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## Pro-Ukrainian Students at the Kyiv Theological Academy From the 1890s to 1907

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# Pro-Ukrainian Students at the Kyiv Theological Academy From the 1890s to 1907

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## Abstract

The article analyzes the main preconditions for the formation of pro-Ukrainian views among students of the Kyiv Theological Academy and determines their percentages among the graduates from the 1890s to 1907. When in the late 1850s and the early 1860s the Ukrainian intelligentsia carried out semi-legal cultural and educational work within Ukrainophile communities (the hromadas), few students of the Academy took part in their activities, with only 4 participants being active members in the Kyiv Hromada. Later, when students from the 1890s to 1907 at the Kyiv Theological Academy joined the national movement, pro-Ukrainian activities became more popular with the clergy. According to statistical and biographical data gathered by the author, the percentage of nationally-minded graduates among Ukrainian-born students at the Academy varied from 5 to 38% depending on the year of graduation. They engaged in educational work in schools, popularized Ukrainian-language literature, collected ethnographic materials, studied the history of their native land, and translated religious literature. Moreover, 11 students left their mark in the history of the hromada movement. Such well-known public figures as Oleksandr Lototskyi, Volodymyr Durdukivskyi, Serhii Lypkivskyi, and Volodymyr Chekhivskyi, who all played a significant role in the events of the national revolution and the struggle for the independence of Ukraine, deserve special mention. Active participation of Academy graduates in Ukrainian public life challenges the general view of the Kyiv Theological Academy as a highly reactionary educational institution that trained cadres who served only the interests of the Russian Empire.

**Key Words:** Kyiv Theological Academy, hromada movement, Oleksandr Lototskyi, Ukrainophiles, clergy, Ukrainian cause, liberal movement.



When Ukrainian lands were part of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires, Ukrainians needed effective mechanisms for the realization of their educational, cultural, and political rights. However, the two empires forbade the use of the native language at schools and higher educational institutions and precluded the development of Ukrainian scholarship. Moreover, they denied the right of Ukrainians to have their own Ukrainian-language religious literature and develop Ukrainian primary and secondary schools, let alone the right to local self-government. Under such conditions

the Ukrainian intelligentsia considered the fight for minimal educational and political rights of the Ukrainian people to be their moral and social obligation.

In the late 19th and in the early 20th centuries the issue of the Ukrainian national movement became a common goal for all social strata including intellectuals, peasants, and workers. At the same time, only well-educated Ukrainians understood that a solid basis for solving the Ukrainian issue in the future depended on the opportunity to have their own educational system, to develop scientific institutions, to publish periodicals, and to popularize the national theater. One of the most active groups of the Ukrainian elite, which dealt with the issues of education in their mother tongue and the translation of religious literature, became the clergy, along with students of theological schools. After a long period of expectation they turned to prudent actions in the cultural and educational spheres. Regretfully, the percentage of the clergy among participants of the Ukrainian national movement, including the percentage of students and graduates of the Academy, has yet to be established. In contemporary academic discourse the lack of extensive scholarly investigations of the proportion of students of the Kyiv Theological Academy in Ukrainophile communities and their participation in social, political, cultural, and educational processes on the territory of Ukraine during the period from the late 19th century to 1907 accounts for the topicality of the present research. Therefore, the article aims at revealing the number of pro-Ukrainian students and graduates who studied at the Kyiv Theological Academy and who actively participated in the national movement (in particular, in the hromada movement) from the 1890s to 1907.

Modern Ukrainian and foreign historiography can boast of few investigations devoted to the contribution of the graduates of the Kyiv Theological Academy to the development of the national movement. A great deal of valuable social and biographical information was collected in the memoirs of Oleksandr Lototskyi, Serhii Yefremov, Yevhen Chykalenko, Vasyl Bidnov, Dmytro Doroshenko,<sup>1</sup> and other witnesses of the events at the turn of the 19th century. Additional primary sources are stored at the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv, in particular in the Collection of The Kyiv Theological Consistory, which features lists of graduates of the Kyiv Theological Academy with relevant statistical and social data. Information concerning the reasons for the increase in the number of pro-Ukrainian students and priests influenced by the hromada movement, can also be found in secondary sources. The role of the clergy in the social and political life of Ukraine in the context of pedagogic activities at the Kyiv Theological Academy was to some extent touched upon in the

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1 Oleksandr Lototskyi, *Storinky mynuloho* [*Pages of the Past*], vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1932); Serhii Yefremov, *Shchodennyk. Pro dni mynuli (Spohady)* [*Diary. On the Past (Memoirs)*] (Kyiv: Tempora, 2011); Yevhen Chykalenko, *Zibrannia tvoriv* [*Collected Works*], vol. 1 (Kyiv: RADA, 2003); Dmytro Doroshenko, *Pravoslavna Tserkva v mynulomu i suchasnomu zhytti ukrainskoho narodu* [*The Orthodox Church in the Past and Present Life of the Ukrainian People*] (Berlin: R. B., 1940); Vasyl Bidnov, *Tserkovna sprava na Ukraini* [*Church Issue in Ukraine*] (Tarnov: Ukrainska Avtokefalna Tserkva, 1921).

works of Ivan Vlasovskyi, Maryna Tkachuk, and Nadiia Shyp.<sup>2</sup> Certain moments of the Academy's history were revealed in scholarly works and encyclopedias on the history of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, the national movement, and the history of the church on the territory of Ukraine.

In order to analyze the emergence of pro-Ukrainian students at the Kyiv Theological Academy it is essential to consider the preconditions for the formation of national awareness among the Ukrainian clergy in the 1860s-1880s. At the end of the 18th century the Ukrainian people lost the last remnants of their statehood, even in the limited form that it had existed in in the Left-Bank Hetmanate. The Russian Empire was not interested in the preservation of national, cultural, or ethnic features of conquered nations. The slightest possibilities for Ukrainians to maintain their own educational traditions were regarded as dangerous for the autocracy. One example of such an attitude was the closure of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in 1817 by order of the imperial government. When the Kyiv Theological Academy was founded in 1819, it had particular aims and goals. As one of the Academy's graduates, Vasyl Bidnov, observed, Russian bureaucrats tried to turn Ukrainian theological educational institutions into an instrument for the political and religious russification of the Ukrainian clergy.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, the global processes of the integration and assimilation of Ukrainians into Russian imperial space caused natural antagonism among some Ukrainian-minded clergy.

There were several crucial factors that contributed to the emergence of "nationally-aware" priests. It deserves mention that in the 1860s-1870s the Kyiv Theological Academy served as a "people's university" for many students. Close ties between the clergy and their parishioners aroused interest of the young in the past and present of the Ukrainian people. The younger generation could take advantage of diverse sources of information available in Kyiv. Even the city itself contributed to the formation of the students' system of moral values and national beliefs. Life amidst numerous ancient monuments dating back to Kyivan Rus helped them to gradually realize their inseparable link to the national past and the difficulties Ukrainians had faced throughout their existence as a people. Many of them felt a desire to serve the public good of their people.

As for the social background of the student body of the Kyiv Theological Academy, it is important to note that initially students of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy came from families of wealthy Cossack officers (*starshyna*), the nobility, and well-to-do Cossacks. Later, in the 19th century, the Kyiv Theological Academy attracted primarily the offspring

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2 See Ivan Vlasovskyi, *Narys istorii Ukrainiskoi pravoslavnoi tserkvy* [Essay on the History of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church], vol. 3 (New-York: Ukrainska tserkva v Z. D. A., 1957); Maryna Tkachuk, "Kyivska dukhovna akademiia: storinkamy istorii (1819–1924) [The Kyiv Theological Academy (1819–1924): Pages of Its History]," in *Kyivska dukhovna akademiia: v imenakh: 1819–1924*, vol. 1, ed. Maryna Tkachuk (Kyiv: Vydavnychiy dim "KM-Akademiia," 2015), 9–55; Nadiia Shyp, "Navchalno-vykhovna systema Kyivskoi dukhovnoi akademii (1819–1919 rr.) [The Educational and Disciplinary System of the Kyiv Theological Academy]," *Problemy istorii Ukrainy XIX—pochatku XX st.* 15 (2008): 195–211.

3 Bidnov, *Tserkovna sprava na Ukraini*, 7.

of the clergy. A tradition to follow in the footsteps of the father in priests' families created dynasties of priests in which nationally-minded fathers who remembered "a better past" could pass down their values to the younger generation.

Education was another key factor in the formation of national awareness. Particular efforts were made to develop the creative and oratory skills of students. Apart from studying a wide range of theological disciplines, they were instructed to write a numerous essays on philosophy, theology, and literature. The well-stocked library at the Seminary and Academy,<sup>4</sup> located on 2 floors with over 26,000 books at its disposal, was a great treasure-house of knowledge for eager minds. Young men who came to study at the Seminary and Academy at the ages of 15–22 underwent rapid development of their personal identity, during stages of their lives when they found themselves particularly sensitive to matters of honor and fairness. Their age-specific unwillingness to obey rules often urged them to participate in public protest and searches for new values. As they tried to gain new knowledge and experience beyond the classroom and not only in officially authorized books, the seminarians joined various organizations, went to the theatre, read so-called forbidden books, and learned about diverse political and educational concepts.<sup>5</sup> They fostered their self-education and dreamed of earning a University degree and were aware that "entering university was possible only through pain and misery" (*prolizty tudy mozhna bulo tilky z velykymy trudnoshchamy*).<sup>6</sup> Only a small percentage of the students and graduates of theological schools strove for such a difficult career path. The majority of graduates chose the well-trodden career path of their fathers. They studied hard and upon graduation planned to get married and to settle down in a parish "for the rest of their natural lives" (*do skonchaniia viku*).<sup>7</sup> At the same time, a smaller group strove to be better educated and more active, managing more achievements in public life. The "rebellious phase" (*perestupna khvylyna*) was of great importance for the formation of these students' personalities.<sup>8</sup> Their hunger for knowledge and romantic impulsiveness directed them towards a search for the essence of life with all its contradictions and ideals, which is why we can mention a psychological factor besides social and educational ones that shaped the young minds of the "nationally-aware" priests.

It is important to note such public figures as Pavlo Zhytetskyi, Ivan Levytskyi, Yukhym Sitsynskyi, and Lev Matseievych, members of the Kyiv, Odesa and Kamianets-Podilskyi Ukrainophile communities (hromadas) who graduated from the Kyiv Theological Academy. At that time hromadas carried out low-profile but important patriotic work. Their representatives fully realized that they could greatly expand the scope of their activities if they could manage to draw in priests who, in their turn, had strong ties with the people. According to the available data, there were around

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4 Shyp, "Navchalno-vykhovna systema Kyivskoi dukhovnoi akademii," 200–01.

5 Shyp, "Navchalno-vykhovna systema Kyivskoi dukhovnoi akademii," 208.

6 Yefremov, *Shchodennyk*, 329.

7 Yefremov, *Shchodennyk*, 329.

8 Yefremov, *Shchodennyk*, 329.

200–300 such active hromada participants at that time in Kyiv.<sup>9</sup> Only 4 members were students of the Kyiv Theological Academy (1.3–2% of the total number of Kyiv Hromada members). After graduation they continued their cultural activities wherever they performed their occupational duties. These data reveal that open participation of the clergy in cultural and educational patriotic activities was rather an exception to the rule (for example, in 1865 Ivan Levytskyi was the only such person out of 50 graduates, in 1867 Lev Matseievych was the only active pro-Ukrainian participant out of 53 graduates of the Academy) (as shown in Appendix 2).

When Ukrainophile hromadas resumed their activities in the 1870s, the number of volunteers willing to participate in their work was significantly smaller in comparison to the 1860s. As members of the hromada movement recalled, in 1863 the Kyiv Hromada could boast about 300 members while at the end of the 1880s and in the early 1890s it had only 25–30 members.<sup>10</sup> In their turn, the Kyiv Theological Academy and St. Volodymyr University had several dozen participants. The intolerance of imperial power of the cultural movement frightened those wishing to join the national cause. However, pro-Ukrainian views were becoming more and more popular with Academy graduates. The hromadas' cultural and educational work gradually promoted interest in the needs of the Ukrainian people. Among the most interested were the next generation of the Ukrainian clergy.

An important factor in broadening the intellectual horizons of Academy students was their communication with foreigners. According to the research carried out by Maryna Tkachuk, the enrollment of Academy students was quite ethnically diverse. Thus, Georgians, Moldovans, Romanians, Serbs, Bulgarians, Montenegrins, Greeks, Russians, and Belarusians studied there together with local residents. Orthodox Syrians and Japanese were also among the ranks of students. Such tendencies were part of the wide-spread promotion of Orthodoxy in the Russian Empire. In this way the authorities tried to strengthen their influence on neighboring peoples and become a spiritual and educational center through the efforts of the Orthodox Church. Also, foreigners found studies in Kyiv quite attractive taking into account its favorable climate, in comparison with that of Moscow, St. Petersburg, or Kazan, locations of other Orthodox theological academies. The high reputation of the Kyiv Academy for good quality education was another key factor that attracted foreign students.<sup>11</sup>

The number of foreign students increased since the late 19th century. In the 1880s their number was insignificant (1–5) while in the 1890s their number increased from 3 to 10 persons in every annual intake. Overall, during the period from 1885 to 1908 over 130 foreigners studied at the Academy, their number varying from 1 to 12 persons (Appendix 2). In the 1890s, their number was at its highest; this period was also characterized by an increase in the number of pro-Ukrainian students. An opportunity

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9 Ihnat Zhytetskyi, "Kyivska hromada za 60-h rr. [The Kyiv Hromada in the 1860s]," *Ukraina* 1 (1928): 95.

10 Chykalenko, *Zibrannia tvoriv*, 231.

11 Tkachuk, "Kyivska dukhovna akademiia (1819–1924)," 19.

to communicate with representatives of other nations broadened the intellectual horizons of Ukrainians.

The most favorable period for communication and cultural exchange lasted from 1890 to 1907. At that time 803 students graduated from the Kyiv Academy.<sup>12</sup> 244 graduates were from Ukraine and made up 30.4% of the total number while 113 persons were foreigners and made up 14.1% of all graduates (Appendix 2). Thus, conversations and discussions with foreigners gave Ukrainian students and lecturers a chance to compare particularities of historical development in independent states and colonies. Patterns of statehood in Serbia, Bulgaria, and other independent countries to compare with the situation of Ukrainians in the Russian Empire gave young minds much information for reflection. The emergence of new Slavic states during the 19th century raised global issues about Ukrainian national interests and beliefs. Besides, young people tried to find answers to their painful questions in real life and in the literary heritage of foreign and domestic writers.

According to the memoirs of Serhii Yefremov, one of the graduates of the Seminary, dramatic political changes pressed young people hard to choose their own paths in life. Concepts of a strong connection between generations, the gradual development of an individual and a people as well as the evolutionary history of human existence helped

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12 *Diplomy i attestaty vypusnikov akademii 1891 h.* [*Diplomas and Certificates of Academy Graduates in 1891*] [Manuscript] (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv (CSHAUK), f. 711, desc. 3, no. 2043, pp. 1–37); *Predstavlenie Sinodu svedenii o vypusnikakh akademii 1892 h.* [*Presentation of Information on the Graduates of the Academy in 1892 to the Synod*] [Manuscript] (CSHAUK, f. 711, desc. 3, no. 2096, pp. 1–46); *Predstavlenie Sinodu svedenii o vypusnikakh akademii 1895 h.* [*Presentation of Information on the Graduates of the Academy in 1895 to the Synod*] [Manuscript] (CSHAUK, f. 711, desc. 3, no. 2254, pp. 1–12); *Predstavlenie Sinodu vedomostei o vypusnikakh akademii 1903 h.* [*Presentation of Information on the Graduates of the Academy in 1903 to the Synod*] [Manuscript] (CSHAUK, f. 711, desc. 3, no. 2744, pp. 1–12); *Predstavlenie svedenii Sinodu o vypusnikakh akademii 1905 h.* [*Presentation of Information on the Graduates of the Academy in 1905 to the Synod*] [Manuscript] (CSHAUK, f. 711, desc. 3, no. 2863, pp. 1–11); *Predstavlenie svedenii v Sinod o vypusnikakh akademii 1901 h.* [*Presentation of Information on the Graduates of the Academy in 1901 to the Synod*] [Manuscript] (CSHAUK, f. 711, desc. 3, no. 2607, pp. 1–13); *Predstavlenie svedenii v uchebnyi komitet Sinoda o vypusnikakh akademii 1898 h.* [*Presentation of Information on the Graduates of the Academy in 1898 to the Synod Educational Committee*] [Manuscript] (CSHAUK, f. 711, desc. 3, no. 2445, pp. 1–15); *Predstavlenie svedenii v uchebnyi komitet Sinoda o vypusnikakh akademii 1899 h.* [*Presentation of Information on the Graduates of the Academy in 1899 to the Synod Educational Committee*] [Manuscript] (CSHAUK, f. 711, desc. 3, no. 2491, pp. 1–16); *Spisok vypusnikov akademii 1906 h. s kratkoi kharakteristikoi* [*List of Academy Graduates in 1906 With Brief Annotations*] [Manuscript] (CSHAUK, f. 711, desc. 3, no. 2943, pp. 1–16); “Vypusniki Kiiievskoi dukhovnoi akademii (1823–1869; 1885–1915) [Kyiv Theological Academy Graduates (1823–1869; 1885–1915)],” accessed January 19, 2019, <http://www.petergen.com/bovkaloduhov/kievda.html>.

many Ukrainian patriots not to lose themselves in a labyrinth of contradictions and divergent views.<sup>13</sup>

In the 1880s-1890s, small yet well-organized Ukrainophile communities (hromady) attracted such eager minds. The hromady tried to focus mainly on cultural and educational work as they believed non-political activities would not evoke excessive aggressive imperial reaction. The most influential organization was considered to be the Kyiv Old Hromada, headed by Volodymyr Antonovych, a professor at the St. Volodymyr University in Kyiv, Mykola Lysenko, a prominent composer, and Pavlo Zhytetskyi, a philologist, as well as others who were respected in Ukrainophile circles as leaders of the national movement.

A Hromada of Ukrainophiles (the Seminary Hromada) also existed at the Kyiv Theological Seminary from 1888 to 1896. It was founded by Luka Skachkovskyi with the help of Oleksandr Lototskyi and Serhii Lypkivskyi, the students from the Kyiv Theological Academy. In 1896–1901, Volodymyr Durdukivskyi, Volodymyr Chekhivskyi, and Vasyl Bidnov were the most active participants of the Seminary Hromada, while from 1903 to 1907 Yosyp Skotynskyi made his significant contribution (Appendix 1) to its activities.

Luka Skachkovskyi “performed his work slowly by educating his peers, attracting pioneers of the young Ukrainian idea, and giving them spiritual food for thought in the form of relevant literature” (*Potykhū vin robyv svoie dilo osvidomliuvannia tovaryshiv, hurtuvannia kolo sebe pioneriv molodoi ukrainskoi idei, nahromadzhuvannia ta postachannia dlia yū prykhylnykyv dukhovnoi pozhyvy v formi vidpovidnoi literatury*).<sup>14</sup> In the mid-1890s, the Seminary Hromada consisted of a few dozen people, Academy students Oleksandr Lototskyi, Volodymyr Durdukivskyi, Kryskent Matushevskyi, Volodymyr Chekhivskyi, Petro Sikorskyi, and later Serhii Yefremov among its members.<sup>15</sup>

The ideas of Volodymyr Antonovych and Oleksandr Konyskyi made a significant impact on the members of the hromada. They would meet in the apartment of Luka Skachkovskyi, which was located on Kyrylivska street, near the Jordanian church, and had the code name “Eldorado.” For Serhii Yefremov, participation in one of the first meetings of the circle had an unforgettable effect on him.<sup>16</sup>

Serhii Yefremov “listened to exciting conversations about Ukrainians,” and at the end of the meeting asked Luka Skachkovskyi permission to borrow several books, including Mykola Kostomarov’s *Istoricheskie monohrafi* (Historical Monographs) and several other books by Ukrainian writers.<sup>17</sup> Hromada members also gathered at the houses of Vasyl Vovk-Karachaievskyi, Mykhailo Martynovskyi (in 1896), Denys Pylinskyi, and Petro Sikorskyi. The meetings usually consisted of an introductory part and a main

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13 Yefremov, *Shchodennyk*, 327.

14 Yefremov, *Shchodennyk*, 350.

15 Yefremov, *Shchodennyk*, 351.

16 Yefremov, *Shchodennyk*, 351–52.

17 Yefremov, *Shchodennyk*, 347.



part. Members first read papers on various literary or public topics and discussed them afterwards.

The topics of papers could concern the responsibilities of community members in villages, the relationship between the clergy and parishioners, tasks of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, the role of education in the life of the people, the attitude of Ukrainians to other peoples on the basis of folk sayings, Professor Mykola Petrov's *Ocherki istorii ukrainskoi literatury* (Essay on the History of Ukrainian Literature), concepts of Marxism and the Narodnyk (Populist) movement, etc.<sup>18</sup>

As for representatives of the Old Hromada, young people maintained close ties with Ivan Nechui-Levytskyi, Vasyl Vovk-Karachaievskyi, Kostiantyn Mykhalchuk, and Yevhen Tymchenko. The Old Hromada provided members of the Seminary Hromada with Halych (Galician) political publications that were popular with young people as they were printed in Ukrainian. Oleksandr Konyskyi, one of the Hromada's leaders, also made his contribution to enriching the library. Taking into account the circumstances of that time, the Hromada could boast a rather rich collection of literature. It held virtually all publications in the Ukrainian language available at the time, as well as works devoted to the Ukrainian cause comprised mostly of foreign Ukrainian publications. Members of the Seminary Hromada regularly updated the library with the latest issues of magazines and newspapers: *Zoria* (The Star), *Bukovyna* (Bukovyna), *Pravda* (The Truth), *Narod* (The People), etc. Papers presented at meetings of seminary students sometimes appeared in the above mentioned periodicals. According to the memoirs of Serhii Yefremov, efforts were aimed at collecting all materials linked with Ukrainian history and belles-lettres that could help individuals become a nationally-aware Ukrainians.<sup>19</sup>

The knowledge that Academy students gained in the Hromada aroused their interest in further raising their national awareness. Moreover, they tried to cultivate patriotism in those who had just joined the ranks of the Academy. Senior students provided an example of behavior and attitudes for junior students and freshmen to emulate. In particular, active members of the Hromada such as Oleksandr Lototskyi, Serhii Lypkivskyi, and Volodymyr Durdukivskyi continued their educational work among their younger colleagues. In 1895–1896, St. Volodymyr University professor Volodymyr Antonovych read a series of patriotic lectures on the history of Ukraine for the *hromadivtsi*. They were also a source of inspiration for young minds.<sup>20</sup>

As a result, some “spontaneous” Ukrainians gradually turned into convinced patriots of their homeland. Thus, Serhii Yefremov stated that “there is neither progress nor work, nor devotion, nor life itself” without strong ties to your people (*ni khodu, ni roboty, ni pryviazannia, ni samoho zhyttia*).<sup>21</sup> Worries about the Ukrainian people, their

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18 Yefremov, *Shchodennyk*, 357.

19 Yefremov, *Shchodennyk*, 347, 354.

20 Yefremov, *Shchodennyk*, 358.

21 Yefremov, *Shchodennyk*, 360.

needs, life and revival formed the idea of the possibility for Ukrainians to reach the level of the great and well-educated nations of the world.

Oleksandr Lototskyi recalled his student years as a period in which he tried to get through to “the Ukrainian soul of the youth that was bullied in the seminaries” (*ukrainskoi dushi steroryzovanoi v seminariakh molodi*). These efforts sometimes resulted in good relations among like-minded sympathetic peers, students having the opportunity to get close to Ukrainophiles.<sup>22</sup> There were clashes among students when discussing national issues. It started with the language issue. When Russians would listen to Ukrainians and did not understand them, they advised them to speak Russian (as it was easier for them to understand). They tried to justify their views with the help of chauvinistic ideas about the versatility of the Russian language and the concept of a Little Russian dialect. These conversations often turned into heated discussions. In particular, students would discuss the role of Ukrainians in Russian culture or key articles of the Pereiaslav Treaty of 1654.

At this point, “voices rose, eyes lit up, cheeks burned, and the disputants dispersed with an pronounced sense of national antagonism, which would explode and intensify again for the slightest reason” (*holosy pidvyshchuvalysia, ochi horily, shchoky palenily i dyskutanty roskhodylysia z vyraznym pochuttiam natsionalnoho antahonizmu, shcho vybukhalo i posyliuvalosia znovu za naimenshykh pidstav*).<sup>23</sup> With time, the discussions attracted more and more “selfless Little Russians” who were recommended as the best straight A students by the governing body of the Seminary; their restrained national feelings being awakened by the brute influence of “nationalistic intolerance and zoological appetites” (*natsionalistychnoi neterpymosti ta zoolohichnykh apetytiv*).<sup>24</sup>

In particular, Oleksandr Lototskyi mentions a curious case in his *Storinky mynuloho* (Pages of the Past). During his third year of studies he had to return home to his parents and applied to the rector for permission to leave for family reasons. After hearing him attentively and granting the request, the rector locked the door and told him that he had been informed by the gendarmerie about his and Serhii Lypkivskyi’s Ukrainophile activities. Speaking with evident horror in his voice about “gendarmes,” the rector repeatedly emphasized the importance of being cautious but never ordered Lototskyi to “withdraw his request.” In the worried tone of the rector Oleksandr Lototskyi felt a certain degree of sympathy for the Ukrainian cause. It is interesting to mention that the rector did not reveal their conversation to anyone, although it was his direct responsibility to do so.<sup>25</sup>

This incident provides a reason why we cannot fully agree with the opinion of Dmytro Doroshenko, who stated that “to its very end the Kyiv Academy, formerly the center of Ukrainian education and literary activity, became a stronghold of Russian nationalistic reaction and oppression of the Ukrainian idea” (*do samoho svoho kintsia*

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22 Lototskyi, *Storinky mynuloho*, 105.

23 Lototskyi, *Storinky mynuloho*, 108.

24 Lototskyi, *Storinky mynuloho*, 108.

25 Lototskyi, *Storinky mynuloho*, 121.

*Kyivska akademiia, kolyshnie ohnyshche ukrainskoi prosvity i pysmenstva, bula tverdnyeiu rosiiskoi natsionalistychnoi reaktsii i ukrainozherstva*).<sup>26</sup> Moreover, the facts revealed in the current research have illustrated the inaccuracy of his point of view.

It is interesting to note that after their graduation members of the Seminary Hromada kept in touch with it and often attended its annual gatherings.<sup>27</sup> The gatherings usually took place on religious holidays, namely during Shrove-Tide before Great Lent, when *hromadivtsi* who had left the city after graduation would travel to Kyiv from provincial towns and villages.<sup>28</sup>

During that week teachers did not conduct classes and would come to Kyiv to escape daily routine and stroll along Kontraktova Square. It was the week when many people would flood into the city, so the presence of the teachers raised no suspicions. Besides, it was a good opportunity for provincial priests and sextons to blend in with the crowds.<sup>29</sup> At the Seminary Hromada gatherings diverse papers were presented, giving fresh views on political and social issues. However, the practical significance of the gatherings consisted of talks on the cultural and educational work carried out by Hromada members. Members shared in detail what they had done and what tactics they had used to reach their goals. These ways and means were hard to realize because the clergy had to propagate Ukrainian ideas in circumstances under which it was officially forbidden to use the Ukrainian language, and any relation to the Ukrainophile movement caused suspicions and obstacles on the part of the authorities.

The most favorable condition for educational and cultural activities was the fact that the majority of schools (approximately 5,000) in Right-Bank Ukraine were in the hands of the clergy. At that time, the clergy was considered to be the most loyal to the Empire and was a reason for Kostiantyn Pobiedonostsev to pass a law in 1884 that entrusted priests with running church schools. If priests cared about national interests, their contribution was the only opportunity to enlighten the people as no one else had such significant influence on them as did the clergy.

It was necessary for them to not raise the suspicions of local authorities. This is why priests with Ukrainophile convictions (in many cases graduates of the Kyiv Theological Academy) had to find loyal sextons who would often perform teachers' duties.<sup>30</sup> In the provinces graduates of theological seminaries usually worked as teachers and sextons as they needed to undergo an internship that lasted 2 or 3 years before they could be ordained. Priests tried to attract like-minded people to their parishes as they wanted to work in a trustworthy environment. Things would get complicated when a patriotic teacher or sexton would go to work in a village with a priest that did not share his Ukrainophile views. It would be necessary to win him over and to convince him not to obstruct the cultural and educational work being done. Young graduates often

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26 Doroshenko, *Pravoslavna Tserkva v mynulomu i suchasnomu zhytti ukrainskoho narodu*, 43.

27 Lototskyi, *Storinky mynuloho*, 58–65.

28 Yefremov, *Shchodennyk*, 358–60.

29 Lototskyi, *Storinky mynuloho*, 60.

30 Lototskyi, *Storinky mynuloho*, 60.

managed to come to a mutual understanding with older priests who were attentive to the needs of their parishioners and considered the Ukrainian idea as a worthy cause that deserved to be supported. In this way, democratic priests often became “nationally-aware” Ukrainians.<sup>31</sup>

At Seminary Hromada annual gatherings job possibilities were discussed and graduates were chosen to work at different locations. Later, insiders on the School Board ensured that the recommendations were realized.<sup>32</sup> Among the Ukrainian graduates there were quite a few people who realized the importance of the Ukrainian cause and sympathized with the idea of national revival but, unfortunately, often did not have the needed strength and moral fortitude to actively defend this idea. They could at times take part in Ukrainian cultural and educational work but their efforts were rather sporadic. From Oleksandr Lototskyi’s point of view, such young people could make their contribution only under favorable conditions.<sup>33</sup>

While the recollections of Oleksandr Lototskyi help to reveal the general atmosphere at the Academy, the archival materials can shed light on statistical data concerning the number of pro-Ukrainian students. From 37 to 55 students graduated from the Kyiv Theological Academy each year between 1890–1907 (Appendix 2). According to the lists of graduates of the Kyiv Theological Academy stored at the Central State Historical Archive in Kyiv, the number of Ukrainian students made up from 12.8 to 41.3% of the graduating classes. In various years, pro-Ukrainian alumni made up from 5 to 38.5% of Ukrainian-born senior students. Even if we consider the total number of graduates of the Academy, the percentage of pro-Ukrainian students still ranges between 2 and 10.6% (Appendix 2). During the period from the 1890s to 1907, it is worth mentioning the contributions of Oleksandr Lototskyi (1892–1896), Volodymyr Durdukiivskyi (1895–1899), and Yosyp Skotyivskyi (1903–1907) as devoted participants of the national movement.<sup>34</sup>

According to the data of collection no. 711 of the Kyiv Theological Academy and collection no. 127 of the Kyiv Theological Consistory, summarized in Appendix 2, from the 1890s-1907 the Kyiv Theological Academy awarded diplomas and certificates to 803 students.

In 1890, Ukrainian graduates (individuals born on the territory of the 9 Ukrainian provinces) made up 34.2% of the total number of graduates. During the next 17 years their percentage would vary. Thus, in 1891, it totaled 40.5%, in 1892–35%, in 1893–37.7%, in 1894–41.3%, in 1895–26.2%, in 1896–27.7%, in 1897–40%, in 1898–12.8%, in 1899–21.8%, in 1900–27.7%, in 1901–28.6%, in 1902–32.4%, in 1903–41%, in 1904–26.7%, and in 1905–29.2% (Appendix 2). During the period from the end of the 19th century to the

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31 Lototskyi, *Storinky mynuloho*, 60–61.

32 Lototskyi, *Storinky mynuloho*, 60.

33 Lototskyi, *Storinky mynuloho*, 104.

34 Vlasovskyy, *Narys istorii Ukrainiskoi pravoslavnoi tserkvy*, 291.

first third of the 20th century it is expedient to single out 41<sup>35</sup> graduates of the Academy because of their significant contributions to cultural and educational activities aimed at the national revival. Some of them belonged to the hromada movement, others contributed to the foundation of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in 1918–1921 (Appendix 1).

According to the information shown in Appendix 2, in 1890, pro-Ukrainian students represented 7.7% of the total number of the Academy's final year Ukrainian-born students. In 1891, they made up 13.3%, in 1893–5%, in 1894–5.3%, in 1895–18.2%, in 1896–38.5%, in 1897–16.7%, in 1898–16.7%, in 1899–16.7%, in 1900–15.4%, and in 1901–16.7%. In 1905, active students with pro-Ukrainian convictions represented 7.1% of the total, but in 1907 their number reached 15.4%. These figures make us assume that the last decade of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century formed the largest number of active pro-Ukrainian graduates. Furthermore, biographical data clearly show that only one person out of 41 Ukrainian-minded students and priests who made a notable contribution to patriotic cultural and educational activities had Russian origin while the rest were Ukrainian-born, so that we can assume that Ukrainian origin had a direct relationship to the existence of national consciousness among Academy graduates.

The patriotic position of the Academy's nationally-minded graduates was shaped by numerous factors such as historical context, social background, age-specific psychological particularities, the availability of various sources of information in the city of Kyiv, and close communication and cultural exchange with foreign students. The literary activities of popular Ukrainian writers and the Ukrainian theatre also contributed to the rise of pro-Ukrainian awareness. Last but not least, their public position was formed because of the rise of the Ukrainian national movement, in particular the activities of the Kyiv Old Hromada. Due to the devoted work of its members, the Ukrainophile community found supporters among students at the Kyiv Theological Academy. Thus, the biographies of the most active pro-Ukrainian

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35 Lototskyi, *Storinky mynuloho*, 103–11; Yefremov, *Shchodennyk*, 351–60; *Kyivska dukhovna akademiia v imenakh: 1819–1924* [*The Kyiv Theological Academy in Names: 1819–1924*], vol. 1, ed. Maryna Tkachuk (Kyiv: Vydavnychi dim “Kyievo-Mohylianska akademiia,” 2015); *Kyivska dukhovna akademiia v imenakh: 1819–1924* [*The Kyiv Theological Academy in Names: 1819–1924*], vol. 2, ed. Maryna Tkachuk (Kyiv: Vydavnychi dim “Kyievo-Mohylianska akademiia,” 2016); Petro Skrypnyk, “Andriievskiy Oleksandr Yukhymovych,” in *Entsyklopediia istorii Ukrainy*, vol. 1, ed. Valerii Smolii (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 2003), 82–83; *Spilka Vyzvolennia Ukrainy. Hrebenetskyi O. Z.* [*Union of the Liberation of Ukraine. Hrebenetskyi O. Z.*] [Manuscript & Typescript] (Sectoral State Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine, f. 6, no. 67098fp, vol. 63, p. 6); Oksana Yurkova, “Barvinok Volodymyr Ivanovych,” in *Entsyklopediia istorii Ukrainy*, vol. 1, ed. Valerii Smolii (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 2003), 188; Tetiana Ostashko, “Sushytskyi Feoktyst Petrovych,” in *Entsyklopediia istorii Ukrainy*, vol. 9, ed. Valerii Smolii (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 2012), 917–18; Vitalii Matsko, “Maksym (Zadvirniak Maksym Yevmenovych),” in *Entsyklopediia suchasnoi Ukrainy*, vol. 18, ed. Ivan Dziuba (Kyiv: Instytut entsyklopedychnykh doslidzhen, 2017), 611.

graduates do not quite comply with conclusions made by Vasyl Bidnov and Volodymyr Doroshenko on the strong reactionism of the Kyiv Theological Academy. Analysis of the quantitative data of the student body makes it possible to assume that graduates of this educational institution formed a significant percentage of those involved in the Ukrainian national movement. Thus, during the period from the 1890s to 1907, the percentage of pro-Ukrainian senior students made up from 5% to 38.5% of Ukrainian-born senior students. Furthermore, it is important to note that their percentage among all senior students including foreigners varied from 2% to 10.6%. These figures make it possible to assume that although the clergy was largely regarded as a conservative part of society, some of its pro-Ukrainian representatives carried out low-profile, yet significant educational activities among the Ukrainian people instead of serving the interests of imperial authority. This is why their contribution to the Ukrainian national liberation movement is so important for scholarly research.

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## Appendix 1

### LIST OF PRO-UKRAINIAN ACTIVISTS AT THE KYIV THEOLOGICAL ACADEMY

NAME AND LAST NAME	PERIOD OF STUDIES	SPHERE OF PRO-UKRAINIAN ACTIVITIES
Pavlo Zhytetskyi	1857–1860	Kyiv Hromada, Linguist
Ivan Nechui-Levytskyi	1861–1865	Kyiv Hromada, Ethnographer, Writer
Mykola Petrov	1861–1865	Literary Critic
Lev Matseievych	1863–1867	Odesa Hromada, Literary Critic
Hryhorii Markevych	1867–1871	Poltava Hromada, Folklorist, Publisher
Ivan Shypovych	1879–1882	Ethnographer
Yukhym Sitsynskyi	1881–1885	Kamianets Podilsky Hromada, Ethnographer
Vasyl Lypkivskyi	1884–1889	Kyiv Hromada, Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church
Afanasii Neselovskyi	1886–1890	Translator of Religious Literature
Mykola Rubanystyi	1887–1891	Pro-Ukrainian Church Work
Nestor Sharaiivskyi	1887–1891	Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church
Oleksandr Andriievskyi	1889–1893	Folklorist
Pavlo Pohorilko	1890–1894	Ukrainian Central Council, Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church
Pavlo Starovoitenko	1891–1895	Priest
Ivan Khalippa	1891–1895	Ethnographer
Oleksandr Lototskyi	1892–1896	Seminary Hromada, Kyiv Hromada, St. Petersburg Hromada
Serhii Lypkivskyi	1892–1896	Seminary Hromada, Katerynoslav Hromada, Teacher
Yevhen Chervynskyi	1892–1896	Writer and Scholar
Vasyl Selin	1892–1896	Priest
Antonii Vyshnevskyi	1892–1896	Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church
Khotovytskyi	1893–1894	Seminary Hromada
Osyp Dorokhol'skyi	1893–1894	Seminary Hromada
Petro Tarnavskyi	1893–1897	Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church
Hryhorii Yaroshevskyi	1893–1897	Priest
Mykola Shpachynskyi	1893–1897	Seminary Hromada
Serhii Ivanytskyi	1894–1898	Seminary Hromada, Kamianets-Podilskyi Hromada
Volodymyr Durdukivskyi	1895–1899	Kyiv Hromada, Teacher
Fedir Mishchenko	1895–1899	Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church
Oleksandr Hrebenetskyi	1896–1900	Kyiv Hromada, Teacher
Volodymyr Chekhivskyi	1896–1900	Kamianets-Podilskyi Hromada, Kyiv Hromada, Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church
Oleksandr Koshyts	1897–1901	Composer, Ethnographer
Vasyl Bidnov	1898–1901	Seminary Hromada, Katerynoslav Hromada
Volodymyr Barvinok	1901–1905	Scholar
Feoktyst Sushytskyi	1903–1907	Literary Critic
Yosyp Skotynskyi	1903–1907	Kyiv Hromada

Kostiantyn Steshenko	1906–1910	Translator of Religious Literature into Ukrainian
Oleksandr Khodzytskyi	1906–1910	Cyril and Methodius Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood
Makarii Kramarenko	1909–1913	Cyril and Methodius Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood
Kostiantyn Maliushkevych	1912–1916	Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church
Yosyp Oksiuk	1915–1919	Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church
Maksym Zadvirniak	1916–1919	Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church

## Appendix 2

YEAR OF GRADUATION	NUMBER OF UKRAINIAN-BORN GRADUATES	NUMBER OF GRADUATES FROM NON-UKRAINIAN PROVINCES OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE	NUMBER OF FOREIGNERS	TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS	NUMBER OF PRO-UKRAINIAN STUDENTS	% OF ACTIVE PRO-UKRAINIAN STUDENTS OF ALL UKRAINIAN-BORN SENIOR STUDENTS	% OF UKRAINIAN STUDENTS OF ALL SENIOR STUDENTS	% OF ACTIVE PRO-UKRAINIAN STUDENTS OF ALL SENIOR STUDENTS
1889			2	42	1			
1890	13	15	10	38	1	7.7	34.2	2.6
1891	15	19	3	37	2	13.3	40.5	5.4
1892	14	21	5	40			35	
1893	20	26	7	53	1	5	37.7	2
1894	19	24	3	46	1	5.3	41.3	2.2
1895	11	23	8	42	2	18.2	26.2	2.2
1896	13	25	9	47	5	38.5	27.7	10.6
1897	18	23	4	45	3	16.7	40	7.7
1898	6	30	11	47	1	16.7	12.8	2.1
1899	12	36	7	55	2	16.7	21.8	3.6
1900	13	25	9	47	2	15.4	27.7	4.3
1901	12	18	12	42	2	16.7	28.6	4.8
1902	12	16	9	37			32.4	
1903	16	22	1	39			41	
1904	12	27	6	45			26.7	
1905	14	32	2	48	1	7.1	29.2	2.1
1906	11	31	4	46			24	
1907	13	33	3	49	2	15.4	26.5	4.1