. I. Chokolova, 1915), XIII–IV.

8 The Academic Conference is a supreme collegial body of a theological academy responsible for its educational and scholarly activities. The members of the Academic Conference, chaired by the Diocesan Bishop (in Kyiv by the Metropolitan of Kyiv and Halych), were the rector and professors (mostly ordinary) of the theological academy, the rector of the local seminary, as well as authoritative representatives of the city clergy.

9 See “Vysochaishe utverzhdennyi 30 maia 1869 g. Ustav pravoslavnykh dukhovnykh akademii [A Theological Academies Statute, Highest Approved May 30, 1869],” in *Polnoe sobranie*

Polozhenie ob ispytaniakh na uchenye stepeni i zvanie deistvitelnogo studenta v dukhovnykh akademiakh (Regulations on Examinations for Academic Degrees and the Title of an Actual Student in Theological Academies), approved by the Most Holy Synod in 1874.¹⁰ In accordance with the Theological Academies Statute of 1869, the full academic program remained a four-year one, but only for those students who completed their third year of study while preparing an essay recognized by the Academic Council as satisfactory for the awarding of a candidate's degree and passing third year exams with a grade of "excellent" (the rest of the students graduated after their third year with the title of "actual student"). During their fourth year of study these graduate students were engaged in the specialized study of selected subjects, which comprised their master's exams and trial lectures. Those who managed to prepare and publicly defend their master's dissertation, the writing of which required comprehensive research of a chosen subject during the fourth year of study, obtained a master's degree in theology. By contrast, the vast majority of graduate students limited themselves to master's exams, graduating with the degree of candidate in theology, retaining the right to be awarded a master's degree on the basis of a public defense of a printed dissertation (without additional exams). Thus, unlike the degree of candidate of theology, which remained essentially educational, a master's degree (along with the highest, doctoral degree, which required the defense of a printed dissertation) earned research status.

Despite some changes in the organization and content of the educational work of theological academies, introduced by the Theological Academies Statutes of 1884 and 1910–1911,¹¹ the distinction between educational (candidate's) and research (master's and doctoral) degrees was preserved throughout the entire history of the theological academies prior to the Russian Revolution. Although master's and doctoral degrees required the preparation, printing, and public defense of works, the degree of candidate of theology was awarded to graduates of theological academies on the basis of academic achievements, reflected by ratings lists. Since 1884, in order to obtain a candidate's degree a student had to master a full four-year academic program, showing "excellent,"

zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii. Sobranie vtoroe, vol. XLIV, part 1 (Saint Petersburg, 1887), 545–56.

10 "Polozhenie ob ispytaniakh na uchenye stepeni i zvanie deistvitelnogo studenta v dukhovnykh akademiakh [Regulations on Testing for Academic Degrees and the Title of a Actual Student in Theological Academies]," in *Protokoly zasedanii Soveta Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii za 1874–1875 uchebnyi god* (Kyiv: Tipografiia S. T. Eremeeva, 1875), 1–18.

11 See "Vysochaishe utverzhdennyi 20 apreliia 1884 g. Ustav pravoslavnykh dukhovnykh akademii [Theological Academies Statute, Highest Approved Granted on April 20, 1884]," in *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii. Sobranie trete*, vol. IV (Saint Petersburg, 1887), 232–43; "Vysochaishe utverzhdennyi 2 apreliia 1910 g. Ustav pravoslavnykh dukhovnykh akademii [Theological Academies Statute, Highest Approved Granted April 2, 1910]," in *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii. Sobranie trete*, vol. XXX (Saint Petersburg, 1913), 414–31; "Vysochaishe utverzhdennye 26 avgusta 1911 goda izmeneniia v Ustave pravoslavnykh dukhovnykh akademii [Amendments to the Theological Academies Statute, Highest Approved Granted on August 26, 1911]," in *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii. Sobranie trete*, vol. XXXI (Saint Petersburg, 1914), 961–66.

“very good,” or “good” results in mastering subjects, as well as prepare a special work of theological content relevant to the candidate’s level.

In view of the above, it is obvious that works that were written by students of theological academies for a candidate’s degree of theology were called, according to normative documents, “reasonings” (Statute of 1869), “special works” (Statute of 1884), or “course papers” (Statute of 1910–1911) and were not dissertations but rather analogues of modern diploma (qualification) works. Since 1869 the term “dissertation” was used for special works written for master’s and doctoral degrees. Thus, the so-called dissertations archive of Kyiv Theological Academy students of the 19th—early 20th centuries, found at the Manuscript Institute of the V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, contains mainly manuscripts of their diploma (qualification) works for obtaining an educational candidate’s degree of theology. Consequently, the correct and adequate characterization of the content of Archive no. 304 requires its qualification as a collection of candidate works of students of the Kyiv Theological Academy. This clarification is essential for understanding the specifics of the manuscripts that are found in this archive. So, in my paper, we will avoid the term “dissertation” in favor of “candidate work.”

General Characteristics of Kyiv Theological Academy Candidate Works

According to official information, the collection of candidate works of Kyiv Theological Academy students in Archive no. 304 at the Manuscript Institute of the V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine numbers 2,128 units; according to the catalogue, 2,057 units are available.¹² Although originally this collection numbered 2,519 manuscripts, the National Library of Ukraine in Kyiv did not inherit it (along with the catalogue¹³) in its entirety. The absence of about 462 works is referenced by numbered, but “empty” corresponding index cards in Archive no. 304.

In addition, even filled out index cards sometimes disappoint researchers by not always containing adequate bibliographic descriptions of the referenced works. Unfortunately, there are numerous errors in determining the authorship and dating of manuscripts (to become aware of this it suffices to compare the surnames and names of the authors in the catalogue cards with lists of graduates of the Kyiv Theological

12 See *Arkhiv, kolektsii ta zibrannia derzhavnykh, hromadskykh ta relihiinykh ustanov u fondakh Instytutu rukopysu Natsionalnoi biblioteky Ukrainy imeni V. I. Vernadskoho: putivnyk* [*Archives and Collections of State, Public and Religious Institutions in the Archives at the Manuscript Institute of the V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine: A Guidebook*], ed. Liubov Dubrovina (Kyiv: Natsionalna biblioteka Ukrainy imeni V. I. Vernadskoho, 2015), 247.

13 See Liubov Dubrovina and Oleksii Onyshchenko, *Istoriia Natsionalnoi biblioteky Ukrainy imeni V. I. Vernadskoho. 1918–1941* [*The History of the V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, 1918–1941*] (Kyiv: Natsionalna biblioteka Ukrainy imeni V. I. Vernadskoho, 1998), 167.

Academy from 1823–1918¹⁴). Many of the manuscripts are dated only approximately and not always correctly; the authors of 21 works remain to be identified. There is also no certain principle of the systematization of the manuscripts—neither alphabetical nor chronological or thematic. In general, it should be noted that the current state of scholarly and technological work on Fund no. 304 does not particularly contribute to the work of researchers on the collection of manuscripts of Candidate works of Kyiv Theological Academy students.

According to some researchers, the dating of the manuscripts in Fund no. 304 ranges from 1831 to the 1920s.¹⁵ However, this is inaccurate. As of today, we have found at least 8 works written in 1827 (dissertations 116, 141, 146, 177, 235, 236, 239, 377), and 3 works dated 1829 (dissertations 243, 244, 378); in addition, there is only one work in the archive dated 1920 (dissertation 2,504); there are no works in the collection of manuscripts in question that are written after 1920. Thus, at the current stage of work with the archive we have grounds to assert that it contains manuscripts dated 1827–1920.

The least representative part of the collection of manuscripts in Fund no. 304 is comprised of the few available manuscripts from the 1820s and 1830s. Significantly more manuscripts were preserved from the 1840s to the 1860s. In the end, the most complete collection of candidate works present is from the early 1870s to 1916, while only 5 of the works were written in and dated 1917–1920.

In general, based on the correlation between the total number of manuscripts of the archive (2,057) and the number of students completing a full academic program from 1823 to 1919 (3,119), it can be argued that the collection of the Manuscript Institute of the V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine currently holds two thirds of all candidate works written by graduates of the Kyiv Theological Academy. However, given that the overwhelming majority of manuscripts contained in Fund no. 304 are yet to be worked on, such a statement is premature. After all there are important questions that need to be clarified: are all manuscripts in this collection manuscripts of candidate works? What percentage of them are semester works of students, drafts, texts of individual parts of candidate works etc.? Can a manuscript numbering, for example, 7 pages (dissertation 2,509) be considered a candidate work when other manuscripts (for example dissertation 2,088) contain almost a thousand pages?

Finding answers to these questions is a subject for future research by scholars. However, a preliminary comparison of manuscripts with the lists of topics of candidate works of the graduates of the Kyiv Theological Academy, published in its reports and minutes of meetings of the Academic Council,¹⁶ makes it possible to consider Fund

14 See Maryna Tkachuk, "Vypuskyky Kyivskoi dukhovnoi akademii (1823–1918) [Graduates of the Kyiv Theological Academy (1823–1918)]," in *Kyivska dukhovna akademiia v imenakh*, vol. 2, ed. Maryna Tkachuk, 880–950.

15 See Krainiia, "Dissertatsionnyi fond Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii," 165.

16 Since 1869 annual reports on Kyiv Theological Academy activities and the minutes of its Council were published in the journal *Trudy Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii* (Kyiv Theological

no. 304 at the Manuscript Institute of the V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine to be perhaps the most complete and comprehensive collection of works written for obtaining a candidate's degree of theology in the lands of the former Russian Empire.

Undoubtedly, handwritten candidate works from Fund no. 304 are important sources for biographies of graduates of the Kyiv Theological Academy—in particular, its rectors: Archbishops Dymitrii (Kovalnytskyi) and Vasylii (Bohdashevskyi), Bishop Feodosii (Oltarzhevskyi); professors (academicians of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences Mykola Petrov and Fedir Mishchenko, Feofan Lebedyntsev, Yakym Olesnytskyi, Mykhailo Posnov, Ivan Chetverykov, Vasyl Ekzemplierskyi, Serhii Yepifanovych and others); ascetics (Saint Yustyn (Polianskyi) and Reverend Symeon Daibabskyi); martyrs (Catholicos-Patriarch of All Georgia Kyryon Sadzashvili, Metropolitans Anatolii (Hrysiuk) and Nazarii (Lezhava), Archbishops Mytrofan (Krasnopolskyi), Nykodym (Krotkov), Yoan (Pommer) and others), canonized by Orthodox churches; prominent Orthodox church hierarchs (Primates of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, Metropolitans Stefan (Shokov), Klyment (Drumiev) and Klyment (Shyvachev); Primate of the Serbian Orthodox Church Archbishop Mykhail (Iovanovych); Patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church Nykodym (Muntianu); Catholicos-Patriarchs of All Georgia Leonid (Okropiridze) and Kallistrat (Tsyntsadze), and many others); well-known figures of learning, education, and culture (Ukrainian academic Kostiantyn Voblyi, Bulgarian academic Ivan Snieharov, Georgian academic Kornelii Kekelidze, Ukrainian writer Ivan Nechui-Levytskyi, historians Vasyl Bidnov, Ivan Vlasovskyi, and many others). At the same time, this collection of manuscripts is of special significance for researchers of the history of the Kyiv Theological Academy and its heritage. Preserved manuscripts are the best illustration of how important academic work was in the students' education and professional training.

It should be noted that before the introduction of the Theological Academies Statute of 1910–1911, classes at theological academies were limited to lectures and so-called rehearsals (interviews with professors), designed to control the level of students' understanding of curriculum educational material (beginning in 1910–11 practical classes were added to the curriculum of theological academies, including discussions of mastered primary sources, research and teaching, methodological literature, and the preparation of abstracts on certain topics, etc.). However throughout the entire history of the theological academies independent study by students of academic literature and the preparation of term written works and sermons played a significant role in the educational process. Their number and schedules of preparation were determined by the Academies' Councils at the beginning of the academic year. Students who studied until the 1860s had to write a significant number of works in their disciplines—up to ten per year.¹⁷ Subsequently, the number of works was gradually reduced. Since 1884, according to statutory requirements, during each year of study students of the

Academy Studies) as well as standalone editions.

¹⁷ See Vasylii Pevnytskyi, *Moi vospominaniia. II. Studencheskie gody* [*My Memoirs. II. Student Years*] (Kyiv: Tipografia Universiteta Sv. Vladimira, 1911), 126.

first to third years had to write three works in certain disciplines on topics defined by professors (they were given two months for the preparation of each¹⁸), as well as one sermon (submitted to the professor of preaching, theology, and homiletics at the beginning of October¹⁹). According to the requirements of the Statute of 1884, two thirds of the total number of current works of students were to be on theological issues; according to the Statute of 1910, out of three term works two had to be written on theological subjects, one — on general subjects.

By systematically writing works, students of theological academies acquired significant experience in the independent reading of scholarly literature and academic writing, important for the preparation of their final (term paper) works. Their significance in academic education was established by the late 1850s. According to the memoirs of then students of the Kyiv Theological Academy, work on the degree paper was “the main preoccupation” during the final year of study: “Before this all the other matters, obligatory for students, were shifted to the background” (although they had to be written while attending lectures).²⁰ According to the Statute of 1869, candidate works were written in the third year of study: they had to certify not only the correspondence of the student’s professional preparedness to the degree of candidate of theology, but also his research skill and the ability to continue his academic education at the master’s (fourth year) level. After the reorganization of the educational process, according to the Theological Academies Statute of 1884, the writing of works for the candidate’s degree was returned to the fourth year of study (along with the candidate work students had to prepare one sermon). Work on the candidate paper usually lasted until April 1, sometimes until May 1. The topics of these works were chosen by students from lists offered by professors at the end of the third year of study and approved by the rector (from 1910 — also the Diocesan Bishop). When selecting a topic of a candidate work a student also chose a supervisor, whom he consulted on the work’s plan, its sources, relevant issues, etc. However, in many cases, academic guidance for the preparation of candidate works was only formal.

As noted above, obtaining the degree of candidate of theology did not require a procedure of its defense. By 1863 the completed works were read by professors of the corresponding subjects; works written by applicants for the master’s degree were additionally reviewed by the rector and Diocesan Bishop (in Kyiv — the Metropolitan of Kyiv and Halych), who chaired the Academic Conference. The preliminary decision on the relevance of the work to the candidate’s or master’s degree was approved by the Academic Conference. The final decision on the issue was the prerogative of Most Holy Synod bodies: the Commission on Theological Schools (1819–1839) and the Theological

18 The first term work was prepared October through November, the second December through January, the third February through March.

19 Ever since the Theological Academies Statute of 1910, special attention was given to provide students with the skills of not only writing, but also practical preaching (the memorization of sermons, impromptu preaching etc.)

20 See Pevnytskyi, *Moi vospominaniia. II. Studencheskie gody*, 135.

and Educational Administration (1839–1867), to which graduation works and student rating lists were submitted. Governing bodies monitored not only the quality of these works, but also the objectivity and quality of their evaluation by teachers and academic conferences.

In 1863 the procedure for the evaluation of final works underwent some changes. Along with the supervising professor, each of the submitted works was to be read by two additional valid members of the Academic Conference, which, in turn, heard all three reviews and gave a preliminary decision on the relevance of the work to the candidate's or master's degree. The "higher authorities" didn't receive the works themselves, instead receiving a submission about the awarding of certain degrees to certain graduates, rating lists of students, reviews of all three reviewers and the Academic Conference "on the merits of their works."²¹

With the introduction of the Statute of 1869, only one review was given for each candidate work by a third year student — by the professor who proposed the topic. This review was delivered at the meeting of the department where the student was studying (theological, church-historical, or church-practical) and was considered by the Council of the theological academy and submitted for approval by the Diocesan Bishop. After the abolition of departments, according to the Statute of 1884, the evaluation of fourth year student candidate works was carried out by Academic Councils on the basis of feedback of the professor who proposed the topic. According to the *Pravila dlia rassmotreniia sochinenii, predstavliaemykh na soiskanie uchenykh stepenei* (Rules for the Review of Works Submitted for the Acquisition of Academic Degrees), approved by the Decree of the Most Holy Synod on February 23, 1889, beginning then and continuing until the end of the existence of the theological academies, the evaluation of candidate works was carried out by Academic Councils on the basis of two reviews: by the professor-tutor, who proposed the topic, and one of the members of the Council appointed by the rector.²² It should be noted that since 1869 all reviews of candidate works of Kyiv Theological Academy students were published in the minutes of the meetings of the Council, which were published in the journal *Trudy Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii* and as separate editions.

In view of the special requirements of the theological academies and Most Holy Synod bodies for graduation papers, concerned not with formal features (for example, the scope and design for which no one had specified unified requirements), but with, above all, the content of the work, the completeness of the source base, diligence in the processing of sources, the level of independence in the writing of the text, the correctness of judgments and conclusions from the point of view of Orthodox doctrine,

21 See *Zhurnaly zasedanii Konferentsii Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii za 1863 god* [Minutes of the Conference of the Kyiv Theological Academy in 1863] [Manuscript] (Manuscript Institute, V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, f. 175, no. 59/11) 1136–37.

22 See *Iz vlechenie iz protokolov Soveta Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii za 1888–1889 uchebnyi god* [Extract From the Minutes of the Council of the Kyiv Theological Academy for the 1888–1889 Academic Year] (Kyiv: Tipografia G. T. Korchak-Novitskogo, 1889), 181–82.

the quality of academic writing, most students engaged in the preparation of their works with due conscience and thoroughness (rare cases of the lack of academic integrity were exposed and severely punished). While working on chosen topics (usually insufficiently researched, or sometimes not researched at all), students had to analyze large arrays of not only printed literature (including foreign), but also archival documents and manuscripts, introducing them into academic circulation. Many students did not limit themselves to only Kyiv libraries and archives, but searched for sources for their candidate works in Saint Petersburg, Moscow, and other cities of the Russian Empire. For many graduates of the Kyiv Theological Academy who were destined to become prominent scholars, work on the candidate paper became an important experience in independent research, and the results obtained and evaluation of their senior colleagues, a powerful impetus for further research, including the preparation and defense of master's and doctoral dissertations.

It should be noted that many of the of the Kyiv Theological Academy student candidate works of scholarly significance were published in *Trudy Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii* and other journals; some were published separately. Back in the 1820s and 1830s, on the initiative of Metropolitan of Kyiv and Halych Evhenii (Bolkhovitinov) and Bishop (later Archbishop) Inokentii (Borisov), rector of the Kyiv Theological Academy, publications of the collections of the best works of the students were made.²³ Later this important initiative was revived by Bishop (from 1898–1902 Archbishop) Dymytrii (Kovalnytskyi), rector of the Kyiv Theological Academy: funds donated by him in 1902 (15,000 rubles) formed the capital for the publication of the annual *Ucheno-bogoslovskie i tserkovno-propovednicheskie opyty studentov Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii* (The Scholarly-Theological and Church-Preaching Experience of Students of the Kyiv Theological Academy), in which, according to the decision of the Academic Council, the best candidate works (in full or in part) and sermons were published.²⁴ In the 14 issues of this yearbook, published from 1904 to 1915 and in 1917, works of graduates of the Kyiv Theological Academy from 1903–1916 were published. Since 1871 the best candidate works of Kyiv Theological Academy students were awarded the Metropolitan Yosyf (Semashko) Prize, for which the graduates of all theological academies were eligible.

23 See *Nekotorye opyty uprazhnenii vospitannikov Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii, izdannye po okonchanii pervogo uchebnogo kursa 1823 goda* [Some Exercise Experiences of Kyiv Theological Academy Students, Published After the Conclusion of the First Year of Study] (Kyiv: V tipografii Akademicheskoi pri Kievo-Pecherskoi lavre, 1824); *Opyty uprazhnenii vospitannikov Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii piatogo uchebnogo kursa* [Exercise Experiences of Kyiv Theological Academy Students of the Fifth Year of Study], 2 vols (Kyiv: V tipografii Akademicheskoi pri Kievo-Pecherskoi lavre, 1832); *Sobranie sochinenii studentov Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii* [Collected Works of Students of the Kyiv Theological Academy], vol. 1 (Kyiv: V universitetskoj tip., 1839).

24 See *Iz vlechenie iz protokolov Soveta Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii za 1901–1902 uchebnyi god* [Extract From the Minutes of the Council of the Kyiv Theological Academy for the 1901–1902 Academic Year] (Kyiv: Tip. I. I. Gorbunova, 1902), 206–19.

Paradoxes of Theological Education: Candidate Works on Philosophy

Taking into account the confessional and specialized nature of theological academies, which awarded their graduates with the degree of candidate of theology, it is not surprising that their candidate works were concerned mostly with theological matters. The fundamental requirement for graduates to choose a topic of a theological nature was dictated by § 125 of the Theological Academies Statute of 1884, and since 1889 also by the Most Holy Synod's *Pravila dlia rassmotreniia sochinenii, predstavliaemykh na soiskanie uchenykh stepeni*. These *Pravila* concerned themselves not only with master's and doctoral theses, but also candidate works, directly prohibiting the assigning or approval of topics "which have no or the most distant relation to theology."²⁵ The study of various problems of psychology and pedagogy, contemporary fields of Western philosophy, and critical reviews of Western literature on general subjects were among topics deemed unacceptable.

The above-mentioned *Pravila* were concerned not only with the topics but also with the content of works for obtaining degrees from which the overseers of theological education did not expect any "scholarly merits," but rather exact correspondence with "the spirit and dignity of the Orthodox Church."²⁶ Declaring a lack of intentions to place obstacles in the development of theological learning, but warning against "the emergence of scholarly research in a wrong direction, due to lack of attention or an interest in foreign writing with a similar direction,"²⁷ the *Pravila* established an apologetic approach to academic theological studies and deprived students of a fundamental academic freedom—the freedom to conduct research.

The humanities (mainly philosophy, requiring freedom of thought and the intention of seeking the truth, the only criteria of which are the mind and experience) were the disciplines that suffered the most from this regime of "no freedom," which was common for education and learning not only in theological academies, but also in universities of the Russian Empire.²⁸

Philosophical scholarship, as part of the system of theological education, found itself in the most paradoxical of situations. Philosophy was paid much attention to beginning at the level of secondary education: unlike students of secular gymnasiums, whose programs did not include any philosophical disciplines, students of theological seminaries studied philosophical propedeutics, and took a brief course in the history of

25 *Izvlechenie iz protokolov Soveta Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii za 1888–1889 uchebnyi god*, 177.

26 *Izvlechenie iz protokolov Soveta Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii za 1888–1889 uchebnyi god*, 177.

27 *Izvlechenie iz protokolov Soveta Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii za 1888–1889 uchebnyi god*, 182.

28 For more about philosophy in theological academies and universities of the Russian Empire of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries see Maryna Tkachuk, *Kyivska akademichna filosofiiia XIX—pochatku XX st.: metodolohichni problemy doslidzhennia* [Kyiv Academic Philosophy of the 19th—Beginning of the 20th Centuries: Methodological Issues of Research] (Kyiv: ZAT "Vipol," 2000), 37–53.

philosophy, logic and psychology in order to get acquainted with philosophical issues and terminology. The experience gained by the students of theological seminaries in the study of philosophy was considerably expanded while studying at theological academies, where the teaching of philosophical disciplines was carried out for a total of 10 to 15 hours per week during two years of study (as in modern philosophical faculties and specialized departments). Despite any Theological Academies Statute changes, students always studied the history of Ancient and Modern philosophy, logic, psychology, metaphysics (from 1910, "systematic philosophy"), with each of these disciplines taught for at least one year. The reading of philosophical literature and the writing of term works in philosophical disciplines was also mandatory at all times. Not surprisingly, among students of theological academies were those interested in philosophical issues, willing to realize these interests through their candidate works.

As evidenced by the collection of manuscripts in Fund no. 304, there was no lack of such students at the Kyiv Theological Academy. Among the numerous works on theological scholarship and Church history, many works on philosophical issues are also found there. It is worth noting that the overwhelming majority of these are in the history of philosophy. This is not surprising given the predominant role of the study of the history of philosophy (Ancient and Modern) in the philosophical education of the students of theological academies.

Judging from the preserved manuscripts, a subject of special interest for Kyiv Theological Academy students was the history of Western philosophy from Ancient times to the beginning of the 20th century. Topics of candidate works concerned with Ancient philosophy manifest the genetic dependence of the type of religious philosophy developed in theological academies on the tradition of Platonism and Neo-Platonism, and attempts to comprehend this tradition from the standpoint of Christian theism. Rather characteristic in this regard are the works *Ob otnoshenii platonicheskoi filosofii k khristianskomu bogosloviu (v period Ottsov Tserkvi)* (On the Attitude of Platonic Philosophy Towards Christian Theology (During the Period of the Church Fathers), 1867) by Apollon Illiashev (dissertation 331); *Neoplatonizm v ego otnoshenii k khristianstvu* (Neoplatonism in its Relation to Christianity, 1890) by Oleksandr Veselovskyi (dissertation 1,178); *Neoplatonik Porfirii i ego otnoshenie k khristianstvu* (Neoplatonist Porfiry and his Attitude Towards Christianity, 1891) by Oleksandr Hiliarov (dissertation 1,216); *Otnoshenie Blazhennogo Avgustina k yazycheskoi filosofii (osobenno k neoplatonizmu)* (The Attitude of St. Augustine of Hippo Towards Pagan Philosophy (Especially Neo-Platonism), 1909) by Borys Travin (dissertation 2,071). An Orthodox theologian's attempt to investigate the birth of monotheistic trends in the teachings of Ancient Greek philosophers Xenophanes of Colophon and Anaxagoras is featured in the work *Monoteisticheskaia ideia v filosofskikh ucheniakh dosokratovskogo perioda* (Monotheistic Ideas in the Philosophical Teaching of the Pre-Socratic Period, 1889) by Ivan Tykhvinskyi (dissertation 1,171). Manuscripts of the Candidate works *Moralnaia filosofia stoikov v otnoshenii k khristianstvu* (Moral Philosophy of the Stoics in Relation to Christianity, 1887) by Stefan Hovorov (dissertation 1,062); *Prevoskhodstvo khristianskogo*

npravstvennogo ucheniia pered moraliu stoika Epikteta (protiv sblizhaiushchikh stoitsizm s khristianstvom) (The Superiority of Christian Moral Doctrine Over the Morality of Stoic Epictetus (Against Those Bringing Stoicism and Christianity Together), 1892) by Mykola Ryzhkov (dissertation 1,272); *Filosofia v Rime i ee napravlenie, kak obektivnyi faktor, obuslovivshii moralnyi kharakter filosofii Seneki. Religiozno-npravstvennye vozzreniia Seneki* (Philosophy in Rome and its Direction as an Objective Factor that Determined the Moral Character of the Philosophy of Seneca. The Religious and Moral Views of Seneca, 1905) by Viktor Famynskyi (dissertation 1,781) are a testament to the vivid interest of several generations of Kyiv Theological Academy students towards the ethics of stoicism and its comparison with Christian ethics.

Among the numerous studies devoted to the prominent figures and teachings of Hellenistic Judaism, early Christian apologetics, Eastern and Western patristics, found in Fund no. 304, a significant place belongs to works on the history of Christian ethics (for example, the works *Npravstvennoe uchenie sv. Vasiliia Velikogo* (The Moral Teaching of St. Basil the Great, 1869) by Dmytro Soloviov (dissertation 447); *Npravstvenno-podvizhnicheskoe uchenie sv. Makarii Velikogo (Egipetskogo)* (The Moral and Ascetic Doctrine of St. Macarius the Great (Egyptian), 1886) by Leonid Kliukovskyi (dissertation 1,029); *Ifika Tertulliana* (Tertullian's Ethics, 1894) by Stefan Alferov (dissertation 1,339); *Kliment Aleksandriiskii kak npravouchitel* (Clement of Alexandria as a Moral Teacher, 1894) by Pavlo Fortynskyi (dissertation 1,374); *Npravouchenie Origena* (Origen's Moral Teaching, 1902) by Fedir Hlazunov (dissertation 1,717); *Sravnitelnaia kharakteristika npravstvennykh vozzrenii v sochineniakh De officiis ministrorum sv. Amvrosiia Mediolanskogo i De officiis Tsitserona* (Comparative Characteristics of Moral Views in the Writings of De Officiis Ministrorum by St. Ambrose of Milan and Cicero's De Officiis, 1911) by Oleksii Martynov (dissertation 2,178), and many others). There are also attempts at a coherent comprehension of religious and philosophical teachings of certain thinkers (for example, *Laktantsii Firmian, ego sochineniia i religiozno-filosofskie vozzreniia* (Lactantius Firmian, His Writings and Religious and Philosophical Views, 1887) by Semen Psarov (dissertation 1,088); *Religiozno-filosofskie vozzreniia Iosifa Flaviia* (The Religious and Philosophical Views of Josephus Flavius, 1890) by Lev Moralevych (dissertation 1,189); *Enei Gazskii kak filosof* (Aeneas Gazsky as a Philosopher, 1905) by Nykyfor Bloshenko (dissertation 1,841); *Filon Aleksandriiskii (ego zhizn i obzor literaturnoi deiatelnosti)* (Philo of Alexandria (His Life and a Review of His Literary Activities), 1906) by Viktor Ivanytskyi (dissertation 1,896), and others), as well as specialized analyses of their works in the fields of philosophical anthropology, epistemology, psychology, the philosophy of history (for example, the works *Antropologicheskoe uchenie Blazhennogo Avgustina* (The Anthropological Teaching of St. Augustine of Hippo, 1886) by Vasyl Yevseiev (dissertation 1,030); *Uchenie Blazhennogo Avgustina o bogopoznanii v sviazi s ego ucheniem o poznanii voobshche* (The Teaching of St. Augustine of Hippo on the Cognition of God in Connection with his Teaching on Cognition in General, 1899) by Petro Ilarionov (dissertation 1,581); *Antropologicheskoe uchenie sv. Grigoriia Nisskogo* (The Anthropological Teaching of St. Gregory of Nyssa, 1882) by Mykola Klitin (dissertation 853); *Psikhologiiia sv. Grigoriia Nisskogo* (The Psychology of St. Gregory of

Nyssa, 1902) by Semen Vidiakin (dissertation 1,716); *Tvorenie Blazhennogo Avgustina De Civitate Dei kak opyt filosofii istorii* (The Work of St. Augustine of Hippo De Civitate Dei as an Experience in the Philosophy of History, 1905) by Petro Serbinov (dissertation 1,871); *Psikhologiya Blazhennogo Avgustina* (The Psychology of St. Augustine of Hippo, 1913) by Ivan Lahovskiy (dissertation 2,245), and others). Less represented are attempts at the analysis of Medieval scholarship (for example, *Nravstvennaia sistema Petra Abeliara* (The Moral System of Peter Abelard, 1865) by Favst Kostetskiy (dissertation 286); *Anselm, arkhiepiskop Kenterberiiskii* (Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1877) by Pavlo Malyskiy (dissertation 689); *Summa Totius Theologiae Fomy Akvinckogo* (Thomas Aquinas' Summa Totius Theologiae, 1884) by Inokentii Bobrovnytskyi (dissertation 938)).

Among the works of Kyiv Theological Academy students on the Modern Western history of philosophy, found in Fund no. 304, are those concerned with an analysis of Spinoza's beliefs (*K voprosu ob otnoshenii very k znaniuu: uchenie Spinozy ob otnoshenii mezhdu religiei i filosofiei* (On the Question of the Relation of Faith to Knowledge: Spinoza's Teaching on the Relationship Between Religion and Philosophy, 1904) by Fedir Kovalskiy (dissertation 1,814); *Panteizm, ego istoriia i kritika (Spinoza i ego uchenie o substantsii i atributakh)* (Pantheism, its History and Criticism (Spinoza and His Doctrine on Substance and Attributes), 1918) by Petro Petrov (dissertation 2511)); and English deism (*Istoricheskoe obozrenie angliiskogo deizma* (A Historical Review of English Deism, 1886) by Yosyf Fedorov (dissertation 1,042)), but the majority of the works are concerned with German idealism, from Leibniz (*Teoditseia Leibnitsa; istoricheskoe i filosofskoe ee znachenie* (The Theodicy of Leibniz, its Historical and Philosophical Meaning, 1877) by Oleksandr Emets (dissertation 699)) to the beginning of the 20th century. Quite expectedly, Kant's heritage enjoyed special attention among the young researchers in the field of German classical philosophy²⁹ (*Otnoshenie kriticheskoi filosofii Kanta k khristianskomu bogosloviuu (istoriko-kriticheskii ocherk)* (The Attitude of Kant's Critical Philosophy towards Christian Theology (A Critical Historical Essay), 1867) by Yakym Olesnytskyi (dissertation 327); *Uchenie Kanta o religii* (Kant's Teaching on Religion, 1883) by Oleksii Kyrylovych (dissertation 931); *Mozhno li schitat etiku Kanta vyrazheniem istinnoi sushchnosti khristianskoi nravstvennosti? (K voprosu o sushchnosti khristianskoi nravstvennosti)* (Can Kant's Ethics be Considered an Expression of the True Essence of Christian Morality? (On the Question of the Essence of Christian Morality), 1902) by Vasyl Kharkov (dissertation 1,747); *Vopros o "veshchi v sebe" v filosofii Kanta* (The Question of a "Thing-in-Itself" in Kant's Philosophy, 1906) by Kiprian Ponomarenko (dissertation 1,912); *Ideia absolutnogo v filosofii Kanta* (The Idea of the Absolute in Kant's Philosophy, 1915) by Khrysto Hiaurov (dissertation 2,328)). Many candidate works of Kyiv Theological Academy students are devoted to a critical analysis of philosophical teachings of such influential 19th century German thinkers as Lotze (*Teizm Lottse* (The Theism of Lotze, 1887) by Oleksandr Horskiy (dissertation 1,063)

29 See Maryna Tkachuk, "Kantoznavchi studii v kyivskii akademichnii filosofii XIX – pochatku XX st. [Kant Studies in Kyiv Academic Philosophy of the 19th – Beginning of the 20th Centuries]," *Collegium* 11 (2001): 103–19.

and *Ideia Boga v filosofskoi sisteme Lottse* (The Idea of God in Lotze's Philosophical System, 1911) by the priest Vasyl Korotun (dissertation 2,153)), Eduard Hartmann (*Izlozhenie i razbor sochineniia Gartmana Die Religion Des Geistes* (The Presentation and Analysis of Hartmann's Die Religion Des Geistes, 1887) by Oleksii Vvedenskyi (dissertation 1,059) and *Otnoshenie Gartmana k khristianstvu* (Hartmann's Attitude Towards Christianity, 1909) by Vasyl Nikolskyi (dissertation 2,054)), Schopenhauer (*Nesostoiatel'nost pessimisticheskogo mirovozzreniia* (The Failure of the Pessimistic Outlook, 1882) by Feofil Dolzhanskyi (dissertation 863); *Kriticheskii razbor pessimizma s khristianskoi tochki zreniia* (A Critical Analysis of Pessimism from a Christian Point of View, 1884–1886) by Kostiantyn Levytskyi (dissertation 954, 954-A); *Khristianstvo i pessimizm v uchenii o tseli i smysle zhizni* (Christianity and Pessimism in the Teaching on the Purpose and Meaning of Life, 1907) by Valentyn Amfiteatrov (dissertation 1938)), Nietzsche (*Vzgliad Nitsshe na khristianskuiu npravstvennost v sviazi s ego ucheniem o morali voobshche* (Nietzsche's View of Christian Morality in Connection with his Teaching on Morality in General, 1910) by Dmytro Chavdarov³⁰ (dissertation 2,131)), Wundt (*K voprosu o znachenii idei Boga v filosofskom mirosozertsanii: kak ponimaetsia i kakoe mesto zanimaet ideia Boga v "sisteme filosofii" Vundta?* (On the Question of the Meaning of the Idea of God in the Philosophical Outlook: How is the Idea of God in Wundt's "System of Philosophy" Understood and What Place Does it Have?, 1904) by Vasyl Chudnovtsev (dissertation 1,833)). Preserved manuscripts also indicate a notable interest of Kyiv Theological Academy researchers in Modern trends of European philosophy at the turn of the 19th–20th centuries—Marxism (*Vzgliad predstavitelia istoricheskogo materializma na proiskhozhdenie khristianstva pered sudom nauki* (A View of the Representative of Historical Materialism on the Origins of Christianity Before the Court of Science, 1908) by Ivan Vlasovskyi (dissertation 1,996)), evolutionism (*Uchenie o proiskhozhdenii i postepen'nom razvitii religii po Gerbertu Spenseru* (Teachings on the Origins and Gradual Development of Religion According to Herbert Spencer, 1882) by Archimandrite Evfymii (Krestiev) (dissertation 862) and *Vopros o proiskhozhdenii religii v sviazi s ego postanovkoi u evoliutsionistov (Ch. Darvina, O. Kaspari i G. Spensera)* (The Question of the Origin of Religion in Connection with its Setting among Evolutionists (Ch. Darwin, O. Caspari and G. Spencer), 1910) by deacon Ivan Voinov (dissertation 2,085)), positivism (*Kriticheskoe issledovanie ucheniia pozitivizma (Ogiusta Konta) o tak nazyvaemoi religii budushchego* (A Critical Study of the Teachings of Positivism (Auguste Comte) on the so-called Religion of the Future, 1907) by Afinohen Kustov (dissertation 1,954)), spiritualism (*Mirosozertsanie Giuio (Izlozhenie, obiasnenie i kritika s obrashcheniem osobennogo vnimaniia na uiasnenie voprosa o sushchnosti i znachenii religii)* (The Worldview of Guyot (Statement, Explanation and Criticism, with Special Attention to Understanding the Question of the Nature and Significance of Religion), 1907) by Ivan Triodin (dissertation 1,973) and *Religiozno-filosofskoe mirosozertsanie Fekhnere* (Fechner's Religious and Philosophical Outlook, 1914) by Oleksii Mateievych (dissertation 2,285)).

30 Later, a Bishop of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church Mykhail.

Paying significant attention to the study of Ancient and Modern European philosophy, students of the Kyiv Theological Academy also studied the philosophical tradition of Southern and Eastern Asia. Proof of this are their candidate works on Buddhism: *Deistvitelno li istoriia o Varlaame i Ioasafe Indiiskikh predstavliaet iz sebia legendarnoe zhitie Buddy?* (Is the Story of the Indians Barlaam and Joasaphat Really the Legendary Biography of Buddha?, 1875) by Serhii Sokolov (dissertation 628); *Kriticheskii razbor teorii, utverzhdaushchei zavisimost khristianstva ot buddizma* (A Critical Analysis of the Theory that Asserts the Dependence of Christianity on Buddhism, 1889) by Yoasaf Krasnytskyi (dissertation 1,210); *Buddiiskoe uchenie o cheloveke i ego otnoshenie k khristianskomu ucheniu o tom zhe* (Buddha's Teachings on Man and his Attitude to Christian Teachings on Them, 1906) by Vasyl Khodzytskyi (dissertation 1,927); *Iskhodnyi punkt veroucheniia buddizma i razbor ego s tochki zreniia filosofskoi, obshchereligioznoi i khristianskoi* (The Starting Point of the Teachings of Buddhism and its Analysis from the Point of View of Philosophy, Religion and Christianity, 1908) by Boncho Ivanov (dissertation 2,003); *Uchenie buddizma o litse Buddy Sakia-Muni i kriticheskii razbor ego* (The Teachings of Buddhism on the Face of Buddha Shakyamuni and their Critical Analysis, 1909) by Dmytro Horokhov³¹ (dissertation 2,040); *Osnovnye punkty veroucheniia pervonachalnogo buddizma i razbor ikh s khristianskoi tochki zreniia* (The Main Points of the Doctrine of Original Buddhism and their Analysis from a Christian Point of View, 1913) by Vasyl Perkovskyi (dissertation 2,251). Fund no. 304 also contains a manuscript on the history of Chinese philosophy—*Konfutsianstvo i otsenka ego s obshchereligioznoi i v chastnosti s khristianskoi tochki zreniia* (Confucianism and its Evaluation from the Religious and in Particular from the Christian Point of View, 1906) by Vasyl Cherniavskyi (dissertation 1,929).

Analyzing the philosophical heritage of Western and Eastern countries, the professors and students of the Kyiv Theological Academy also paid attention to the development of Russian philosophy. Proof of this is a large number of manuscripts of candidate works concerned with the analysis of its general trends in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries (*Ideia tsarstva Bozhiia v ponimanii russkoi bogoslovsko-filosofskoi mysli* (The Idea of the Kingdom of God in the Understanding of Russian Theological and Philosophical Thought, 1906) by Oleksandr Khmelkov (dissertation 1,926); *Religiozno-filosofskoe i obshchestvennoe mirosozertsanie russkikh idealistov poslednego vremeni sravnitelno s mirosozertsaniem ikh protivnikov* (Izlozhenie, obiasnenie i kritika) (The Religious, Philosophical, and Social Outlook of Russian Idealists of Recent Times in Comparison to the Outlook of their Opponents (Statement, Explanation, and Criticism), 1907) by Radovan Kazymyrovych (dissertation 1,948); *Vzgliad na otnoshenie Tserkvi i gosudarstva v noveishei russkoi bogoslovsko-filosofskoi literature (v sviazi s obshchei istoriei voprosa)* (A Look at the Relationship of Church and State in the Latest Russian Theological and Philosophical Literature (In Connection with the General History of the Issue), 1907) by Fedir Rozhdestvenskyi (dissertation 1,965); *Vopros i postanovka dokazatelstva bytiia Bozhiia v russkoi bogoslovsko-filosofskoi*

31 Later Dometian, Bishop of the Russian Orthodox Church.

literature (The Question and Statement of the Proof of God's Existence in Russian Theological and Philosophical Literature, 1914) by Volodymyr Obraztsov (dissertation 2,291) and others), as well as actual religious and philosophical ideas, represented in the works of Slavophiles (*Predstaviteli slavianofilstva v Rossii* (Representatives of Slavophilism in Russia, 1880) by Oleksii Maiieranov (dissertation 814); *Vzgliad pervykh slavianofilov na otnoshenie mezhdru Tserkoviu i gosudarstvom* (The Views of the First Slavophiles on the Relationship Between Church and State, 1903) by Yakov Filatov (dissertation 1,783); *Sravnitelnoe znachenie religioznogo i natsionalnogo elementov v uchenii starykh slavianofilov* (The Comparative Significance of Religious and National Elements in the Teachings of the Old Slavophiles, 1908) by Kostiantyn Shebatynskiy (dissertation 2,027) and others), Fedor Dostoevsky (*Sotsialnoe znachenie khristianstva po ucheniiu F. M. Dostoevskogo* (The Social Meaning of Christianity According to the Teaching of Dostoevsky, 1904) by Mykola Ontlyk (dissertation 1,819); *Religiozni indifferentsizm i religioznoe volnodumstvo i ikh osnovy po sochineniiam Dostoevskogo* (Religious Indifference and Religious Free-Thinking and their Basics According to the Works of Dostoevsky, 1906) by Oleksandr Memorskiy (dissertation 1,901); *Kritika nitssheanstva v proizvedeniakh Dostoevskogo* (The Criticism of Nietzscheanism in the Works of Dostoevsky, 1907) by Ivan Klonov (dissertation 1,982); *Problema lichnosti i ee znachenie po Dostoevskomu* (The Problem of Personality and its Value According to Dostoevsky, 1909) by Ivan Pervov (dissertation 2,059) and others), Volodymyr Soloviov (*K voprosu ob otnoshenii very k znaniiu: osnovanie dlia resheniia ukazannogo voprosa, zakliuchaiushchiesia v sochineniakh V. Soloveva* (*Kriticheskoe issledovanie*) (On the Matter of the Relationship Between Faith and Knowledge: the Basis for Solving this Issue, Consisting in the Writings of V. Soloviov (A Critical Study), 1904) by Pavlo Lototskiy (dissertation 1,817); *Ideia bogochelovechestva v religiozno-filosofskoi sisteme Vladimira Soloveva* (The Idea of God-Manhood in the Religious and Philosophical System of Vladimir Soloviov, 1904) by Serhii Pereverziev (dissertation 1,820); *V. S. Solovev i graf L. N. Tolstoi (opyt sravnitelnoi kharakteristiki ikh mirovozzrenii)* (V. S. Soloviov and Count L. N. Tolstoy (The Experience of Comparative Characteristics of their Outlooks), 1908) by Vasyl Preobrazhenskiy (dissertation 2,022); *Otnoshenie religii i filosofii po Vladimiru Solovevu* (Relations Between Religion and Philosophy According to Vladimir Soloviov, 1908) by Volodymyr Kamenskiy (dissertation 2,031) and others), Serhii Trubetskoi (*Religiozno-filosofskoe mirosozertsanie kniazia Sergeia Trubetskogo (bogoslavsko-filosofskaia otsenka etogo mirosozertsaniia v sviazi s uiasneniem ego osnov i genezisa)* (The Religious and Philosophical Outlook of Prince Sergei Trubetskoy (A Theological and Philosophical Assessment of this Outlook in Connection with the Explanation of its Foundations and Genesis), 1912) by Oleksandr Rozhdestvenskiy (dissertation 2,180)); Lev Lopatin (*Religiozno-filosofskie vozzreniia L. M. Lopatina* (The Religious and Philosophical Views of L. M. Lopatin, 1914) by Mykhailo Starokadomskiy (dissertation 2,305) and *Uchenie Kozlova i Lopatina o znanii i vere* (The Teachings of Kozlov and Lopatin on Knowledge and Faith, 1915) by Feona Totskiy (dissertation 2,360) and others. In studying the works of Russian religious philosophers, graduates of the Kyiv Theological Academy also paid attention to the beliefs of their opponents, such

as the materialists, revolutionist democrats, and populists. Proof of this are, among others, the candidate works *Religiozni skeptitsizm A. I. Gertsena, rassmatrivaemyi v sviazi s obshchim religiozno-filosofskim nastroeniem russkogo obshchestva v ego vremia* (The Religious Skepticism of A. I. Herzen, Considered in Connection with the General Religious and Philosophical Mood of Russian Society in his Time, 1907) by Viacheslav Filahriievskiy (dissertation 1,976); *V kakoi stepeni mirovozzrenie russkikh shestidesiatnikov (glavnym obrazom Chernyshevskogo, Dobroliubova i Pisareva) otvechaet logicheskim, eticheskim i esteticheskim trebovaniiam chelovecheskogo razuma i religioznym zaprosam chelovecheskogo dukha?* (To What Extent Does the Outlook of the Russian Generation of the Sixties (Mainly Chernyshevsky, Dobrolyubov and Pisarev) Meet the Logical, Ethical and Aesthetic Requirements of the Human Mind and the Religious Demands of the Human Spirit?, 1908) by Oleksandr Velykoslavynskiy (dissertation 1,994); *Ideia lichnosti v mirosozertsanii Nikolaia Konstantinovicha Mikhailovskogo (Opyt uiasneniia i kritiki etogo mirosozertsaniia s tochki zreniia khristianskogo ucheniia o lichnosti)* (The Idea of Personality in the Worldview of Nikolai Konstantinovich Mikhailovsky (Experience of the Clarification and Criticism of this Worldview from the Point of View of Christian Teaching on Personality), 1908) by Viktor Voznesenskiy (dissertation 2,030).

It is worth noting that some candidate works of Fund no. 304 possessed a great deal of scholastic novelty for their time, for example those highlighting the content and specifics of the philosophical courses of professors of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (*Istoriia Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii za pervuiu polovinu 18 st.* (The History of the Kyiv Theological Academy of the First Half of the 18th Century, 1895) by Dmytro Vyshnevskiy (dissertation 1,383); *Religiozno-filosofskie vozzreniia G. S. Skovorody v sviazi s prepodavavshimisia v Kievskoi akademii kursami filosofii i v zavisimosti ot nikh* (The Religious and Philosophical Views of H. S. Skovoroda in Connection with Courses in Philosophy Taught at the Kyiv Academy and Dependence on Them, 1904) by Vasyl Leontovskiy (dissertation 1,815); *Arkhimandrit David Nashchinskii kak dukhovnyi pisatel* (Archimandrite David Nashchinskii as a Theological Writer, 1904) by Serhii Putylin (dissertation 1,825); *Nravouchitelnyi element v krugie nauk staroi Kievskoi akademii (do 1763 g.)* (The Moral Element in the Scholarship of the Old Kyiv Academy (to 1763), 1905) by Mykola Moskalevych (dissertation 1859)) and also demonstrated the first attempts at the analysis of the lives and philosophical heritage of prominent graduates and professors of the Kyiv Theological Academy (*Pitomets Kievskoi akademii S. S. Gogotskii kak filosof i professor filosofii* (Graduate of the Kyiv Academy S. S. Gogotsky as a Philosopher and Professor of Philosophy, 1917) by Oleksandr Medvediev (dissertation 2,435) and *Pitomets Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii Orest Markovich Novitskii kak filosof i professor filosofii* (Graduate of the Kyiv Theological Academy Orest Markovich Novitsky as a Philosopher and Professor of Philosophy, 1917) by Fedir Fedotov (dissertation 2,510)).

Along with works on the history of philosophy, Fund no. 304 also contains a number of works on theoretical ("systematical") philosophy, stressing the Christian approach to matters of the philosophy of religion and religious epistemology

(*Ob otnoshenii mezhdru znaniem i veroiu* (On the Relationship Between Knowledge and Faith, 1861) by Stefan Svirchevskiy (dissertation 374); *Sravnitelnoe znachenie very i razuma v vyrobotke mirovozzreniia* (The Comparative Value of Faith and Reason in the Development of Outlook, 1908) by Hierodeacon Yevfymii (Sapundzhyiev) (dissertation 2,000); *Bogoslovsko-filosofskie obosnovaniia ucheniia o Boge kak lichnom sushchestve* (Theological and Philosophical Studies of the Doctrine of God as a Personal Being, 1899) by Ivan Chetverykov (dissertation 1,617); *Vera v Novom Zavete i moralno-filosofskikh vozzreniakh nastoiashchego vremeni* (Faith in the New Testament and Contemporary Moral and Philosophical Views, 1902) by the priest Platon Petrov³² (dissertation 1,734); *Samosoznanie kak istochnik bogopoznaniia* (Self-Cognition as a Source for the Cognition of God, 1902) by Mykola Humilevskiy (dissertation 1,720); *Idealy, ikh proiskhozhdenie, sushchestvennoe sodержanie i sposoby osushchestvleniia* (*Opyt filosofsko-psikhologicheskogo issledovaniia*) (Ideals, their Origins, Essential Content and Ways of Implementation (The Experience of Philosophical and Psychological Research), 1907) by Hieromonk Varlaam (Novhorodskiy)³³ (dissertation 1944); *Yazyk i psikhologicheskii analiz protsessa ego obrazovaniia, kak dokazatelstvo vysshego bogopodobnogo dostoinstva chelovecheskogo dukha* (Language and the Psychological Analysis of the Process of its Formation, as Evidence of the Highest Godlike Dignity of the Human Spirit, 1874) by Yosyf Mekanorov (dissertation 614); *Dukh i plot v khristianskom mirovozzrenii* (Spirit and Flesh in the Christian Outlook, 1908) by Mykola Lastochkin (dissertation 2,010)), the philosophy of history (*Istinnyi progress chelovecheskoi zhizni i istorii s khristianskoi tochki zreniia* (The True Progress of Human Life and History from a Christian Point of View, 1905) by Volodymyr Solntsev (dissertation 1,875); *Vozmozhen li progress chelovechestva bez priznaniia dogmatov, lezhashchikh v osnove khristianstva?* (Is the Progress of Mankind Possible Without the Recognition of the Dogmas Underlying Christianity?, 1906) by Fedir Minchenko (dissertation 1,902)), social philosophy (*Khristianskii sotsializm (Istoriko-kriticheskoe issledovanie)* (Christian socialism (A Historical and Critical Study), 1907) by Hryhorii Popov (dissertation 1,961) and *Khristianskii vzgliad na trud i na estestvennyi printsip ego razdeleniia v zhizni liudei* (The Christian View of Labor and the Natural Principle of its Division in People's Lives, 1911) by Serhii Troitskiy (dissertation 2,175)), axiology (*Khristianstvo i optimizm v uchenii o tseli i smysle zhizni* (Christianity and Optimism in the Teaching on the Purpose and Meaning of Life, 1906) by Oleksandr Petrov (dissertation 1,909); *Khristianskii optimizm, ego osnova i znachenie* (Christian Optimism, its Basis and Meaning, 1906) by Serhii Pobiedonostsev (dissertation 1,910)), ethics and aesthetics (*Sovest, sushchnost i znachenie ee v npravstvennoi zhizni cheloveka* (Conscience, its Essence and Value in the Moral Life of Man, 1875) by Mykhailo Nikolskiy (dissertation 635); *Vzgliad na sushchnost zla v sviazi s razborom gipotez o proiskhozhdenii ego* (A Look at the Essence of Evil in Connection with an Analysis of the Hypotheses of its Origins, 1884) by Avksentii

32 Later Platon, Bishop of the Ukrainian Exarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church.

33 Later, a Bishop of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Stadnytskyi³⁴ (dissertation 949); *Razbor mnenii otnositelno nachala ili sushchnosti npravstvennosti i polozhitelnoe reshenie etogo voprosa* (An Analysis of Opinions on the Beginning or Essence of Morality and a Positive Solution of this Issue, 1893) by Heorhii Korsunovskiy (dissertation 1,300); *Npravstvennost i iskusstvo (Opyt resheniia voprosa s khristianskoi tochki zreniia)* (Morality and Art (The experience of Solving the Issue from a Christian Point of View), 1904) by Yakub Asad (dissertation 1,837); *Esteticheskaia kultura v ee otnoshenii k npravstvennomu razvitiu lichnosti i obshchestva* (Aesthetic Culture in its Relation to the Moral Development of the Individual and Society, 1908) by Oleksandr Hladkyi (dissertation 1,997); *Svoboda voli, kak neobkhodimaia osnova dlia ucheniia o npravstvennoi otvetstvennosti cheloveka* (Free Will as a Necessary Basis for the Study of the Moral Responsibility of Man, 1909) by Serhii Syrniev (dissertation 1,909) and others).

It should be noted however that the potential of this collection in the study of the philosophical heritage of the Kyiv Theological Academy extends beyond the aforementioned manuscripts. To begin with, not all candidate works on philosophy have survived in the collection of the Manuscript Institute; in addition, taking into account the fundamental syncretism of theology and philosophy both in the ways of thinking and in the subjects of study of the professors and students of the theological academies, works in large quantities on theological issues available in Fund no. 304 may prove to be valuable sources for the study of their philosophical views and achievements. The same applies to the preserved candidate works written on popular among students of the Kyiv Theological Academy of the early 20th century issues of the history of literature and pedagogy, related to the history of philosophy. The interdisciplinary nature of these works makes them valuable sources for contemporary researchers of various specialties.

Conclusions

Out of the 103 abovementioned philosophical candidate works by students of the Kyiv Theological Academy in the collection of the Manuscript Institute of the V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, 78 (over 75%) were written after the introduction of the Most Holy Synod's *Pravila's* of 1889 direct requirement for the preparation of works for obtaining degrees exclusively on theological topics. This fact explicitly illustrates the ineffectiveness of the policy of prohibitions and restrictions in the fields of education and scholarship, especially concerning the attraction of philosophical thinking to the irresistible philosophical Eros, which for many centuries supported the existence of philosophy as a special form of knowledge of man and the world.

The mentioned topics of the candidate works are also a vivid illustration of the specific state in which philosophy existed in Orthodox theological academies of the Russian Empire, and the "mind tricks" to which it had to resort for its survival under such unfavorable conditions. According to the Theological Academies' Statutes, the

34 Later Arsenii, Metropolitan of the Russian Orthodox Church.

main goal of the study of philosophy by students of theological academies was the formation of a theological way of thinking, a belief in the subordination of reason to the confessional truths of Revelation as an inexhaustible source of answers to any questions about God, the world, and man. Therefore, obligated to serve theology and to play a propedeutic role for it, philosophy was confined by the paradigm of “thinking within,” which led to a certain narrowing of the optics of the philosophical vision of the world and the inevitable erosion of the boundaries of theological and philosophical discourses. Unlike theological thinking that revolves around the absolute truths of Revelation, philosophical thinking does not recognize any pre-set truths: its natural state is the eternal and free search for truth. In this sense, the development of philosophy requires for it to constantly be “on the road” rather than safely achieving its “destination.” This contradiction between theology and philosophy was well understood by those professors and students of theological academies who emphasized the need for equity with theology, the independent and free existence of philosophy in academic discourse. However, their belief in the importance of providing philosophy, as a “science of reason,” with complete independence and freedom of scholarly inquiry³⁵ has never been taken into account by overseers of theological education, always frightened by the probable destructive consequences of philosophical “free thinking.”

Under such conditions it is not surprising that by formulating the topics of candidate works and implementing the forbidden desire to respond to actual trends in the development of philosophical thought (both Western and Russian), to cover the real problems of society’s life and its spiritual and cultural demands, professors of the theological academies resorted to the compulsory theological “cover” of their research on philosophical topics and issues. Nevertheless, the high level of philosophical education received by their students, their possession of methods of independent work with classical primary sources and the latest philosophical literature, a thorough knowledge of Ancient and Modern languages necessary for reading original texts, the mastering of the skills of interpretation, commentary, the translation of philosophical literature, the technique of writing philosophical texts, the severity of professors’ demands for academic integrity, all these factors attach a particular importance to the candidate works of the graduates and make them one of the representative types of sources for studying the philosophical heritage of the theological academies.

Taking into account that the aforementioned candidate works in philosophy of the students of the Kyiv Theological Academy have not yet come into the field of view of researchers, it is premature to draw conclusions about their contents and scholarly significance. However, written reviews of these works, in which in most cases their scholarly novelty and high level of research are noted, give grounds for hope that the processing of the preserved manuscripts by professional historians of philosophy will contribute to a significant intensification and refinement of contemporary thought

35 See Aleksandr Vysokoostrovskii, “O prave dukhovnykh akademii prisuzhdat uchenye stepeni po filosofskim naukam [On the Right of Theological Academies to Award Academic Degrees in Philosophical Sciences],” *Khristianskoe chtenie* 5 (1906): 760.

on the philosophical heritage of the Kyiv Theological Academy, its professors, and students.

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