Hryhorii Poletyka’s Introduction of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy Educational Methods in the Russian Empire

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Published by: National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

http://kmhj.ukma.edu.ua/
Hryhorii Poletyka's Introduction of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy Educational Methods in the Russian Empire

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Abstract
This article is based on archival sources and examines the role of Hryhorii Poletyka in the creation of the Naval Corps in St. Petersburg, the highest marine educational institution in Russia. The authors consider his role in the development of the teaching system of the Naval Cadet Corps and the way in which he introduced methods of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, including the study of languages, the establishment of a library, an own publishing house and the like. This study shows the importance of Ukrainian educational culture and its impact on the development of the Russian Empire.

Key Words: Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Hryhorii Poletyka, Naval Cadet Corps, education, culture.

The influence of the system and methodology of Ukrainian education in general and of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (KMA) in particular on the Russian empire is well-known and recognized in historiography. The Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy in Moscow, the school of Feofan Prokopovych, the Academic Gymnasium in St. Petersburg, and even schools in distant Kholmogory and Siberia resulted from the activities of KMA graduates who brought Ukrainian educational traditions and culture to Russia. Very little is known, however, of the role of KMA methods in the development of the teaching system of the Naval Cadet Corps, the highest naval educational institution in Russia. The present article examines the role of Hryhorii Poletyka in the creation of the Naval Corps.

Hryhorii Poletyka (1725–1784) was a member of a noble family descended from Ivan Poletyka, who lived in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and died in 1673 near Khotyn during the Polish war with the Ottomans.¹ Hryhorii's great-great-grandfather was Sedniv sotnyk Vasyl Poletyka, whose wife was the daughter of the hetman of Left-

¹ Aleksandr Lazarevskii, "Otryvki iz semeinogo arkhiva Poletik [Extracts From the Poletyka Family Archive]," *Kievskaja starina* 33.2 (April/June 1891): 98.
Bank Ukraine, Demian Mnogohrishny. Andrii Poletyka, father of Hryhorii, was a *bunchuk tovarysh* (member of the Cossack nobility).²

Hryhorii Poletyka was born in 1725 in the city of Romny, which was part of the Lubny regiment in 1737–1745, and studied at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, graduating from the philosophy program.³ During his studies, he showed a special talent for foreign languages, which was noted in his certificate (stating that he had permission to “teach them”). The following year, Poletyka moved to St. Petersburg, brilliantly passed an examination with Prof. Jacob von Staehlin (in German), Prof. Vasilii Trediakovskiyi (in Russian and Latin) and Prof. Crusius (in Greek), and was enrolled (August 8, 1746) as an interpreter from Latin and German at the Academy of Sciences. At the same time, on August 18, 1746, he was assigned to the Academic Gymnasium to study French and mathematics. Two years later, in 1748, Hryhorii Poletyka voluntarily left the Academy of Sciences and occupied the same position at the Most Holy Governing Synod, where he served until 1764. His service at the Synod was interrupted by his appointment to the post of “chief inspector of classes” in the Naval Cadet Corps, where he served until 1773.

Poletyka began his literary and journalistic activities as a translator at the Synod. His first work was the article “On the Beginning, Revival, and Dissemination of Teaching and Schools in Russia and on Their Current State.”⁴ According to Petr Pekarskii, the article contained interesting information about Petro Mohyla, the founder of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy.⁵ Attention to the history of educational institutions was not typical for Russian historiography of the time. The publication of this article would have opened a new line of inquiry in the study of history, one that would have been revolutionary for that era.⁶ The article, however, was not published at the request of Mikhail Lomonosov, who noticed its lack of mention of Russian schools, in particular, those of Ivan Fedorov.

Poletyka was the author of the work *Historical Information Concerning the Basis on Which Little Russia Was Under the Polish Republic and Information Concerning What*

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⁴ Hryhorii Poletyka, “O nachale, vozobnovlenii i rasprostraneniii ucheniya i uchilishch v Rossii i o nyneshnem onykh sostoyanii [On the Beginning, Revival, and Dissemination of Teaching and Schools in Russia and on Their Current State].”⁵ Petrina Pekarskii, *Istoriya Imperatorskoy akademii nauk v Peterburge [The History of the Empire of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg]*, vol. 2. (St. Petersburg: Department of Russian Language and Literature of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1873), 610.

Treaties Incorporated [Little Russia] Into the Russian State Without Violating Rights and Liberties. He also authored A Record of How Little Russia Was Not Conquered, But Joined Itself Voluntarily to Russia. Poletyka also translated and published the works of ancient philosophers and theological texts: in 1759 — those of Epictetus, in 1762 — works by Xenophon, in the same year — The True Foundations and Positions of the Christian Faith, and a year later A Dictionary in Six Languages: Russian, Greek, Latin, French, German, and English.

As for Poletyka's political and social activities, he possessed influence and authority among the starshyna (officer) and gentry class thanks to his education and origin. Part of his private correspondence, published by Aleksandr Lazarevskii, reflects a wide circle of acquaintances including many statesmen and cultural figures: Archbishop Heorhii Konyskyi, Petr Rumiantsev, Ivan Golenyshhev-Kutuzov, Petr Lobysevych, Andrii Myloradovych.

On May 8, 1767 Poletyka became a deputy of the Commission for drafting a new “Code” from the Lubny (Poltava) regiment, the gentry of which “willingly agreed to that deputy election.” He took an active part in the general meetings of the Commission in 1767–1768. He submitted two “Notes” with remarks: “Objection of Deputy H. Poletyka to the Instruction of the Little Russian Collegium to Lord Deputy Dmitry Natalin” and on the “Project for the Rights of Nobles” submitted to the Commission. In these notes, according to Aleksandr Lazarevskii, Poletyka proved to be, on the one hand, a defender of the autonomy of the Hetmanate, and on the other, a supporter of the “rights and freedoms” of the Ukrainian nobility, which were confirmed during the time when Ukraine was under Poland. These notes, especially the second, created for Poletyka the reputation of a man famous for “his knowledge and patriotism.”

Serving in imperial structures, Poletyka brought to Russia both the passion for libraries characteristic of graduates of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy and the methodology for teaching young people. Ukraine has had a long library tradition. The most famous libraries belonged to church leaders such as Iov Boretskyi and Petro Mohyla. Stefan Yavorskyi assembled a magnificent library and loved his books. The library of Feofan Prokopovych numbered almost 3,000 volumes. Hetman Ivan Samoilovych owned a...
voluminous library\(^{12}\) as did Ivan Mazepa.\(^{13}\) Also notable were the libraries of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra\(^{14}\) and the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (which held 3,500 to 8,000 books).\(^{15}\)

Poletyka was one of the foremost bibliophiles of his time and had “one of the best libraries in the Russian state,” a collection that consisted of several thousand ancient and rare books unavailable even in public libraries.\(^{16}\) On May 23, 1771, his library, located in St. Petersburg on Vasilyevsky Island was destroyed in a fire. But after the fire Poletyka continued to collect works for his library, which was subsequently augmented by his son, Vasylii.\(^{17}\)

Interested in the history of the Kyiv Academy from which he graduated, Poletyka searched for previously unknown handwritten sources. As he added to his library, he corresponded with the Metropolitan of Kyiv, Arsenii (Arsenii Mohylianskyi).\(^{18}\) The number of publications requested was not large: in a letter to his brother, Poletyka asked him to send two large packages of books to the Kyiv archimandrite.\(^{19}\) We can also trace the number of books by extant remaining records of expenses: in January 1760 40 geographical maps, 8 copies of a political geography, 8 copies of a brief guide to geography, and 8 copies of Johann Gübner’s geography were dispatched to him,\(^{20}\) and in August 1760 several copies of various lexicons were sent.\(^{21}\) When Poletyka could not find required editions, he ordered books from abroad.\(^{22}\)

Poletyka not only supplied the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy with rare domestic and foreign publications but also had the opportunity to request manuscripts and books from the Academy’s library. In order to continue the publication of the sermons of Feofan Prokopovych in the printing house of the Infantry Cadet Corps,\(^{23}\) Poletyka

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\(^{12}\) “Opis imushchestva I. Samoilovycha [Inventory of the Property of I. Samoilovych],” Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka 8 (1884); Pekarskii, Istorii Imperatorskoi akademii nauk v Peterburge, 1060, 1073, 1076, 1158, 1197.

\(^{13}\) Tatiana Tairova-Yakovleva, Povsiakdennia, dozvillia i tradytsii kozatskoi elity Hetmanshchyny [The Everyday Life, Leisure, and Traditions of the Cossack Elite], trans. from the Russian (Kyiv: Klio, 2017), 139–42.

\(^{14}\) Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii [Sources for Little Russian History], vol. 2, ed. Dmytro Bantysh-Kamenksyi (Moscow: University typography, 1858), 102.


\(^{16}\) Lazarevskii, “Otryvki iz semeinogo arkhiva Poletik,” 103.

\(^{17}\) Lazarevskii, “Otryvki iz semeinogo arkhiva Poletik,” 105.

\(^{18}\) Manuscript Department. Russian National Library [MD RNL], f. 36, desc. 1, no. 36.

\(^{19}\) Lazarevskii, “Otryvki iz semeinogo arkhiva Poletik,” 503.

\(^{20}\) MD RNL, f. 36, desc. 1, no. 33.

\(^{21}\) MD RNL, f. 36, desc. 1, no. 53.

\(^{22}\) MD RNL, f. 36, desc. 1, nos. 32, 37.

appealed to the Kyiv Metropolitan with a request to find material that was not available in St. Petersburg. Poletyka attached a list of 7 sermons to his letter. In a letter dated July 31, 1760, Metropolitan Arsenii sent 52 sermons, “[those] which ... can be found in the Kyiv Academy,” and also additionally “various works of the Most Reverend Feofan.”

Poletyka also addressed requests to purchase or send books to Heorhii Konyskyi (who was KMA rector during Poletyka’s time at the Academy), and to his son.

On November 5, 1764, Poletyka was appointed as an inspector in the Naval Cadet Corps by decree of the Admiralty Board and was sworn into office. His salary was initially seven hundred rubles per annum, which later was increased to 1,000 rubles.

The Naval Cadet Corps was established on the basis of the Naval Gentry Corps and was, along with the Infantry Corps, the most elite higher military institution in the Russian Empire. In 1762, Ivan Kutuzov, an experienced naval officer from an old noble Russian family, was appointed as its head. Kutuzov was a rare example of an enlightened officer, with a perfect command of French and German and a fondness of literature, which he even translated himself. He understood perfectly well that it was necessary to radically change the entire educational system used in the cadet corps. Kutuzov noted in his report that out of 50 students graduating from the corps, there was “not a single officer who knows foreign languages.”

Poletyka proposed measures for radical changes, and it was he, who was destined to put them into practice. Although it was Poletyka who developed and introduced the new charter of the Naval Corps, and although the educational system developed by him was used in the corps for many decades, most official histories of this leading Russian military higher educational institution do not mention his name (for example, see Fedor Veselov). In the work of Apollon Korotkov, he is called “a student of the Kyiv Theological Academy.”

From the instructions received from the director of the cadet corps, Ivan Golenishchev-Kutuzov, one can learn of the inspector’s responsibilities at the beginning of his service. The main task was the following: “classes of the cadet corps were to be put

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24 MD RNL, f. 36, desc. 1, no. 37.
25 MD RNL, f. 36, desc. 1, no. 38.
26 MD RNL, f. 36, desc. 1, nos. 46–49.
27 Khyzniak and Mankivskyi, Istoriia Kyievo-Mohylianskoі akademii, 61.
29 Russian Governmental Archive of Navy Fleet [RGANF], f. 432, desc. 1, no. 10, p. 4
30 RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 10, p. 4.
31 RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 10, p. 28 back.
32 Theodosius Veselago, Ocherk istorii Morskogo kadetskogo korpusa [A Brief History of the Marine Cadet Corps] (St. Petersburg: Typography of the Naval Cadet Corps, 1859), 142.
34 Krotkov, Morskoi kadetskii korpus, 86.
Poletyka’s obligations included “having chief supervision over the school and teachers,” monitoring the entire educational process, starting with the evaluation of teachers, and of student performance and concluding with the establishment of an examination procedure; the scheduling and location of classes,\(^36\) and the improvement of the school’s printing house.\(^37\) However, one of the main goals was the establishment of “order” in the recently founded school.\(^38\) Poletyka was to reassess all students: “[The inspector shall] review both the ability and diligence in the sciences of all cadets, starting with non-commissioned officers.”\(^39\) Poletyka also devoted much of his attention to the teachers: “[he was] immediately and first of all to examine all the teachers at the corps.”\(^40\) Teachers were to be “decent people” having the best achievements in the sciences.

Finally, much attention was paid to the printing house of the cadet corps. (“Inspection of the printing house in printing books and bringing it to a better state is entrusted to him.”\(^41\)) The inspector himself was to determine which books should be published for the needs of the corps.

Poletyka took his new position very seriously. In his report to the general intendant and the Naval Cadet Corps director, he wrote that he ought to draw up a new principle of class division and instruct teachers on the methods of teaching languages and sciences. He wrote “some notes” on this. In a report dated December 24, 1764 Poletyka expressed his opinion on the structure of the cadet corps, which ought to “…be an example for other schools in Russia.”\(^42\)

The teaching methods Poletyka proposed were borrowed to a large extent from the organization of the educational process of the KMA, from which he graduated. The basis of the charter of the Kyiv-Brotherhood Collegium (the original name of the Academy) was taken from the charter of the Lviv Dormition Brotherhood School (1586), which describes similar teaching methods, such as fair corporal punishment for disobedience, evening homework, and the review on Saturdays of all educational material that had been presented.\(^43\) The same procedures were established in the cadet corps.\(^44\) Thus, the project of the organization of the Naval Gentry Cadet Corps absorbed the progressive ideas of the Enlightenment, as well as methods tested by Poletyka when he was a student at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. The program developed by Poletyka and

\(^{35}\) RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 10, p. 2, 2 back.

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36 RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 10, pp. 15–16.

37 RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 10, p. 17.

38 RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 10, p. 2.

39 RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 10, p. 15 back.

40 RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 10, pp. 4 back–5 back.

41 RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 10, pp. 16 back–17.

42 RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 10, p. 10.


44 RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 10, pp. 12 back, 14 back, 24.
approved by Golenishchev-Kutuzov in February 1765 was modified in subsequent years, but in general terms remained the same.\textsuperscript{45}

Poletyka placed “the order” at the foundation of the functioning of the school. He considered it important that the reception and release of the cadets be carried out at a fixed time. (“It would be highly desirable that, following the example of well-established schools in other foreign countries and in Russia, in this school too, there should be a fixed time to enter the school.”\textsuperscript{46}) Poletyka also introduced the concept of semi-annual semesters.

Transfers from year to year were to be carried out on the basis of examinations (“cadets were transferred from a lower class to an upper one through examinations, while those who in the lower classes learned little or nothing, remained in the same class and along with new students would begin again to learn the same things that had previously been studied.”)\textsuperscript{47} Poletyka believed that such order would encourage learning.

As at the Kyiv Academy, principal attention was paid to the teaching of foreign languages. To this end, training was to be carried out “according to books, as it is done in all good schools.” And those books “which could not be obtained” were to be translated and published “in the cadet printing house.”\textsuperscript{48}

Poletyka considered it necessary that cadets study at least one foreign language.

Daily lessons were supposed to occur according to a schedule from 7 to 11 a.m. and from 2 to 6 p.m. The morning hours were to be used for navigational sciences and languages, “and the cadets should be divided in half so that one half would study languages for the first two hours, and the other half the sciences, and for the other two hours those who had studied languages would study the sciences, and students in the sciences would switch to language classes.”\textsuperscript{49}

The remaining sciences, mathematics, history, geography and so forth were to be taught after lunch.\textsuperscript{50}

Of course, the main focus was navigation, which was to be studied in two stages—first with “teachers” and later with “professors.” Following the example of the KMA, Poletyka introduced obligatory homework “so that they would not idle about at home, but would repeat their lessons over and over again.”\textsuperscript{51}

Poletyka also never lost sight of the disciplines affecting the moral education of students and “making them honest people and good citizens.”\textsuperscript{52} Reading the Bible and historical and moralizing books was also designed to help “correct the heart.” Poletyka

\textsuperscript{45} Veselago, \textit{Ocherk istorii Morskogo kadetskogo korpusa}, 160.
\textsuperscript{46} RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 10, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{47} RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 10, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{48} RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 10, p. 12 back.
\textsuperscript{49} RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 10, p. 11 back.
\textsuperscript{50} RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 10, p. 11 back.
\textsuperscript{51} RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 10, p. 11 back.
\textsuperscript{52} RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 10, p. 11 back.
considered science education to be impossible without spiritual training, because without moral development, a person can do more harm than good for society.\footnote{RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 10, p. 13.}

Moreover Poletyka paid much attention to the relationship between teacher and student. His project eradicated a terrible practice of the past, when noble Russian children treated their teachers as servants. Now everything would be established on the example of the European education system: teachers had available a wide range of punishments for disobedient cadets (from demoting a gentry student to sitting at a table where non-noble students sat to punishment with a ruler, and others).\footnote{RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 10, p. 14, 14 back.}

Poletyka believed that “fearlessness and disrespect for teachers are a great hindrance to the success and diligence of the Cadets and students. In all European nations teachers hold first place in respect and obedience, after parents...” Teachers were given the right to give information about the guilty to an officer who was obliged “at that very moment to punish the cadet according to the note or word of the teacher.” At the same time, as at the KMA, Poletyka suggested that the Cadets should not be subjected to “corporal punishment, except [in cases of] real need.” Cadets did not have the right to speak among themselves in the presence of teachers, nor to leave the classroom without their permission. “However, teachers should act decently and moderately with the nobles.”\footnote{RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 10, p. 14, 14 back.}

The text of the order on the structure of the cadet corps was expressed in the form of a combination of ideas of the Enlightenment, characteristic of that era, and the views of Poletyka on the problem of training and education. The creation of a new order was intended to foster good military men and worthy citizens, well-developed in all respects.

Poletyka devoted a great deal of attention to the printing house as the basis of the new library. He published special works in the printing house of the Naval Corps, such as “The Art of Military Fleets or an Essay on Marine Evolutions” by Paul Hoste (translated by Ivan Kutuzov himself) and “Bugerovo’s New Essay on Navigation” by Pierre Bouguer. He tried to advertise these publications in newspapers “so that in the offices of the Academy of Sciences there were messages about these books for inclusion in the newspaper.”\footnote{RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 12, p. 100.} Giving principal attention to navigation courses, Poletyka ordered the printing of “100 Booger (Georg Wolfgang Krafft) navigations and the purchase of Krafft’s geometry, sold in the academy bookstore.”\footnote{RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 12, p. 100.}

Poletyka not only bought and printed books in his printing house, but also supported the works of local authors: for example, the work of Nikolai Kurganov, who taught in the corps and wrote “a book containing a thorough teaching of Geometry,
His works included "Trigonometry and Geodesy" (600 copies). He bought the latest scientific publications, such as "The Mechanics of Mr. Euler in Latin." Poletyka also supported the works of contemporary Russian translators. He insisted on the purchase and publication of the translation from Latin by Faddey Okhtinsky of the tables with observations for the calculation of Jupiter's satellites, composed by the most skilled astronomer of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, Secretary Wargentin. "These tables, an achievement of learned people, are revered as the best and most accurate of their kind and may be useful for the corps." From translators Ivan Miller and Mikhail Permsky he offered to buy books they translated on the history of Rome and the life and adventures of the glorious and wise Spaniard Lazarillo de Tormes (La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes).

Continuing the KMA's tradition of sending its best graduates abroad, Poletyka offered to do the same. In addition, he considered it necessary to reward the best students with small awards, for example: good books, mathematical tools, prints, and the like. And to those who had shown excellent results he gave gold and silver medals. He proposed to exclude "stupid and lazy students" from the school or to release them with "the lowest ranks."

In consistently implementing the teaching principles of the KMA, Poletyka focused on the teaching of languages. He bought "from Major Kharlamov the German Gottshed grammar" (Johann Christoph Gottsched) and ordered the printing of 1,200 copies of it in the printing house. Interestingly, in the publishing house “Latin Letters” used in a printing process became unusable from “long-term use” while there were no German letters at all, and Poletyka had to order them from Königsberg.

For the development of the cadets and, above all, for language learning, Poletyka established in the corps an excellent, multi-faceted library whose collections went far beyond the publications necessary for the study of navigation. Poletyka ordered from England “the newest and best books in various languages,” and many of them he translated and printed in his own printing house.

He also subscribed to newspapers from the Expedition newspaper office, including English ones “for the English class” among others. As at the KMA, the core of the library collection consisted of classical antique works, such as the works of Euclid in Greek and Latin, as well as translations of his works into English. There were also quite

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58 RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 11, p. 87.
59 RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 12, p. 95.
60 RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 11, p. 11.
61 RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 11, p. 11.
62 RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 12, p. 99.
63 RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 11, p. 18.
64 RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 11, p. 41.
65 RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 11, p. 87.
66 RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 11, pp. 82–83.
67 RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 11, p. 88.
unexpected publications such as Instructions on How to Plant Gardens, Gentilhomme cultivateur, The Solitary Gardener. Instructions on How to Feed and Cultivate Sheep to Perfection, Le maître et le serviteur, Contes moraux de Mlle. Uncy, Discourse on the Mores of This Century, Rules of Civilian Life, and Instructions for Young Girls.  

For classes in English, French, German, and Latin, the list of books consisted of works of fiction writers (for example, The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe), a volume of French poetry for the French class; fables by Christian Fürchtegott Gellert, popular novels (Memoires de Maurice comte de Saxe), writings on philosophy and rhetoric, books on grammar, as well as French and German letters.  

Among curiosities found in the archival record, one can note the case of the defense of a book acquired by Poletyka translated from French into Russian by Sergeant Alexander Shcherbinin on the Imperial Guard of the Izmailovskii Regiment, The Adventures of a Peasant Woman who Achieved Nobility and Wealth Through Virtue and Caution. Someone in authority considered the book not sufficiently trustworthy. But Poletyka stated in his report that “he did not find anything offensive in it,” after which “1,200 copies for sale” were printed in the printing house of the corps.  

Poletyka played a fundamental role in the creation and approval of the pedagogical process in the Naval St. Petersburg Corps. After the fire on Vasilyevsky Island that destroyed his library, Poletyka left his position. But his work as chief inspector was continued by another Ukrainian and also a graduate of the KMA, Platon Hamaliia. Because of them the Russian Empire obtained its best naval officers.

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68 RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 11, p. 90–90 back.
69 RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 12, p. 97
70 RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 11, p. 36
71 RGANF, f. 432, desc. 1, no. 11, p. 38, back 39.


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