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Family Library as a Site of Memory: the Rozumovskys' / Razumovskys' Book Collection from the Mid-Eighteenth to the Early Twenty-First Century

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Abstract

This article focuses on the book collection whose history began in the mid-eighteenth century and despite certain losses continues nowadays.¹ This is a sole known book gathering that belonged to the Ukrainian ruling dynasty and still finds itself in the possession of the family. The Counts Razumovsky, who trace their ancestry from the hetman Kyrylo Rozumovsky (1728–1803), held first-class libraries in their Ukrainian, Russian, Austrian, and Czech estates during almost three centuries. However, it is only the Viennese collection that survived the tough twentieth century and sheds light on the bookish tastes of its aristocratic proprietors. At the same time, the catalogues of 1907 and 1914 reveal the repertoire of the lost assemblages, offering a broader exploration of the family book tradition possible. The theoretical frame of the lecture refers to the contemporary memory studies with a special attention to family memory.

Key Words: family library, family memory, the Rozumovskys / Razumovskys, Ukraine, Austria, the Russian empire.



Introduction

Little introduction is needed to the conception of “sites of memory,” elaborated by the French intellectual Pierre Nora in the late twentieth century, to which the title of this article refers. The concept centers on the places “where memory crystallizes and secretes

1 I worked on this article during my stay in Vienna as a fellow of the special program “Joint Excellence in Science and Humanities” (JESH) designed in 2022 for the Ukrainian scholars at risk by the Austrian Academy of Sciences. The text was finalized later in Frankfurt am Main, where I participated in the “Polycentricity and Plurality of Premodern Christianities” project that has been realized at Goethe University Frankfurt am Main with a support of the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft). This seems to be obvious, but my research would be impossible without a rich access to the Razumovskys' Viennese private collection, for which I am most grateful to Mr. Gregor Razumovsky. The presentation of the paper took place in the Salon Razumovsky in August 2022 with an organizational assistance of Ms. Lidiia Akryshora, a representative of TUMA (Association of Ukrainian Youth in Austria) and Online-archive Interactive Ukrainian Vienna (www.iuv.guide). The research trip to the Czech Republic as well as a fruitful search in the Austrian State Archive took place earlier owing to the Gerda Henkel Fellowship. Last but not least, the cooperation with the colleagues from many countries ensured unexpected source discoveries and a plenty of stimulating ideas, which enhanced this study.

itself [...], where sense of historical continuity persists.”² This can be “any significant entity, whether material or nonmaterial in nature, which, by dint of human will or the work of time, has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community.”³ Although contemporary memory studies focus mainly on the sites and commemorative practices which attach importance to collective memory of larger communities, the memory shared by smaller human unions, for instance families, appears to be an equally perspective research field. As Christine Lohmeier and Rieke Böhling explain this:

Families shape the individual’s understanding of personal and collective identities and sense of belonging and they provide a framework for notions of in- and exclusion. Independent of cultural context, families as social entities form the link between an individual person and a larger group of people to whom the individual belongs. But beyond having a physical place and a social space of belonging in the present – whether one is happy with it or rages against it – a family can also be seen as the link to times gone by and times still to come. With this in mind, families are ‘classic’ memory communities. They can provide an immediate access to the past – through older family members and awareness of ancestors, as well as the future – through children and imagined future generations.⁴

Scholars simultaneously point out an ambiguity of the very term “family memory,” since it can be both limited to memories of a specific family and extended to a “multigeneration history.”⁵ In any case, this is family memory that affects both national memory and personal identity, especially through storytelling.⁶ In constructing “family narratives”⁷ or “family stories”⁸ about the past, various

2 Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*,” in *Representations*, special issue *Memory and Counter-Memory* 26, spring (1989): 7–24.

3 Pierre Nora, “From *Les Lieux de Mémoire* to *Realms of Memory*. Preface to the English-Language Edition,” in *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, vol. 1, Pierre Nora, ed., *Conflicts and Divisions* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), xvii.

4 Christine Lohmeier and Rieke Böhling, “Communicating Family Memory: Remembering in Changing Media Environment,” in *Communications* 3, 42 (2017): 277, <https://doi.org/10.1515/commun-2017-0031>.

5 Bradd Shore and Sara Kauko, “The Landscape of Family Memory,” in *Handbook of Culture and Memory*, Brady Wagoner, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 87.

6 Ashley Barwell, “Keeping the Nation’s Secrets: ‘Colonial Storytelling’ within Australian Families,” *Journal of Family History*, special issue *Family, Memory, Identity* 1, 46 (2021): 46–61, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0363199020966920>.

7 Marcin Filipowicz, *Configuring Memory in Czech Family Sagas. The Art of Forgetting Generic Tradition* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2021).

8 Katie Barclay and Nina Javette Koefoed, “Family, Memory, and Identity: An Introduction,” *Journal of Family History* special issue *Family, Memory, Identity* 1, 46 (2021): 4–5, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0363199020967297>.

“mnemonic artefacts”⁹ play a remarkable role, which makes “history through things” significant for “shaping how families preserve themselves and convey a sense of themselves to future generations.”¹⁰ Moreover, social status of a family influences remembrance directly, whereas it evokes attention to particular commemorative practices and things. This pertains to elite families in the first place, while their inherent feelings of prestige and superiority need to be inoculated to new members.¹¹

Taken from this perspective, family libraries open a promising area for studies on family memory. In the medieval and early modern time, private book collections were associated with upper-class lifestyle and as such nourished outlook and self-consciousness of noble families:

Aristocratic libraries were a treat for eye. Most libraries occupied a single palace chamber, typically enclosed and supported by arches and pillars. Stately hardwood bookcases lined the walls, their pediments embellished with painted medallions. Richly colored murals covered vacant walls and ceilings. Larger libraries might contain galleries, equipped with winding circular staircases, while others were served by ladders. The book themselves sported a variety of distinctive, rich exteriors: yellow or snow-white pellicle, shagreen, marbled leather, green velvet, red morocco with heavy, raised gold lettering and trim. Aristocratic proprietors devoted considerable attention to the decorative aspects of their libraries; as owners of private libraries that normally had limited clientele, they were frequently less interested in functional concerns.¹²

This is likewise true concerning an attitude toward books from the part of early modern Ukrainian elites, ecclesiastical and secular.¹³ For instance, the Metropolitan of

9 Shore and Kauko, “The Landscape of Family Memory,” 96.

10 Barclay and Koefoed, “Family, Memory, and Identity,” 3–4.

11 Giovanni Ciappelli, *Memory, Family, and Self. Tuscan Family Books and Other European Egodocuments (14th–18th Century)* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014).

12 Rebecca A. Gates, “Aristocratic Libraries, Censorship, and Bookprinting in Late-Eighteenth-Century Hungary,” *The Journal of Library History*, winter no. 1, 22 (1987): 34.

13 The most recent and relevant publications: Mykhailo Tupytsia, “Pryvatna knyhozbirnia vasyliianskoho protoihumena Antoniiia Kotsaka u 1781 rotsi,” *Naukovi zapysky NaUKMA. Istorychni nauky* 5 (2022): 87–96, <https://doi.org/10.18523/2617-3417.2022.5.87-96>; Liudmyla Posokhova, “Chytabelnyi prostir’ kozatskoi starshyny druhoi polovyny XVIII stolittia: osobysta biblioteka Stepana Lashkevycha,” *Pukopysna i knyzhkova spadshchyna Ukrainy: Archeohrafichni doslidzhennia unikalnykh arkhivnykh ta bibliotechnykh fondiv* 29 (2022): 151–67, <https://doi.org/10.15407/rksu.29.151>; Ivan Almes, *Vid molytvy do osvity: istoria chytannia chentsiv Lvivskoi yeparkhii XVII–XVIII st.* (Lviv: UCU, 2022); Iryna Tsiborovska-Rymarovych, “Biblioteka profesora Ivana Samoiloivycha (bl. 1737–1783): istorychna dolia, knyhoznavcha kharakterystyka,” *Kyivska Akademiia* 18

Kyiv, Halych, and the whole *Rus'* Petro Mohyla in the first half of the seventeenth century, as much as the high Cossack Officer Yakiv Markovych a century later, rejoiced at new additions to their private libraries.¹⁴ There was the Metropolitan of Riazan and Murom, the “deputy of the patriarchal throne”¹⁵ and an alumnus of the Kyivan Academy, Stefan Yavorsky, who in 1721 poetically addressed his books “my radiance, [...] solace and an adornment of mine.”¹⁶ Some decades onward, Ivan Ostrozky, a petty nobleman and a former student of Kharkiv College, catalogued home library and assigned number “172” to his own diary.¹⁷ Having found himself once in Saint Petersburg, Ostrozky dropped in the Holy Synod’s press in order to “take a look on how they print books and purchased there the Bible and the daily sermons for 9 *rubles*.”¹⁸ He distinguished clearly a codex for a personal usage from “the Gospel overlaid with copper on the silvered and in places gilded boards, with the enamels of the Resurrection of Christ and the evangelists and with the stones, for which 50 *rubles* paid” that he donated to the parish church of his native village of Slonivka.¹⁹

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- (2021): 11–31, <https://doi.org/10.18523/1995-025X.2021.18.11-31>; Oksana Prokopiuk, “Popovnennia biblioteky Kyievo-Pecherskoi lavry novymy vydanniamy vprodovzh 1770–1780-kh rr.: initsiatory, realizatory, potreby,” *Kyivska Akademiia* 17 (2020): 119–41, <https://doi.org/10.18523/1995-025X.2020.17.119-141>; Tatiana Tairova-Yakovleva, “Knyhy z biblioteky Samiila Velychka, kantseliarysta Viiska Zaporozkoho,” *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal* 5 (2017): 103–11, http://uhj.history.org.ua/doc/UIJ_2017_5_9; Viktor Sokolov, “Knyzhkovi zibrannia kozatskoi starshyny naprykintsi XVII–XVIII stolittia,” *Visnyk Knyzhkovoï palaty* 1 (2014): 1–6, http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/vkp_2014_1_8; Aleksandr Almazov, “Biblioteka politicheskogo deiatelia na Levoberezhnoi Ukraine vtoroi poloviny XVII v. (na primere sobraniia knig getmana I. S. Samoïlovicha),” *Bibliotekovedenie* 2 (2010): 80–4, <https://doi.org/10.25281/0869-608X-2010-0-2-80-84>; Olena Dziuba, “Pryvatni biblioteky Ukrainy XVIII st.: vlasnyky ta repertuar zbran,” *Ukraina v Tsentralno-Skhidnii Yevropi* 2 (2002): 292–302; Petro Zlenko, “Ukrainski pryvatni biblioteky,” *Ukrainska knyha* 7–8 (1937): 147–66; 9–10: 197–203.
- 14 Liudmila V. Sharipova, *Latin Books and the Eastern Orthodox Clerical Elite in Kiev, 1632–1780* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2006); Dmytro Doroshenko, “Biblioteka Yakova Markovycha,” *Ukrainska knyha* 9–10 (1937): 203–4. Teofan Prokopovych’s correspondence with Markovych attests to a grand passion for books which each of them shared: Teofan Prokopovych, *Filosofski tvory v triokh tomakh*, vol. 1, *Matematyka, istorychni pratsi, virshi, lysty* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1981), 190–308.
- 15 Jurij Šerech, “Stefan Yavorsky and the Conflict of Ideologies in the Age of Peter I,” *The Slavonic and East European Review* 30, no. 74 (1951), 40–62.
- 16 I translated into English from the most common Mykola Zerov’s interpretation of the Latin original: Stefan Yavorsky, “Mytropolita riazanskoho ta muromskoho slizne z knyhamy proshchannia,” in *Ukrainska literatura XVIII st. Poetychni tvory, dramatychni tvory, prozovi tvory* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1983), http://litopys.org.ua/old18/old18_03.htm.
- 17 Fedor Nikolaichyk, “Zapiski Novooskolskoho Dvorianina I. O. Ostrozhsko-Lokhvitskoho (s Dobavlieniem Zametok Syna Yeho Petra Ivanovicha),” *Kievskaiia starina* 2 (1886): 354, 3: 561–9, 4: 729–62, 5: 130–45, 10: 330–68, 11: 472–99, 12: 627–63.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 5: 141.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 11: 480.

Nonetheless, the drastic interruption to the heredity of the Ukrainian nobility in the early twentieth century posed a serious obstacle for studies of their libraries.²⁰ The only collection which, despite inevitable losses, remains in the possession of the Ukrainian aristocratic dynasty since the mid-eighteenth century is that of the Rozumovskys / Razumovskys.²¹ Thanks to the owner of the collection, Mr. Gregor Razumovsky, I examined the repertoire several times after 2015.²² Furthermore, our conversations with Mr. Razumovsky helped me to realize how upbringing in a noble milieu forms a certain worldview and self-positioning. Even more importantly, an exclusive atmosphere of the Razumovskys' "new palace" in Vienna, to which the collection belongs, gave me an idea of a site of an aristocratic memory. At the same time, my research trip to the former Razumovskys' manors in the Czech Republic disclosed, together with worthy source findings, a spacious dimension of their family history and memory.²³ I benefited from a heuristics in the Ukrainian and Austrian archives and libraries too.²⁴

The results of this search built the source base for the proposed paper. It begins with a concise overview of the Rozumovskys' / Razumovskys' genealogy over the course of the three centuries. I proceed with the history of their book collections from generation to generation along the Ukrainian and Austrian branches, aiming to demonstrate how the family members constructed an image of a family of the highest social estate and prestigious ancestry by accumulating book treasures. In conclusions, my thoughts about libraries as an instrument of remembrance that contributed to noble memory and identity will be summarized.

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- 20 Volodymyr Potulnytskyi considers the fate of the Ukrainian upper estate in the social transformations from the late mediaeval to the modern epochs in *Korona ta tsina. Istoriosofia dynastychnoi istorii Tsentralnoi ta Skhidnoi Yevropy IX–XVIII stolit* (Lviv: Nautilus, 2018), 255–302. I considered the issue in *Serving the Empire? The Ukrainian Nobility in the Late Eighteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries East-Central Europe* 48 (2021): 145–61. The explorations on the Skoropadskys' documentary heritage exemplify how the problem of the discontinuity can be overcome: Heorhii Papakin, *Arkhiv Skoropadskykh: familni arkhivy ukrainskoi elity druhoi polovyny XVII–KhKh st. ta arkhivna spadshchyna rodu Skoropadskykh* (Kyiv, 2004); Tetiana Ostashko and Yurii Tereshchenko, *Skoropadski. Rodynni albom* (Kyiv: Tempora, 2014), 2 vols.
- 21 The original Ukrainian family surname "Rozum" in the 1740s was altered to a more noble-sounded "Rozumovsky", with the first vowel "a" in the Russian-styled spelling. I will use each of two spellings through "/" when referring to the whole dynasty.
- 22 I introduce my explorations in *Videnskyi arkhiv hetmanskoho rodu Rozumovskyykh*, 2 vols (Kyiv, 2018, 2020).
- 23 In February 2020, I visited the Slezské Zemské Museum and the Museum Hradec nad Moravicí in Opava and its vicinity.
- 24 Throughout recent years, I have carried out a source search in several Ukrainian and foreign institutions. For this particular article, I came across relevant sources in the Austrian State Archive, Volodymyr Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine and the Museum of Book and Printing of Ukraine.

Family

The founders of the dynasty, brothers Oleksii (1709–1771) and Kyrylo (1728–1803) Rozumovskys, descended from an ordinary Ukrainian Cossack family.²⁵ They were born in the village of Lemeshi in the Kyiv regiment of the Hetmanate, where they spent their boyhood. In 1731, the elder was invited to the Court choir in Saint Petersburg. Shortly thereafter, he became engaged in a romantic relationship with Peter I's daughter, Princess Elizabeth, and in 1741 actively supported her in the palace coup that led to her enthronement. The next year they secretly married in the estate of Perovo near Moscow.

Oleksii obtained vast land possessions and high military ranks from his crowned wife. He also took advantage of the opportunities to promote his younger brother. Kyrylo was therefore sent to the European educational tour (1743–1745), during which he heard lectures in Königsberg, Berlin, Göttingen, and Strasburg, and then visited Italy. In 1744, both brothers were entitled the Counts of the Russian empire; Oleksii was personally honoured with the title of the Count of the Holy Roman Empire.²⁶ In June 1746, Kyrylo became President of the Imperial Academy of Sciences and Arts and in a few months married the third cousin of the Empress Elizabeth, Yekaterina Naryshkina. They entered thus the highest imperial social circle of the time.

More importantly, however, that the Rozumovskys led the Ukrainian fraction at the Court and lobbied the burning Ukrainian interest–elections of a new hetman. In 1750, the Empress Elizabeth appointed, albeit in keeping with a formal elective procedure, Kyrylo Rozumovsky on the Hetman's post.²⁷ Although he occurred to be the last Ukrainian Cossack ruler, throughout his fourteen-year hetmancy, Rozumovsky

25 A detailed genealogical table can be consulted in *Videnskyi arkhiv*, vol. 1, 212–39. Given a considerable age difference between Oleksii and Kyrylo, there are reasons to take seriously an assumption that they might have been a young widowed-father and his juvenile son at the time Oleksii met Princess Elizabeth. This version of their family relations maintained in the family across generations. Another important remark is that through the maternal line of Strishenets-Demeshky they were nonetheless related to the local Cossack Officials' milieu.

26 The diploma on the Roman Count's dignity is preserved in: Österreichisches Staatarchiv. AT-OeStA/AVA Adel RAA 336.19. 17 s. The publication of the texts of the Roman and Russian diplomas is available in: Aleksandr Vasilchikov, *Semeistvo Razumovskikh* (Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. M. M. Stasiulevicha, 1880) vol. 1, iii–x.

27 On Rozumovsky's hetmancy see: Oleksii Putro, *Hetman Kyrylo Rozumovskyy ta yoho doba (z istorii ukrainskoho derzhavotvorennya XVIII st.)*, 2 vols. (Kyiv: DAKKKiM, 2008); Vasyl Kononenko, *Modernizatsiia Hetmanshchyny: proekty kozatskoi administratsii 1687–1764 rr.* (Kyiv: IIU NANU, 2017), 141–84; Oleksii Sokyрко, "Hetman u perutsi. Zovnishni formy reprezentatsii hetmanskoi vldy chasiv Kyryla Rozumovskoho," *Text and Image: Essential Problems in Art History* 2, no. 8 (2019): 51–85, <https://doi.org/10.17721/2519-4801.2019.2.04>; Ibidem, "Ustroievi reformy hetmana Kyryla Rozumovskoho ta pochatok kintsia kozatskoho Hetmanatu," in *Studia i materialy z istorii nowozytnej i najnowszej Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, vol. 1. *Na styku epok*.

made certain attempts to modernize the Hetmanate. For instance, he projected an establishment of the modern university in the capital city of Baturyn. The Hetman intended to secure the hereditary hetmancy for his family, which went into an imminent contradiction with the centralizing policy of Catherine II, and in 1764 he was dismissed from the helm of Ukraine.²⁸ Kyrylo spent the rest of his life living in the imperial capitals (he was banned from returning to Ukraine for a certain period) and, since 1794, in the Ukrainian estates of Baturyn, Yahotyń, and Pochep. He passed away in 1803 and was buried in the church of the Resurrection founded by himself in Baturyn.²⁹

Kyrylo Rozumovsky had eleven adult children. His elder son Oleksii (1748–1822) held the post of the minister of the people's education in the Russian empire under the reign of Alexander I. His duties also included inspecting the Imperial Public Library.³⁰ Both Oleksii's sons, the general-major Petro (1775–1835) and the chamberlain Kyrylo (1780?–1829), never married and did not leave legitimate heirs that led to the termination of the Ukrainian male line in 1835. Nonetheless, the female line endured, in particular through the marriage of Oleksii's daughter Varvara (1778–1864) to Prince Nikolai Repnin-Wolkonsky, a high officer and the Little Russian general-governor in 1816–1834.³¹

The younger Kyrylo's son Andrii (1752–1836) pursued a diplomatic career having represented the Russian empire in the Neapolitan Kingdom, the Kingdom of Denmark and the Kingdom of Sweden. Yet, since 1790 he resided in Vienna, for the first twenty years as the Russian ambassador at the Habsburg Court and then as a private person. His neoclassical palace³² hosted the guests of the Vienna Congress, and Andrii himself acted among the Congress's decision-makers. To promote the Russian interests on the international scene, he was elevated to the Princely honour. Andrii Kyrylovych donated

Ziemię południowo-wschodniej Rzeczypospolitej od XVII do początku XIX wieku,
Tomasz Kargol and Witalij Michałowski, eds., (Krakow, Kyiv, 2020), 113–32.

28 Zenon E. Kohut, *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy: Imperial Absorption of the Hetmanate, 1760s–1830s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).

29 In early 1920s, the crypt suffered from an unprofessional uncovering and pillage. Now, a copy of the marble tombstone stands in the same place.

30 The National Library of Russia, located in Saint Petersburg. See for example: Aleksei Olenin, *Otchet v upravlenii Imperatorskoiu Publichnoiu bibliotekoju, predstavlenii za 1814 god gospodinu ministru narodnogo prosveshcheniia, deistvitelnomu tainomu sovetniku grafu Alekseiu Kirillovichu Razumovskomu, direktorom onoi biblioteki, tainym sovetnikom Oleninym, s priobshcheniem Zhurnala pervogo godovogo torzhestvennogo sobraniia, byvshego v sei biblioteke 2-go yenvaria 1815 v vospominanie dnia otkrytiia sego knigokhranilishcha na obshchuiu polzu* (Saint Petersburg: Tip. Imp. teatra, 1815).

31 Valentyna Shandra writes about Nikolai Repnin-Wolkonsky as a general-governor in *Heneral-hubernatorstva v Ukraini. XIX–pochatok XX st.* (Kyiv: IIU NANU, 2004), 98–116.

32 The palace stands in Razumoffskygasse in Vienna. For the history of the building, see: Mark Ferraguto, "Representing Russia: Luxury and diplomacy at the Razumovsky palace in Vienna, 1803–1815," *Music and Letters* 97, no. 3 (2016): 383–408, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ml/gcw050>.

generously to that time musicians and artists, for instance, Ludwig van Beethoven received his constant patronage.³³ He married twice but did not have officially recognized children.

On the opposite, Andrii's younger brother Hryhorii (1759–1837) despised Russia for being an autocratic state, where only servility and meanness mattered.³⁴ On this ground and due to the personal circumstances in the second marriage to Theresa-Elisabeth Schenk von Castel, he left the Russian empire (1818) and founded the Austrian branch of the dynasty. In the decree of June 2, 1811, the Emperor Franz I bestowed Hryhorii and his offspring the Austrian Count's dignity and incorporated them to the Bohemian, Moravian and Silesian highest estate. Untypically for this milieu, Hryhorii chose a scientific life path. He was respected for the works on mineralogy, zoology, palaeontology and the related disciplines and membered in fifteen European academies of sciences and scholarly associations.³⁵

His grandson Camillo (1852–1917), a lawyer and a public official, took a special interest in the family history. He replenished and catalogued the family collection of documents, books and art works. He also added an extension “von Wigstein” to the family title. Camillo's son Andreas (1892–1981) was captured by the Russian troops during the World War I and stayed for three years in Siberia. Later, he married the Prince Katharina Sayn-Wittgenstein, a member of the Russian-German noble family that escaped to Western Europe from the 1917 Revolution. Andreas's daughter Maria (1923–2015) devoted her life to books having worked at the Austrian National Library for forty years. Her brother Andreas (1929–2002) was a renowned European political journalist, a music critic and an establisher of the Razumovsky Musik Akademie Wien. His son, Mr. Gregor Razumovsky, heads the Razumovsky Noble House now.

The Book Collections of the Ukrainian Branch

The first collector among the Rozumovskys was apparently Oleksii. Although we know almost nothing about his library, it may be assumed that as a representative of the highest social layer he followed the fashion and gathered books.³⁶ Oleksii Rozumovsky

33 Stephen A. Bergquist, “Some Portraits of Beethoven and His Contemporaries,” *Music in Art* 1/2, 37 (2012): 212–4.

34 Maria Razumovsky, *Die Rasumovskys. Eine Familie am Zarenhof* (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1998), 104–5, 273–4.

35 Kurt Grossenbecher, “Die Entdeckung des Fadenmolches durch Gregor Razumowsky in der Schweiz,” *Jahrbuch Naturhistorisches Museum Bern* 10 (1990): 151–67; Gerhard Withalm, “Gregor Graf Rasumofsky (1759–1837) und seine erdwissenschaftlichen Forschungen in Baden bei Wien,” *Berichte der Geologischen Bundesanstalt, Sonderdruck aus Geschichte der Erdwissenschaften in Österreich (Tagung, 22. Februar 1999 in Graz)* 51 (2000): 21–36.

36 Valuable insights into Oleksii's Court and private life stem from Mykola Khanenko's diary, see: Aleksandr Lazarevskij, “Dnevnik generalnogo horunzhego Nikolaia Hanenko 1727–1753 gg.,” *Kievskaja starina* 12 (1885): 241–56; 1 (1886): 257–72; 4: 273–88; 5: 289–304; 7: 305–20; 8: 321–52; 9: 353–84; 10: 385–416; 11: 417–65.

might have established his library either in the Anichkov palace—a baroque mansion built by Bartolomeo Rastrelli and Mikhail Zemtsov in the centre of Saint Petersburg (1754) –or in the suburb estate of Gostilitzy, Elizabeth’s gift since 1743.³⁷ After Oleksii passed away, his younger brother Kyrylo inherited the Gostilitzy mansion. Kyrylo himself owned palaces in Saint Petersburg and Moscow, as well as the Ukrainian and Russian countryside estates. The sources reveal Kyrylo’s passion for collecting art works and books. Moreover, as the long-term President of the Imperial Academy of Sciences and Arts, he patronized the Academic printing house and supposedly became acquainted with a process of bookmaking there.³⁸

We learn important information about Kyrylo’s library from his late epistolary. In around 1787/1788, he hired a librarian, Frenchman Adams, who also performed duties of a secretary and a reader aloud.³⁹ Adams worked in the Rozumovskys’ Moscow manor and travelled with him to Ukraine. For instance, during the winter months of 1799/1800, Kyrylo resided in his Baturyn estate, where Adams, the doctor Dussyk and the Ukrainian secretary Kostiantyn Soroka were accompanying him.⁴⁰ Rozumovsky was prone to criticize French librarians hard. In a letter to Andrii in 1792, he blamed Adams for being “a stupid, blind and squandered animal [...] a genuine log or an automat who reads somehow” and asked the son to search for someone else, preferably an educated or “even half-educated” German employee.⁴¹ The letters give insight into Kyrylo Rozumovsky’s reading experience. It is not surprising that he quoted the Bible and referred to the evangelical scenes.⁴² Interestingly yet that in a letter written in November 1787, he appealed to Sancho Panza, a character of *The Ingenious Gentleman Don Quixote of La Mancha*, complaining about his own sixty-year-old age: “And Sancho Panza says that even king losses his right where there is nothing to take. And his second proverb is to sit by the sea, waiting for the weather.”⁴³ Kyrylo Rozumovsky read English, French, and German periodicals, which his son Andrii subscribed for him.⁴⁴

The Baturyn book collection counted allegedly two thousand volumes, of which only Yekaterina Naryshkina’s dowry included nearly 500 volumes. However, nowadays a sole volume in Ukraine is known for being in an undoubted ownership of Kyrylo

37 *Iziasnenie feerverka i illiuminatsii, kotoryia pri prodolzhenii torzhestva dlia vysokogo tezoimstva eia imperatorskogo velichestva Elisavety Petrovny, imperatritsy i samoderzhitsy vserossiiskii, v prisutstvii eia imperatorskogo velichestva, takozh oboikh polnomochnykh poslov, rimsko-imperatorskogo i korolevsko-velikobritanskogo, i vsekh znatneishikh oboego pola person sentiabria 17 dnia 1747 godu mezhdu prochimi uveseleniiami v Gostilitskoi myze ego vysokografskogo siiatelstva Alekseia Grigorevicha Razumovskogo pred domom ego siiatelstva predstavleny byli* (Saint Petersburg: Imp. Akademyia nauk, 1747).

38 Vasilchikov, *Semejstvo Razumovskikh*, 279.

39 *Videnskyi arkhiv hetmanskoho rodu Rozumovskyykh*, vol. 1, 99–100.

40 Vasilchikov, *Semeistvo Razumovskikh*, 471–2.

41 *Videnskyi arkhiv hetmanskoho rodu Rozumovskyykh*, 100.

42 *Ibid.*, 85, 113.

43 *Ibid.*, 88.

44 Vasilchikov, *Semejstvo Razumovskikh*, 482.

Rozumovsky. This is a 316-page book entitled *The Discovery of the Inmost Arts That Serves to Fabricants, Manufacturers, Artists and Artisans, and to Economy Translated from German from Various Authors by the Translator Mikhail Agentov. Part II*.⁴⁵ The codex contains a stamped golden bookplate “[of the] C[ount] K[irill] G[rigorievich] Razumovky” on the upper cover and an ink imprint “Luka Arkhipovich Sukhoi [, the] Doktor” on the title and the thirteenth page. Someone named Holovynska A. O. donated this book to the Museum of Books and Printing of Ukraine in 1985, where it has been deposited since then. *The Discovery* was published for the first time by the printing house of Moscow Imperial University in 1769, and this edition belonged to Rozumovsky. The book comprised detailed instructions of how to colour various fabrics and provided readers with a number of life hacks, e.g., “how to find out whether there is some poison in food or in a drink or there is nothing of this sort.”⁴⁶ The reasons for Rozumovsky’s curiosity about chemistry and manufacturing can be explained easily: he was fond of technical innovations of the time and introduced some of them in his estates.

Kyrylo bequeathed his vast ownership to the children in the testament that was confirmed by Catherine II. Particularly, Oleksii Kyrylovych acquired the Moscow properties, where he built the Gorenki and Gorokhove Pole manors and cultivated the botanic garden of seven thousand samples. Oleksii also gathered the richest natural science library in the Russian empire together with the collection of rare minerals.⁴⁷ The Department of Music Foundation of Volodymyr Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine deposits the other unique items from his assemblage—eight full hand-written music catalogues which date back to the late eighteenth century (after 1785).⁴⁸ Each of these catalogues (of duets, sonatas, trios, quintets, sextets, concerts, and symphonies) has the same size of roughly 29x24 centimetres and wood hardcovers coated with calfskin. A stamped bookplate with a golden monogram “ACR” (“Alexis Comte Rasoumowsky”) under heraldry count’s crown names the owner. The decorative pattern with the columns, angels, and the coat of arms of the Russian empire frames the hand-written title of each sample, for instance *Alphabetic and Thematic Catalogue of the Concert Works which Belong to His Excellency Count Alexis Rasoumowsky*.⁴⁹

45 The Museum of Book and Printing of Ukraine. Inventory no. SD 440. *Sokrytie sokrovennykh khudozhestv, sluzhashchee dlia fabrikantov, manufakturistov, khudozhnikov, masterovykh liudei i dlia ekonomii, perevedeno s nemetskogo yazyka iz raznykh avtorov perevodchikom Mikhailom Agentovym. Vtoraia chast* (Moscow: pri Imp. Moskov. un., 1769).

46 *Ibid.*, 301.

47 Larysa Ivchenko, *Rekonstruktsiia notnoi koleksii hrafa O. K. Rozumovskoho za katalohamy XVIII storichchia* (Kyiv: NBUV NANU, 2004), 47.

48 Larysa Ivchenko scrutinizes the catalogues in the above-mentioned monograph. She kindly familiarized me with these sources in the Department of Music Foundation of Volodymyr Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine.

49 The Department of Music Foundation of Volodymyr Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine. F. 342. No. 129. *Catalogue Alphabétique & Thématique des Oeuvres de Concerts Appartenans á S.E.M. le Comte Alexis de Rasoumowsky*.

Apart from the scientific and music gatherings, Oleksii Rozumovsky's book collection numbered three hundred thirty five early-printed fragments and books. According to the catalogue *Notice of the Typographic Monuments which are Located in the Library of Count Alexis Razoumoffsky*, compiled by Fischer Waldheim (1810), the two printed pieces by Johannes Gutenberg were the earliest.⁵⁰ Another masterpiece was an engraving imprinted apparently from a silver board that portrayed a priest kneeling in front of the altar with four people behind him. The inscription reads "In the year 1422 and on September 14."⁵¹

Oleksii Razumovsky's huge patrimony went to his offspring, but only the fate of the parts acquired by Petro and Varvara is fairly highlighted in the sources. We know that Petro conveyed some of the father's treasures to his own mansion in Odesa, while the rest was sold in Moscow. After Petro's death, Odesa book gathering was put up for sale too. The Gorenki manor occurred in possession of an active state councilor Sergei Volkov, whose descendants sold the manor and the collection to the Moscow honourable citizen Pavlo Moloshkov. The latter donated them to the Moscow University (1858); thus, some of the minerals from that gathering belong now to Vernadsky State Geological Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow).⁵²

Varvara Repnina-Wolkonsky, contrariwise, took care of family books, music catalogues, portrait gallery, and art collection in her Yahotyn estate.⁵³ Her daughter Varvara Repnina-Wolkonsky the Junior was a writer, and she patronized Mykola Hohol and Taras Shevchenko. So, the Yahotyn collection included even Hohol's autographic manuscripts. The 1914 description of this property witnessed "an exemplary order", in which the library and the archive were kept by the Repninys' descendants. The library contained "from 30 to 40 thousand of books, mostly in French, including the rarest publications."⁵⁴

After the nationalization conducted in 1919–1920, the belongings were forwarded to Kharkiv and Kyiv, where they allegedly joined the collections of Kharkiv University Library, the All-Ukrainian Library in Kyiv (the present-day Volodymyr Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine), and Taras Shevchenko All-Ukrainian Historical Museum. The Rozumovskys' portraits, which ostensibly originate from the Yahotyn assemblage, can be observed now in the Kharkiv Art Museum, the National Museum of History of Ukraine and the National Art Museum of Ukraine (the two latter grew from Taras

50 *Notice des Monuments Typographiques qui se Trouvent dans la Bibliotheque de Monsieur le Comte Alexis Razoumoffsky, Conseiller Prive Actuel, Chambellan actuel, Ministre de L'Instruction Piblique, Chevalier de ;'Ordre de St. Alexandre Nefsky, etc.* Moscou: l'Imprimerie de l'Universite Imperiale, 1810.

51 *Ibid.*, 143–4. The engraving was published in *Vestnik Evropy* 4 (1815): 242, 282–3. The original text of the inscription: "Anno 1422 Domini et 14 die Septembris."

52 Vernadsky State Geological Museum. <https://nsportal.ru/shkola/literatura/library/2012/10/09/gorenki-literaturnye>.

53 Halyna Chykalenko-Keller, "Riepniny ta yikhnia Yahotynska biblioteka," *Khronika-2000. Ukrainskyi kulturolohichniy almanakh* 3 (2010): 184–200.

54 V. Heorgievskii, "Yahotin," in *Stolitsa i usadba* 3 (1914): 4.

Shevchenko All-Ukrainian Historical Museum). The music catalogues from the Yahotyn collection are the mentioned eight catalogues deposited in the Department of Music Foundation of Volodymyr Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine.

The Book Collections of the Austrian Branch

There are two sites in Vienna which have a direct connection to the Rozumovskys / Razumovskys. The first is the aforementioned palace erected in 1806–1807 by Ludwig Montoyer for Andrii Kyrylovych. The second is the so-called “new palace” constructed by Ludwig Tischler in 1902 for Hryhorii Kyrylovych’s grandson Camillo, where the family library has been kept in the Salon up to nowadays. As a venerator of arts, Andrii Rozumovsky must have had a discerning bookish taste and a first-class library. Nonetheless, in the New Year Eve of 1814, a fire damaged his palace and the masterpieces found there. Later, some of his personal papers, e.g. the testament of 1826 with further supplements, ended up in the Austrian State Archive,⁵⁵ while his correspondence with the father joined the archive of his brother Hryhorii’s family.⁵⁶

According to the father’s testament, Andrii inherited Baturyn, but after his death (1836), the mansion became state property and saw a decline. The heirlooms including books were lost. Prior to the World War I, Camillo Razumovsky invested in the Baturyn palace. Yet this time the war events prevented the central ancestral estate from restoration, which should have complemented a broader commemorative project on the dynasty launched by Camillo at the turn of the twentieth century. He assembled passionately everything related to the Rozumovskys / Rayumovskys and stored the acquisitions in the Viennese palace and Czech estates.

Here, more about the Czech possessions needs to be said. Český Rudolec was the earliest Razumovskys’ landholding in the Czech lands purchased by Hryhorii Kyrylovych in 1810. Nevertheless, there was the town of Opava, the administrative centre of then Austrian Silesia,⁵⁷ and its vicinity, which turned into the heart of the Razumovskys’ domain outside Vienna.⁵⁸ Throughout 1884–1897, Camillo acquired a vast land ownership therein so that:

His property consisted of a town, 13 villages, four castles (in Dubové, Melč, Dolní Životice, and Horní Vsi), and the ruins of the Vikštejn castle. In this relatively large area, he began to establish a completely new family tradition, which he tried to support mainly through the extensive founding activities and

55 Österreichisches Staatarchiv. OMAA III (II) Orig.–Testamente. No. 1–40. 1830–1836. Kart. 516. 36 s.

56 Razumovsky, *Die Rasumovskys*, 276.

57 Located in the present-day Moravian-Silesian region of the Czech Republic.

58 Irena Korbelařová and Markéta Sřeštíkóvá, “Razumovšti z Vikštejna a jejich městský palác v Opavé,” *Vlastivědné Listy Slezska a Severní Moravy* 28 (2002): 13–6.

the interest in the history of his family as well as of his new home. These efforts, by which he intended to ensure the future existence of the family, were manifested primarily by the construction of a family burial ground in Radkov,⁵⁹ where he not only buried his mother Rose, but also had the remains of his grandfather Gregor [Hryhorii Kyrylovych] and his father Leon transferred. Their preservation in Radkov along with the care of the manors including the ruins of Vikštejn castle were to sustain the illusion of the ancient rooting of the family and its long-term relationship with the region. He had also a portrait gallery taken, with the portraits of not only him and his wife Maria as well as of his ancestors—grandfather Gregor and grandmother Therese Elisabeth, father Leon, and mother Rose, but also of the previous owners of the Vikštejn estate—Johann Erdmann von Tenczin and his wife Maria-Theresia.⁶⁰ This endeavour reached its culmination even not in 1892, along with the recognition of the Count's status, but actually in 1916, along with the bestowing of the predicate “von Wigstein”, which underlined, albeit contrived, the connection of the Razumovsky family to Opava's medieval tradition and provided this connection with a semblance of historical reality. Apart from this, he attempted to learn the history of this family and visited several times [in] Russia and Ukraine the places related to his ancestors. From the castles in his disposal, he first chose Horní Vikštejn (nowadays Dubové) as a seat; nonetheless, later for unknown reasons gave the preference to Dolní Životice, where a new familial tomb was installed in the newly founded church.⁶¹

Dolní Životice, or Schönstein, together with the other three castles and the Opava's palace (1911), welcomed the family and their guests until the end of the World War II, when the Czechoslovakia authorities expelled the Razumovskys and nationalized their property.⁶² The majority of the belongings hence disappeared. Of

59 Radkov incorporates the former Dubové, Horní Vsi, and Vikštejn at present.

60 Some of these portraits, particularly of Camillo, Maria, Rosa, Leon, and Hryhorii Kyrylovych, were displayed in the Museum Hradec nad Moravicí.

61 Romana Rosová, *Razumovšti a Jejich Stopy na Opavsku* (Opava: Za Opavu, zapsaný spolek, 2015), 22.

62 The interwar period and the years following World War II were intimately described in the diaries of Camillo's daughters Maria, Daria, and Olga Razumovkys: *Unsere Verstehten Tagebücher: 1938–1944. Drei Mädchen erleben die Nazizeit* (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1999); *Unser Abschied von der Tschechischen Heimat. Tagebücher 1945–1946*, herausg. von Maria Razumovsky (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2000).

a limited fraction that survived, some were rescued by the owners to Vienna and the others were confiscated to the local museums. The Slezské Zemské Museum deployed the administrative unit in the former Razumovsky's Opava palace. This museum, similar to the Museum Hradec nad Moravicí in Opava's suburb, preserves several dozens of the Razumovskys' relics, i.e. portraits, drawings, engravings, and photos. Among these memorabilia, a silver medal created by Carl Wollek to celebrate the 25th anniversary of Camillo and Maria's marriage (1907), which depicts the couple and their children on both sides, is of special significance.⁶³ No less exceptional is an engraving by Johann Christian Gottfried Fritzsich, evidently created in the 1750s, which portrays Kyrylo Razumovsky in armour. The inscription under the image states: "Graf Kirila Grigorirjewitsch Razumowski Russ: Kaysert: Camer Herr President der Acad: der Wissenschaften, Obrist Lieut von der Ismajlewischen Leib Guardie, Feld Herr der Cosacken und Hettman von Klien Reussen."⁶⁴

Two catalogues published in Vienna in 1907 and 1914 help to comprehend the volume of the commemorative work done by Camillo Razumovsky before World War I.⁶⁵ The first edition has a heading *Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek und Familien-Kunst und Denkwürdigkeiten-Sammlung des Camillo Graf Razumovsky*.⁶⁶ The main title of the second is *Familienbesitz der Razumovsky* with the additional *Verzeichnis Meiner Razumovskiana (Zum größten Teil in Wien, dann in den Schlössern Schönstein, Wigstein und im Troppauer Familienhaus befindlich)*.⁶⁷

Both catalogues fall into two parts. The first part lists the "general works on history" along with "memoirs and accounts", totally 609 items in the catalogue of 1907 and 935 items in the catalogue of 1914. The structures of these lists differ, while the former catalogue has no clear chronological order, and the memoirs of Catherine II open the whole register. In the latter catalogue, the books are categorized in line with the reigns and genres, for example "the time of Peter the Great to the reign of Elizabeth" or "novels." A separated category comprises the works on the "history of the Cossacks" with fourteen publications included.⁶⁸ Here, two positions name the book of the French diplomat and historian Jean-Benoit Schérer *Annales de la Petite-Russie*;

63 The Slezské Zemské Museum. U 214 B. Carl Wollek, Commemorative medal of Razumovskys for the anniversary of marriage, 1907, silver. The other copy belongs to the Viennese collection.

64 The Museum Hradec nad Moravicí. HM01292. List grafický portrét Kiril Grigorjevič Razumovský.

65 Camillo Razumovsky, *Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek und Familien-Kunst und Denkwürdigkeiten-Sammlung des Camillo Graf Razumovsky* (Wien, 1907); *Familienbesitz der Razumovsky* (Wien, 1914). Mr. Gregor Razumovsky kindly gave the copies of both editions to my disposal.

66 "Catalogue of the Family Library and Family Art and Memorabilia Collection of the Count Razumovsky".

67 "Family Belongings"; "Register of My Razumovskiana (Located to the Largest Part in Vienna, then in the Castles of Schönstein, Wigstein and in the Opava's Family House)."

68 Razumovsky, *Familienbesitz der Razumovsky*, 12–13. In the first edition, the books on Ukraine are listed in-between the other historical literature.

ou *Histoire des cosaques-saporogues et des cosaques de l'Ukraine, ou de la Petite-Russie, depuis leur origine jusqu'à nos jours; suivie d'un abrégé de l'histoire des hettmans des cosaques, & des pièces justificatives*.⁶⁹ This two-volume edition appeared in Paris in 1788 and approached the history of Ukraine from a favourable perspective.⁷⁰ The similar contribution of Charles-Louis Lesur, based on an extended documental base, was published in 1814.⁷¹ On the contrary, the Baltic German historian August Wilhelm Hupel in his survey *Von den Kozaken. Nebst andern kürzen Aufsätzen* (Riga, 1790) expressed rather critical views, justifying the strict policy of the Russian empire toward the Cossacks.⁷²

Camillo also possessed the Edward Brown's English translation of Pierre Chevalier's *Histoire de la Guerre des Cosaques contre la Pologne* published in London (1672) as *A Discourse of the Original, Country, Manners, Government, and Religion of the Cossacks with Another of the Precopian Tatars and the History of the Wars of Cossacks against Poland*, marked "very rarely" in the catalogues.⁷³ The renowned Guillaume Levasseur de Beauplan's *Description d'Ukraine, qui sont plusieurs provinces du royaume de Pologne, contenues depuis les confins de la Moscovie, jusques aux limites de la Transylvanie; ensemble leurs mœurs, façons de vivre et de faire la guerre* was available in the German translation by Johann Wilhelm Möller (Bratislava, 1780).⁷⁴ Two other books matched this cohort of the foreign publications about Ukraine: the collection of thirty-three Ukrainian folk songs and twelve *dumas* translated into German by Friedrich Bodenstedt and published as *Die Poetische Ukraine. Eine Sammlung kleinrussische Volkslieder. Ins Deutsch übertragen von Friedrich Bodenstedt* (Stuttgart, Tübingen, 1845)⁷⁵ and August Franz von Haxthausen's contribution *Transkaukasien: Andeutungen über das Familien- und Gemeindeleben und die sozialen Verhältnisse einiger Völker zwischen dem Schwarzen und Kaspischen Meere. Reiseerinnerungen und gesammelte Notizen von August Freiherrn von Haxthausen (eingereicht wegen der Notiz über die Sonderrechte und die historische Entwicklung der Saporoger Kosaken)* (Leipzig, 1856).⁷⁶

69 *Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek*, 8, 14; *Familienbesitz der Razumovsky*, 12.

70 For early modern western authors who wrote about Ukraine see: Volodymyr Potulnytskyi, *Ukraina i vsesvitnia istoriia. Istoriosofia svitovoi ta ukrainskoi istorii XVII–XX stolit* (Kyiv: Lybid, 2002); Andreas Kappeler, *Vom Land der Kosaken zum Land der Bauern. Die Ukraine im Horizont des Westens vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag Gesellschaft m.b.H & Co. KG, 2020); Heorhii Potulnytskyi, "Ukrainske kozatstvo v tvorchosti Zhana Benua Sherera ta Avhusta Vilhelma Hupelia (na osnovi analizu 'Litopysu Malorosii...' ta narysu 'Pro kozakiv')," *Naukovi zapysky. Zbirnyk prats molodykh vchenykh ta aspirantiv Instytutu ukrainskoi arkeohrafii ta dzhereloznavstva im. M. S. Hrushevskoho NAN Ukrainy* 22 (2011): 121–9.

71 *Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek*, 36; *Familienbesitz der Razumovsky*, 12.

72 *Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek*, 21; *Familienbesitz der Razumovsky*, 12.

73 *Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek*, 24; *Familienbesitz der Razumovsky*, 12.

74 *Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek*, 14; *Familienbesitz der Razumovsky*, 12.

75 *Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek*, 12; *Familienbesitz der Razumovsky*, 18.

76 *Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek*, 36; *Familienbesitz der Razumovsky*, 39–40.

At the same time, Camillo was familiar with the Ukrainian historiography starting from Dmytro Bantysh-Kamensky's four-volume *The History of Little Russia* (Moscow, 1822), which turned to be the first serious source-based examination of the topic, and up to the most recent at that time works by Volodymyr Ikonnikov, Oleksandra Yefymenko, and Dmytro Yavornytskyi.⁷⁷ Apollo Skalkowski's famous book on the Zaporozhian Cossacks and the issue of the periodical *The Kyivan Antiquity* with the article on the last years of Oleksii Razumovsky⁷⁸ were in his library too. Interestingly enough, the catalogues mark as "very rarely" Mykola Sementovsky's ethnographical and historical study *The Antiquity of Little Russia, Zaporozhzhia and Don* (Saint Petersburg, 1846)⁷⁹, written in a definitely romantic manner:

The centuries went away, the battles subsided and the thunder of the guns and cannons become silent. All the ancient misfortune has disappeared together with the Hetmanate, and, in the course of time, the antique stories have been growing pale and vanishing. The Cossacks' habits and customs have been altering; nonetheless, if you come to see Little Russia, the Zadnieprie [Zaporozhzhia] and the Don, you will discover a lot of ancient [things]. You will listen to a lonesome *duma* from a grey-haired *bandura* [a folk Ukrainian instrument] player singing about glorious knightly affairs and narrating as it used to be in the old days. You will find much original in the Ukrainian nobility and the peasantry. As soon as you barely arrive on the Little Russian border, another wind will blow and you will observe another people in another country, starting from a mechanism of a usual *mlyn* (a windmill), which has not changed here over the centuries, and ending with a rich noble house—all of these will make you curious and astonished.⁸⁰

Another exceptional book—a lavishly decorated album *From the Little Russia's Antiquity* (Saint Petersburg, 1900)—was furnished with Yavornytskyi's broad introduction on the history and traditions of the Zaporozhian Cossacks and twenty-one circumstantial colourful drawings by Mykola Samokysh.⁸¹ The illustrator depicted the hetmans Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachnyi and Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, the philosopher Hryhorii Skovoroda and the representatives of all the strata of the

77 *Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek*, 58, 24, 34, 36; *Familienbesitz der Razumovsky*, 12, 37, 67.

78 "Zapiska o poslednikh godakh zhizni gr. Al. K. Razumovskogo v Malorossii, ego konchine i pokhoronakh (1818–1822 gg.)," *Kievskaiia starina* 3 (1894): 426–39; *Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek*, 33; *Familienbesitz der Razumovsky*, 37.

79 *Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek*, 22; *Familienbesitz der Razumovsky*, 12.

80 Nikolai Sementovskii, *Starina Malorossiiskaia, Zaporozhskaia i Donskaia* (Saint Petersburg: Tip. I. Fishona, 1846), 63.

81 *Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek*, 59; *Familienbesitz der Razumovsky*, 67.

Hetmanate's society, e.g. a Cossack colonel, a rank-and-file Cossack, a townsman, a peasant, and even a "blind singer *kobsar*."⁸²

Within this rich repertoire of the historical literature, one position stands out. This is the baroque panegyric *Philosophia Aristotelica* composed by a poet, philosopher and a teacher of the Kyivan Academy Mykhailo Kozachynskyi and published in the Kyiv Caves printing house in 1745.⁸³ The mission of this book was to eulogize Oleksii and Kyrylo Rozumovskys and provide them with a noble genealogy as allegedly direct descendants of the Grand Lithuanian Prince Narymunt. The catalogue of 1907 explains in this respect, "Armorial of the Count Alexej Grig.[orievich] Razoumowsky from Year 1745 (extremely rare Russ.[ian] edition of the work published by the hieromonk Kozacynccki in 3 languages, Russ.[ian], Latin, and Polish)."⁸⁴ The Razumovskys' present-day Viennese library contains two copies of this old-printed book. According to the imprint, one codex stems from the Schönstein collection, and the entries on its flyleaves suggest that this volume may have previously belonged to Andrii Rozumovsky. The provenance of the other sample remains less sure, but the label on the flyleaf, which repeats word by word the catalogue's description of the book, proves that Camillo Razumovsky dealt with this sample when the arrangement of his book assemblage was taking place.⁸⁵

The works of Hryhorii Razumovsky are also mentioned in the first part of the catalogues. They appear into the subcategory *Own Works, Compositions and Writings of the Members of the Razumovsky Family. Reviews on It. Quotations of the Same in Other Works* of 77 positions.⁸⁶ Along with the Razumovsky's natural science explorations and the related periodicals, bulletins or bibliographic works, there is his manuscript *l'Année la plus triste de ma vie; historique de mes malheurs en Russie* with a strict critics of the Russian empire.⁸⁷

The second part of the catalogues encompasses "portraits, pictures, and memorabilia", in total 201 items for 1907 and 304 items for 1914 editions.⁸⁸ These were oil portraits in originals and copies, miniatures and aquarelles together with engravings, lithographs, drawings, photographs, medallions and alike, which portrayed all the known representatives of the Rozumovskys / Razumovskys, inclusive of the Counts

82 Sergei Vasilkovskii, Nikolai Samokish, and Dmitrii Evarnitskii. *Iz ukrainskoi stariny. La petite Russie d'autrefois* (Saint Petersburg: Izd. A. F. Marksa, 1900).

83 *Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek*, 31; *Familienbesitz der Razumovsky*, 35.

84 "Wappenbuch des Gf. Alexej Grig. Razoumowsky vom Jahre 1745 (höchst seltene russ. Ausgabe des von Hieromanach Kozacynccki in 3 Sprachen, russ., lateinisch und polisch herausgegebenen Werkchens)" (*Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek*, 31; *Familienbesitz der Razumovsky*, 35).

85 I analyzed seventeen copies of *Philosophia Aristotelica* including two of the Razumovskys' possession in *Videnskyi arkhiv*, vol. 2, 13–69.

86 *Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek*, 43–8; *Familienbesitz der Razumovsky*, 49–54.

87 *Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek*, 43; *Familienbesitz der Razumovsky*, 49. *l'Année la plus triste de ma vie* in original and a later copy maintains in the Viennese collection.

88 *Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek*, 71–107; *Familienbesitz der Razumovsky*, 85–125.

Perovski, who were Oleksii Kyrylovych's illegitimate offspring and the descendants of the female lines in marriages to the Kotchubeys, the Wassiltschikoffs and the Repnin-Wolkonskys. The aforementioned memorial medal to the silver wedding of Camillo and Maria can be easily found among them.⁸⁹ A special relic of this sort is an engraved image of Kyrylo Rozumovsky "as the Cossack hetman," which Georg Friedrich Schmidt crated in 1762 viewing on the 1758 portrait by Louis Tocqué. The catalogues tell about two copies "in some older and a new imprints" and "the same piece before changing the caption with the engraver's stamp (extremely rare)."⁹⁰ At present, one of them decorates the walls of the new Viennese palace and the other remains in the Slezské Zemské Museum.⁹¹ This engraving serves as significant evidence of Kyrylo's political program in the early 1760s, when he attempted to strengthen the Hetmanate and break with the Russian empire. The catalogues mention also the earlier engraving by Johann Christian Gottfried Fritsch.⁹²

Conclusions

In this paper, I attempted to trace the nearly three-century history of a unique book gathering that belonged to the Ukrainian ruling dynasty in the past and remains, at least partly, in possession of the family nowadays. This sounds as a general truth, but books live the lives of their owners, and the fate of the Rozumovskys' / Razumovskys' collection makes us sure about this once again.

Having achieved the highest positions in the Hetmanate and the Russian empire, which ensured them an opulent lifestyle, Oleksii and Kyrylo Rozumovskys collected books and other valuables. Kyrylo's successors replenished the assemblage onward. The volumes were stored in the luxurious bookcases of the splendid palaces in the imperial capitals and countryside. Regardless in which particular house they were set, the libraries harmonized with the exquisite material world of their aristocratic proprietors. There were books, portrait galleries and archives – these, in Nora's words, "ideal historical instruments" that conjointly administrated "the presence of the past within the present"⁹³ and contributed to the maintenance of the family remembrance.

However, the termination of the Ukrainian male line in the 1830s led to the dispersion of the Rozumovskys' Ukrainian and Russian patrimony. The loss of the hetman's core collection, caused by the abandonment of the Baturyn palace in the mid-nineteenth century, is especially painful in this respect. Only the heirlooms inherited by the female descendants, above all the items that were maintained by the Repniny-Wolkonskys, survived up to the events of the 1917 Revolution. In the Soviet

89 *Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek*, 95; *Familienbesitz der Razumovsky*, 109.

90 *Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek*, 97; *Familienbesitz der Razumovsky*, 85.

91 Slezské Zemské Museum. U 555 G. G. F. Schmidt, Kirill Grigorjevič Razumovskij, 1762, copperprint.

92 *Katalog der Familien-Bibliothek*, 97; *Familienbesitz der Razumovsky*, 85.

93 Nora, "Between Memory and History," 20–1.

time, they were dispersed too. The hetman and his dynasty disappeared from the collective memory in Ukraine for several decades to come.

It was not until the late 1990s and early 2000s that the Baturyn manor finally underwent a full-scale reconstruction and shortly became the central attraction of the newly established National Historical and Cultural Reserve “The Hetman’s Capital.”⁹⁴ This museum complex serves as a key site in contemporary Ukraine to commemorate Kyrylo Rozumovsky and his family. A little-known, yet indicative fact: a sole monument to the hetman (and his wax figure) stands nowhere else but in Baturyn.

The family memory of the Austrian branch has not experienced the dramatic ruptures of this sort. From the early nineteenth century onward, the Razumovskys cultivated awareness of their Ukrainian ancestry. The book heirlooms like Kozachynsky’s panegyric or Hryhorii Kyrylovych’s scientific works played a central role in keeping the memories of their genealogy vital. Furthermore, the portrait galleries which decorated the Schönstein home and the Salon of the Viennese palace were meant to honour and visualize the family history from its mid-eighteenth century onset. In this respect, the conscious commemorative work conducted by Camillo Razumovsky had indeed a long-run impact on the family. The informative pre-war catalogues enable a thorough exploration of this at the then untouched collection, which partly shared the sad fate of its Ukrainian and Russian counterparts in the aftermath of World War II.

What is more significant by now is that Mr. Gregor Razumovsky supports the Ukrainian initiatives and collaborates with the Baturyn Preserve around the representation of his family history there. This fact can be interpreted as the finest evidence of the inspiring power of family memory. Either narrowed to memories of a particular family or broadened to an evocative transgenerational instrument, family remembrance depends on a certain material surrounding that remains a source of its strength. Consequently, family members take care about their memory-bearing patrimonial things. Books occupy a prominent place in an array of family paraphernalia, since they are capable of “narrating” family history as authentic or pretended witnesses of a family past and its vicissitudes. This pertains to noble families foremost with their special sense of belonging to a House as a group bound by a family name and a definite coat of arm.

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