

УДК (UDC) 378.018.56 : 271.2] (477) "17" : 930.85 (37/38)
DOI: [https://doi.org/10.33782/eminak2024.2\(46\).707](https://doi.org/10.33782/eminak2024.2(46).707)

THE LEGACY OF ANTIQUITY IN EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL PRACTICES OF ORTHODOX COLLEGES OF UKRAINE IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Liudmyla Posokhova

V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University (Kharkiv, Ukraine)

e-mail: lposokhova@karazin.ua

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3338-1949>

ABSTRACT

The purpose of the paper is to characterize the Chernihiv, Kharkiv and Pereiaslav collegiums as cultural mediators in the process of bringing the society of Hetmanate and Sloboda Ukraine to the Antiquity heritage in the 18th century.

The scientific novelty. The range of Antiquity literature studied by students of Chernihiv, Kharkiv and Pereiaslav colleges at different stages of their studies has been determined. It was established that teachers and students of Orthodox colleges in the 18th century, in addition to using European textbooks, directly consulted the works of Ancient Greek and Ancient Roman authors. Based on the analysis of various sources, the specifics of the coexistence of classical and Orthodox Christian traditions in these schools are revealed; the channels and forms of adaptation of the Antiquity heritage offered by colleges to the local society are characterized. These questions are important for identifying the specifics of cultural diffusions, the results of the 'dialogue of cultures', the directions of the transfer of cultural innovations on Ukrainian lands in the early modern era.

Conclusions. It is proven that the Antiquity heritage in Orthodox colleges was not only an important element of educational practices, but also became an object of intellectuals' understanding and a kind of cultural code in the process of adapting cultural innovations. Such an understanding (comprehension) took place by teachers writing manuals and translating the works of ancient Greek and Roman authors, carrying out the first scientific studies of Antiquity art, etc. The development of Antiquity heritage in colleges took place within the Eastern Christian tradition, but through the mediation of Jesuit colleges and Western European universities. Throughout the history of colleges, Christian themes and symbols did not conflict, but were organically combined with ancient ones.

It is argued that the reception of Antiquity heritage went beyond the boundaries of Orthodox colleges, becoming part of urban cultural practices. A characteristic feature of the cultural practices of colleges was the interweaving of elements of Antiquity heritage with Ukrainian folk tradition. Classical antiquity to a large extent became a kind of intertext, mastering which defined one's status as a member of the intellectual elite. The actualization of Antiquity cultural heritage at the Orthodox colleges was not only the result of sharing in the lasting European tradition of the Baroque era, but also a factor in the assimilation of the principles of humanism, and eventually ideas of the Enlightenment.

Keywords: history of education, Orthodox College, reception of Antiquity heritage, cultural practices

АНТИЧНА СПАДЩИНА В ОСВІТНІХ І КУЛЬТУРНИХ ПРАКТИКАХ ПРАВОСЛАВНИХ КОЛЕГІУМІВ УКРАЇНИ 18 СТОЛІТТЯ

Людмила Посохова

Харківський національний університет імені В.Н. Каразіна (Харків, Україна)

e-mail: lposokhova@karazin.ua

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3338-1949>

АНОТАЦІЯ

Мета статті – схарактеризувати Чернігівський, Харківський і Переяславський колегіуми як культурних посередників у процесі прилучення соціуму Гетьманщини та Слобідської України до античної спадщини у 18 ст.

Наукова новизна. Визначено коло античної літератури, яку вивчали студенти Чернігівського, Харківського та Переяславського колегіумів на різних етапах навчання. Встановлено, що викладачі та учні православних колегіумів у 18 ст. окрім використання європейських навчальних посібників безпосередньо звертались до праць давньогрецьких і давньоримських авторів. На підставі аналізу різноманітних джерел розкрито специфіку співіснування класичної та православної християнської традицій у цих школах; охарактеризовано канали та форми адаптації античної спадщини, які пропонували колегіуми місцевому суспільству. Ці питання мають значення для виявлення специфіки культурних дифузій, результатів «діалогу культур», напрямів трансферу культурних інновацій на українських землях у ранньомодерну добу.

Висновки. Доведено, що антична спадщина у православних колегіумах була не лише важливим елементом навчальних практик, але також стала об'єктом осмислення інтелектуалів і свого роду культурним кодом у процесі адаптації культурних новацій. Таке осягнення (осмислення) відбувалося шляхом написання викладачами посібників і перекладання праць давньогрецьких і римських авторів, здійснення перших наукових досліджень античного мистецтва тощо. Освоєння античної спадщини у колегіумах проходило в межах східнохристиянської традиції, але за посередництва єзуїтських колегіумів і західноєвропейських університетів. Протягом історії колегіумів християнська тематика та символіка не конфліктувала, а органічно поєднувалася з античною.

Стверджується, що рецепція античної спадщини вийшла за межі православних колегіумів, ставши частиною міських культурних практик. Характерною рисою культурних практик колегіумів стало переплетення елементів античної спадщини з українською народною традицією. Античність значною мірою стала своєрідним інтертекстом, прийняття якого визначало належність до інтелектуальної еліти. Актуалізація античної культурної спадщини в колегіумах стала як результатом залучення до європейських традицій епохи бароко, так і фактором освоєння принципів гуманізму, а згодом і ідей епохи Просвітництва.

Ключові слова: історія освіти, православний колегіум, рецепція античної спадщини, культурні практики

INTRODUCTION

Over the past few decades many researchers (Ihor Shevchenko, Natalia Yakovenko and others) stress the role of 18th century Ukrainian culture as a mediator between the West and East of Europe and note its receptiveness to the achievements of

Western European civilization¹. To a large extent, this adaptation of Western European culture in the Ukrainian lands became possible thanks to a close regard for the classical Greek and Roman heritage². Also, as observed by Max J. Okenfuss, Alexander Sydorenko, Volodymyr Sklokin and others, it was Ukrainian church intellectuals that were the main bearers of the Latin classical tradition in the Muscovite State and the Russian Empire in the second half of the 17th and 18th centuries³. When making this argument, many historians have in mind, first and foremost, the Kyiv Mohyla Academy and its renowned professors. But we also know that the pioneering experience of the Kyiv Academy found further development in the Orthodox colleges (*collegiums*) founded in Chernihiv, Kharkiv, and Pereiaslav in 1700, 1726, and 1738 respectively.

The 'Latin school' model, which was the basis for these colleges, was focused on the study of the classical tradition⁴. It is important to note that the colleges retained a number of features in the internal structure and educational process until the reform of church educational institutions in 1808 in the Russian Empire. It is well known that at all stages of training, students of these colleges became acquainted with the works of ancient Greek and Roman authors. However, this statement has rarely been supported by concrete facts from everyday educational practices. Accordingly, it is necessary to establish those works of Antiquity authors to which teachers and students of the colleges directly addressed. It is especially important to identify works that were translated by teachers, and not only for didactic purposes. This will allow us to see options for interpreting and instrumentalizing the heritage of antiquity. In the 18th century (and especially in its second half), intellectuals were concentrated around the Kyiv Academy and colleges, united by an active communication network and various activities: teaching, popularizing scientific knowledge, translating books, writing textbooks⁵. Therefore, it is worth paying closer attention to this kind of activity in and around the colleges, which will allow us to better understand the processes of adaptation of ideas from Antiquity in Eastern Europe in the 18th century.

¹ Saunders D. *The Ukrainian Impact on Russian Culture, 1750-1850*, Edmonton 1985; Шевченко І. *Україна між Сходом і Заходом. Нариси з історії культури до початку XVIII століття*. Львів, 2001; Яковенко Н. *Паралельний світ. Дослідження з історії уявлень та ідей в Україні XVI-XVII ст.* Київ, 2002. С. 336-365; Яковенко Н. *Дзеркала ідентичності. Дослідження з історії уявлень та ідей в Україні XVI – початку XVIII століття*, Київ 2012. С. 10, 43.

² This topic is mentioned in several articles in the collection: *Ukraine and Europe: Cultural Encounters and Negotiations* / Ed. G.B. Bercoff, M. Pavlyshyn, S. Plokyh. Toronto, 2017.

³ Okenfuss M.J. *The Rise and Fall of Latin Humanism in Early Modern Russia*. Leiden; New York; Köln, 1995. P. 223-231; Sydorenko A. *Ukraine and the Enlightenment* // *In Service to Clio. Collection of Studies in Honor of Lubomyr Roman Wymar Commemorating Fifty Years of His Scholarly Activity*. Kyiv-New York, Paris-Lviv, 2000. P. 156-167; Склокін В. *Російська імперія і Слобідська Україна у другій половині XVIII ст.: просвічений абсолютизм, імперська інтеграція, локальне суспільство*. Львів, 2019. С. 235.

⁴ For more information about the history of Chernihiv, Kharkiv, and Pereiaslav colleges, see: *Посохова Л. На перехресті культур, традицій, епох: православні колегіуми України наприкінці XVII – на початку XIX ст.* Харків, 2011.

⁵ Кагамлик С. *Інтелектуальне середовище могилянців у Києво-Печерській лаврі (XVIII ст.)* // *Київська Академія*. 2006. Вип. 2-3. С. 177-196; Посохова Л. *Інтелектуали Харківського колегіуму другої половини XVIII – початку XIX століття: мереживо зв'язків і взаємин* // *Київська Академія*. 2014-2015. Вип. 12. С. 160-184.

This article puts forward the hypothesis that Chernihiv, Kharkiv and Pereiaslav colleges, along with the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, were important channels for introducing the society of the Hetmanate and Sloboda Ukraine to the Antiquity heritage.

The purpose of the article is to characterize the Chernihiv, Kharkiv and Pereiaslav colleges as cultural intermediaries in the process of familiarizing the society of the Hetmanate and Sloboda Ukraine with the Antiquity heritage. Such a goal has not been previously set in studies.

In this regard, it is important to find answers to the following research questions: 1) What was the range of Antiquity literature studied at the Orthodox colleges in Chernihiv, Kharkiv, and Pereiaslav in the 18th century? 2) How did the classical and Christian traditions coexist in these Orthodox schools? 3) What were the channels and forms of adaptation of the Antiquity heritage that the colleges offered to the local society?

To implement these tasks, the study involved handwritten lecture notes and other notes that were deposited in the process of teaching a number of educational courses. Translations of ancient authors made by teachers and students for educational and other purposes were also identified. Contemporary fiction, memoirs and correspondence were examined to establish relevant cultural practices. Another group of sources were catalogs of collegiate libraries, registers of personal libraries of students and teachers, as well as paperwork documentation of colleges.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In recent decades, historians have done a lot to reconstruct the educational process in Chernihiv, Kharkiv and Pereiaslav colleges, conducting a comparative analysis with the study plans of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Jesuit colleges of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as well as European universities⁶. An important conclusion was that the curriculum in these colleges was drawn up with an orientation towards the Jesuit program 'Ratio Studiorum'. It was within the framework of this program that Orthodox colleges joined the traditions of the humanistic school, including the understanding of the Antiquity heritage. It was taken into account that the study of cultural transfer involves not only identifying what was transferred to another cultural environment, but also those transformations that certainly occurred during the 'transfer'. In this regard, we share the judgment, as Mark von Hagen noted, it is "the fluidity of frontiers, the permeability of cultures, the historic multi-ethnic of society is what could make Ukrainian history a very 'modern' field of inquiry"⁷.

When considering these types of cultural practices, it is important not to lose sight of the comparative aspect. In this regard, when writing the article, we took into account the results of a number of studies devoted to the study of the specifics of turning to antiquity in the Russian Empire⁸, conclusions about the 'import' and

⁶ *Посохова Л.Ю.* На перехресті культур, традицій, епох: православні колегіуми України наприкінці XVII – на початку XIX ст. Харків, 2011; *Травкіна О., Левченко О., Степанова О.* Чернігівський колегіум. Чернігів, 2012.

⁷ *Hagen M.* Does Ukraine Have a History? // *Slavic Review.* 1995. Vol. 54. № 3. P. 670. URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2501741?origin=JSTOR-pdf>

⁸ *Кнабе Г.С.* Русская античность. Содержание, роль и судьба античного наследия в культуре России. Москва: РГУ, 2000; *Ржеуцкий В.С.* Между Россией и Западной Европой: античное наследие и фигура Петра Великого в век Просвещения (на примере произведений барона де Чуди, секретаря И.И. Шувалова) // *Век Просвещения / ред. С.Я. Карп.* Вып. 4: Античное наследие в европейской культуре XVIII века. Москва: Наука, 2012. С. 258-279.

imposition 'from above' of the ancient tradition, and its alienness to Russian society⁹. Thanks to this, a comparative analysis became possible, which made it possible to identify certain regional features in the Eastern European space.

CURRICULUM. WORKS OF ANCIENT AUTHORS AT DIFFERENT STAGES OF EDUCATION

The learning process at the three Orthodox colleges was heavily influenced by the doctrine laid out in the Jesuit program *Ratio Studiorum*, which, of course, placed a special emphasis on the study of the Latin language and Greek and Roman authors. It is no surprise that students in Chernihiv, Kharkiv, and Pereiaslav translated Cicero's letters and some of the works of Ovid, Tibullus, Virgil, Propertius, Cornelius Nepos, Phaedrus, and Lucian already in their grammar classes¹⁰. Instructors used textbooks and lexicons prepared for Jesuit colleges. This is not surprising, since many of the college teachers studied at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy and Jesuit colleges. For example, the founder of the Pereiaslav College Arsenii (Berlo), the rector of the Kharkiv College Mytrofan (Slotvynskyi), the prefects of the Chernihiv College Sofronii (Zemynskyi) and Fadei (Kokuilovych) studied at the Lviv Jesuit College. It is quite understandable that in the new schools these people used textbooks and lexicons that were well known to them. It was from these books that text fragments were selected for translation. A typical example is a handwritten collection of exercises that belonged to Ivan Ushyvskyi, a student at Kharkiv College (1738-1743), contains maxims of Epictetus, Aesop and other authors¹¹. However, there are many examples of students' also reading original works, even early in their education. Thus, Yakiv Tolmachov wrote that in his third year of study at Kharkiv College he understood Latin classics well and read *The Jugurthine War* of Sallust¹². Indeed, college students had the opportunity to directly turn to the works of ancient Greek and Roman authors. There are many examples when colleges especially for students bought the works of Cornelius Nepos, Cicero and others in large numbers¹³. When studying the catalog of the library of the Kharkiv College in 1753, it becomes clear that already in the first years of its existence, the poems of Hesiod, the works of Virgil, Ovid, Cicero, Horace were transferred to it from bishops and teachers¹⁴. A huge number of works by ancient Greek and Roman authors were in the library of the Chernihiv College¹⁵.

Comparing the content of the courses in poetics and rhetoric at the Orthodox and Jesuit colleges and the range of ancient authors chosen for translation exercises allows us to conclude that they were homothetic¹⁶. The students studied the works of Cicero, Caesar, Sallust, Livy, Curtius, Virgil, and the odes of Horace. The range of recommended reading also had many common features. The methods to be used by teachers of rhetoric in interpreting rules, speeches of orators, and poems are reflected, for example, in Bishop Samuil (Myslavskyi's) 1769 instructions to the

⁹ Кнабе Г.С. Русская античность... С. 105-106.

¹⁰ Посохова Л. На перехресті культур, традицій, епох... С. 56.

¹¹ Manuscript Institute of V.I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine (MI NLU). Fund 301. File 661п.

¹² Толмачев Я.В. Автобиографическая записка // Русская старина. 1892. Т. 75. С. 702.

¹³ Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kyiv (CSHAU). Fund 990. List 1. File 848. P. 46-47.

¹⁴ The Manuscript Department of the Central Scientific Library of the V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University (MD CSL KGNU). No. 1817/c 895. P. 13, 15.

¹⁵ Травкіна О., Левченко О., Степанова О. Чернігівський колегіум... С. 119-146.

¹⁶ Посохова Л. На перехресті культур, традицій, епох... С. 80-115.

faculty of Kharkiv College¹⁷. In poetics and rhetoric classes, students were introduced to that “supranational system of knowledge and ideas” which had originated in Renaissance Italy and spread throughout Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries¹⁸. At its foundation was the heritage of ancient Greek and Roman literary thought and antiquity heritage, mainly Roman, literature. Following Natalia Pylypiuk, I believe it is important to pinpoint those texts that were selected taking into account the special characteristics of Orthodox piety¹⁹.

So, let’s try to identify such ‘typical’ works that were most often used by instructors at the Orthodox colleges. For example, at Pereiaslav College in 1742, the instructor Pylyp Goshkevych chose several topics from Aesop’s fables and suggested that the students write a poetic imitation in Latin or Slavic based on these models²⁰. In 1745, a poetics instructor at Chernihiv College turned to Virgil’s *Aeneid* and wrote his own version of the duel between Aeneas and Turnus²¹.

It is noteworthy that in 1716 instructors at Chernihiv College translated from Latin the work of the Roman historian Livy²². This mammoth undertaking testifies to the ambitions and intentions to use the text in the educational process and has its rightful place among the translations of Livy into various European languages. Incidentally, lists of books purchased for classes include many works by antiquity heritage historians (Caesar, Sallust, Curtius, Livy, Justin, Plutarch, Herodotus, Tacitus, Suetonius, and more)²³.

Beginning in the 1760s, the Orthodox colleges phase out the textbooks and lexicons of Latin, rhetoric, and poetics used in the Jesuit colleges of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in favor of books authored by professors from German universities (Halle and others). One example is the lexicon of Johann Matthias Gesner²⁴. Gesner introduced a new humanistic method, focusing on antiquity sources²⁵. At this time, college teachers used in their classes the works of Christoph Cellarius, Christian Fürchtegott Gellert, Johann Gottlieb Heineccius, Samuel Pufendorf, Hilmar Curas and others. Taken together, they represent a body of work in which intellectuals of the European Enlightenment undertook to rethink not only the methodology of learning languages, but also approaches to understanding antiquity culture and history. Drawing on these books as models, Ukrainian college instructors produced a number of works of their own. Among these works, especially noteworthy is the poetics of Yakiv Tolmachov, prepared specifically for classes at the Kharkiv College²⁶. Also interesting is the Latin reader of Andrii Prokopovych, which would

¹⁷ Лебедев А.С. Харьковский коллегіум как просветительский центр Слободской Украины до учреждения в Харькове университета. Москва, 1886. С. 66-67.

¹⁸ Наливайко Д. Становлення нової жанрової системи в українській літературі доби бароко // Українське бароко: матеріали I конгресу Міжнародної асоціації українців. Київ, 1993. С. 16.

¹⁹ Пилипюк Н. Київські поетики і ренесансні теорії мистецтва // Європейське Відродження та українська література XIV-XVIII ст. Київ: Наукова думка, 1993. С. 75-109.

²⁰ Manuscript Department of the Russian State Library. Fund 152. File 127. P. 96-166.

²¹ Марковський М. Найдавніший список «Енеїди» І.П. Котляревського й деякі думки про генезу цього твору. Київ, 1927. С. 42, 103-107.

²² Department of Manuscripts of the State Historical Museum (Moscow, Russian Federation). Synodal Assembly. File 295, 296, 297, 298, 299.

²³ Посохова Л. На перехресті культур, традицій, епох... С. 123.

²⁴ Геснер И.М. Полной латинской Геснеров лексикон с российским переводом. Москва, 1796-1798.

²⁵ Паульсен Ф. Исторический очерк развития образования в Германии. Москва, 1908. С. 134-135.

²⁶ Толмачев Я.В. Русская поэзия в пользу юношества, обучающегося в Харьковском коллегіуме. Москва, 1805.

later be used in teaching both at the collegium and at Kharkiv University²⁷. At the same time, in the late 18th century and early 19th century the questions of the benefits of studying ancient languages and their place in the curriculum were repeatedly raised at the colleges, even in student disputes²⁸.

With regard to approaches to the classical heritage, it is important to note that starting in the 1760s the colleges transitioned to teaching the Leibniz-Wolff philosophical system²⁹. In Enlightenment-era scholarship, including works used in the Ukrainian colleges, a prominent place certainly belonged to Greek and Roman antiquity. A number of college teachers in the Ukrainian lands produced their own translations of textbooks by Friedrich Christian Baumeister and works by Enlightenment intellectuals (Moses Mendelssohn and others)³⁰.

COMPREHENDING THE ANTIQUITY HERITAGE

In an attempt to find evidence of reflection on the classical heritage, I also turned to instructors' recommendations to students regarding additional reading. Such recommendations, for instance, can be found in letters to students written by the prominent philosopher Hryhorii Skovoroda. Thus, in his letters to Mykhailo Kovalynskyi (1762-1763), Skovoroda dwelled on the importance of love for the Greek muses and self-improvement in Latin and ancient Greek (some of the letters were written in these languages)³¹. Of course, the problem of the influence of works of ancient Greek and antiquity authors on Ukrainian Baroque literature, as well as on individual thinkers, in particular Hryhorii Skovoroda, has been repeatedly raised by modern researchers³².

Lists of books owned by students confirm that such recommendations were abided by. The works we encounter most frequently in students' personal collections are Virgil's *Aeneid* and Aesop's fables³³. As noted above, the catalogs of the libraries of all three colleges, including their earliest years, feature numerous works by Greek and Roman authors. Records of book lending to students and faculty confirm that these books were regularly borrowed³⁴. Students often and pointedly demonstrated their familiarity with the widest range of characters and episodes in the history of antiquity, especially in welcoming speeches and congratulations. For example, in the text of congratulations from the prefect of the Pereiaslav College Fedir Domontovych, students mentioned the muses on Parnassus and many other characters (Kronos, Phoebus, Orpheus)³⁵.

But the following example of student creativity is especially indicative. On his name day in 1730, the Chernihiv College instructor Archimandrite Tymofii (Maksymovych) was presented with a panegyric composed by the students whose

²⁷ Prokopovych A. *Latina chrestomathia pro discentibus poesin. Charcoviae, 1810; Prokopovych A. Latina chrestomathia pro discentibus rhetoricam. Charcoviae, 1817.*

²⁸ MI NLU. Fund 310. File 55. P. 48-49.

²⁹ Посохова Л. На перехресті культур, традицій, епох... С. 139-142.

³⁰ Толмачев Я.В. Логика с латинского вновь переведенная и исправленная: перевод Фридриха Баумейстера. Москва, 1807; Мендельсон М. Рассуждение о духовном свойстве души человеческой / переведено с немецкого в Харьковском коллегиуме. Москва, 1806.

³¹ Сковорода Г.С. *Повна академічна збірка творів*. Харків, 2016. С. 1064, 1162.

³² Ушкалов Л.Г. Сковорода і антична культура. Харків, 1997.

³³ CSHAU. Fund 1973. List 1. File 2154. P. 1.

³⁴ MD CSL KGNU. No. 1817/c 895. P. 50, 68.

³⁵ Левицкий П. Образцы старо-семинарской поэзии // Киевская старина. 1889. № 11. С. 450-454.

education he sponsored³⁶. The panegyric contained four speeches (two in Latin, two in Polish) extolling Maksymovych as a philanthropist and educator. The students supplemented the speeches with the images of Olympus and the gods Athena and Apollo, patrons of science and the arts. At the foot of Mount Olympus, we see the nine muses playing a lyre and musical instruments typical of 18th-century Ukraine: cymbal, Cossack war trumpet, violin, and kobza. Apollo himself is playing a bandura. The muses' attire also features elements of the Ukrainian national costume. Praising the virtues of Tymofii (Maksymovych), students evoke episodes and characters from antiquity mythology and literature (Jupiter, Poseidon, Theseus, and Menelaus).

There are also interesting cases when certain events from the history of classical antiquity, or forms of organization of antiquity society, were compared with the surrounding reality. For example, in the autobiographical novella *Bursak (The Student)* by Vasyl Narizhnyi, one of the characters, describing the structural makeup of Pereiaslav College, draws parallels with the organization of 'remarkable Rome'³⁷.

STUDY OF THE ANCIENT GREEK LANGUAGE AND THE FIRST SCIENTIFIC RESEARCHES OF ANTIQUITY LITERATURE

Of particular importance was the inclusion of the ancient Greek language in the college curriculum. This happened at Kharkiv College in 1749, and at Chernihiv and Pereiaslav – in the early 1780s. The idea belonged to the local church leadership; in the end, putting it into practice took great effort³⁸. As already noted, the colleges' libraries from their very foundation contained many lexicons and textbooks for the study of ancient Greek, as well as works by antiquity authors. For example, the catalogs of the Kharkiv College library in 1753 and 1823 make it possible to establish a list of Latin-Greek lexicons and grammars that were available to teachers in different decades³⁹. Note that Latin-Greek lexicons and grammars were also in the library of the Pereiaslav College (which still remains unexplored)⁴⁰. And yet, it was not easy to launch the teaching of Ancient Greek. A number of new textbooks were procured from the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. The professional interest of college instructors towards Ancient Greek is underscored by the presence of books in this language (sometimes by rare authors) in their personal libraries. For example, Zakharii Piiuchevskiy, who taught Greek at Pereiaslav College, took notes from Anacreon in the original⁴¹. College instructors also began to make translations of their own from Ancient Greek.

There is skepticism in the literature about the level of instruction in Ancient Greek at the Orthodox colleges⁴²; however, I have reasons to challenge this view. I will cite

³⁶ Греческие музы в малорусском изображении // Киевская старина. 1884. № 4. С. 712-714.

³⁷ *Нарежний В.Т.* Бурсак, малороссийская повесть // Сочинения: в 2 т. Т. 2: Романы и повести. Москва, 1983. С. 14.

³⁸ For details on the teaching of the ancient Greek language, see: *Посохова Л.* Статус давньогрецької мови в «латинських школах» Гетьманської та Слобідської України (XVIII – початок XIX ст.) // Український історичний журнал. 2021. № 3. С. 16-27. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15407/uhj2021.03.016>

³⁹ MD CSL KGNU. No. 1817/c 895. P. 5, 8, 13, 19; Russian State Historical Archive (RSHA). Fund 834. List 3. File 3325. P. 132-133.

⁴⁰ RSHA. Fund 796. List 87. File 1117. P. 36-37.

⁴¹ *Перетц В.Н.* Отчет об экскурсии семинария русской филологии в Полтаву и Екатеринослав. Киев, 1910. С. 23.

⁴² *Водолажченко О.* З історії Харківського колегіуму в XVIII віці // Наукові записки науково-дослідної кафедри історії української культури. Харків, 1927. № 6. С. 112.

two examples. Mykola Hnidych (1784-1833), known as one of the best translators of Homer's *Iliad*, learned Ancient Greek at Kharkiv College and Poltava Seminary. Vasyl Dzhunkovskiy (1767-1826), after studying at Kharkiv College, taught Ancient Greek at the St. Petersburg Medical and Surgical School, and later served as professor of Greek letters at Kharkiv University, where he taught history of Ancient Greek literature. He also translated *The Iliad* and other works. Notably, Dzhunkovskiy produced one of the first scholarly studies of antiquity literature and art in the Ukrainian lands, published in Kharkiv⁴³. In covering the history of antiquity art, he largely followed Johann Joachim Winckelmann, while demonstrating familiarity with the works of other contemporary researchers.

Thus, it was at the Orthodox colleges and in the milieu directly shaped by them that the classical Greek and Roman heritage became the object of scholarly inquiry and reflection for the first time in the Ukrainian lands.

ANTIQUITY AND ORTHODOXY

To understand the process through which ideas from Greek and Roman antiquity were transplanted and took root in the Ukrainian lands, it is important to observe that, all through the history of the Orthodox colleges, Christian themes and symbolism always organically merged, rather than clashed, with those from classical antiquity. This thesis finds many confirmations. One of the founders of Chernihiv College Archbishop Ioan (Maksymovych), in his book *The Alphabet Composed in Rhymes*, called the college 'Chernihiv's Athens'⁴⁴. The combination of Christianity and Greco-Roman heritage is easy to detect in a variety of texts. So, in 1787, students of Kharkiv College entitled a poetic canto on public joy 'Parnassus and the Church'⁴⁵. Student sermons, interspersed as they were with examples from antiquity history, are also indicative⁴⁶. This trend also found expression in the decoration of college buildings, where scenes from antiquity mythology were often depicted, and in students' lecture notes, where we can see how traditional Christian symbolism coexisted with images from antiquity mythology, we can find images and comments related to classical antiquity.

ADAPTATION OF ANTIQUITY HERITAGE AND LOCAL SOCIETY

Another striking characteristic of college culture in the Ukrainian lands was the interweaving of elements of classical heritage with the Ukrainian folk tradition. In their verses, next to 'Zephyrs' and 'Ethers', students would call themselves 'nestlings' of 'Ukrainian sciences'⁴⁷. In several poetic dedications to the Kharkiv bishop Khrystofor (Sulyma), the authors wish for the college ('Olympus', 'Parnassus') to become the place where 'Ukraine is blessed', 'Ukraine flourishes', and 'the garden of

⁴³ Джунковский В.Я. Об изящных художествах у греков и влиянии их на нравственность // Украинский вестник на 1819 год. Харьков, 1819. Ч. 16. Кн. 8. С. 3-37; Кн. 11. С. 133-177.

⁴⁴ Citation by: Запаско Я., Ісаєвич Я. Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва. Каталог стародруків, виданих на Україні. Кн. 2. Ч. 1 (1701-1764). Львів, 1984. С. 22.

⁴⁵ Багалеї Д.И., Міллер Д.П. История города Харькова за 250 лет его существования (1655-1905): в 2 т. Репринт. изд. Харьков, 1993. Т. 1. С. 470.

⁴⁶ Танков А. Проповедное слово в Белгородской епархии в XVIII веке // Курские епархиальные ведомости. Часть неофициальная. 1897. № 42. С. 834-835.

⁴⁷ Излияние благодарных чувств Его Сиятельству кн. А.М. Голицыну от питомцев Харьковского коллегіума по случаю полученных новых милостей. Харьков, 1806. С. 5.

Ukrainian sciences' blooms⁴⁸. The 'transfer' of Olympus to the Ukrainian soil is clearly reflected in students' drawings, which decorate the abstracts of various academic disciplines. For example, in one of the synopses of poetics and rhetoric of the Chernihiv College in 1730, the title page is decorated with a drawing of Mount Olympus, on which sits a mentor with an open book, surrounded by students, and next to Olympus is a muse with a bandura and Pegasus⁴⁹. A similar image of Olympus with Apollo and nine muses can also be found in the rhetoric course read at the Kharkiv College in 1737⁵⁰.

Thus, there is no doubt that the Orthodox colleges became important conduits for introducing the Ukrainian society of the Hetmanate and Sloboda Ukraine to the 'classical tradition'. This was helped by the fact that representatives of all estates could study at the three colleges and the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. As a result, the Latin language and antiquity stories and myths were well known to the Cossack elite, the urban 'third estate', and, of course, the clergy. It is indicative that themes from antiquity were brought up every time college faculty or students addressed a wider audience. For example, the prefect of Chernihiv College Antonii (Stakhovskiyi) included poems in honor of Hetman Ivan Mazepa (in Polish) in the ecclesiastically-themed collection *Mirror from the Divine Scripture*⁵¹. These verses contained many allusions to and quotations from works of Terence and Virgil and references to characters and stories from antiquity mythology and history (Phoebus, Mars, Pallas, Bellona, Paris). At various solemn events, speaking before distinguished guests, students as a matter of course recited speeches and poems composed for these occasions in Latin, Ancient Greek, and other languages. In such cases, students of Kharkiv College, for example, could call themselves 'wards of Kharkovian Minerva' or 'children of Pallas', and the college itself – 'Kharkiv's Parnassus', a 'cathedral of the Parnassus Muses', or 'temple of Pallas'⁵². This was typical for all of the colleges. In 1781, in honor of the arrival of distinguished guests, classically-themed images were painted at Chernihiv College, to be used to decorate a triumphal arch⁵³. The visual sequence was combined with spoken greetings (cantas) that were pronounced in several languages, including Ancient Greek.

In the early 19th century, silver medals were awarded to the best students of Kharkiv College in solemn ceremony in the presence of town authorities and eminent citizens⁵⁴. The medals featured the image of Minerva and symbols of the four arts (palette, bust, column, and lyre).

Greek and Roman literature, its images and characters became part of the daily culture and leisure of not only the clergy, but also families of the Cossack elite and townspeople. This was reflected in the imaginative literature of the era. In the novella *Sotnyk's Daughter*, Hryhorii Kvitka-Osnovianenko describes a typical festive occasion at the home of an elite Cossack family, featuring a recital by a student attending a poetics class at Kharkiv College. The congratulatory verses contain a long list of

⁴⁸ MD CSL KGNU. No. 682-р 1336/с. P. 2, 9.

⁴⁹ MI NLU. Fund 305. File 259. P. 1.

⁵⁰ MI NLU. Fund 306. File 323 п 100. P. 1.

⁵¹ See about it: Маслов С.І. Етюди з історії стародруків. Київ, 1925. С. 52-53.

⁵² Багалеї Д.І., Миллер Д.П. История города Харькова за 250 лет... Т. 2. С. 792; MD CSL KGNU. No. 682-р 1336/с. P. 1, 30, 57.

⁵³ State archive of the Chernihiv region of Ukraine. Fund 679. List 1. File 1253. P. 16, 20-24.

⁵⁴ Посохова Л.Ю. Харківський колегіум (XVIII – перша половина XIX ст.). Харків, 1999. С. 112-114.

events and characters from antiquity, to which participants in the celebration are allegorically compared⁵⁵. Noteworthy are the memories of Pereiaslav College student Iliia Tymkivskiy, who later became a professor at Kharkiv University. At a family holiday, he and his brother recited poems written for them by a student of the Pereiaslav College⁵⁶. The poems contained a huge number of references to events and heroes of Greek and Roman mythology. This holiday took place on Christmas Day in the house of Fedir Tymkivskiy, the chief of the Pereiaslav regiment.

Collegiate recreations of this period are also noteworthy, including nature outings by faculty and students, often involving townspeople. College instructors liked to entertain the party by singing Ukrainian songs in Latin⁵⁷.

The colleges did not only act as cultural intermediaries in the dissemination of classical references in Ukrainian society; they influenced Russian society as well. For example, Mytrofan (Slotvynskiy), a former instructor at Kharkiv College, founded a seminary in Tver after becoming a bishop. Soon, the play 'Opera about Alexander the Great' was staged there⁵⁸, written by Mykhailo Tykhorskiy, a student of Kharkiv College who had followed the bishop to Tver.

The support lent by Kharkiv College to the modern-type university established in the city in the early 19th century was the symbolic outcome of the mission of mediation I have described in this paper. A considerable number of students were transferred from the college to the university (they made up almost half of the initial student body). Good knowledge of Latin and other languages had prepared them for attending lectures, including those by foreign professors. At the solemn inauguration of Kharkiv University on January 17, 1805, rector of the college Andrii Prokopovych delivered a speech imbued with the pathos of popular enlightenment⁵⁹. He emphasized that the traditions of the Kharkiv College are being transferred to the university.

CONCLUSIONS

Thus, Greek and Roman heritage not only represented an important element of educational practice at the Orthodox colleges, but also became an object of reflection for intellectuals and a kind of cultural code. The absorption of classical heritage through college education took place within the framework of the Eastern Christian tradition, but via the mediation of Jesuit colleges and Western European universities. The reception of classical heritage reached beyond the walls of the Orthodox colleges, infiltrating urban cultural practices. Classical antiquity to a large extent became a kind of intertext, mastering which defined one's status as a member of the intellectual elite. The actualization of antiquity cultural heritage at the Orthodox colleges was not only the result of sharing in the lasting European tradition of the Baroque era, but also a factor in the assimilation of the principles of humanism, and eventually ideas of the Enlightenment.

⁵⁵ *Квітка-Основ'яненко Г.Ф.* Панна сотниковна // Зібрання творів: у 7 т. Т. 4. Київ, 1979. С. 304.

⁵⁶ *Тимковский И.Ф.* Мое определение в службу // Москвитянин. 1852. № 17. С. 15.

⁵⁷ Малорусские песни на латыни // Киевская старина. 1885. № 7. С. 516.

⁵⁸ *Бадалич И.М., Кузьмина В.Д.* Памятники русской школьной драмы XVIII века (по загребским спискам). Москва, 1968. С. 56-58.

⁵⁹ *Багалец Д.И.* Опыт истории Харьковского университета (по неизданным материалам). Т. 1 (1802-1815 г.). Харьков, 1893-1898. С. 197.

REFERENCES

- Badalich, I.M. & Kuzmina, V.D.** (1968). *Monuments of Russian school drama of the 18th century (based on Zagreb lists)*. Moskva [in Russian].
- Bagalei, D.I.** (1893-1898). *An experience of the history of Kharkov University (based on unpublished materials)*. T. 1. (1802-1815). Kharkov [in Russian].
- Bagalei, D.I. & Miller, D.P.** (1993). *History of the city of Kharkov for 250 years of its existence (1655-1905)*. T. 1-2. Kharkov [in Russian].
- Bercoff, G.B., Pavlyshyn, M. & Plokhly, S. (Eds.)** (2017). *Ukraine and Europe: Cultural Encounters and Negotiations*. Toronto [in English].
- Dzhunkovskii, V.Ia.** (1819). On the fine arts of the Greeks and their influence on morality. *Ukrainskii vestnik na 1819 god*, 16 (8), 3-37; 16 (11), 133-177 [in Russian].
- Gesner, I.M.** (1796-1798). *Complete Latin lexicon of the Gesners with Russian translation*. Moskva [in Russian].
- Hagen, M.** (1995). Does Ukraine Have a History? *Slavic Review*, 54 (3), 658-673 [in English].
- Kahamlyk, S.** (2006). The intellectual environment of Mogilians in the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra (18 century). *Kyivska Akademiia*, 2-3, 177-196 [in Ukrainian].
- Knabe, G.S.** (2000). *Russian antiquity. Content, role and fate of the ancient heritage in Russian culture*. Moskva [in Russian].
- Kvitka-Osnovianenko, H.F.** (1979). Panna Sotnikovna. In *Zibrannia tvoriv*. Vol. 4. Kyiv, 291-320 [in Ukrainian].
- Lebedev, A.S.** (1886). *Kharkov College as an educational center of Sloboda Ukraine before the establishment of the university in Kharkov*. Moskva [in Russian].
- Levitskii, P.** (1889). Samples of old seminary poetry. *Kievskaiia starina*, 11, 450-454 [in Russian].
- Markovskiy, M.** (1927). *The oldest list of I.P. Kotlyarevsky's 'Aeneid' and some thoughts about the genesis of this work*. Kyiv [in Ukrainian].
- Maslov, S.I.** (1925). *Etudes on the history of old prints*. Kyiv [in Ukrainian].
- Mendelson, M.** (1806). *Reasoning about the spiritual property of the human soul; translated from German at the Kharkov College*. Moskva [in Russian].
- Nalyvaiko, D.** (1993). The formation of a new genre system in the Ukrainian literature of the Baroque era. In *Ukrainske barokko: materialy I konhresu Mizhnarodnoi asotsiatsii ukrainistiv*. Kyiv, 12-21 [in Ukrainian].
- Nareznyi, V.T.** (1983). Bursak, Malorossiia story. In *Sochineniia*. Vol. 2. Moskva, 8-286 [in Russian].
- Okenfuss, M.J.** (1995). *The Rise and Fall of Latin Humanism in Early Modern Russia*. Leiden; New York; Köln [in English].
- Paulsen, F.** (1908). *Historical sketch of the development of education in Germany*. Moskva [in Russian].
- Peretts, V.N.** (1910). *Report on the excursion of a seminarian of Russian philology to Poltava and Ekaterinoslav*. Kiev [in Russian].
- Posokhova, L.Yu.** (1999). *Kharkiv College (18th – first half of the 19th century)*. Kharkiv [in Ukrainian].
- Posokhova, L.** (2011). *At the crossroads of cultures, traditions, eras: Orthodox colleges of Ukraine at the end of the 17th – early 19th centuries*. Kharkiv [in Ukrainian].
- Posokhova, L.** (2014-2015). Intellectuals of Kharkiv College of the second half of the 18th – early 19th centuries: a network of connections and relationships. *Kyivska Akademiia*, 12, 160-184 [in Ukrainian].
- Posokhova, L.** (2021). The Status of the Ancient Greek Language in the “Latin Schools” in Hetmanshchyna and Sloboda Ukraine (Eighteenth – Early Nineteenth Centuries). *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 3, 16-27. DOI: 10.15407/uhj2021.03.016 [in Ukrainian].
- Prokopovych, A. (Ed.)** (1810). *Latina chrestomathia pro discentibus poesin*. Charcoviae [in Latin].
- Prokopovych, A. (Ed.)** (1817). *Latina chrestomathia pro discentibus rhetoricam*. Charcoviae [in Latin].
- Pylypiuk, N.** (1993). Kyiv poetics and Renaissance art theories. In *Yevropeiske Vidrodzhennia ta ukrainska literatura XIV-XVIII st.* Kyiv, 75-109 [in Ukrainian].
- Rzheutskii, V.S.** (2012). Between Russia and Western Europe: the ancient heritage and the figure of Peter the Great in the Age of Enlightenment using the example of the works of Baron de Tschudi, secretary of I.I. Shuvalov. In *Vek Prosveshcheniia*. Issue 4: Antichnoe nasledie v evropeiskoi kulture XVIII veka. Moskva, 258-279 [in Russian].
- Saunders, D.** (1985). *The Ukrainian Impact on Russian Culture, 1750-1850*. Edmonton [in English].
- Shevchenko, I.** (2001). *Ukraine between East and West. Essays on the history of culture until the beginning of the 18th century*. Lviv [in Ukrainian].

- Sklokin, V.** (2019). *The Russian Empire and Sloboda Ukraine During the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century: Enlightened Absolutism, Imperial Integration, Local Society*. Lviv [in Ukrainian].
- Skovoroda, H.C.** (2016). *A complete academic collection of works*. Kharkiv [in Ukrainian].
- Sydorenko, A.** (2000). Ukraine and the Enlightenment. In *Service to Clio. Collection of Studies in Honor of Lubomyr Roman Wynar Commemorating Fifty Years of His Scholarly Activity*. Kyiv; New York; Paris; Lviv [in English].
- Tankov, A.** (1897). Preaching word in the Belgorod diocese in the 18th century. *Kurskie eparkhialnye vedomosti. Chast neofitsialnaia*, 42, 830-838 [in Russian].
- Timkovskii, I.F.** (1852). My appointment to the service. *Moskvitianin*, 17, 1-26 [in Russian].
- Tolmachev, Ya.V.** (1805). *Russian poetry for the benefit of youth studying at the Kharkov College*. Moskva [in Russian].
- Tolmachev, Ya.V.** (1807). *Logic, again translated and corrected from the Latin: translation by Friedrich Baumeister*. Moskva [in Russian].
- Tolmachev, Ya.V.** (1892). Autobiographical note. *Russkaia starina*, 75, 699-724 [in Russian].
- Travkina, O., Levchenko, O. & Stepanova, O.** (2012). *Chernihiv College*. Chernihiv [in Ukrainian].
- Ushkalov, L.** (1997). *H. Skovoroda and antiquity culture*. Kharkiv [in Ukrainian].
- Vodolazhchenko, O.** (1927). From the history of the Kharkiv College in the 18th century. *Naukovi zapysky naukovo-doslidnoi kafedry istorii ukrainskoi kultury*, 6, 107-122 [in Ukrainian].
- Yakovenko, N.** (2002). *Parallel world. Studies on the history of perceptions and ideas in Ukraine of the XVI-XVII centuries*. Kyiv [in Ukrainian].
- Yakovenko, N.** (2012). *Mirrors of Identity. Studies in the History of Concepts and Ideas in Ukraine (16th through the Early 18th Century)*. Kyiv [in Ukrainian].
- Zapasko, Ya. & Isaievych, Ya.** (1984). *Monuments of book art. Catalogue of old prints published in Ukraine. Book 2. Part 1 (1701-1764)*. Lviv [in Ukrainian].