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The Library of Varlaam Shyshatsky in the Context of a ‘Reading Revolution’ in the Ukrainian Lands (Second Half of the 18th – Early 19th Centuries)

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Abstract: *Varlaam Shyshatsky (1750-1821) was a prominent figure in the Russian Orthodox Church. In this article, the author’s focus is on his personal library – one of the most substantial book collections in Eastern Europe in the second half of the 18th and early 19th centuries, which has never been analyzed before. The article not only analyzes the composition of Varlaam Shyshatsky’s library, but also compares this collection with the personal libraries of other figures belonging to the same social group. The analysis is grounded in the broad context of the history of reading and book culture in Europe. Based on a number of criteria, it is concluded that significant changes in the culture of reading took place in the Ukrainian lands of the Russian Empire in the second half of the 18th century – first and foremost the emergence of ‘extensive’ reading and development of a number of new cultural practices among the ‘enlightened elite’. The composition of the library of Varlaam Shyshatsky also attests to the cultural uniqueness of the region and argues in favor of the thesis about the existence of a ‘Ukrainian Enlightenment’ as a phenomenon with national and regional specifics of its own.*

Key words: Varlaam Shyshatsky, Enlightenment, history of reading, history of libraries

Personal libraries of the clergy of the Ukrainian dioceses and the problem of the ‘Ukrainian reader’

Compared to the rich tradition of studying the history of reading in Western Europe, this subject appeared relatively recently in the historiography of the Ukrainian lands that were part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Russian Empire. In our view, the time has come to bring the results of the research on Western European readers to bear on the study of cultural developments in Eastern Europe. It is important not only to reconstruct the practices of the ‘Ukrainian reader’, but also to correlate them with the book culture and traditions of other regions of Europe.

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Of course, tackling ‘the problem of the reader’ involves both making certain generalizations and considering specifics – particularly regarding different social groups. This article will focus mainly on the library of one representative of the enlightened elite of the late 18th to early 19th centuries, Archbishop Varlaam Shyshatsky.

The contents and structure of personal libraries is an important window into the qualities and dispositions of the so-called ‘enlightened elite’ – a new cultural community of people from different social estates that arose at that time in Europe.¹ The Ukrainian lands are of particular interest for study, occupying as they did a cultural borderland, where the meeting of cultures gave rise to diversity, new local forms and meanings, and new kinds of ‘responses’ to various ‘challenges’ of the era (intellectual, social, confessional, and others).² One aspect that appears particularly intriguing in this light in the culture of Orthodox Christianity.

Even though the first scholarly studies of select personal libraries of the clergy of the Ukrainian dioceses appeared as early as the beginning of the 20th century (and some of them have not lost their value to this day³), in the following decades this motif found little development. Only in the 1970s and 1980s, scholars dealing with the history of the book in Eastern Europe in the 16th to 18th centuries began to take note of the rich libraries of the clergy of the Ukrainian dioceses, alumni of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy.⁴ Recently, special works have appeared on the history of libraries of educational institutions and private book collections in the Hetman state and Sloboda Ukraine in the 17th and 18th centuries. Their authors introduced new interesting sources and sketched out new research horizons.⁵ We especially note Liudmyla Sharipova’s proposed approaches to the study of the spread and role of the Latin book among the Orthodox elite.⁶

This article will focus on the personal library of the archbishop of the Russian Orthodox Church Varlaam Shyshatsky (1750-1821). Even though this was one of the largest personal book collections in Eastern Europe in the 2nd half of the 18th to early 19th centuries (3811 books), it has never been a subject of special study. The fate of the library’s owner himself, on the other hand, has not gone unnoticed.⁷ Archbishop Varlaam Shyshatsky first of all is known as the figure that, at the head of a group of the clergy of the Mahilyow diocese, swore allegiance to Napoleon and was subsequently stripped of his rank for this act by the decision of the Synod. Varlaam Shyshatsky’s life and long years of church service passed in various Orthodox dioceses

¹ Dupront, 1965: 881.

² Giovanna Brogi Bercoff (2003: 325-387) has proposed a concept of the ‘polymorphism’, or multifacetedness and diversity, of Orthodox culture as one of its constituent traits.

³ For example: Maslov, 1914.

⁴ Luppov, 1976; Sidorov & Luppov, 1978; Khoteev, 1989.

⁵ Dzijuba, 2002; 2004; Yaremenko, 2004; Yakovenko, 2017; Posokhova, 2020.

⁶ Sharipova, 2006.

⁷ Khojnackij, 1881: 522-543; Ohloblyn, 1959: 143, 267, 300-309.

of both the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Russian Empire. His fate reflected the complex and contradictory historical circumstances of the era.⁸

In studying the library of Varlaam Shyshatsky, we addressed several essential tasks that have long become classic for historians of reading: to assess the holdings of this library, to establish a number of defining quantitative thresholds, and to determine the presence of a ‘nomenclature’ of books in it. This method of research is closely related to the dominant model of the French historiography of cultural phenomena, which “consists in the application of statistical methods and serial analysis [analyse sérielle] in the study of the production and consumption of cultural values”.⁹ Thanks to this analysis, it is possible to outline the profile of the reader, the owner of certain books (although, of course, the owner does not necessarily ‘consume’ only those books that belonged to him).

The results of the analysis of Varlaam Shishatsky’s library were correlated with the existing (scarce) statistical data on the availability and distribution of books in the Hetmanate and Sloboda Ukraine, without which it would be impossible to talk about social variations and distinctions in the culture of reading. Focusing on one particular library, we nevertheless tried to place it in a broader context of the history of reading in the region. This task was dealt with by comparing our subject library with the libraries of a number of other individuals who belonged to the same social group.

In the course of our research, we looked to the methodological perspectives and conclusions developed by Lucien Febvre, Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin.¹⁰ Roger Chartier stated that in the second half of the 18th century in England, Germany, and France, elements of the ‘reading revolution’ were clearly visible. Among these signs: the growth of book production, the appearance of many newspapers and their changing appearance, the success of small-format publications, the decrease in the price of books due to counterfeiting, the rapid growth of various reading societies (book-clubs, Lesegesellschaften, chambres de lecture) and book rental centers (circulatinglibraries, Leinbibliotheken, cabinets de lecture). Contemporary observers were struck by this ‘passion for reading’: it was considered both a threat to the political

⁸ Grigorij, monastic name Warlam, Szyszacki (b. 1750 - d. 1820 or 1823), Orthodox clergyman, received his theological education at the Pereislav seminary and later at the Kiev-Mohyla Academy. In his clerical career, he served as a superior in Orthodox monasteries. An important area in Warlam Szyszacki’s life was teaching. During his clerical life, he was a proofer and rector at the seminary in Pereyeslav, and later in Severian Novgorod. In Seversky Novgorod, he found himself among politically like-minded people, prominent figures in the social and cultural life of the Orthodox Church. Shishatsky founded several lower clerical schools, and was also involved in the ordering of the lives of Orthodox monks. In 1795 he accepted the chirotonia as bishop of Zhytomyr, and after six years was transferred to the cathedral in Mogilev. In 1808 he was appointed archbishop. During France’s war with Russia, he stayed in Mogilev and took an oath of loyalty to Napoleon. See Barańska, 2015: 361-364.

⁹ Chartier, 2016: 66.

¹⁰ Darnton, 1979; Chartier, 1994; Febvre & Martin, 1997.

order, and a drug (in the words of Fichte), and a disorder of the imagination and feelings.¹¹

Despite the variety of approaches to the study of reading that exist today in historiography, it is important to note a certain common denominator. Krzysztof Pom'ian points out that this is “attention to the book – an inextricably material and semiotic object, a product that was ‘consumed’ in a special way, in one of the main roles it brings its buyers and its readers onto the stage, as beings that are a mixture of physical and social, and also the lecture as a mental and communicative activity, an act and understanding, and understanding at the same time”.¹² Reading “in itself becomes an object worthy of the interest of cultural history”.¹³

Therefore, we consider it very important to sketch out a preliminary answer to the crucial question of whether a ‘reading revolution’ was taking place in the Ukrainian lands and to zero in on the specific features of the ‘reading activity’ and individual creative consumption of cultural products by the region’s ‘enlightened elite’. The article approaches the library of Varlaam Shyshatsky as a channel of ‘cultural transfer’,¹⁴ and the library’s owner as a ‘cultural mediator’. The study of this book collection makes it possible to draw conclusions not only about the culture of reading among the clergy of the Ukrainian dioceses, but also about the self-identity of this group and about cultural practices in zones of the intersection of cultures. Finally, all this is important for grappling with the broader problems of the ‘Ukrainian Enlightenment’¹⁵ and the so-called ‘Orthodox Enlightenment’.¹⁶ It should be noted, however, that few texts with pronounced enlightenment connotations are known to have been owned by people living in this part of Europe. Therefore, shifting our angle of vision to the analysis of specific cultural practices and reconstruction of ‘readable spaces’ and ways of reading can open up new perspectives for the study of the problems outlined above.

The biography of Varlaam Shyshatsky: typical and unique

Ivan Vlasovsky, Oleksandr Ohloblin, and other historians wrote about Varlaam Shyshatsky as a prominent Ukrainian hierarch, “a conscious Ukrainian patriot”, devoted to his people.¹⁷ His life path was in many ways typical; it featured stages characteristic of the biographies of many church figures hailing from the Ukrainian lands. He studied at Pereyaslavl Collegium and the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, and as the best student was sent to continue his education at the Roman Academy. Because of

¹¹ Chartier, 2006: 32. About the term ‘reading revolution’ see Engelsing, 1974.

¹² Pomian, 2016: 14.

¹³ Hébrard, 2016: 123-124.

¹⁴ On the concept of ‘cultural transfer’ see Espagne, 1999: 1.

¹⁵ For more on this, see Sklokin, 2015: 146-159.

¹⁶ See: Tsapina, 2004; Wirtschafter, 2013; Ivanov, 2020.

¹⁷ Ohloblyn, 1959: 143, 267, 300-309; Vlasovs'kyj, 1977: 230, 254-255.

hostilities in Europe, he returned to his homeland. Soon Varlaam Shyshatsky became a professor and rector of Pereyaslavl Collegium; later on, he was appointed to run Novhorod-Siversk Seminary. It was in Novhorod-Siversk that Varlaam Shyshatsky found himself among like-minded people, outstanding social, political, and cultural figures. His teaching career spanned a total of 14 years. If we compare it with biographic trajectories of other collegium teachers,¹⁸ it becomes obvious that Varlaam Shyshatsky came close to falling into the category of ‘professional educator’. We should note that in the 2nd half of the 18th century the Kyiv Academy and the Orthodox collegiums became a kind of ‘organizational’ structures, whose graduates made up an intellectual community showing a number of new features.

At the next stage of his career, Varlaam Shyshatsky served as the archimandrite of several monasteries in the Orthodox dioceses of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Not all biographers recalled such an important episode in the biography of Varlaam Shishatsky as the refusal of the oath of the Commonwealth. Obviously, this period of his life requires further study. Varlaam Shishatsky then became a bishop of Volyn and Zhytomyr, and beginning in 1805 – the bishop (since 1808 – archbishop) of Mahilyow and Viciebsk. As already noted, for taking an oath of loyalty to Napoleon he was stripped of his rank and sent to the Monastery of Savior Transfiguration (Spaso-Preobrazhensky) in Novhorod-Siversky, where he died in 1821.¹⁹

The register of the library of Varlaam Shyshatsky

In the 18th century, assembling personal libraries became a characteristic feature of the lifestyle of the faculty of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy and the collegiums. Varlaam Shyshatsky was no exception, and, as it will become clear later, he acquired the bulk of his books during his years of teaching. The register (*reestr*) of Varlaam Shyshatsky’s library is kept in the Russian State Historical Archives in St. Pe-

¹⁸ Posokhova, 2011: 233-274.

¹⁹ In 1785 Warlam Szyszacki traveled to the territories of the Republic of Poland. In 1787, he was appointed superior of the Holy Spirit Monastery in Vilnius and the Monastery of Saints Peter and Paul in Minsk. While in the Republic, Orthodox Bishop Wiktor Sadkowski, who recognized Russian jurisdiction, was accused by the Polish authorities of inspiring peasant revolts. The consequences of the accusation were the arrest of Bishop Sadkowski, he was imprisoned in Nesvizh, and the need for the clergy of the Orthodox Church to take an oath of loyalty. Szyszacki, then an ihumen of Vilnius, was among the few Orthodox clergy who refused to take an oath of loyalty to the authorities of the Republic. He left the borders. He stayed in Mogilev, St. Petersburg, the monastery in Vyazhchys, Novoyezhsk and Novgorod. In the 1890s, he was directed by the Holy Ruling Synod to the eparchy of Minsk and Slutsk. He was given the task of working with Bishop Wiktor Sadkowski in converting Uniates to Orthodoxy. In 1813, Tsar Alexander I instructed the Synod to dismiss Szyszacki from the cathedral in Mogilev. His loyalty to Napoleon cost him his archbishopric dignity, which he was stripped of. Considered a mere monk, he spent the remaining years of his life at the Transfiguration Monastery in Seversky Novgorod. He also died there. Biographical notes cite different dates for Warlam Szyszacki’s death - 1820, 1821 or 1823. Two doubtful dates are given, among others, by Anna Barańska (2015: 361-364) in a biographical note on Archbishop Szyszacki. See also Rolle, 1882: 44.

tersburg.²⁰ The book description form used in it was developed in the early 1820s for the libraries of the theological seminaries of the Russian Empire. It is based on the ‘linguistic’ principle. The books are grouped primarily into ‘language’ sections (ancient languages, Russian, French, German, Polish), within which they are described by ‘category’ (*razrjad*): theology, philosophy, literature, historical sciences, and others. These ‘categories’ are supplemented by two more lists: ‘books not related to spiritual enlightenment’ and ‘mixed’.²¹ Incidentally, the tradition of grouping books by language and/or subject (‘theological’ books, ‘philosophical’ etc.) is quite old. This ‘matrix’, if you will, has also for many decades, up to the present day, ‘set the program’ for studying these libraries. In our view, within this framework it is extremely difficult to identify and analyze changes in reading and book collecting practices of various social groups. We believe it is time to move beyond this scenario in the study of libraries and pose new research questions.

Since in this and other cases we are dealing with registers of books compiled after the death of their clerical owners, many documents specifically stress that the books were bought with the deceased’s own money (not borrowed for reading from another library, etc.). Unfortunately, Varlaam Shyshatsky’s personal papers have been mostly lost;²² perhaps they would have shed light on the process of the formation of the library, the owner’s reaction to new titles as they came out, and other such matters. This is why it is important to compare the library of Varlaam Shyshatsky with book collections amassed by other collegium teachers, archimandrites, and bishops of the Ukrainian dioceses. For more sound comparative analysis, we confined ourselves to members of the same social group and circle, many of whom belonged to the same intellectual network. Even more specifically, we were interested in the libraries of those intellectuals who spent most of their life in the world of the regimental and company (*sotnja*) towns of the Hetmanate or Sloboda Ukraine.²³ We believe that this will help better portray the changes in the cultural practices of a locally-limited region. We analyzed the personal libraries of the rector of Kharkiv Collegium Archimandrite

²⁰ RGIA, f. 834, op. 3, d. 3327. The register of the library of Varlaam Shyshatsky is attached to the description of the books of Chernihiv Collegium and dated by 1823. Subsequently, his book collection was transferred to St. Petersburg Theological Academy.

²¹ Notably, the compiler of the catalog included a very large number of Varlaam Shyshatsky’s books in these lists. Unfortunately, these books were described less thoroughly and often they are the most difficult to identify.

²² They were most likely seized as part of the investigation after the archbishop was arrested.

²³ Researchers often cite the contents of the personal libraries of Archbishop Feofilakt Lopatinsky of Tver, Bishop Lavrentiy Gorka of Viatka, Archbishop Amvrosiy Yushkevich of Novgorod, Bishop Gavriil Buzhinsky of Riazan, and others. While the formative years of these prominent figures were connected with the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, we must take into account the fact that they left the Ukrainian lands at a young age and spent most of their life (and amassed their libraries) in different socio-cultural circumstances. Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that some hierarchs resorted to peculiar methods of forming personal libraries (it is known that Feofan Prokopovych stoked up his library with war trophies, among other things).

Lavrentiy Kordet (243 books),²⁴ professor of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy Ivan Samoilovych (1147 books),²⁵ Bishop Kyrylo Liashchevetsky of Chernihiv (380 books),²⁶ Archimandrite Amvrosiy Ginovsky (267 books),²⁷ and the archimandrite of the Trinity-Illinsky Monastery Paisiy Yanovsky (477 books)²⁸ and some other.²⁹

Books of religious and spiritual content versus ‘secular’ books

We believe that a new and important task is to consider the relationship between books of religious and spiritual content and ‘secular’ literature in private libraries. Of course, one first needs to determine how to single out the ‘secular segment’. Looking for ways to approach this issue, we studied those rare library registers in which a special section for ‘secular books’ was actually introduced by the compilers.³⁰ Such sources serve as important reference points, because they give the researcher grounds to appeal to the understanding of the difference between ‘secular’ and ‘religious’ literature during this period by members of the clergy themselves.

In the catalog of Varlaam Shyshatsky’s collection, 1519 books can be classified as secular, which represents half of the entire library. In the ‘Russian’ and ‘Polish’ sections, secular books accounted for 76% and 73% respectively (577 and 189 items); in the ‘French’ and ‘German’ sections – 45% and 53% (87 and 55 items). Of the Latin books, 25% were secular (621 items). A smaller percentage of secular literature in Latin is explained by the fact that works of the church fathers, interpretations of the Holy Scriptures, homiletics, works on canon law and ritual and the like were written in that language.

An examination of the registers of other personal libraries of the clergy elite of the 2nd half of the 18th century reveals a striking picture of the rapidly dwindling numbers of religious and spiritual texts. For example, their share in the collection of Kyrylo Liashchevetsky was 30.2%, in that of Paisiy Yanovsky – 12%, and in Lavrentiy Kordet’s library – a mere 10%.

²⁴ VR IL, f. 20, s. 13, ll. 230-298 v.; RGIA, f. 796, op. 67, d. 572, ll. 1-14 v.

²⁵ AID, vol. 5, pp. 46.

²⁶ ODD, vol. 50, pp. 697-711.

²⁷ RGIA, f. 796, op. 81, d. 292, ll. 15-36.

²⁸ RGIA, f. 796, op. 62, d. 368, ll. 13-36.

²⁹ See: Posokhova, 2021.

³⁰ As, for instance, in the register of the library of Lavrentiy Kordet. It should be borne in mind that the sections ‘books not related to spiritual enlightenment’ and ‘mixed’ also cover books of the ‘secular’ segment.

Encyclopedism versus specialization

The secular portion of Varlaam Shyshatsky's library is dominated by modern scientific works on astronomy, physics, mathematics, mineralogy, biology, botany, chemistry, economics, medicine, and general surveys of natural history. We should stress that the library featured the most important contemporary original research and textbooks in every science. Since we are talking about dozens of items in every branch, we will cite as an example just a few books in physics (there were 47 of them in total, of which 12 were in Latin, 13 in Russian, 11 in Polish, 5 in French, and 6 in German). Varlaam Shyshatsky owned works by Johann Wolf, Johann Heinrich Winkler, Pieter van Musschenbroek, Mikhail Lomonosov, and Johann Christoph Rieger, as well as innovative textbooks on physics by Piotr Ivanovich Giliarovsky.

A similar encyclopedism is characteristic of the libraries of Ivan Samoilovych, Lavrentiy Kordet, and Kyrilo Liashchevetsky, whose holdings also encompassed all branches of contemporary scientific knowledge.

Of course, secular literature could also be found in the private libraries of the clergy in the first half of the 18th century. Stefan Yavorsky, for instance, owned many secular books on medicine, history, geography, and jurisprudence. However, his substantial library (609 books) included only two treatises on natural history.³¹

The science and scholarship category in the collection of Varlaam Shyshatsky markedly included a large number of works on history and geography (1073 books, or 28% of the total). Noteworthy is the presence of works by August Ludwig von Schlözer, Gottlieb Siegfried Bayer, Gerhard Friedrich Müller, and Nikolai Karamzin. This interest in the study of history and geography was characteristic of many clergymen of the period. Books on these subjects made up more than half of the collection of Lavrentiy Kordet. In relatively small personal libraries, for instance that of Amvrosiy Ginovsky, such books accounted for 15-16% of the total. Significantly, both large and small personal libraries contained sets of *The Ancient Russian Library*, *A Brief Chronicle of Little Russia* by Vasily Ruban, and a model work of the era of the Enlightenment, Joseph de La Porte's *Le voyageur françois, ou La connoissance de l'ancien et du nouveau monde* in Russian translation.

Interesting but very difficult is the question of attribution for manuscript works held in private libraries. Catalog compilers often did not provide complete descriptions of manuscripts, so it is rarely possible to identify such books. All the more valuable is the information that Varlaam Shyshatsky owned a handwritten copy of the *Decisive Articles* by Hetman Danylo Apostol, and Paisiy Yanovsky – Semen Divovych's pamphlet *A Conversation between Great Russia and Little Russia*.³² These facts testify to the interest in the history of the Ukrainian lands.

³¹ Maslov, 1914: 37.

³² RGIA, f. 796, op. 62, d. 368, ll. 24 v.

Varlaam Shyshatsky assembled sets of many periodicals, which often published scientific articles as well – such as the *Political Journal*, *Moscow News* (Moskovskie Vedomosti), *Red Sky at Night* (Vecherniaia Zaria), *Conversing Citizen* (Beseduiushchii Grazhdanin), or *The Spectator* (Zritel'). Incidentally, we may speak here of a certain trend in the reading interests of the clergy in general, because we find sets of periodicals (magazines and newspapers) in many personal libraries. Men of the cloth also often collected specialized scientific periodicals. For example, Kyrylo Liashchevetsky, Lavrentiy Kordet, and Paisiy Yanovsky owned many volumes of the *Proceedings of the Free Economic Society*. Lavrentiy Kordet, Paisiy Yanovsky, and Ivan Samoilovych collected sets of the first popular science monthly in the Russian Empire, founded by the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences – *Monthly Compositions, Serving towards Benefit and Amusement*. Ivan Samoilovych had a weakness for the *Monthly Essays and News of Learned Affairs*, as well as the first philosophical journals in the Russian Empire – *Morning Light* and *Moscow Monthly Publication*. It is also important to note the presence of sundry volumes of the *Encyclopedia* of Diderot and d'Alembert in various libraries, for instance that of Paisiy Yanovsky.³³

Thus, encyclopedism was a prominent quality of the library of Varlaam Shyshatsky. Clearly, he, like many of his colleagues, strove for a broad, comprehensive education and deep proficiency in various fields of knowledge. It is no coincidence that his former student, and later professor at Kharkiv University, Illya Tymkovsky, remembered him as a man of “extensive learning, prominent parts, and quick word”.³⁴ Discussion of encyclopedism as this historical figure’s epistemological ideal could be continued if his personal correspondence, memoirs, or other ego-documents had survived. Nevertheless, the analyzed registers of personal libraries of the clergy confirm the observations of researchers (based on other materials) that in the Russian Empire “the most attractive model of encyclopedism turned out to be that which was most closely connected to its practical realization in the sphere of the organization of science and education”.³⁵ Sometimes, it was not encyclopedic publications as such, but rather the encyclopedic method of inquiry and organization of education that was the most in-demand and enjoyed the most influence. While the problem of encyclopedism is much broader, the presence of books in all branches of knowledge in the personal library of an intellectual is very telling in and of itself.

The library: an assemblage of antiquities or novelties?

For the next phase of our research, we identified works written by authors contemporary with the owner of the library. We decided to count as modern those

³³ RGIA, f. 796, op. 62, d. 368, ll. 28.

³⁴ Timkovskij, 1852: 19.

³⁵ Artem'eva, 2005: 139.

works that were written and published 40-50 years or less before the creation of a given catalog. In our opinion, this approach allows us to see the speed of distribution of new printed products and the peculiarity of the formation of personal libraries, to identify the most 'in demand' books within one or two generations. This number of years was chosen based on the theory of generations (Neil Howe, William Strauss). In our view, this makes it possible to observe the speed of distribution of printed materials and the specifics and peculiarities of personal library formation among the clergy (and other social groups), as well as to identify the most 'sought-after' books at a given time. Using this approach, the following data were obtained. In the 2nd half of the 18th century, the share of works by contemporary authors in many collections exceeded one half and could reach 80% or even higher. For example, in Lavrentiy Kordet's library such publications made up 82% of the total; in Varlaam Shyshatsky's, almost 70%. Notably, in book collections of the 1st half of the 18th century, more than half of the volumes were published a hundred or more years before their cataloging date. This is the case with both the register of the books of Stefan Yavorsky and that of the personal library of the rector of Kharkiv Collegium Archimandrite Platon Malynovsky.³⁶ In our view, such data reveal changes in the practices of reading and in assembling personal libraries. They indicate the desire on the part of the clergy to read and buy more and more new literature. A personal library ceases to be a repository of the old, and becomes an exhibit of the new.

Among the recent publications in the library of Varlaam Shyshatsky and his contemporaries discussed above, the priority of new educational literature is obvious. Let us cite as an example philosophy textbooks or books that were used in this capacity. Varlaam Shyshatsky acquired almost all the textbooks authored by Friedrich Christian Baumeister, Christian Freiherr von Wolff, and Johann Heinrich Winkler, in Latin and Russian. Lavrentiy Kordet also owned all the textbooks by Friedrich Christian Baumeister. These books, summarizing the tenets of the philosophy of Leibniz and Wolff, served as the primary teaching materials at the collegiums and the Kyiv Academy in the 2nd half of the 18th century. The archbishop's library held 111 books by contemporary philosophers in Latin and only 13 works by ancient authors (Aristotle, Democritus, and others); he also owned 19 books by contemporary and 4 by ancient philosophers in Russian.

The library of Varlaam Shyshatsky also featured many modern books that attest to the owner's interest in new social ideas, fashionable trends in reading practices, and the like. Among others, we may note such segments as fiction and 'moral periodicals'. Interestingly enough, Varlaam Shyshatsky owned an impressive assortment of works by Voltaire and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, published in the 1770s and 1780s. Works by these two authors could be found in other contemporary private

³⁶ ODD, vol. 34, pp. 611-618.

libraries as well, but certainly not in such numbers and variety as in Varlaam Shyshatsky's collection.

Changes in clergymen's libraries are also manifest in the selection of religious works. It is important to note the presence of new church literature, in particular the sermons of Metropolitan Platon Levshin. Elise Wirtschafter believes that it was these sermons that allowed the readers to comprehend European ideas and infuse them with Orthodox content and to seek and find ways to combine ideas of the Enlightenment with Orthodox religious teachings.³⁷

The personal correspondence of other bishops and hegumens of monasteries provides ample evidence that this bent towards selecting modern books for teaching was deliberate. For instance, in 1770, in several letters to Professor Lavrentiy Kordet, Bishop Samuil Myslavsky advised him to "read books in the new and newest taste".³⁸ In his letters, Samuil Myslavsky named specific works, sent them to Lavrentiy Kordet, and asked to pass them on to the latter's friends, colleagues, and students.

Émile and other books on education

Among the recent publications in the library of Varlaam Shyshatsky stands out a group of books on the subject of education. This group cannot be called large, but it is noteworthy that these same works were featured in many other personal libraries of the clergy. These were first and foremost the famous *Émile, or On Education* by Jean-Jacques Rousseau and John Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, which offered a comprehensive pedagogical theory for the era of the Enlightenment (copies of these books were also owned by Lavrentiy Kordet and Kyrylo Liashevetzky. Archimandrite Amvroziy Ginovsky collected a number of issues of the first children's magazine in the Russian Empire, *Children's Reading for the Heart and Mind*;³⁹ Ivan Samoilovych – several works by Johann Bernhard Basedow, the founder of the educational movement of philanthropism. All these men, including Varlaam Shyshatsky, owned books addressed to women and the youth and special publications for children.

Thus, our data serve as an important corrective to many well-established judgments, for example, concerning the absence of literature from the era of the German Enlightenment in the library registers of the 2nd half of the 18th century.⁴⁰

Of course, enlightenment ideas spread throughout Europe with different speed and in different combinations, but the pathos of seeing education as the chief route towards human improvement based on reason was manifest everywhere as a common feature of the new European mentality. The presence of a number of key texts

³⁷ Wirtschafter, 2013.

³⁸ Posokhova, 2020: 113.

³⁹ RGIA, f. 796, op. 81, d. 292, ll. 36.

⁴⁰ Dzjuba, 2004: 318.

on education, written in the spirit of the Age of Enlightenment, in many personal libraries of the higher clergy testifies to a keen interest in this subject.

“You are my paradise, my love, my joy”

These words of Stefan Yavorsky are found in his poetic appeal to his own books, as he bid farewell to them at the end of his life.⁴¹ The book had certainly already come to be a source of joy and good mood. Accordingly, it is worth paying special attention to the fact that the library of Varlaam Shyshatsky, as well as the other personal book collections of the higher clergy of the 2nd half of the 18th century, boasted the latest in entertainment fiction. These books are not only numerous, but also very diverse, including adventure, picaresque, satirical, and ‘women’s’ novels. The fact that Varlaam Shyshatsky, Kyrilo Liashchevetsky, Lavrentiy Kordet, and many others purposefully kept abreast of the fashionable trends in literary life is also evidenced by a clear interest in satirical magazines and books, which were all the rage in the Age of Enlightenment.

The mass of new books that flowed into the libraries of the clergy – partly related to their professional activities but also extending thematically far beyond it – allows us to speak of signs of a ‘reading revolution’ in the lands of the Hetmanate and Sloboda Ukraine. During the last 3rd of the 18th century, reading of the ‘intensive’ type is replaced by reading that can be classified as ‘extensive’.⁴²

Thus, the large and diverse ‘secular’ segment of the library of Varlaam Shyshatsky confirms the idea that the ‘lifestyle’ and reading practices of the ecclesiastical elite of the Ukrainian dioceses in the 2nd half of the 18th century reflect a high degree of integration into the milieu of the lay upper class. The clergy’s interest in the ideas of the Enlightenment is obvious.⁴³ Undoubtedly, the cultural traditions of the Hetmanate and Sloboda Ukraine and the education received at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy and the collegiums influenced the ‘lifestyle’ of the church elite of the Ukrainian dioceses. The presented data on the cultural demands of the clergy of the Ukrainian dioceses and the makeup of their personal libraries suggest important qualifications to some of the statements made in the literature about the Orthodox clergy of the late-eighteenth-century Russian Empire. At the very least, there is reason to doubt the skeptical assessments of the cultural role of the clergy in this historical period and the thesis that its representatives dropped out of the ranks of the intellectual elite.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Maslov, 1914: 5-6.

⁴² Compare Engelsing, 1969: 945-1002.

⁴³ See Tsapina, 2004: 301-313.

⁴⁴ Artem'eva & Mikeshein, 2020: 29.

Iconic books

Comparison of the library of Varlaam Shyshatsky with other collections amassed by representatives of the higher clergy makes it possible to identify the most popular new books of the period. This set of ‘iconic books’ is a kind of marker of ideas, innovations, and intellectual challenges of the era in which the region’s clergy showed interest. These ‘iconic’ books are, first and foremost: *Institutiones Metaphysicae: Ontologiam, Cosmologiam, Psychologiam, Theologiam Denique Naturalem Complexae* by Friedrich Christian Baumeister, *Émile, ou De l’éducation* by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Robinson Crusoe* by Daniel Defoe, *Les aventures de Télémaque* by François Fénelon, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* by John Locke, *Philosophical Propositions* by Yakiv Kozelsky,⁴⁵ and *Abbreviation of the Natural Law* by Volodymyr Zolotnytsky.⁴⁶ Incidentally, the last two books were authored by alumnae of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. Of course, this list can be extended and modified depending on the research optics.

In Varlaam Shyshatsky’s collection, we come across six of these seven books, in Kyrylo Liashchevetsky – four. It is important to note that they also found their way into personal books collections of the Cossack officer class. For example, Bunchuk Companion (member of a privileged Cossack estate) Stepan Lashkevych owned five of these seven works.⁴⁷

The identification of ‘iconic books’ in libraries gives a sense of the susceptibility of individuals and social groups to the sets of ideas contained in them and gives a vantage point for observing changes in the reading interests of intellectuals in different historical periods.

Polyphony of languages

It is interesting to analyze the personal libraries of the clergy of the Ukrainian dioceses from the point of view of the percentage of books published in different languages and in different countries. Ihor Shevchenko once observed that the Polish influence on the ‘cultural elite of Ukraine’ lasted until the middle of the 18th century.⁴⁸ Analyzing registers of clergymen’s personal libraries allows us to push this chronological limit. Thus, in the library of Varlaam Shyshatsky, the 258 books in Polish made up about 7% of the holdings (of which more than 70% were modern

⁴⁵ This work outlined the basic principles of the rationalist philosophy of Christian Freiherr von Wolff, also drawing on the works of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Montesquieu, Claude Adrien Helvétius, Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, and others.

⁴⁶ This was the first systematic Russian-language account of the theory of social contract published in the Russian Empire.

⁴⁷ The library of Stepan Lashkevych (371 books) has been studied by the author of this article based on the extant register (IR NBUV, f. II, s. 6781, ll. 1-6.) See in more detail Posokhova, 2016: 361-369.

⁴⁸ Shevchenko, 2001:131.

scientific works in physics, mathematics, natural history, and philosophy). At the same time, we believe that it is necessary to consider in this regard not only Polish-language publications, but also the mass of books in Latin that came from the printing presses of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Of course, textbooks prepared primarily for Jesuit collegiums predominate among these Latin works (they were used in the Orthodox collegiums as well⁴⁹). At the same time, collections of such intellectuals as Varlaam Shyshatsky betray an interest in modern Latin-language science books. This indicates that something of a cultural orientation towards the *Rzeczpospolita* persisted among the Ukrainian clergy into the 2nd half of the 18th century.

According to the research of Olena Dziuba, in the 17th and 18th centuries books in Church Slavonic and Russian made up a rather small part of personal libraries, and only in the 1760s to 1780s their numbers increased.⁵⁰ We should clarify that the figures vary significantly from one collection to another. Thus, 20% of the books owned by Varlaam Shyshatsky and 25.5% of those owned by Ivan Samoilovych were in Russian. On the other hand, books in Russian made up 74% of the collection of Archimandrite Amvrosiy Ginovsky, and in many private libraries (such as those of Lavrentiy Kordet or Paisiy Yanovsky) this share was higher than 60%. These publications were printed mainly in civilian type. Church Slavonic books were few and far between – no more than 1%.

Characterizing the books in Russian, it is important to note that many of them were translations (mainly from German) of scientific works by prominent scholars of that time. They represented the output of the printing presses of Moscow University and the Land Gentry Cadet Corps, and many of the translations were made by immigrants from the Ukrainian lands.

Only 5% and 3% of Varlaam Shyshatsky's books were in French and German, respectively, and these were (as noted above) largely new works of science. This proportion of French and German books is typical of other libraries as well, even relatively small ones (like Paisiy Yanovsky's). Finally, in every library of a representative of the higher clergy we find at least one or two publications in Ancient Greek (most often these are lexicons or dictionaries).

Another important question concerning private libraries is the ways and means of book acquisition. We do not find Varlaam Shyshatsky's name on any subscription lists. However, we should consider that only 5% to 10% of books in the Russian Empire were distributed through subscription.⁵¹ Varlaam Shyshatsky clearly had a well-functioning network of communication with publishers, booksellers (agents) and like-minded people and acquaintances that bought and sent him books (a regular system of retail book trade did not yet exist in this region). It is worth noting that

⁴⁹ See: Posokhova, 2011: 53-169.

⁵⁰ Dziuba, 2002: 300.

⁵¹ Samarin, 2015: 55.

printers in the Ukrainian lands of the Russian Empire were not allowed to put out secular books, despite repeated attempts to obtain such permission. In the 18th century, the Hetmanate and Sloboda Ukraine did not yet have those reading clubs that in the Enlightenment-era cities of Western and Central Europe served as new places of meeting and exchange of views and ideas.⁵² Certainly, the socio-economic and cultural realities of life in Eastern Europe were significantly different from those in the West. At the same time, one cannot fail to notice some common features that characterized the era as a whole, such as similarities in reading interests and growing alertness towards the new.

Conclusions

Private book collections of the higher clergy of the Ukrainian dioceses allow us to trace changes in the reading culture of this social group, such as the emergence of ‘extensive’ reading and new reading practices. In turn, this makes it possible to observe the channels and limits of the spread of new trends, manifestations of cultural transfer, the involvement of the region in the pan-European tendencies, and the specifics of the local search for responses to the challenges posed by the Enlightenment. We can conclude that in the 2nd half of the 18th century, a dynamic cultural process was unfolding in the Ukrainian lands, the outcome of which was the appropriation of the intellectual product firmly associated with the Age of the Enlightenment. The contents of the libraries of many representatives of the higher clergy, including Varlaam Shyshatsky, allow classifying these individuals as members of an ‘enlightened elite’. Personal libraries also demonstrate the functioning of the intellectual network through which this cultural product was transmitted. The composition of personal libraries testifies in favor of the thesis that there existed a ‘Ukrainian Enlightenment’ as a cultural phenomenon with its own national and regional specifics. Personal libraries provide important evidence of how, in practice, the ‘main conflict’ of the Enlightenment was resolved in the east of Europe – namely, the opposition between the old Latin-Christian civilization and the new ‘civilization of Experience’. The materials we have analyzed bespeak less a ‘conflict’ than a ‘symbiosis’.

⁵² See Goodman, 1997: 256-262.

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VR IL – Viddil rukopysnykh fondiv i tekstolohii Instytutu literatury im. T. H. Shevchenka Natsional'noi akademii nauk Ukrainy [Відділ рукописних фондів і текстології Інституту літератури ім. Т. Г. Шевченка Національної академії наук України]. Fond [фонд] 20, sprava [справа] 3.

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