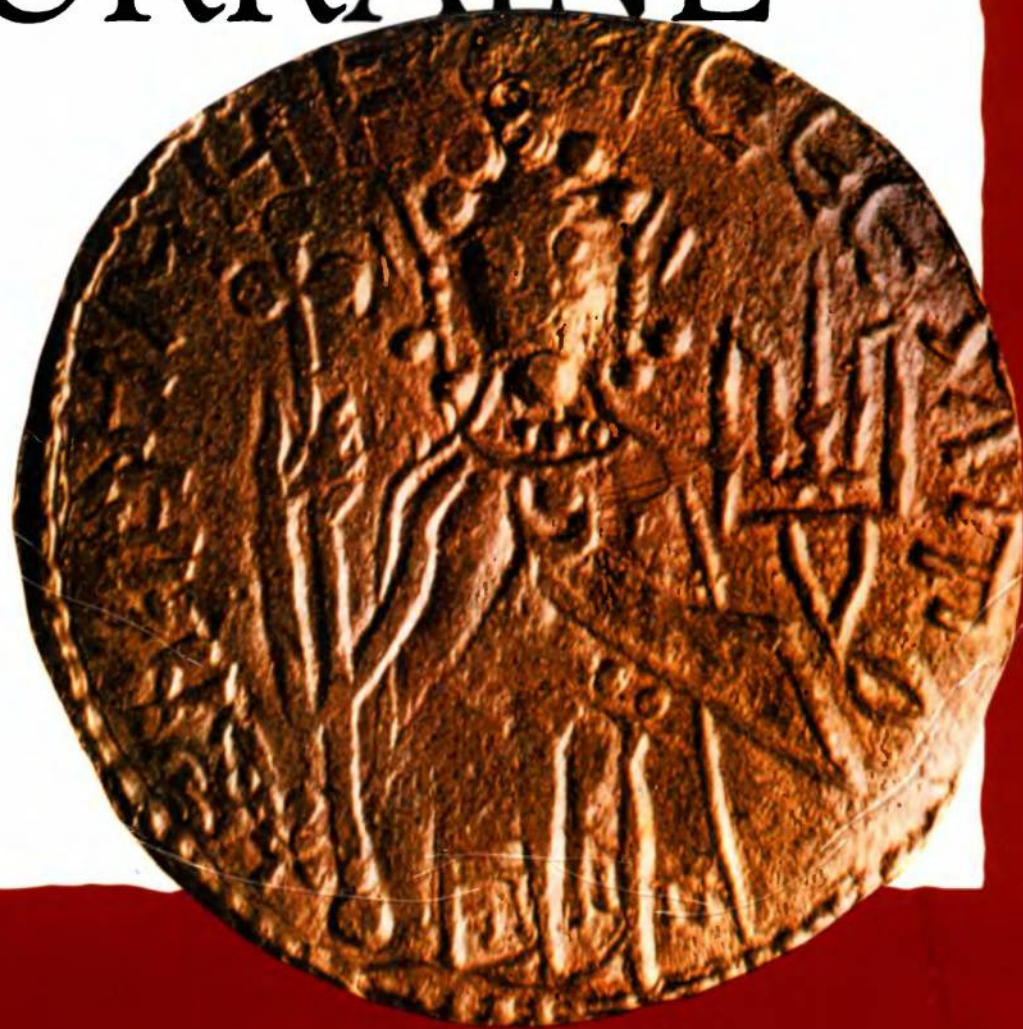
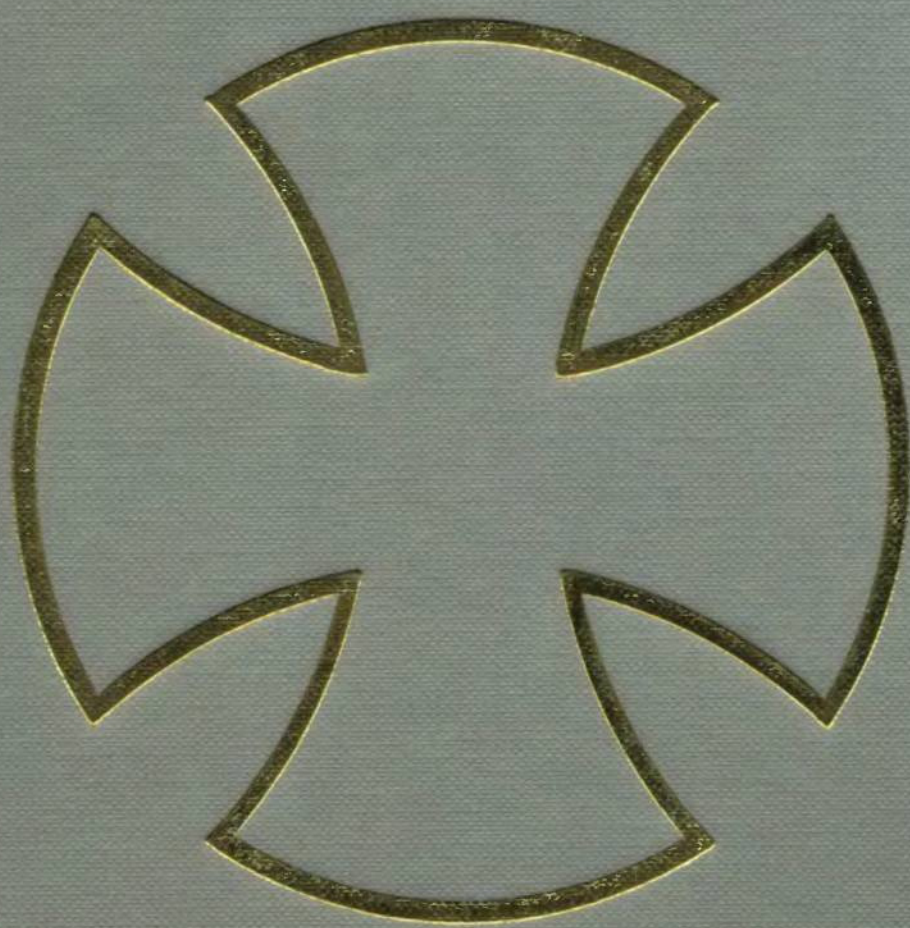


A MILLENNIUM
OF CHRISTIAN
CULTURE
IN UKRAINE









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**THE UKRAINIAN MILLENNIUM COMMITTEE IN GREAT BRITAIN
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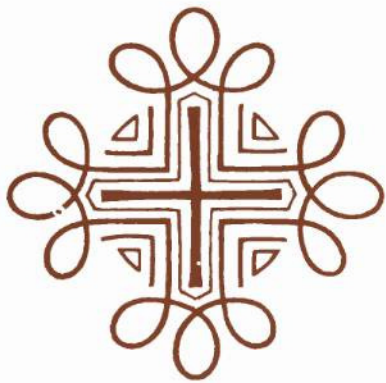
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PREFACE



The celebration of any anniversary is an acknowledgement of the importance of history. When God intervenes directly in human history by becoming man, the historical events associated with that intervention assume crucial importance in the lives of every nation that comes to hear of them. The basic tenet of the Christian faith is that God, “being found in fashion as a man, humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross”. As that faith spread, so it brought with it to the converted nations an awareness of having become “historical”. It is therefore appropriate to introduce a book about the coming of Christianity to one particular nation by looking at what is known about the events of one thousand years ago.

The most important source of knowledge about the history of Kiev is the Primary Chronicle (in Ukrainian: *Povist' vremennykh lit* — *The tale of bygone years*). The author recalls in the entry for the year 6491 (*i.e.* 983 a.d.) that the Kievan prince Vladimir (Volodymyr in modern Ukrainian) had conquered the Yatvingians, and in celebration of his victory prepared to sacrifice a young man and a virgin to the idols of his capital. “For at that time”, the chronicler informs us, “the Rus’ were ignorant pagans. The devil rejoiced, but he did not know that his ruin was approaching. He was eager to destroy Christians, yet was himself expelled by the true Cross even from these very lands. . . He did not know the words of the Prophet: ‘I will say to them which were not my people, Thou art my people’ (Hosea, ii, 23)”.

Before reaching his account of Volodymyr's conversion to Christianity, the chronicler recounts how the prince "tested" other faiths. First came the Muslim Bulgars, inviting him to revere the prophet Muhammad. Volodymyr listened to them but was not enthusiastic about circumcision or abstinence from pork and wine: "Drinking is the delight of the Rus'. We cannot exist without this pleasure". As a pious monk, the chronicler recoils in horror from the propagation by the Muslim envoys of polygamy and "other falsehoods which out of modesty may not be set down".

The Muslims were followed by Germans sent as emissaries by the Pope. Volodymyr was unimpressed by the description of their faith. The Jewish Khazars, hearing of these missionary activities, also sent envoys. Upon hearing that God had scattered the Jews far and wide away from their native land, Volodymyr realised that this was not the religion to be adopted by a state aspiring to greatness.

Four years later, the Chronicle tells us, Volodymyr was advised by his nobles to send his own men to test these religions at first hand. Those whom he had sent to Constantinople returned full of praise for the beauty of Eastern Christianity: "We knew not whether we were in heaven or on earth".

Yet one more year passed, and Volodymyr was besieging the Greek city of Khersones on the Black Sea. The siege seemed set to last for a long time when suddenly the Prince received information about the source of the city's water supply. He vowed to be baptised if he succeeded in capturing the city. Of course, once the water was cut off, the defenders' position was hopeless. Volodymyr entered the city in triumph and sent word to the Byzantine emperors Basil and Constantine that he would march against them too, unless they sent him their sister Anna as a bride. Bewailing her fate Anna arrived in Khersones together with priests who baptised Volodymyr at the Church of St. Basil. The chronicler also tells us how Volodymyr had been suffering from blindness from which he was miraculously cured at the moment when the Bishop laid his hands upon him.

This is the actual historical event that we are celebrating in 1988: the baptism of the prince of a trading city, Kiev, who may or may not have been a Slav, into the Christian faith as the result both of an oath taken to help him conquer a Greek colonial settlement, and of his desire to marry into the Byzantine imperial family. Not a very auspicious beginning for sainthood, one might think; however, a careful reading of the chronicle account reveals how astute and far-sighted Volodymyr was.

The “testing of the faiths” is undoubtedly in large measure legend, but it contains real political truths. To count among the great states of Europe at that time meant adopting the Christian religion. Even though the great schism in the Church was not to occur until some sixty years later, the differences and rivalry were already obvious. Volodymyr and his advisers may well have realised that adoption of Western Christianity could have brought political strings of a kind unacceptable to a leader with enormous ambition. Moreover, Byzantium was already familiar to the rulers of Kiev, as a city both to trade with and to plunder.

Christianity brought Kiev into Europe; it also brought to Kiev the benefits of centuries of learning. One of Volodymyr’s first acts, after enforced baptism of his subjects, was to remove children from their families in order to provide them with an education. With education came writing and the translation of books: the Bible (the source of all wisdom), homilies, saints’ lives *etc.* These translations fostered a native tradition that we see reflected in the works of Hilarion, Metropolitan of Kiev in the 1050s, Prince Volodymyr Monomakh, Saint Cyril of Turau and the Chronicle itself. The need to build churches produced architects, painters for the icons, musicians for the performance of the liturgy. It is nigh impossible to imagine that the necessary skills suddenly appeared; the new religion and its associated Byzantine traditions fused with an already existing native culture to produce something unique.

Christianity spread rapidly throughout the lands owing allegiance to the Princes of Kiev, northwards to what is now Byelorussia, north-east to the vast empty tracts of

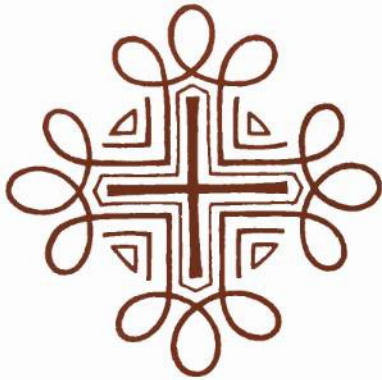
land now known as Russia. Monks took their learning with them, their artistic skills and their farming abilities, to settle new lands and convert pagan tribes. Whatever St. Volodymyr's personal shortcomings may have been before his baptism, the single act of compelling his subjects to adopt Christianity was one of those fateful moments that mark a real turning-point in the history of mankind.

In the fourteenth chapter of his Epistle to the Corinthians, St. Paul says: "For if I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful. . . I had rather speak five words with my understanding. . . than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue". Undoubtedly one of the features that attracted Volodymyr to the Eastern Christian Church was its insistence on conducting missionary work in the vernacular, and consequently of translating the holy texts from "unknown tongues" (specifically Greek and Hebrew). Although the message of Christ is for all men, every nation will come to a full understanding of that message in its own unique way. The essays in this book, all of them by outstanding Ukrainian scholars, bear ample witness to the unique Ukrainian contribution to the expression of Christianity. Stress is rightly laid on the aesthetic dimension of that contribution. After all, it was the beauty of Orthodox worship that amazed Volodymyr's advisers.

Some readers may be surprised by the use of the word "Ukrainian" to refer to medieval Kiev: it may perhaps strike them as in some way unhistorical. In fact it is no more unhistorical than to use "Russian", and has the added advantage of being correct as far as modern geography is concerned. The historical difficulty centres on the meaning of the word "Rus". The chronicler uses it first to refer to peoples of Viking origin (Kiev was on the major trade route from Scandinavia to Byzantium) and subsequently to people who had adopted the Christian faith. To extend the Chronicler's use of the word to cover the Russians of today, and thereby to establish the hegemony of the Russian Church over all the lands converted as a result of 988, is to stretch the evidence beyond the limits of the permissible. Christianity in Ukraine took its own particular path, not least through remaining open to Western contacts in Galicia and Volhynia.

The Ukrainian road to nationhood was strewn with obstacles imposed by predatory neighbours; the road from nation to genuine state is still blocked. The divisions among Ukrainian Christians reflect their difficult history. Let us hope that the celebrations of 1988 will serve to bring Ukrainians of whatever faith, and none, closer together, so that their voice will sound out louder in the world. Ukrainians deserve to be heard, and this book will play a vital role in that cause.

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INTRODUCTION



History, it is often said, is written by conquerors. Yet to look at history from the narrow point of view of those who have prevailed — whether militarily, politically or economically — is to miss much that is important.

This is particularly true with respect to culture. To present the culture of ancient Greece, for example, as merely an element in that of her Roman conquerors, would hardly do it justice.

Ukraine is no exception. This is no mere footnote to East European or Russian or Soviet history; Ukraine has a past which must be considered independently in order to gain a proper understanding of Russia or the Soviet Union. Furthermore, her history is worthy of serious study in its own right. And although Ukrainians have contributed much to Russian and Soviet culture, they have their own national culture which merits separate attention.

It has been largely through political misfortune that Ukrainian culture has not received due recognition. True, Ukraine's historical bondage has prevented her from realising her full potential. But it has not disrupted her cultural development. Thus, under both Polish-Lithuanian and Muscovite rule, in both the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires and in the Soviet Union, continuity has been preserved.

The Millennium of the acceptance of Christianity as the state religion of Kievan Rus' brings the question of Ukrainian cultural history into focus. For the world has yet to recognise that the year 988 marks the origin of Ukrainian Christian culture. Political factors have distorted the western view of the history of Christianity in the East Slavic lands, to the detriment of Ukraine and her Churches. Ukrainian cultural history has been dissected and scattered among those of other peoples, more in accord with political pretensions than with historical truth.

It is the aim of this book to provide some notion of the integrity, continuity and uniqueness of Ukrainian Christian culture over the past thousand years.

Andrew Sorokowski, Editor



HISTORICAL NOTE



The Ukrainian Churches

According to legend, Christianity came to Ukraine when St. Andrew preached along the shores of the Black Sea and visited the future site of Kiev. St. Clement is said to have been martyred in the Crimea in the first century. Christianity spread along the Black Sea coast; the city of Dorus, on the Sea of Azov, became a Christian outpost. In the ninth century, Byzantine missionaries preached the faith in *Rus'*, the Scandinavian-ruled principality which Ukrainians regard as their first state. In the following century Princess Olga (Ol'ha in modern Ukrainian) was converted to Christianity. Her grandson, Prince Vladimir (Volodymyr) adopted Christianity as the state religion of Kievan Rus' around 988.

Ukrainians trace their Christian origins to the Church founded by Volodymyr. That Church was headed by a Metropolitan who was subject to the authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople but in fact retained considerable autonomy. The division in the Christian Church in 1054 left the Kievan Metropolitanate in the Orthodox realm, though it long maintained friendly contacts with the West.

After the Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century the Kievan metropolitans moved north to what was to become Muscovy and, later, Russia. However, a new metropolitanate was created in the Polish-ruled Ukrainian province of Galicia in the fourteenth century, and in the following century the metropolitanate of Kiev was revived in that city.

In 1595-6 most of the Ukrainian hierarchy and some of the laity accepted the authority and dogma of the Roman Catholic Church while retaining their Byzantine rite, laws and customs; thus was the Ukrainian Catholic Church founded. (It has also been known as the Uniate or Greek-Catholic Church.) At about this time, Protestantism first appeared in Ukraine. In 1620, those Ukrainians who chose to remain Orthodox re-established their hierarchy in Kiev under the protection of the Ukrainian Cossacks. However, in the latter half of the seventeenth century Ukraine was partitioned between Poland and Russia. The Kievan Orthodox Metropolitanate was transferred from the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople to that of the Patriarch of Moscow in 1685-1686, and subsequently Russified. The Russian regime also liquidated the Ukrainian Catholic (Uniate) Church in its territories during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

After thriving under Austrian rule in the nineteenth century, the Ukrainian Catholic Church was brutally liquidated upon annexation by the Soviet Union in 1945-6. Today it survives as a persecuted catacomb Church.

Protestantism was revived in Ukraine in the 1850s. Despite their relatively small numbers and constant Soviet persecution, the Evangelical Christians-Baptists are the most active religious group in the country today.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church was re-established in the 1920s but suppressed in the 1930s, with a short-lived but intense revival during World War II. Underground sources indicate that the idea of an independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church remains alive among the people.

Thus, adherents of all three branches of Christianity will greet Ukraine's Christian millennium in 1988.

Ukraine's Debt to Christianity

Ukraine is in many ways a unique phenomenon in the history of nations, a borderland between East and West, coveted and pillaged by both throughout the centuries. That it has survived as a nation must be attributed in very large measure to Christianity and to the Ukrainian Church.

Although Christianity entered the territory of Ukraine long before 988, it was not until its adoption as the official

state religion by Volodymyr the Great that it became the most important unifying factor in the formation of the Ukrainian nation. The Church brought in a common literary and sanctified language, Church Slavonic, which elevated the country to a higher cultural plane. With this came the monasteries, church schools, church architecture, icons and liturgical music. Social justice, the abolition of slavery, marital fidelity, the sanctity of the family, respect for elders, women's rights, charity towards outcasts, orphanages, asylums — all these became features of Ukrainian society. The middle of the eleventh century saw the promulgation of the *Pravda Rus'kaya*, a legal code (the first of its kind in the Slavonic world) almost exclusively Christian in origin and ideology and dealing with practically every aspect of social life. Christianity's role, therefore, was decisive in transforming what were pagan communities into a socially integrated and well-organised state of a high cultural order.

In addition to being a social and divine institution, the Church in Ukraine became a Ukrainian national institution with distinct local characteristics. After the collapse of Kievan Rus' (following the depredations of the Mongols) the Church remained for centuries the strongest source of unity for the Ukrainians. Whether under the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, into which Ukraine was incorporated in the fourteenth century, or when the country was divided between Poland and Russia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, or, indeed, throughout the entire chequered history of the Ukrainian nation reaching into the twentieth century, their ancestral faith was one of the most significant factors which enabled Ukrainians to withstand the physical and ideological onslaught of the occupants and to preserve their national identity.

During the greater part of the seventeenth century, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church enjoyed a great revitalisation during which it played an enormous role in education and learning. Kiev became the seat of the influential Mohyla Academy, one of Eastern Europe's leading institutions of higher learning. The Academy was the centre of Ukrainian cultural and intellectual life and produced a whole line of distinguished scholars, many of whom migrated north and contributed substantially to the cultural development of Muscovy-Russia.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church, within the domain of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, was ostensibly guaranteed its status and form as an Eastern Catholic Church by the Union of Brest, but had to contend with erosion of its traditional rights and privileges which began to gather momentum in the eighteenth century. It survived, however, into the nineteenth century and became the vehicle for the Western Ukrainian national rebirth, which must be attributed chiefly to the clergy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

In those parts of Western Ukraine which fell to Russia after the partitions of Poland towards the end of the eighteenth century, forcible conversion of Ukrainian Catholics to Russian Orthodoxy took place. In Eastern Ukraine the Russian clamp on political and church life became complete. At the beginning of the twentieth century, however, the Ukrainian Orthodox clergy fulfilled a similar role to that of the clergy in Western Ukraine, although in much more difficult circumstances.

Ukrainian Christianity in the Twentieth Century

After the revolution in the Russian Empire, both Eastern and Western Ukraine proclaimed independence. It was, however, short-lived. The eastern lands were incorporated into the Soviet Union. There the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church came into being in 1920, but was ruthlessly liquidated in the 1930s.

About half of the functioning Orthodox churches in the Soviet Union are in Ukraine. But Ukrainian Orthodox Christians are denied the right to belong to their own Church, since only the state-controlled Russian Orthodox Church is allowed to exist officially. It is clear, however, that a substantial number of Orthodox believers in Ukraine wish to restore a Ukrainian Orthodox Church. This has led to an increase in the amount of anti-religious propaganda directed against Ukrainian Orthodoxy.

In Western Ukraine, occupied between the wars by the restored Polish state, the Ukrainian Catholic Church enjoyed a period of relative stability, during which it contributed to the Ukrainians' efforts to strengthen their political and social cohesion. In the absence of Ukrainian

self-rule, it became the guardian not only of religious traditions but also of national aspirations to statehood.

In World War II, Western Ukraine was annexed to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. In early 1945, the new Soviet administration arrested and imprisoned most of the hierarchy and many of the clergy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In the following year the Church was officially liquidated, and now exists only underground. It was strengthened around 1956 by the return of hundreds of priests and two bishops who had completed their terms of imprisonment and exile. Since then, a new generation of priests has been secretly ordained. The Church has suffered severe repression, and there have been many arrests, unexplained murders and staged "suicides" of Ukrainian priests. In 1982 the "Initiative Group for the Defence of the Rights of Believers and the Church" was formed with the primary aim of achieving official recognition of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Several of its leading members were soon arrested and imprisoned.

The persecution of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches in the first half of this century contributed to an increase in the numbers of adherents of various Protestant denominations, of which the most active is the Evangelical Baptist movement. At present about half of the Soviet Union's Baptist communities are in Ukraine. They belong partly to the official All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists, and partly to the underground Council of Churches of Evangelical Christians-Baptists. The latter has been vigorously persecuted ever since its formation in 1965. Many Baptists have been arrested and imprisoned.

Faced with official anti-religious propaganda and various forms of persecution, Christianity in Soviet Ukraine is in a very difficult position. Although freedom of conscience is ostensibly guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution and citizens have the right "to profess any religion" and to "engage in atheistic propaganda" (but not religious propaganda), it is the policy of the regime "to overcome religious superstitions completely in the course of the construction of communism". Nevertheless, despite the repressive measures applied by the regime, Ukraine remains one of the most religious parts of the Soviet Union in terms of active religious communities, both official and clandestine.

Ukrainians in Great Britain

World War II uprooted millions of Ukrainians from their ancestral lands. Some 35,000 were given a chance to settle in the United Kingdom. They had few material possessions, but they brought with them what they treasured most: their Christian faith, their tradition and their thousand-year-old culture. Within the first few years of their settlement here, Ukrainian parishes and parish centres were established throughout the British Isles. They settled into the British community and now, along with the second and third generations born in this country, they play their part in British cultural and political life, while preserving spiritual loyalty to their heritage, to their ancestors and to their brethren in Ukraine.

The Ukrainians are about to enter their second Christian millennium with optimism and with the hope that their oppressed compatriots in Ukraine will some day be free to profess their ancestral faith openly and to be their own masters in their own land.

On the occasion of the millennium of Christianity in Ukraine, the Ukrainians in Great Britain wish to share their joy and their hopes with all people of good will.

*The Ukrainian Millennium Committee
in Great Britain*



THE HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN CHURCH ARCHITECTURE: AN INTRODUCTION



The Ukrainian architecture of the Middle Ages was based on vernacular, wood-building traditions of the pre-Christian era, the classical architecture of the Eastern Roman Empire or Byzantium, and the building practices of neighbouring peoples. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries came Romanesque and later Gothic influences, enriched by the Renaissance and by the strong Baroque influence of central Europe. Traditions of indigenous architecture and the European Baroque style were fused in the architecture of the Ukrainian Baroque. In subsequent decades, Ukrainian church architecture reflected eclectic movements of the nineteenth century. The political realities of the twentieth century did not permit development of contemporary interpretations of the Ukrainian ecclesiastical architectural heritage.

The Classical Heritage

In the seventh and fifth centuries B.C., a number of Greek colonies were founded on the northern shores of the Black Sea, and there the Greeks established markets for the products of their craftsmanship. The most important towns founded by the Greeks in southern Ukraine were Tyras (the modern Bilhorod Dnistrovs'ky) and Olbia in the Buh estuary. In the Crimea the major towns were

Khersones (the medieval Korsun' near present-day Sevastopol), Theodosia and Ponticapaem (now Kerch). These Greek colonies played an important role in the development of links between the classical culture in the Mediterranean countries and pre-historic Ukraine.

There were two main types of early church buildings: basilical plan church buildings and centrally planned buildings. The basilical plan churches of the first Christians (and the later Romanesque and Gothic churches) were oblong, rectangular buildings with the interior space separated by two rows of columns into the central nave and two side naves or aisles. The central nave was both wider and higher than the adjoining side naves and terminated in a semicircular base which enshrined the altar. The long rectangle of the basilical-type plan orientated on a single axis leads the congregation from the entrance at the west to the altar. It became the predominant building plan of the Western Church.

The most characteristic feature of the Byzantine style of architecture was the central type of plan with a dome, raised on a so-called "drum", high above the square-shaped space below. With the construction of the dome Byzantine architects succeeded in creating a vertical axis which leads the worshipper's eyes heavenward. The transition from the square to the circular drum upon which the dome rests is achieved by an ingenious device called a "pendentive" (a curved triangular masonry wall) built across the corners of the square. The basic plan of Byzantine-style churches was a Greek cross (with all four arms of equal length) inscribed into a square and surmounted by a dome over the intersection of the arms of the cross. Sometimes smaller domes were added between the arms of the cross. The so-called "cross-in-square" plan is probably the most perfect achievement of the Byzantine architectural style. The interior of a Byzantine church is characterised by the use of arches, by the rhythm of its columns, by classical decorative motifs and the lavish application of multi-coloured decorations or frescoes. A well-lit centre contrasting with the relative darkness of the surrounding galleries and the play of voids and solids, dark and light, produce the feeling of mystery which is the most striking feature of Byzantine-style church interiors.

According to the Chronicle (*Povist' vremennykh lit* — The Tale of Bygone Years), Prince Volodymyr the Great

was baptised in Khersones in 988. Though the city was destroyed by the Mongols in 1399, archaeologists have discovered in Khersones the remains of over thirty church buildings from between the fourth and ninth centuries. The largest church building of medieval Khersones was a basilica some 148 feet long and 68 feet wide, its naves separated by rows of eleven marble columns. From the ninth century, the cross-in-square plan with a dome over the central space of the church became the most popular type of church building in the Byzantine Empire, including the Greek colonies in southern Ukraine and the Crimea. One of the “cross-in-square” plan churches, the church of St. John the Baptist (tenth-eleventh centuries) in medieval Ponticapeum in the eastern Crimea, has survived to our times. With the introduction of Christianity to Ukraine, a rectangular variation of the “cross-in-square” plan became popular in Kievan Rus’. It evolved into a distinctive architectural solution, a building type which had both the horizontal axis of a basilical-type plan and the vertical axis of the Byzantine central-type plan with a dome.

The Indigenous Heritage

Ukraine is relatively poor in stone. However, it and all of Eastern Europe have always had bountiful supplies of good wooden construction material. Therefore the Slavic tribes of Eastern Europe developed their own time-tested building techniques based on timber construction. Archaeological excavations and historical records testify to the existence during the Middle Ages of well-developed timber architecture. The buildings in towns and villages, pagan temples and sacrificial shrines, castles and dwellings, were built of wood, according to age-old established techniques and traditions. The first churches of Kiev were also built of timber. From the *Povist' vremennykh lit* we know that in 945 Prince Ihor had his Christian followers confirm a treaty with the Byzantine Empire by taking an oath in the wooden church of St. Elijah in Kiev, and Prince Volodymyr had wooden churches erected on sites previously occupied by pagan idols. The amazing speed with which the unfamiliar techniques of masonry construction were assimilated by Kievans, and the creative

adaptation of Byzantine prototypes, can partially be explained by the existence of this well-developed indigenous pre-Christian timber architecture.

The Byzantine Style

The official conversion of Kievan Rus' to Christianity in 988 A.D. took place at the time when the iconoclastic movement in the Byzantine Empire (726-843) had ended and the medieval resurgence of Byzantine art and architecture was taking place. The end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century in Kievan Rus' saw a remarkable development of Byzantine-style architecture. Prince Volodymyr initiated a major construction programme which reflected contemporary influences of the Byzantine Empire — the Greek colonies of the Crimea and the Caucasian countries. The imported Byzantines, both Greek and non-Greek artists and architects who came to Kiev, apparently had to take into consideration and conform to local tastes and preferences. Thus, Byzantine, Caucasian and indigenous features were combined into a local school of art and architecture.

The masonry construction of tenth- and eleventh-century Kievan Rus' was based on ancient classical traditions. The so-called "opus mixtum" masonry, alternating layers of brick, rubble and quarry stone (granite, red quartzite) was widely used. The mortar was usually mixed with fragments of brick and brick dust, so that it looked pink. Scarcity of stone in the Ukrainian lands resulted in the generous use of cement, which recalled the masonry of earlier Roman construction. The facades of these buildings presented alternating courses of red brick and pink-tinged mortar through which the stones could be seen. The stones gradually became smaller towards the top of the wall, and brick increasingly predominated. This conveyed a feeling of slenderness. The weaker pillars, arches, vaults and domes were constructed exclusively of carefully fired bricks. Lead and sheet tin was used for roofing. Locally mined pink slate was widely used for both decorative and functional purposes in all Kievan buildings as well as in Ovruch, Chernihiv, Bilhorod and other towns. The source of the marble used in medieval churches and palaces has not been identified. Most historians assume that the

marble was imported from Greece. It is also possible that marble was re-used from earlier structures of the Greek city-colonies in the Crimea and on the Black Sea coast, or brought from the Carpathian mountains of western Ukraine.

Of all the towns of medieval Ukraine, the most comprehensive information is available on the churches of the capital city, Kiev. Upon entering through the Golden Gate of the "upper city" or citadel of eleventh-century Kiev, the visitor faced an urban complex of over 170 acres and forty major public buildings of which only one, St. Sophia Cathedral, has been preserved. The principal architectural monuments of medieval Kiev were built during the reigns of such men as Prince Volodymyr the Great (978-1015), who founded the Church of the Tithe, Prince Yaroslav the Wise (1016-1054) who built the Cathedral of St. Sophia, Prince Izyaslav (1054-1073) who founded the main church of the Monastery of the Caves, and Prince Svyatopolk II (1093-1113) who built the Church of St. Michael, later to be known as St. Michael of the Golden Domes (demolished in the 1930s).

The Church of the Mother of God or the Church of the Tithe (989-996) was destroyed by the Mongols in 1240 during the siege of Kiev. It was the first masonry church built by Prince Volodymyr after his acceptance of Christianity. The church was probably designed by imported Greek architects and built by both Greek and native artisans. However, Byzantine master builders who were summoned to Kiev had to submit to local traditions. For example, in the Church of the Tithe and later in St. Sophia Cathedral, the characteristic features of Ukrainian indigenous wooden architecture can be seen in the exterior galleries and in the composition of the building's volumes. The basilica-like plan of the Tithe Church had three naves which terminated in the east with three apses. In addition to the main dome, it probably had four smaller ones. The building was enclosed by galleries to the west, south and north. The original structure of Volodymyr the Great was about 165 feet wide and 260 feet long. Its galleries were enlarged by his son, Yaroslav the Wise. After the construction of St. Sophia Cathedral, the Tithe Church became the royal palatine church. Judging from the pieces of building materials and ornamentation that remain, its decorations were as rich as those of St. Sophia which have

survived the ravages of the centuries. The numerous fragments of the Tithe Church building include a marble basis and capitals, jasper, probably imported from the Crimea, pieces of floor pavement of multicoloured marble, large slabs of slate mosaics, frescoes and glass. Chronicles refer to the Tithe Church as the “marble one”.

The Cathedral of St. Sophia or Holy Wisdom was the main centre of religious, cultural and social life of medieval Kiev. It was the place of official ceremonies, coronations and the reception of foreign ambassadors, the first library of the land, and the burial place of Kiev’s rulers and metropolitans. The marble sarcophagus of its founder still remains in St. Sophia. The largest of Kiev’s churches, it is one of the few places of worship of the period which have survived to this day.

The plan of the original cross-shaped piers divided the interior space into longitudinal and transverse aisles, or naves and transepts. The five naves of the church terminated in the eastern end with five horseshoe-shaped apses. Four transepts transversed five naves. The structure was enclosed on three sides — western, southern and northern — by an interior two-storey gallery and an exterior one-storey open arcade. The two-storey high central nave and transept were twice as wide as the side aisles and formed a cross, the arms of which were about ninety-six feet long and twenty-six wide. The space at the intersection of the two arms of the cross — the central nave and the transept — was crowned by the central dome which had twelve windows. The central dome was surrounded by four smaller domes and then an additional eight. The total of thirteen domes was to symbolise Christ and the twelve apostles. The exterior composition of volumes reflected the building’s interior spaces.

Architectural historians agree on the uniqueness of St. Sophia, the originality of its plan and composition. It has been conjectured that its plan was influenced by the architecture of the Caucasian countries. It is also possible that in the design of the Cathedral of St. Sophia the original plan of the Church of the Tithe was elaborated, transformed and enlarged. The additional naves and two-storey gallery of the larger new building required lighting, which was provided by the construction of additional cupolas. The resulting plan and composition of volumes produced quite an original building. While the famous

Cathedral is a large building, it is perceived as being even larger. Occasionally it is mentioned that St. Sophia was the largest building of eleventh-century Europe. Actually, both the Byzantine (St. Mark's of Venice, 196 ft. by 180 ft.) and Romanesque (Cluny Abbey Church, Worms and Mainz Cathedral) edifices of that time were larger than Kiev's Cathedral. However, due to its composition, its rhythmic arcades and openings, and its crescendo of ever higher vaulting and domes, St. Sophia is perceived as an unusually large and majestic structure.

The gradual rise, step by step, of the units of the building toward its centre is the dominant feature of St. Sophia's outline. The exterior of the original eleventh-century structure, like most Byzantine buildings, was rather plain and austere — the present white exterior is a result of seventeenth-century Baroque restorations and additions. The exposed masonry work of its brick walls was a typical practice in the construction of eleventh-century Rus' churches and palaces. The horizontal articulation of the wall in pink and red stripes was enlivened by double recessed niches of various sizes arranged in rows along galleries and framing the windows. The subdued walls were accented by meander ornaments, embellishment around windows and doors, all skilfully executed in brick. The building could be entered from three sides — north, south and the main entrance in the west. The exterior open gallery, like similar galleries in Ukrainian vernacular wooden churches, provided welcoming shelter from the weather and a place for social activities. The flat roof of the one-storey exterior arcades was paved and used as a promenade. The main western facade of the Cathedral was accented by two towers while the one-storey exterior gallery was decorated by an entrance portico of four marble columns.

The interior of the existing structure is fairly well preserved. However, the original interior, designed to be flooded with daylight, is presently relatively dark due to later Baroque additions. Despite this, in comparison to other Byzantine-style churches, St. Sophia remains unusually well illuminated, due to its numerous domes. Its original interior was striking in the richness of its embellishments. The walls, balustrades and vaulted and domed ceilings were decorated with mosaics and frescoes, carved slate and marble. The bright colours of saints'

images stood out against the blue and yellow backgrounds; geometric and floral patterns accent the interior. The mosaics cover the main portion of the Cathedral — the central apse, the central dome and the wall surface under it. The side apses, naves and galleries were decorated with frescoes. The original eleventh-century floor was covered by mosaics of geometric designs, and a low marble chancel barrier (*iconostasis*) separated the congregation from the altar.

Upon entering the interior of the cathedral, one beholds the disappearing arches of the exterior and interior galleries; further on, the viewer's eyes perceive the illuminated space under the central dome. At the end of the central nave, on a concave surface of the central apse, a monumental eighteen-foot-high image of the *Orans* (Mother of God, the Protectress) reigns over the glistening space of the interior. On the interior of the central dome, hovering ninety-eight feet above, is the image of Jesus Christ the *Pantocrator* (All-powerful). The image of the Pantocrator is flanked on four sides by the four evangelists. It is here, in the sunlight from the central dome, that one perceives the symbolic contrast between the light and brightness of the heavens of the cupola and the earthliness of the ground level.

The oldest medieval church of Ukraine to have survived to our days is the Cathedral of the Saviour in Chernihiv, built in 1035. The large, elongated, basilica-like rectangular structure has three naves with three apses and a narthex. A dome covers the intersection of the central nave and the transept. Four smaller domes are located over the four corners of the building. In the interior of the church, a second-level gallery was constructed over the narthex and the side naves. Adjacent to the south-western corner of the interior was a small baptistry, and in the northern corner of the western facade was a round tower. An original feature of the rectangular building's composition is that the main cupola is located in the centre rather than at the eastern end.

One of the more important buildings of the eleventh century was the large, but simple and austere, Collegiate Church of the Dormition of the Monastery of the Caves, near medieval Kiev (1073-1078, demolished in 1941). This was a short basilica-type church building with six internal piers separating the interior into three naves which

terminated in three apses. A second-level gallery was constructed over the narthex, and one cupola surmounted the crossing of the central nave and the transept. Similar, but slightly smaller, was the Church of St. Michael of the Golden Domes (1108-1113, demolished in 1935-1936) of the St. Demetrius Monastery in Kiev. Its static and simple lines were softened by a tower placed near the main entrance and a baptistry on its southern side. These two buildings were prototypes of many similar ones built in subsequent decades in Ukraine and Russia. Both were renovated and enlarged in the Baroque style in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; both were lost, the first destroyed in 1941, the second in 1935-1936.

Romanesque Style

In the twelfth century, the cultural life of Kievan Rus' began to shift from Kiev to other major urban centres such as Pereyaslav, Chernihiv, Volodymyr Volyns'ky and Halych. In the middle of the twelfth century, Kiev lost its importance as the capital of a vast empire. In 1169 the city was, for the first time in history, sacked and plundered by Prince Andrey Bogolubsky of the Vladimir Principality, later to be known as Muscovy. In 1239 Kiev succumbed to the Mongol invasion, and Ukraine's building activity shifted to the western lands of the Galician-Volhynian Kingdom.

The diminishing importance of Kiev stimulated the development of regional architectural schools in Pereyaslav (end of the eleventh century), Chernihiv (beginning of the twelfth century), and Galicia (middle of the twelfth century). The architecture of this period is known for its stylistic changes, new construction materials, excellent engineering and craftsmanship, and emphasis on defensive architecture. The buildings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries also reflect the country's growing cultural and economic relations with its western neighbours.

Romanesque influences are reflected in such features of the burgeoning towns as symmetrical towers on a church's main facade (Volodymyr Volyns'ky, Ovruch), recessed portals, decorative carvings and capitals (Halych, Kholm, now Chelm in Poland), polychromy (Kholm), arcading friezes and narrow engaged columns instead of pilasters. Another trait of the twelfth-century buildings is that the

“opus mixtum” masonry of the previous centuries is replaced by brick (so called “plinf”) in the central regions of Ukraine and limestone in Western Ukraine. Wide use of brick masonry in the Dnieper region resulted from the local development of both skilled labour and a sufficient brick industry, while limestone was readily available in the western regions. The first major structure which used plinf was the Chernihiv Church of Saints Borys and Hlib, built in the 1120s.

By the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century, architects began to pay more attention to the exteriors of buildings. The churches of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were marked by vertical compositions and the perfection of their structure. In contrast to the eleventh century’s exuberant multi-domed churches with both interior and exterior galleries, the buildings of subsequent centuries were, with few exceptions, simpler and of rather severe outlines. Few large cathedrals were built; instead, construction of town churches and palatine chapels predominated. In addition to the popular cross-domed churches similar to the Church of St. Michael of the Golden Domes in Kiev, the common church buildings of this period are simple cross-in-square plan churches (the Church of the Holy Trinity in the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev, 1106-1108), one-nave buildings (St. Elijah in Chernihiv, second half of the twelfth century), and rotundas (forty-foot wide memorial chapel in Volodymyr Volyns’ky, end of the thirteenth century). In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, new architectural complexes of stone construction became popular in the Galician-Volhynian Kingdom. They consisted of a palace and palatine chapel usually connected on a second level. Such complexes were also familiar in neighbouring Poland (Ostrów Lednicki, Giecz) or Russia (Bogolubovo).

The general features of the Chernihiv school of architecture were crystallised at the beginning of the twelfth century. Chernihiv churches represent the first attempt by Ukrainian architects to combine the Byzantine and Romanesque styles. Their Romanesque character can be seen in the recessed portals of the Church of Sts. Borys and Hlib (1097-1123), or the western facade of the Collegiate Church of the Assumption in the Yeletsky Monastery (second half of the twelfth century). The

Chernihiv builders perfected brick masonry techniques in both structural and decorative use. An interesting feature of Chernihiv brick buildings was the wide use of stone decorative details and capitals carved in typical Romanesque style. The excellent brick masonry walls of Chernihiv churches were often covered with stucco, which was occasionally ruled with false joints to represent ashlar stone construction. The plans of Chernihiv churches followed the prototypes established by the Collegiate Church of the Assumption and the Church of St. Michael in Kiev. However, Chernihiv churches were very often surrounded by open arcaded galleries.

Of the churches built in twelfth-century Chernihiv, the Cathedral of the Annunciation, erected in 1186 by Prince Svyatoslav Vsevolodovych, was the largest. Its size, and the wealth of its decorations, make it comparable to Kievan churches of the eleventh century and the Halych Cathedral of the twelfth century. The Chernihiv cathedral's notable exterior feature was its facade of dark-red brick articulated by large pilasters and engaged columns of light-yellow brick. The building was destroyed in the Middle Ages.

The architects of the Galician-Volhynian Kingdom also developed a distinct school of architecture marked by a mixture of Byzantine and Romanesque influences. Initially, brick masonry construction was used in the tenth and eleventh centuries in Halych, Luts'k, Volodymyr Volyns'ky, Turiv and other towns. With growing Romanesque influence the use of local varieties of limestone became popular. As the Lombardian Romanesque style of architecture spread through Hungary, Croatia, Bohemia, Poland and Galicia-Volhynia, such innovations as rotunda churches, often built in connection with palatine complexes, were introduced. The remains and foundations of over thirty major structures — palaces, cross-domed churches, oblong one-nave churches and various types of rotundas — have been discovered in the large territory of medieval Halych and its suburbs. These structures were built of locally hewn limestone. In a number of church ruins, fragments of majolica floor, interior frescoes and carved limestone columns and capitals have been found. Excellent craftsmanship, familiarity with Byzantine traditions and Romanesque style characterise the construction of these buildings.

The Halych Cathedral of the Dormition was 106 feet wide and 123 feet long. It was a cross-domed church surrounded on three sides by enclosed galleries. In its south-western corner was a small baptismal chapel reminiscent of a baptistry in the main church of the Yelets'kyi Monastery in Chernihiv. In contrast to eleventh-century Kiev churches, the Halych cathedral did not have towers on its western facade. The main entrance of the facade was highlighted by a richly carved portico, while the cornices of the three apses were articulated by decorative arcades.

The small monastic Church of St. Panteleimon (early thirteenth century), built by King Danylo (1226-1264) some three miles from the medieval City of Halych, gives us some idea of construction in the Galician-Volhynian Kingdom of the time. It is the only Halych church that survived the onslaught of the Mongols and the ravages of the centuries. The church building had a cross-in-square plan (52 ft. 6 in. in length and width), three apses and one dome. Its Romanesque character is seen in the rich portals set in recesses with columnar mouldings, the blind arcading on the apses, the columns with semi-circular shafts, gemmaceous capitals and Attic bases. Its walls are faced with carefully cut ashlar (hewn blocks wrought to even facing) limestone. Perfection of workmanship and precision in the measurements of the plan and details testify to the high-quality work of Halych architects and artisans. Several similar small church buildings survived in the new capital of L'viv.

In the middle of the thirteenth century, a wide construction programme was carried out by King Danylo in the new city of Kholm, which was founded in 1237 and developed into a major cultural, industrial and mercantile centre of the Kingdom. King Danylo built four major churches in the new city. We are familiar with Kholm's churches from the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle's* description and from archaeological remains. Impressed by the richness of the "beautiful and majestic" Church of St. John constructed and decorated by local master builders and sculptors, the medieval chronicler wrote: "There were four vaults — one vault at each end — which rested on four human heads sculptured by some artists and three windows adorned by Roman glass (stained glass). At the entrance to the altar there stood two pillars made of one

piece of stone which supported another vault. The ceiling above was decorated with gold stars against a sky-blue background, while the floor within the church was of copper and fused by pure tin so that it shone like a mirror. Its two gates, ornamented with white stone from Halych and green from Kholm, had carvings by a certain artist, Avdiy. The bas-reliefs on them were of all colours and of gold. On the front gate of the church there was a statue of the Saviour and on its northern gate — one of St. John, so that everyone who looked at the church marvelled at its great beauty”. In the town of Kholm King Danylo also “built a Church of the blessed SS. Cosmas and Damian. It has four columns entirely of cut-stone, which hold up the ceiling. From them other columns lead to the altar of St. Demetrius. As one enters, it stands facing the side doors in all its beauty. . .”

The Byzantine Heritage

Byzantine architecture imbued Ukrainian culture with the classical traditions of the Eastern Roman Empire. The architecture of Kievan Rus' also directly influenced the development of the eleventh-century architecture of the Russian principalities of Novgorod and Pskov. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, architects from Kiev, Chernihiv and other towns carried their skill to the emerging Russian principality of Vladimir-Suzdal (later to be known as Muscovy) in the northern forests of the Volga River Valley. Thus the architecture of early Russian towns was developed in the shadow of Kiev. The flowering of art and architecture in the Ukrainian cities of the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries also exerted an influence on the neighbouring Romanesque architecture of Poland. As late as the fourteenth century, Ukrainian artists were imported to decorate the cathedrals and palatine chapels of Polish royalty. Above all, this period of the first centuries of Christianity imbued Ukrainian culture with an appreciation of and attachment to the classical heritage of Byzantine art and architecture.

*The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries:
Gothic and Renaissance*

In the second half of the fourteenth century the principality of Galicia was incorporated into the Polish Kingdom, while the principality of Volhynia and the eastern lands of Ukraine were absorbed by the Lithuanian Duchy. These events took place at the time when the east-west trade routes through Galicia, established in the thirteenth century, were being strengthened and the country was developing further its strong mercantile relationship with both east and west. Economic growth was reflected in urban growth and development. The major architectural landmarks of these turbulent years of constant danger of Tartar attack were numerous castles and fortresses built primarily in the Gothic Style. In ecclesiastical architecture, the Byzantine traditions of the past were augmented by Gothic influences. The new style was popularised by incoming Roman Catholic monastic orders, Dominicans and Franciscan observers known in Poland and Ukraine as Bernardite Friars. The new style, and the construction of the so-called "fortress-churches", stimulated the evolution of a new indigenous type of church building. The monastery-fortresses of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, like the Monastery of the Caves near Kiev (renovated in 1470 by prince Semen Olel'kovych) and the monasteries in Zymno near Volodymyr Volyns'ky (fifteenth century), Derman' (fifteenth century) and Mezhyrich near Rivne (fifteenth-sixteenth centuries), were constructed as castles. Their buildings and churches were incorporated into the defensive walls of the fortresses. Sometimes only the upper part of the church buildings was used for defensive purposes; occasionally, the entire church was as a fortress.

In Ukraine, a land rich in the Byzantine classical heritage, as in Italy, the Gothic style was a transitional period in architecture. Gothic influences, coming from both the west and the south, appeared in Ukraine in matured form and manifested themselves in the structural details and vaulting and in pointed Gothic window and door openings. Wood remained the basic construction material of the countryside. Limestone and sandstone were used in Galicia, Podolia, Transcarpathia, Bukovina and the

southern areas of Volhynia. Brick masonry was widespread in Volhynia and the Dnieper regions. Brick production was perfected and the large-size “plinf” of the past was replaced by high-quality brick.

The stylistic evolution of Ukrainian architecture can be clearly seen in the church buildings of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. In the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Byzantine tradition remained a strong architectural current which was evident in the major church buildings of this period. Roman Catholic churches built in Ukraine in this period, such as L'viv Cathedral (1361-1493), have plans very similar to the cross-in-square plans of the Galician-Volhynian Kingdom, and the nave and side aisles of these churches have the same height — in contrast to the contemporary Gothic Roman Catholic churches in Poland or Western Europe. Such outstanding edifices as St. George's Cathedral (1353-1437) and the Armenian Cathedral (1363-1370) of L'viv were still built as traditional cross-domed churches. However, the Byzantine style was losing its primacy, and new forms of ecclesiastical buildings were emerging. In the architecture of such buildings as the Church of the Mother of God in Rohatyn (14th-15th centuries) and the Church of the Nativity in Halych (end of the fourteenth - beginning of the fifteenth century), the traditional Byzantine plans were reinterpreted in the new Gothic vocabulary. The influence of the Gothic style and the construction of “fortress-churches” stimulated a break with the traditional Byzantine types of church building of Kievan Rus' and Galicia-Volhynia and the development of a new, so-called tri-partite church building type based on indigenous wooden architecture.

Numerous small brick and stone parish churches were constructed. Their sponsors were simple town folk, very often religious brotherhoods. Among the preserved churches of this period we see small buildings of various plans and exterior forms. Usually they were single-nave churches of plain brick or stone construction. They constituted a further development of small one-nave churches of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Influenced by indigenous timber architecture, new bi- and tripartite plans were developed. Often the churches were built without domes, and thus very much resembled secular buildings. The architecture of these small and simple buildings was marked by a harmonious composition

of volumes that merged vernacular timber style with imported Gothic features. The interiors were decorated with icons and only rarely with frescoes.

The Armenian Cathedral of L'viv was founded by the city's Armenian colony. Begun at the end of the fourteenth century and completed in the thirties of the fifteenth century, the building fuses Armenian, Gothic and Galician Romanesque features. In its original form, the Cathedral was a cross-domed church built of local hewn stone, similar in many ways to the church buildings of Galician Rus'. Its original features were the elliptical dome over the central space and the slightly pointed Gothic arcades.

The Church of the Mother of God in the town of Rohatyn (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries) is a good example of a defensive church building. Its tri-partite plan has a square narthex surmounted by a tower, a rectangular nave for worship, and a semi-circular sanctuary. Rows of octagonal columns support Gothic vaulting rather than Byzantine domes. The Gothic vaulting and window openings indicate its transitional character. Such buildings of this dark period of Ukrainian history were adapted to warfare, and were usually built as defensive structures. Gothic versions of these one-nave buildings with defensive towers over the narthex eventually evolved into vernacular timber church buildings in the Lemko Region and Transcarpathia.

The Church of the Epiphany in Ostroh, built in the middle of the fifteenth century, has a plan which echoes the plans of the cross-domed churches of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It is one of the earliest examples of the church-fortress building. The ten-foot-thick northern wall of the church accommodates a gallery with embrasures and is part of the castle's defensive walls. The church has a central nave and two aisles, three apses and five domes on elongated drums. Strengthened by Gothic buttresses and decorated by rows of blind arcades, the entire building conveys a strong sense of verticality. Another example of a church-fortress building was the Church of the Assumption in Zymno monastery in Volhynia (1465-1495). Founded by Prince Chortoryis'ky, it had both Gothic and Renaissance-style features. The building's northern wall was incorporated into the castle's defensive walls. Instead of domes, the three-nave church-fortress had turret-like towers on its four corners.

Indigenous Wooden Architecture

Until recent times, the primary building material of the Ukrainian village was timber. From this perishable material, master carpenters created dwellings, palaces for the gentry, defensive structures and houses of worship. Numerous masterpieces of wooden churches and belfries survived the vicissitudes of time until the early twentieth century. They evolved from the indigenous heritage of Eastern and Central Europe, where log construction or “blockwork” was once the primary building medium of the land. A typical wooden church building complex included a church building, a bell tower, and the churchyard with a cemetery and a high crucifix. A wooden or stone wall enclosed the entire ensemble. Such complexes are known for their effective site planning. Careful attention to site planning can be observed both in mountainous regions and in the lowlands. We find that preserved old wooden churches were usually built on the outskirts of a village, very often on a knoll or a hill. Trees were planted around the church buildings. In the old days, clusters of these trees — frequently planted in an oval and occasionally in a rectangular pattern — were widely respected by the villagers. Architectural historians affirm that these archaic practices date from pre-Christian times.

No wooden churches from before the sixteenth century have been preserved, although from the medieval chronicles we know that they existed long before Christianity became the official faith of Kievan Rus’ in 988. Our ideas of these ancient timber buildings must be conjectural and are predicated on uncertain reconstructions. One of the peculiarities of vernacular architecture is that, parallel with the evolution of new styles, old ones continue to be used. A review of Ukrainian wooden church buildings shows that they have a common basis and set of features which must have been inherited from earlier practices and which are widely spread throughout Ukraine. Regional variants and external influences had little effect on the basic layout and composition. This strength of tradition seems to dominate throughout the centuries. The evolution of timber architecture reflects the taste and the preferences of the Ukrainian people and demonstrates the independence of the Ukrainian cultural tradition.

As was mentioned above, Ukrainian wooden construction, like that of other East European countries, (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Russia) consisted of a layered solid-timber technique known as blockwork or log construction. The basic unit of blockwork construction was a rectangular frame formed by logs which interlocked at the corners. These carpented frames, square or rectangular in plan, were then arranged in various layouts. The indigenous timber construction traditions of the pre-Christian era evolved into tripartite or cruciform-plan church buildings with three, five, or nine pyramidal roofs or, later, cupolas. The main compositional elements of these buildings were the subordination of the roofs of the side compartments to the central one, symmetry, and the expression of the interior space on the building's exterior. The church building was designed as a three-dimensional and symmetrical work of art to be viewed from any vantage point. Each compartment of the timber structure was crowned by a separate pyramidal roof or cupola. In the cruciform plan, for example, cupolas were located over the intersection of the arms of the cross and over the arms of the equilateral cross rather than arranged diagonally between its arms as is customary in Byzantine or Renaissance architecture. Such close harmony between plan and elevation is perhaps unique to Ukrainian vernacular architecture.

Besides a severe sense of symmetry of plan and volume composition, and a clear arrangement of pyramidal roofs or tower-like cupolas, Ukrainian timber church architecture has an imaginative use of *zaloms* (roof breaks) — the alternation of vertical and sloping sections in the roof. Also typical are exterior covered walks, and the unencumbered interior space of the individual compartments which are visually related to each other by wide wall openings. The sculptural qualities of these buildings were achieved by a creative use of geometric forms: the cube, polygonal prism and four- or eight-sided pyramids. Within the limited possibilities of its lexicon, Ukrainian timber architecture evolved a variety of design solutions. The evolution of building types developed primarily from the elaboration of the roof, and the desire for ornamental compositions led to a rhythmic repetition of motifs.

The principal innovation of the Ukrainian master builder was the transition, in timber architecture, from the square plan to the octagonal superstructure or drum and the eight-sided pyramidal roof above it. Thanks to this structural device, such masterpieces as the Church of St. George in the town of Drohobych were built. Another achievement was the superimposing of alternating vertical and sloping roof sections or *zaloms* on each other. The development of *zaloms* allowed for the construction of such masterpieces as the Boiko Region and Lyman School timber buildings.

The architecture of Ukrainian wooden churches has been described as a synthesis of native building traditions and both Byzantine and Latin influences. It varies enormously. Buildings were both simple and elaborate in appearance, ranging from squat ones in the mountains to exuberantly tall ones in the plains. Western regional variants were characterised by a wealth and diversity of form and the preservation of archaic features. Northern buildings were small in size, and their ancient forms and techniques were rather limited. The creative genius of the master builders reached its peak in the innovative and daring structures of Eastern Ukraine. There the development of a number of regional schools culminated in the creation of the lofty Lyman School church buildings, which can be considered the most outstanding achievement of wooden architecture in Europe. All the Lyman School churches and practically all the existing wooden churches of the eastern and central regions of Ukraine were destroyed in the 1930s.

The Renaissance Style

The second half of the sixteenth century was marked by the development of Ukraine's cities, the growth of the role of the town population, colonisation of territories wrested from the Crimean Tartars, and the popularisation of the Renaissance style in architecture. The Renaissance style, usually defined as the revival of art and architecture under the influence of Classical Roman standards and motifs, spread from Italy throughout Europe and reached the East European lands of Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, Ukraine. Unlike the Gothic style, which had never fully developed

nor obtained a sure footing in Ukraine, the Italian Renaissance and, later, especially the Baroque, (owing to its closeness to Ukraine's Byzantine heritage), spread through the country. The popularisation of the Renaissance was facilitated by Ukraine's mercantile relations which, by way of Slovakia and Hungary, reached Venice and northern Italy. As in neighbouring Poland, nearly all the Renaissance architects of Ukraine were Italians. However, working with native builders and craftsmen, the Italian architects succeeded in responding to local tastes and traditions.

During the transitional Gothic-Renaissance period a number of major structures were built, including the Church of the Epiphany (15th century) of the castle of Ostroh and the synagogues of L'viv and Sataniv. The Renaissance appeared in the reconstruction of the castle of Kamianets' Podil's'ky (1541-44) and in a number of other castles of Podolia, Volhynia and Galicia. The new style also penetrated to the old centres of Kiev (reconstruction in 1613-14 of the Collegiate Church of the Dormition or Pyrohoshcha by the Italian architect Sebastiano Bracci), Chernihiv and other cities of central Ukraine where restoration of medieval churches was taking place.

However, the focal point of the Renaissance was the city of L'viv, which in the sixteenth century was a major cultural and mercantile centre of Ukraine. Italian architects, primarily from northern Italy, found opportunities in L'viv, which was rebuilt after the disastrous fire of 1527. These builders succeeded in imbuing L'viv's architecture with a unique local character which combines Italian Renaissance characteristics with cultural influences from the Netherlands and Germany, indigenous traditions and decorative elements. The blend of L'viv's Italian Renaissance, Byzantine and native Ukrainian traditions can best be seen in the ensemble of buildings of the city's Brotherhood Church of the Dormition. At the same time, the building programme of Prince Ostrozhs'ky produced a special group of Renaissance-style buildings in Volhynia which were influenced by Venetian architecture. Major late Ukrainian Renaissance (first half of the seventeenth century) buildings are the Boyim Sepulchral Chapter of a local mercantile family (1609-11) in L'viv and the town houses of Kamianets' Podil's'ky. Examples of transitional Renaissance-Baroque-style buildings are Hetman

Khmel'nyts'ky's Church of St. Elijah in Subotiv (1653) and the Church of the Intercession in Nyskynych, Volhynia (1643-53)

Of the many religious brotherhood churches in Ukraine, the Brotherhood Church of the Dormition in L'viv, popularly known as the Wallachian Church, and the adjoining chapel and campanile, are the best known. The ensemble is considered one of the finest examples of Ukrainian Renaissance architecture. The Church of the Dormition and the Chapel of the Three Hierarchs were oriented around a courtyard. The small scale of the courtyard and the chapel emphasises the height of the tall Kornyakt Tower. Of the three buildings, the Kornyakt Bell Tower was constructed first. Towering 216 feet above the city skyline, the Italianate campanile dominates the old town. Built in 1572-78 by Petro Borbona, who at one time was court architect to the Polish King Jan Sobieski, and by Paolo Dominici from Rome, known in Ukrainian as Pavlo Rymlianyyn (Paolo Romano), the tall bell tower reflects both Venetian and Roman influences. The Church of the Dormition was built in 1598-1630 by the architects Pavlo Rymlianyyn, Ambrosi Prykhyl'ny and Voitek Kupynis. It is a large, three-nave basilical building with a narthex and an apse. The church and the adjoining chapel have a typically Ukrainian tripartite dome composition. On the exterior, the building's facades are articulated by pilasters of Tuscan order and decorated with carvings containing local motifs. Restrained ornamentation, fine composition and proportion mark the three-dome Church of the Dormition as one of the finest Renaissance buildings of Eastern Europe.

The Chapel of the Three Hierarchs, adjoining both the church and the bell tower (completed in 1591) was probably built by the architect Petrus Crasovski Italus. Its architecture is rather simple — a rectangular one-nave structure crowned by three domes on pendentives with drums and lanterns. Subdued facades are articulated by pilasters of Tuscan order and a rich cornice. The chapel's portico is enhanced by a richly carved doorway with vine and grapes, a motif particularly popular in Ukrainian indigenous wooden architecture. The architecture of the church and the chapel represents a most successful fusion of Italian Renaissance, Byzantine and indigenous architectural traditions.

Ukrainian Baroque

The second half of the seventeenth century is known for the establishment of an autonomous Ukrainian state in Left-bank Ukraine, the colonisation of the vast tracts of steppe land, and the development of the Ukrainian Baroque. The new style of dramatic forms and light effects originated in Italy and was introduced to Ukraine in the first half of the seventeenth century (the Jesuit church in L'viv modelled on the famous Roman basilica of Il Gesu, 1610-30, by the architect Giacomo Briano; other Roman Catholic churches in L'viv and Kamyanets' Podil's'ky). Developed during the years of national autonomy, the exuberant Ukrainian Baroque architecture of the second half of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries symbolised the self-confidence and national aspirations of the period. Historians agree that the Ukrainian Baroque reflects a synthesis of Western Baroque with local building traditions of the Middle Ages and indigenous wooden architecture. The composition of the central-plan Ukrainian Baroque Churches illustrates the fusion of Western Baroque and indigenous influences. In these cruciform buildings, the Baroque cupolas are located over the intersection of the arms of the equilateral cross and over the arms of the cross rather than arranged diagonally between the arms of the cross as is customary in Baroque architecture. The former arrangement of cupolas is typical in Ukrainian wooden vernacular architecture.

Despite stylistic similarities, the forms of Ukrainian Baroque cupolas and lanterns reached Ukrainian lands from the west rather than from the east or north. The western variant of the pear- and onion-shaped spires and cupolas developed in the sixteenth century, probably as a result of an intersection between southern Italian and northern Gothic architecture. The new forms were particularly popular in areas like Northern Italy, the Netherlands and Germany, which were exerting an influence on the Ukrainian Church and its architecture.

The most outstanding achievements of the Ukrainian Baroque period were the rebuilding of the remaining historical landmarks of the Middle Ages and the construction of new cathedrals, churches and monasteries. Owing to Hetman Ivan Mazepa's (1687-1709) prodigious building activity, Ukrainian historians often refer to the

Ukrainian Baroque as the Mazepa style. However, besides Hetman Mazepa, the Ukrainian Baroque building programme was supported by Hetmans Samoilovych, Apostol and Rozumovs'ky; by members of such prominent gentry families as Hertsyk, Myklashevs'ky, Mokievs'ky, Bunin-Borkovs'ky, Borokhovych and Myronovych; by Metropolitan Mohyla, the Chernihiv Archbishop Lazar Baranovych, the Prior of the Mhars'ky Monastery in Lubny, Makari Rusynovych and others.

Of the two discernible periods of the Ukrainian Baroque style, the early Ukrainian Baroque of the second half of the seventeenth century (the Church of All Saints in the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev, 1696-98; the Church of St. George in the Vydubys'ky Monastery near Kiev, 1696-1701) is characterised by horizontal articulation of the facades and by geometric decorative motifs. The late Ukrainian Baroque style of 1720-70 (the Zaborovs'ky Gate of St. Sophia Cathedral, 1746; the facades and pediments of the renovated Church of St. Michael of the Golden Domes, 1740s; the Collegiate Church of the Dormition of the Monastery of the Caves, 1722-29 and 1767-79; the Collegiate Church of the Transfiguration of the Mhars'ky Monastery, 1730s) is marked by the use of elaborate pediments decorated with low-relief floral ornamentation, volutes, murals, etc. During the first period, in the last decade of the seventeenth century, the skyline of Ukrainian cities and towns began to change. Tall bell towers, first seen in Ukraine at the end of the sixteenth century in the city of L'viv, became prevalent in the eighteenth century. The tall campanile-like belfries next to cathedrals and churches in monasteries, cities and villages altered the Ukrainian landscape. Outstanding architects of the late Ukrainian Baroque were Ivan Hryhorovych Bars'ky (1713-1785), Stepan Kavnir (1695-86), and the German-born Johann-Gottfried Schädel (1680-1752).

Ukrainian Baroque architecture has three main church building types — Greek cross-in-plan buildings with one or five cupolas; three-nave, multi-domed basilical buildings with well-formulated western facades; and one-nave-plan buildings with one or three cupolas. Whereas basilical-plan churches reflect the western influences and Byzantine traditions of the Middle Ages, the other two building types are influenced by indigenous wooden architecture.

Until the seventeenth century the predominant church building type was the one-nave, three-partite-plan church with one or three cupolas. The cruciform plan and five cupolas appeared in masonry church buildings initially in the Volhynia and Kiev regions. Further development of this type of building took place in the Kiev Region and in Left-Bank Ukraine.

The main features of cruciform churches are a pyramidal sculptural composition and the absence of a main facade. As was mentioned above, the five cupolas of these cruciform churches are located over the intersection of the arms of the cross and over the arms of the cross. One of the first buildings of this type was built in 1671 in the monastery of the town of Hustyn. Major cruciform churches are St. Nicholas in Nizhyn (1668), the Holy Trinity in the Hustyns'ky Monastery (founded in 1672-74 by Hetman Samoilovych), All Saints in the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev (founded in 1696-98 by Hetman Ivan Mazepa), St. George in the Vydubys'ky Monastery near Kiev (founded in 1696-1701 by Mykhailo Myklashevs'ky), the Intercession in Pereyaslav (founded in 1704-09 by Ivan Myronovych and his wife Pelahiya) and the Intercession in Velyki Sorochyntsi (founded in the 1730s by Hetman Apostol).

A new Italian Baroque basilical-plan building type was introduced with the construction of the Collegiate Church of the Trinity (founded by Archbishop Lazar Baranovych, 1679, architect Adam Zornikau) of the Troyits'ky Monastery in Chernihiv and the Collegiate Church of the Transfiguration (founded by Hetman I. Samoilovych, 1684-92, architect Ivan Baptyst) of the Mhars'ky Monastery. In the following decades, three-nave buildings, very often with exquisite facades, were built in Kiev, Poltava, Hlukhiv, Starodub and other towns. The most representative and finest examples were two similar Kievan buildings — the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas in the St. Nicholas Pustynny Monastery, and the Collegiate Church of the Epiphany in the Brats'ky Monastery in Kiev's lower town. Both buildings were commissioned by Hetman Ivan Mazepa and were designed by the same architect (Ivan Zarudny ?), and both were dismantled in the mid-1930s.

The Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas was sited in one of the most beautiful and highest parts of Old Kiev, on the

steep and picturesque banks of the Dnieper River. Its plan was in the shape of a slightly pronounced Latin cross with three apses and towers in the four corners of the building. The central nave and the transept were well pronounced. A Baroque cupola on a drum, crowned by a lantern, dominated the crossing of the central nave and transept. There were similar but smaller cupolas over the corner towers. The building's facades were articulated by attached columns of colossal order. Two rows of rectangular windows with pediments and decorative window openings pierced the plain surfaces of the walls between the columns. While the side entrances were subdued, the main western facade was emphasised by a rich portico and classical pediment, features which were later replaced by more ornate late-Baroque ones. A major feature of the interior of the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas was its iconostasis, which was over 49 feet high and some 89 feet wide with seven tiers of icons.

Among the single-nave tripartite church buildings one should mention the Church of St. Elijah in the lower town of Kiev (1692), St. Theodosius in the Monastery of the Caves (1698), and the Church of the Intercession in Kharkiv (1689).

Monasteries were centres of the religious and cultural life of the time. A typical building ensemble of the Ukrainian Baroque monastery consisted of the church, campanile-like bell tower and, surrounding them, one- or two-storey structures (refectory, residential quarters, shops, etc). The main entrance to the walled-in monastery compound, pinpointed by the belfry above the main gateway, was usually located at the western end of the monastery, opposite the main (western) entrance of the church building (the altar was always oriented towards the east). The approach from the entry gate under the bell tower to the main church of the monastery was flanked by low-rise monastic buildings set at an angle, which progressively stepped back and provided an ever wider, stage-like open space before the monastery's main church building. This arrangement foreshortened the perspective, emphasising the already large volume of monastic churches. As one approached the church this spatial configuration seemed to decrease the distance to the church building. At the same time, the juxtaposition of the large church and belfry on the one hand, and the low

surrounding monastic structures on the other, emphasised the dominating volumes of the church building and the bell tower. Of the many Ukrainian Baroque monasteries, the more outstanding new ensembles were built in Kiev, Chernihiv and Hustyn. At the same time, monastic buildings of old communities (the Monastery of the Caves or the St. Sophia Monastery in Kiev) were adapted to the new planning arrangements.

During the years of decline of the Left Bank's autonomy, a number of major structures were built by Baroque architects often unfamiliar with the architectural traditions of the Ukrainian lands. For example, in Kiev the French-trained Italian architect Bartolomeo Rastrelli, in the service of the Russian Imperial Court, designed the well-known and beautifully sited cruciform-in-plan Church of St. Andrew.

In the western regions of Ukraine, Baroque church buildings reflect a mixture of Italian and German influences. For example, in the town of Pochayiv, L. Hoffman designed the Collegiate Church of the Dormition (1771-83) while in L'viv, the Italian architect B. Meretini (Meretyyn) designed the Cathedral of St. George (1738-58). The latter, with works by the local sculptor I. Pinzer, is one of the outstanding late Baroque structures of this region. Situated on the crest of a hill, on the site of an earlier medieval structure, the cathedral dominates the surrounding areas of the city. Its central cruciform plan reflects the influence of the indigenous tripartite composition. The Cathedral's magnificent front facade is decorated by exuberant baroque sculptures, including an equestrian sculpture of St. George high above the main portico.

Baroque Heritage

Ukrainian Baroque architecture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries symbolises Ukrainian national and religious autonomy and aspirations. During this period Ukraine played the main, if not the decisive, part in bringing West European culture to Eastern Europe. At the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, Ukrainian architects and builders introduced the Ukrainian Baroque architectural style to Ukraine's

northern neighbour, Russia. The features of Ukrainian Baroque church architecture spread thousands of miles from its home base. Ukrainian Baroque influences have spread through Russia as far as the cities of Tobolsk and Tyumen in Siberia. Such outstanding Russian Baroque buildings as the Archangel Gabriel Belltower, known as the Menshikov Tower, in Moscow (1704-07, architect Ivan Zarudny), and the Church of the Intercession at Fili (1691-1739), were built by Ukrainians. A graduate of the Kiev Academy, the talented architect Ivan Zarudny was appointed by Peter I in 1707 as supervisor of all construction in Moscow and the entire Russian Empire. The influence of the Ukrainian Baroque was also felt in Moldavia and Byelorussia. Russian influences, mostly in architectural details, may be seen in the Ukrainian Baroque architecture of the north-eastern Ukrainian cities of Kharkiv, Putyvl' and others.

Neo-Classicism and Eclecticism

With the loss of Ukrainian autonomy in 1781, the liquidation of home rule in the urban centres of the Left Bank and the unsuccessful revolts against Poland on the Right Bank, came years of cultural and religious decay. From then on, city planning and building design on the Left Bank were guided by the central Russian authorities and often designed by imported west European architects. In 1803 the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church banned the construction of Ukrainian-type wooden churches. Similarly, the Russian clerical authorities prohibited the use of sculpture in iconostases, icons of the crowned Virgin Mary, and wayside chapels. These particular features of the Ukrainian landscape were, in the eyes of the Russian administration and church hierarchy, undesirable non-Orthodox and schismatic manifestations. The abolition of the Ukrainian guild system on the Left Bank in 1785 and on the Right Bank in 1840 weakened the carpenters' skills and progressively undermined the maintenance and preservation of the wooden churches of vernacular architecture. The Russian Imperial regime actively propagated standardised architectural designs of the Neo-classical or Russian eclectic styles developed by central imperial architectural studios. During the first

quarter of the nineteenth century, Tsar Alexander I encouraged the use, in the lands of the Russian Empire, of Neo-classicism, based on the classical Greek and later Roman styles. The vertical compositions of the Ukrainian Baroque churches and belfries were replaced in the nineteenth century by the horizontal and heavy volumes of Neo-classicism. Two of the best-known Ukrainian architects of the Neo-classical period were A. I. Melens'ky (1766-1833) in Kiev and P. Yaroslavs'ky (1750-1810) in Kharkiv. Of the west Europeans working in Ukraine during this period, an Italian by the name of Giacomo Quarenghi (1744-1817) was probably the most talented. The Frenchman Thomas de Thoman (1754-1813) and the Russians M. Kazakov (1738-1812) and I. Stasov (1769-1848) worked in the new cities of southern Ukraine. In the second half of the nineteenth century, French Baroque became popular in Kiev. Later, Neo-romanesque, Neo-byzantine and Neo-gothic were also revived.

The plans of the Neo-classical churches of the nineteenth century varied; they were rectangular, Greek- or Latin-cross-in-plans or rotundas. Very often they were built according to standardised designs. Usually they were surmounted by a single classical dome on a drum. The rich eighteenth-century exterior decor disappeared, and the plain facades of the new churches were articulated by colonnades of the Doric or Tuscan order. The high bell towers of the eighteenth century were replaced by low belfries which were often built in the Russian manner, above the main entrance and attached to the church building (the Cathedral in Dnipropetrovs'k, 1806-35, by the architect A.D. Zakharov; the Collegiate Church in Izmayil near Odessa). Among the outstanding church buildings of this period one should mention the Collegiate Church of the Novhorod-Sivers'kyi Monastery (1787) by G.Quarenghi; the Cathedral in Odessa (1804-1818) by the architect Francesco Frapoli; the Church of St. Nicholas Dobry (1802) and the Church of the Nativity in Kiev (1812), both by the architect A. Melens'ky; the Collegiate Church of St. Volodymyr (1852-1896) in Kiev by the architect O. A. Beretti. All of these were designed in the neo-classical style, except the Church of St. Volodymyr, which was in the neo-Byzantine style.

The Twentieth Century

The twentieth-century architecture of Ukraine can be divided into several periods: eclecticism and the so-called “Ukrainian style” (based on Ukrainian vernacular wooden architecture) of the first three decades, the constructivism of the 1920s and early 1930s, the Socialist Realism of the 1930s-1950s, and the international style of the 1960s-1970s. However, the political realities of these years prevented the development of contemporary Ukrainian church architecture in the Ukrainian lands. Some designs of the period between the two world wars (works of the architect Yevhen Nahirny of Western Ukraine, 1885-1951) represent an attempt to express Ukrainian church architectural traditions in the contemporary idiom. Much of the Ukrainian church architectural heritage was lost during the 1930s and World War II. The oldest church buildings dismantled in the capital city of Kiev were: the Collegiate Church of the Dormition or Pyrohoshcha (1132, dismantled 1935), the Church of St. Michael of the Golden Domes (1108-1113, dismantled 1935-36), and the Church of the Three Hierarchs (1183, dismantled 1935).

The images of the rural landscape’s traditional wooden churches and belfries are reminders to Ukrainian emigrants of what their ancestors did to shape their environment. In their search for cultural continuity, Ukrainian emigrants continue, with mixed success, to explore various means of expressing their centuries-old heritage of wooden vernacular and Baroque-style church architecture. Two distinctively different approaches have been pursued. On the one hand, there is the desire to continue to mature, with the means available, the practices of architectural designers of the past. On the other hand, there are creative attempts to develop contemporary interpretations of the heritage of Ukrainian church architecture, expressed in a modern vocabulary and style. Of the latter movement, one of the better Ukrainian-Canadian designers is the architect Radoslav Zuk. Among his better-known designs one should mention: St. Michael’s in Tyndall, Manitoba; the Holy Cross in Thunder Bay, Ontario; St. Stephen’s in Calgary, Alberta. In designing modern Ukrainian church buildings, Radoslav Zuk is utilising the fundamentals of millennial vernacular architecture as inspirational sources for his own innovative

and creative statements. The sense of presence of these churches is achieved by the use of rhythm and dynamic geometry which often results in a dramatic silhouette against the sky and which recalls architectural elements and features characteristic of the Ukrainian vernacular architectural vocabulary. With recurring echoes of the past, Zuk provides a sense of continuity while using currently available building materials and a contemporary design vocabulary.

Conclusion

In its millennium of development, Ukrainian church architecture has reflected the modes of expression of the age and at the same time retained its own character of composition of volumes and massing, rhythm, proportions, spacial interrelationships and texture. Ukrainian church architecture developed under the strong sway of vernacular wooden building traditions, and eastern and western influences. The two major periods of development were the Byzantine architecture of the Middle Ages and the Baroque of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Traditions of vernacular architecture have had a strong impact on the innovative designers of the twentieth century, who have tried to express traditional images in contemporary language.

Titus HEVRYK

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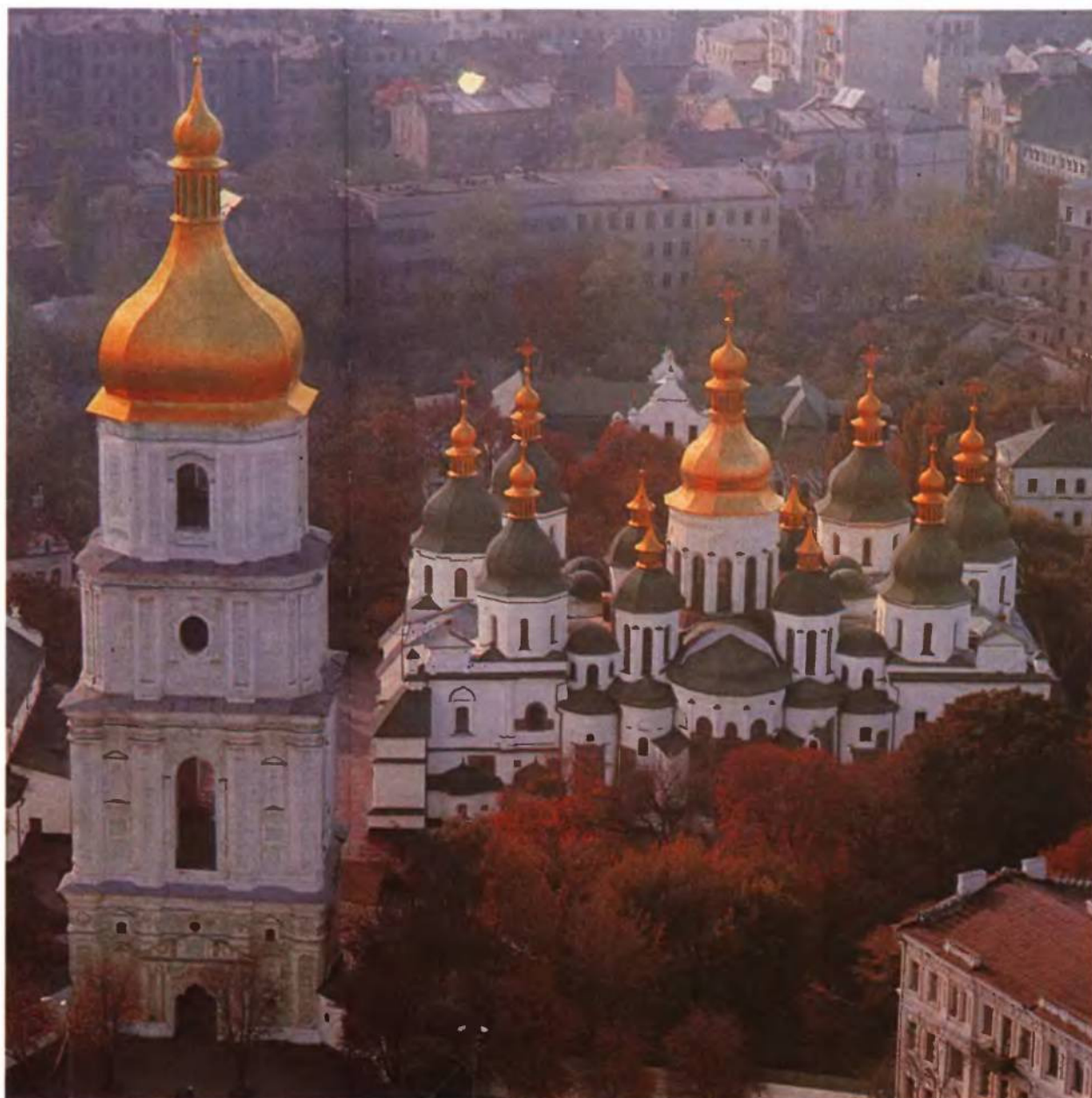


A MODEL OF THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. SOPHIA, 1037, Kiev



THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. SOPHIA, Kiev, XI c. drawing by A. Westerfeld, XVII c.

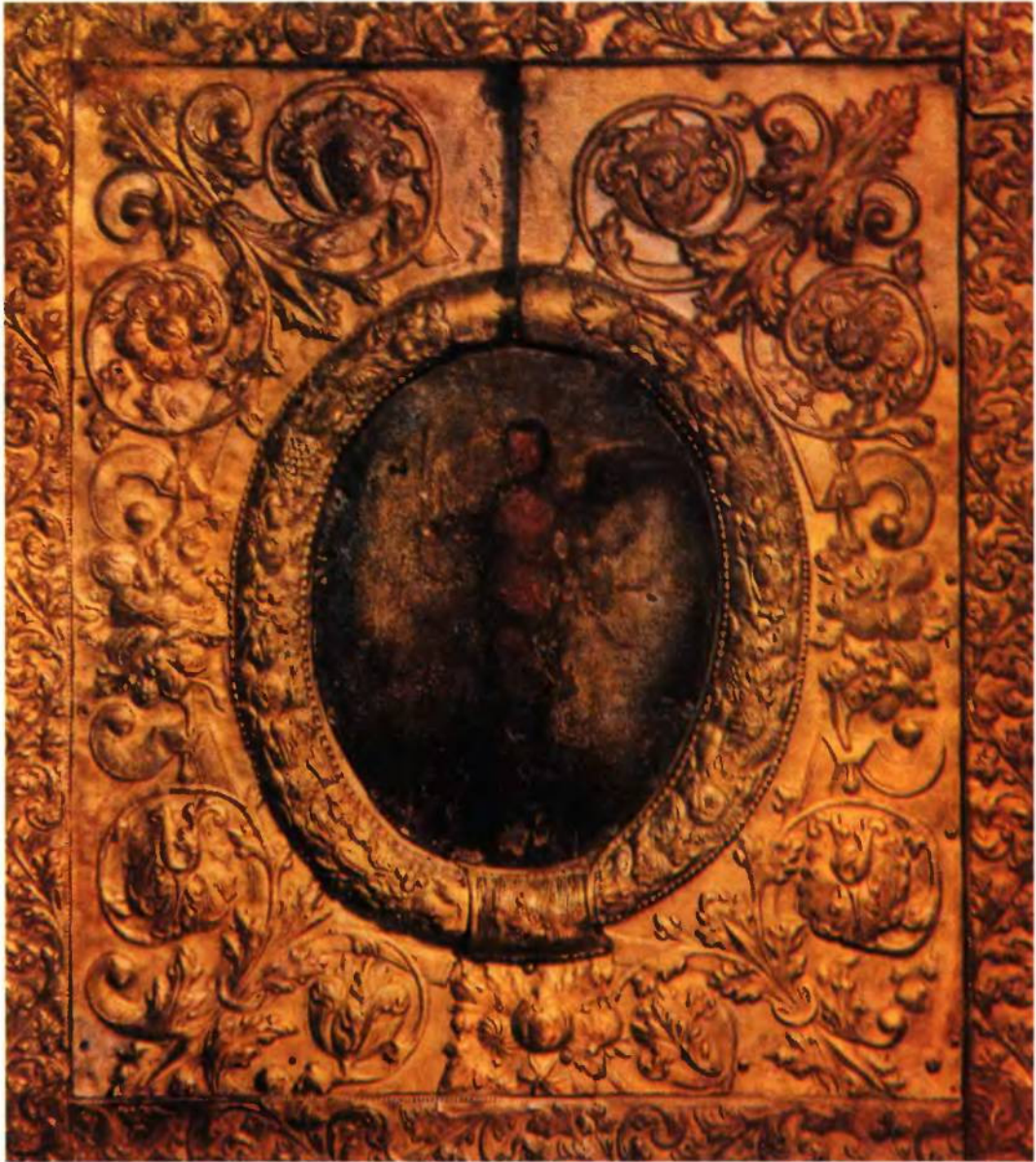
THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. SOPHIA, Kiev, present day photo

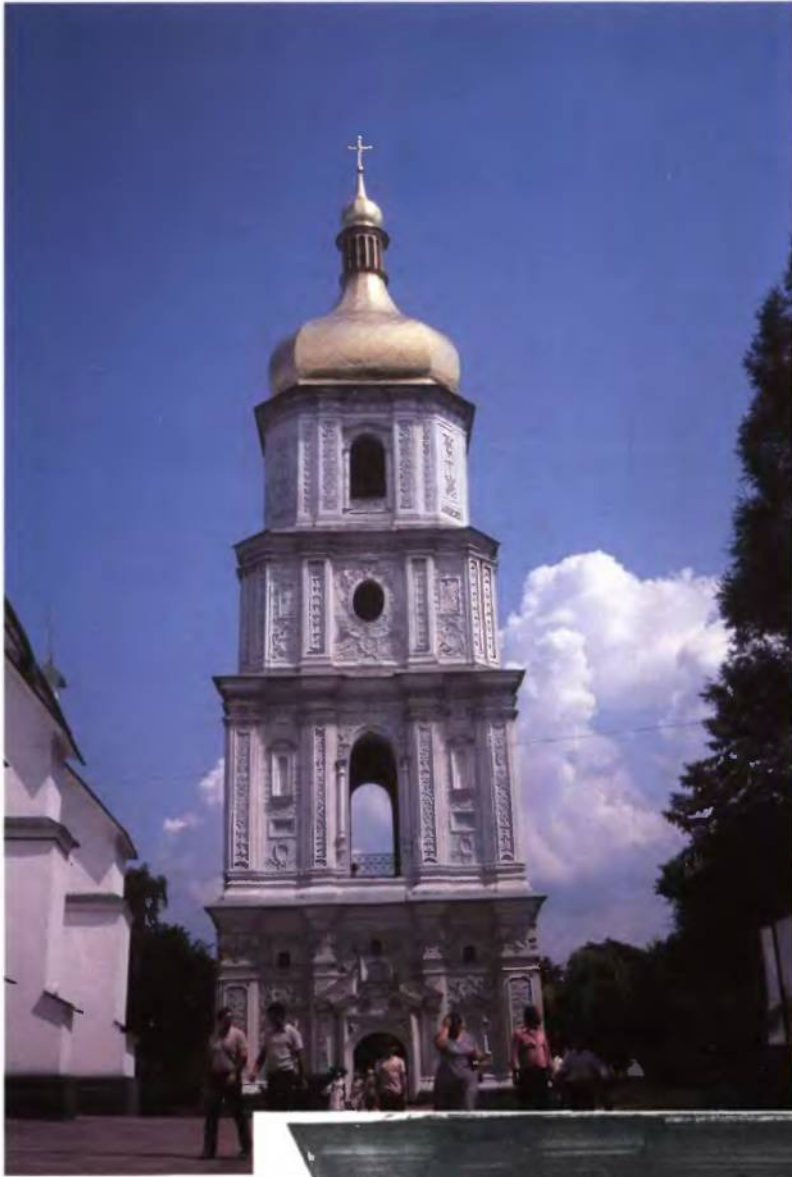




THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. SOPHIA — CUPOLAS, Kiev

FRAGMENT OF THE WESTERN DOOR, Cathedral of St. Sophia, XVIII c. Kiev





THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. SOPHIA
— **BELL-TOWER**, Kiev



THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. SOPHIA — BELL-TOWER, details, Kiev

THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. SOPHIA, Kiev, view from the east





THE VYDUBYTSKY MONASTERY, Kiev, XI c.



THE MONASTERY OF THE CAVES, Kiev



THE MAIN BELL-TOWER, THE MONASTERY OF THE CAVES,
Kiev, 1731-1745



THE CHURCH OF PYATNYTSIA, XII c. Chernihiv



THE CATHEDRAL OF THE DORMITION, 1160, Volodymyr-Volynsky



THE CHURCH OF THE INTERCESSION,
1467, Sutkivtsi



FORTIFIED CHURCH, 1476, Sutkivtsi

**THE WOODEN CATHEDRAL
OF THE ANNUNCIATION, 1505, Kovel**



THE CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS, XVI c. Kolodne

**THE WOODEN CHURCH
OF THE ELEVATION OF THE CROSS,
1636, Drohobych**



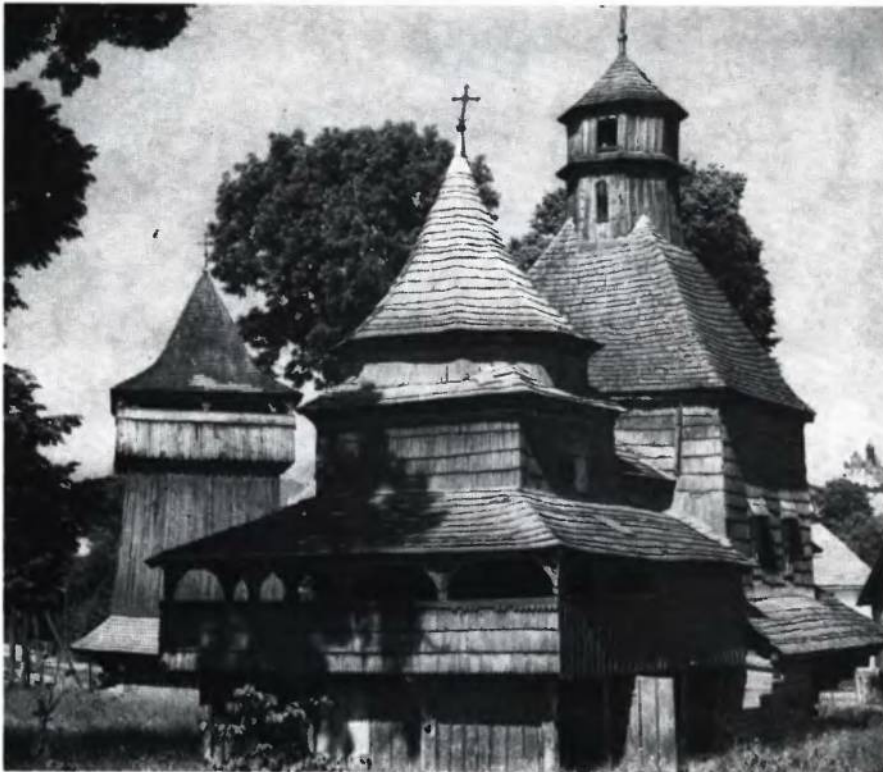
**THE WOODEN CHURCH
OF ST. PARASKEVA, 1658, Krekhiv**



**THE CHURCH OF ST. PARASKEVA — DETAIL OF ICONOSTASIS,
1658, Krekhiv**



THE CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS,
XVII c. Serednye-Voddyane



THE WOODEN CHURCH OF THE ELEVATION OF THE CROSS,
XVII c. Drohobych



DETAIL OF CARVING, XVII c. Church in Vilshanka



THE CHURCH OF ST. MICHAEL, XVII c. Skoryky



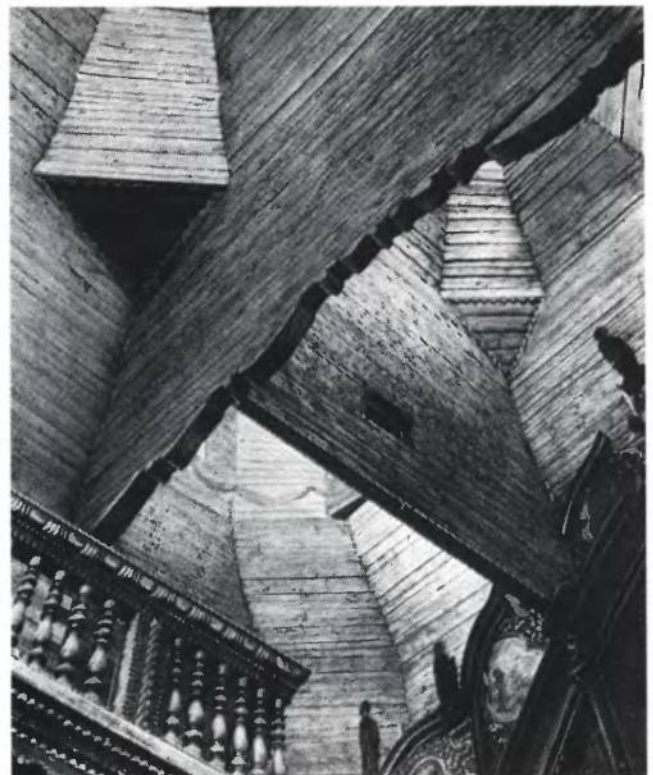
THE CHURCH OF ST. MICHAEL — DETAIL OF ICONOSTASIS, XVII, c. Skoryky



THE WOODEN CHURCH OF ST. PARASKEVA, 1709, Busk



THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY, 1710, Pakuly



**THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY
— INTERIOR, 1710, Pakuly**



THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. GEORGE, 1745-1760, Lviv



WOODEN BELL-TOWER, XVIII c. Iasenytsya Zamkova



**THE LAVRA OF POCHAIV
– CATHEDRAL OF THE DORMITION,
1771-1783**



THE WOODEN CHURCH OF THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL, 1752, Shemetkivtsi

THE TRINITY CATHEDRAL,

1773-1779, Novomoskovsk,
built by J. Pohrebniak,
drawing by O. Slastion



TRINITY CHURCH, 1774, Chernivtsi



THE WOODEN CHURCH OF ST. MICHAEL, 1777, Mukachiv

THE CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW, Kiev
Bartolomeo Rastrelli, architect



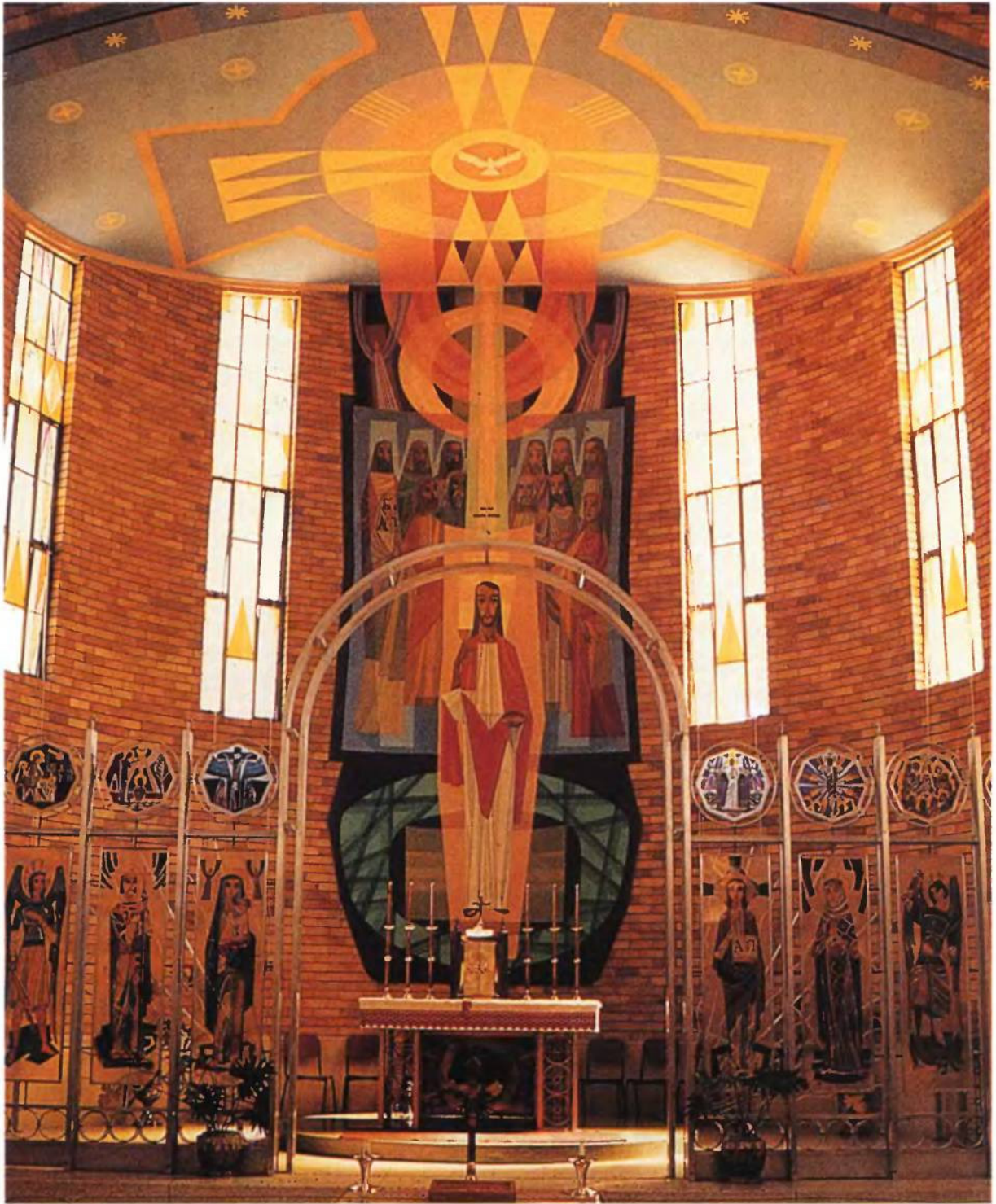
**UKRAINIAN CHURCH
OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST,**
Toronto, Canada. P. Zuk, architect.



ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH-MONUMENT,
South Bound Brook, New Jersey, U.S.A.



THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. SOPHIA, Rome, 1969



ST. ANDREW'S UKRAINIAN CHURCH, Lidcombe, Australia, 1979-1980
Sanctuary murals and iconostasis by Myron Levytsky.

REFLECTIONS ON ICONS



Icons have a special and distinct place among the arts which uniquely characterises their features. They are neither objects of folk art, nor are they specimens of fine art like the paintings that hang in museums. Much like Persian miniatures or Buddhist sculpture, icons belong to a class of their own and to a culture which stands for certain things. Separated from that culture, these objects can tell us something about the people, nations, religions which have produced them, but severed from their original context, they risk losing their meaning and function, and ultimately become merely rarefied museum pieces.

The history of Ukrainian icons is a story which is, sadly, in many instances connected with pillaged churches, devastated villages, foreign invasions and forced migrations of Ukrainians from their homeland. Many churches which once housed precious icons — long abandoned out of necessity — have been unnecessarily destroyed, their icons used for firewood. Under new ideologies such as communism, larger churches have been transformed into museums of atheism. Other, smaller, churches, outstanding examples of wooden architecture, have become relics of folk building. Without the sanctity of their sacred images, they have been stripped of their religious function.

Had not these occurrences taken place, the legacy of icons would have been much richer, and our understanding of endemic Ukrainian icon-painting styles far less sketchy. Yet, ironically, thanks to covetous collecting by art lovers, and to the role of the museum as conservator and preserver of artifacts extricated from their proper environments, a number of Ukrainian icons have indeed been saved for posterity, allowing us to learn in some depth how vast, far-reaching, and strongly embedded was the Byzantine influence in Ukraine.

Icons form an integral part of the history of Ukrainian art, religion, culture, and political development. They document a spiritual and physical bond with the period of ancient Rus', the very beginning of Ukrainian Christianity and the historical origins of Ukraine. Although styles of icons have continued to evolve through the centuries, Ukrainian icons, no matter from what region, still disclose a conscious and deliberate affiliation with the reverence and mystery attached to them, and to their making, from the princely era of Kiev onwards. For all the historical epochs that have transpired, no matter how culturally devastating, the techniques and processes and the purpose have not been relegated to extinction. To this day, Ukrainian-rite churches throughout the world are adorned with icons. It is because of these icons, situated in the standard and permanent fixture of the iconostasis, that we are the beneficiaries of works which testify to the perpetuation of a common religious core for all Ukrainians. Although a number of Ukrainian icons now also figure as important relics for non-Ukrainian cultures, those which have survived, though far removed from their original settings, give us a clear indication, from both an ecclesiastical and from an artistic point of view, of how rich and varied Ukrainian icon painting is.

Many early, primary icons were first brought to Ukraine between the tenth and twelfth centuries from Greek settlements along the Black Sea coast, such as Khersones, and also from Byzantium itself. The Virgin of Vyshhorod, the oldest icon in the history of Ukraine, is believed to have been transported directly from Constantinople to Kiev in about 1136, almost a century after Yaroslav the Wise consecrated St. Sophia as the patriarchal church and

seat of Christianity for all Rus'. Until 1155, the precious icon remained in the Kievan region of Vyshhorod, hence its name. As the Virgin of Vyshhorod was one of the most treasured objects for the Kievan princes and had political as well as religious import, when Andrei Bogolyubsky ransacked the Kievan lands he pilfered the icon and took it with him to his new settlement in the north at Vladimir on the Klyazma river. The transported icon signified the usurpation of the power and prestige of Kiev and was thought to lend credence to the new seats of rule forming in the north. In 1395 the Vyshhorod icon, renamed the Virgin of Vladimir (it is still thus referred to today), was brought to the Dormition Cathedral in the Moscow Kremlin, where the Tsars of Russia were subsequently crowned, and where it gained prominence as the Byzantine link of the new, rising principality of Muscovy, the true beginning of Russia proper.

A similar misappropriation befell another icon, the so-called Black Madonna, known as the Czestochowa Mother of God. This was originally brought to Ukraine from Constantinople by Princess Anna when she married the Kievan Prince Volodymyr. Soon thereafter, the icon was taken to the Kingdom of Galicia-Volhynia to protect it from the ruthless destruction being visited upon Kiev. Coveted for its miraculous powers, the Black Madonna was abstracted and, in 1382, ended up in the monastery at Czestochowa. Just as the Czestochowa Mother of God has now become an inseparable part of the Polish national treasure, so too, Kiev's Virgin of Vyshhorod (Vladimir) is guarded as one of the prized objects of Moscow's Tretyakov Gallery collection, where it is advertised as being the oldest icon of Russia.

There is no denying that the art of Muscovy, and ultimately of all Russia, was strongly influenced by the Byzantine orientation of Kievan Rus'. Byzantine masters abounded in Kiev during the era of Volodymyr the Great and Yaroslav the Wise. They were invited to decorate the huge and manifold churches being built and to train local masters. Greek artisans were employed largely as mosaic and fresco painters, but they also set up workshops for the education of apprentices in the art of icon painting. In Kiev's early phase as a Christian state, the procedures for making icons were complex, requiring great perspicacity as well as a reposeful and prayerful state of mind on the

part of the maker. Such a frame of mind was in keeping with the sacred qualities of the icon.

From the selection of materials to the application of a protective coating to the finished product, every stage in the making of an icon was carried out religiously and systematically. The practice required the preparation of a naturally-dried soft wood panel, of cypress or pine, or of the more commonly available linden. A natural frame was created on the face of the icon by gouging out a slightly depressed rectilinear area (*kovcheh*) on which the main image would be painted. The frame, sometimes called a field (*pole*), projected slightly. It would either be smoothed over and left unpainted or, in the case of popular saints' figures or episodic icons, it would allow for small additional narrative scenes from the life of the saint (*zhytiie*) to be arranged around the central, recessed image.

The depressed area was carefully tended in a series of stages of meticulous preparation. To it there would be glued a woven fabric (*pavoloka*) — deteriorated traces of which can still be detected in the Virgin of Vyshhorod — and then several layers of ground (*levkas*) would be applied in order to create a smooth and durable painting surface. The sizes of icons varied, determined in large measure by their placement in the iconostasis. To enlarge an icon, several panels were glued together side by side and reinforced on the obverse with cross-strips of hardwood placed in nailless joins, or rivets. On the face of the icon, a cartoon or preparatory drawing, based on models provided in manuals and measured to comply with the dimensions of the wood panel, would then be placed against the final layer of still wet ground. With a pointed stylus or needle, the outlines of the figures would be pierced in the drawing and soft, pulverised charcoal would then be dusted over the holes to transfer the contours and shapes of the image to be painted. The drawing having been transferred, the icon painter would first apply gold leaf to required areas such as haloes or details in the folds of the drapery, or to any other ornamentation. In the case of the Virgin of Vyshhorod, the entire background was covered in gold to symbolise a holy, luminous, supraterrrestrial realm.

Painting an icon was regarded as a sacred act. In order that he might succumb to the mercy of God so as to render supernatural truths, the icon painter strengthened

his holy faith by reciting special prayers and by fasting as atonement for sins. Icon painting was regarded as a selfless task, carried out for no personal gain. In Kievan Rus', icon painting, like manuscript illumination, quickly became the principal domain of the monasteries. Within the preserve of the monastic community, Byzantine aesthetics took hold and the standards of Byzantine art proliferated: a sublime, monumental and staid blending of the spiritual, heavenly, realm with the earthly — all with a careful distancing from the mundane and material.

As the making of icons changed hands from the pious monks to secular workshops which responded to specific commissions, much of the preliminary work came to be carried out by apprentices, while the final application of colour — the earth's minerals mixed with egg tempera — would be executed by a master. As if working from the minute to the sublime, all extraneous detail — the earth, grass, flowers, architecture, and other embellishments — would be painted first. Then the master would begin to paint the figures, first laying down the basic colour for the drapery of each. The selection of colour was not made at random. Just as the icon image was codified, so, too, specific colours had prescribed iconographic meanings for the figure. For example, the colour blue indicated the humility of the Virgin. The steps in which the colours were applied, moreover, were also regulated, following a strict, orderly application from dark to light. The last and most important stage in the process was to render the faces and give especial attention to the eyes, thought to be the mystical contact with the spirit of the saint being rendered. White highlights, applied only at the end, served to give the faces character and luminescence. A thin coat of varnish (*olifka*) applied to the icon gave the entire work an even greater vibrancy.

For most icons, authorship is next to impossible to ascertain, for it was not the practice, especially in the case of early icons, to sign these objects as works of art. More importantly, since the icon is more a manifestation than a material item, anonymity was retained as part of the self-effacing process of its making. It is rather by artistic style, and sometimes by material, that certain schools or workshops of icon painting can be determined, or even the hand of certain masters detected or identified. By the eleventh century, Kievan Rus' could boast a number of

accomplished home-bred icon painters, as claimed by the chronicles. One such, named Alimpi, was a Kievan monk from the Caves Monastery. The work of this master, whether he be legendary or historical, raises the important point of how interconnected and cross-influenced were the arts of Kievan Rus'. Alimpi is recorded to have been originally engaged in fresco painting, and those icons thought to be by his hand show a great likeness to the forms which decorated the apses and naves of Kiev's churches.

The icon of the Caves Mother of God is thought to be a copy of a variant of a similar icon made in Kiev by Alimpi. Here, the Mother of God is enthroned, surrounded by St. Anthony and St. Theodosius. Similar depictions of saints could be found on the frescoed walls of side altars as well as in Gospel miniatures emanating from Kiev in the eleventh century. Even more striking on this count is the icon referred to as the *Virgin Orans*, also credited with being the product of Alimpi's mastery. This icon shows the Blessed Mother with her arms raised in benediction and prayer. Her form echoes the great majesty and solemnity with which the Orans figure is represented in mosaic in the main apse of Kiev's St. Sophia. The softness in the modelling of the face of Mary in the icon is the result of a gentle fusion of colour gradations and slight shifts of tonality similar to that found in mosaic work. The artist's rendering has endowed the icon with quietude and transcendence. It is sublime in its simplicity. The fluid lines describe soft contours and gentle folds, and establish subtle rhythms which permeate the work like a sonorous melody. Furthermore, the gold background of the icon concurs with the brilliant gold tesserae which cover the entire surface of St. Sophia's apsidal conch.

Such features are shared with the Vyshhorod icon. The Virgin of Vyshhorod shows at once great tenderness and firmness, while the Child, who holds his face close against his mother's cheek and embraces her neck, displays a loving warmth not only in gesture, but also in the calm, reserved, and controlled expression of his face. Physical emotion is not evoked but transcended, elevated to purified and exalted spirit. Even despite its poor state and multiple restorations in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, clearly evident in the icon of the Virgin of Vyshhorod, as well as in that of the *Virgin Orans*, is what

typifies all of Byzantine art: the expression of the faces is gentle but serious; the gestures of the figures are always soft and quietly majestic; clear, laconic and precise draughtsmanship underscores the forthrightness and presence of the figures and gestures; drapery flows without any extraneous folds. All of this is harmonised by a limited and carefully selected range of basic colours with analogous shades and tints.

Standards for icons as sacred pictures are further maintained by a straightforward adoption of hagiographic types from Byzantine art that are confluent with prescribed interpretations and meanings attached to the figure represented. This involves the study of iconography, that is, the study of the meaning of the image depicted. The word iconography is often, though mistakenly, used to mean icon painting or writing as such. While both these terms are interrelated and interdependent, they cannot be used interchangeably, for one refers to specific theological, cultural and political explanations of particular themes and subjects, be they saints or feast days, while the other refers to icons as physical objects, including not only the subjects depicted, but the technique used, schools of painting and styles.

The iconography of the Ukrainian Church, like its icon painting, has its roots in Byzantine Greece. The Virgin and Child is the most common of Byzantine iconographic images and determines a variety of meanings depending on the postural and gestural arrangement of the figures rendered. The Virgin of Vyshhorod, for example, represents an iconographic type commonly known as the Virgin of Tenderness (*umylennya*), or, as it is known from the Greek, the Virgin *Eleusa*. The meaning of this image, as implied by its type name, points to the tender relationship between Mother and Child and differs considerably from another type, the Virgin *Hodigitria*, in which Mary also holds the Child Jesus, but the maternal intimacy is abnegated as the Virgin merely gestures to the mature infant — the Saviour of the World — seated regally on her lap.

In the *Hodigitria* (*putevodytsya*), literally translated as “she who points the way”, the heads of Mother and Child are frontal and parallel, not related maternally one with the other. The Child looks before him with omniscient, unchildlike eyes. The Mother, with a similar countenance, is the ideal of the Divine Mother of God, known from the

Greek as *Theotokos*. Divine motherhood for the Virgin Mary is underscored by the Eastern Church and contrasts strongly with the concept of Mary, the Blessed Virgin (*La Sainte Vierge*), or Our Lady (the Madonna) which became more popular in the Catholic West, where Mary is more frequently cast in the role of the Queen of Heaven.

With an emphasis on Mary as the Mother of God, the dogma of the Incarnation (God-made-Man) takes on greater meaning and reinforces the focus of the Eastern Church on the man-spirit. Even the prayers in the Liturgy with repeated incantations to the Blessed Mother of God ("*Presvyataya Bohorodytse*") reiterate the great Mystery which was accomplished through her — that she conceived the invisible God and made Him incarnate. For this reason, the rendering of the Mother of God on icons is not of a woman of normal naturalistic form but, rather, one which indicates her all-holiness. Thus, she is at once majestic and aloof, while still kind and understanding. For the Eastern Church, Mary was the universal mother, the mother of all mankind, the symbol of redemption and protection, who stands in concert with all creatures and intercedes on their behalf. Alimpi's icon of the Virgin Orans is important in this context because it documents an early adaption of Byzantine iconography in Ukrainian icon painting. Drawn directly from Byzantine tradition, the Virgin Orans shows Mary as Intercessor, her arms raised in mediation for all of mankind, while on her breast, depicted in a medallion, is the image of Christ, the One made Incarnate. The icon, called the Great Panagia, thus reveals the exalted position of the Blessed Mother of God in the Ukrainian Church.

Constantinople and the entire Byzantine Empire placed great confidence in the Virgin's power as guardian, not only of all of God's creatures, but of the city and the dynasty. It is no wonder, then, that an icon such as the Virgin of Vyshhorod should have so obsessed Andrei Bogolyubsky that he removed it from Kiev, nor is it alarming that the image of the Virgin Orans should have graced the apse of St. Sophia as a political symbol of sorts. The basic notion of *Theotokos*-Protectress is known as *Pokrov*, derived from the name given to the habit or dress of the Virgin similar to the Byzantine "pallion" or "maphorion" — a kind of female coat or long veil which covered the head and shoulders of Byzantine maidens. To

cover someone with one's habit, as seen in the twelfth-thirteenth century Galician icon of the *Pokrova*, symbolised adoption, protection and intercession.

One of the commonest borrowings from Byzantine iconography, in which the Blessed Mother of God is clearly staged in the role of mediatrix, is known as the *Deesis* (*molinnya*). Here the iconographical scheme involves the rendering of Christ enthroned, flanked by the Virgin Mary on his left side and John the Baptist, who in the Eastern Church is called the Forerunner (*Predtechka*), on his right. Christ sits frontally as ruler and judge, while Mary and St. John turn towards him with hands extended, assuming the position of mediators for the faithful. It might be suggested that the *deesis* grouping replaces the depiction of Christ as the stern adjudicator of punishment that often typifies the art of Western Catholicism, for he is exalted as the all-merciful judge according to the teachings of the Eastern Church. Thus, rather than showing Christ weighing souls and banishing transgressors to eternal damnation, the *deesis* group abstractly expresses his redemptive stance. Aptly enough, the *deesis* frequently appears as part of the apse, behind the altar. Raised high, as if floating, the group reminds the faithful that their earthly life is temporary and that they must account for all their deeds before final salvation in heaven can be granted.

In the process of the Christianisation of Rus', many wooden churches were built throughout Ukrainian territory. Wooden materials did not allow for the use of fresco or mosaic as in churches built of stone or brick; thus, many of the religious scenes rendered in these media on the walls of larger churches, such as the *deesis*, could only be depicted on icons. Since the iconographic meaning of the *deesis* is inextricably linked with its location in the church, when incorporated in the iconostasis it occupied an entire upper level, as if to symbolise a position between heaven and earth.

Originally, icons were used for devotional purposes as separate, portable panels. After the Iconoclastic Controversy, most icons were arranged in the iconostasis. At first, these were modest dividers in comparison with the multi-tiered, elaborately carved and usually gilded iconostases which developed from the fifteenth century.

Separating the sanctuary from the rest of the church, the iconostasis became an important focal point for the body of the faithful. It presented to them the mysteries upon which the liturgy is based. Behind it, the sacred rites were performed in the blessed realm of the sanctuary. Hence, the space behind the iconostasis symbolises the heavenly and saintly domain, while the icons portray the inhabitants of that realm.

As a synopsis of both the liturgical and theological programme of the Eastern Church, the fundamental layout of the iconostasis and the distribution of icons upon it remain more or less standard, with only slight variations here and there. The iconostasis is pierced by three openings, symmetrically located. The middle doors, called the Royal Portals because Christ as King is carried through them during the divine service, are used only by the highest-ranking priest. It was also through these doors that the princes of Kiev were permitted to pass in the grand churches of Kievan Rus'. Two narrower doors on either side of the Royal Portals allow for the passage of the deacon on the right, and the rest of the clergy on the left. Commonly called the deacons' doors, they usually, but not exclusively, contain the icons of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel.

The Royal Portals hold the icons of the Four Evangelists. With the doors closed, these images unobtrusively recall to the viewer's mind the life of Christ as described in the Gospels, but when the doors are open during the liturgy, the symbolic and mystical fulfilment of the Gospels is celebrated publicly, ceremoniously. The top edge of the Royal Doors frames the scene of the Annunciation presented by two icons: on one, the Angel Gabriel announces to Mary that she is to be the Mother of God; on the other, Mary receives the news with humility and meekness. Above the portal, centrally located beneath the *deesis*, one finds a horizontal icon depicting either the scene of the Last Supper or the *mandylion* — "God's Image Not Made by Human Hands" — the true image (icon) of Christ as imprinted on Veronica's veil.

As examples of inspiration and guidance, and of encouragement of the faithful in the pursuit of blessedness in both their temporal and eternal lives, icons serve to instruct man on his journey toward perfection. Taking example from saints, martyrs and the entire ecclesiastical

and heavenly hierarchy, the faithful seek complete union with Christ. As a cult object, the icon itself, and the ensemble of icons in the iconostasis, become one with the profession of faith in the Eastern Church. These images, once organised as part of majestic and magnificent mosaic surfaces and frescoes covering almost all the exposed interior surfaces of Kievan churches and blending both secular and religious themes, became compacted into a single wall of instruction. The decorative scheme, the choice of subject matter and the careful arrangement of the depictions in the iconostasis, therefore, stem from a clear ideological basis derived from the rôle of the Kievan Church as the main political, religious, and artistic body of ancient Rus'.

The architecture and decor of Kiev's St. Sophia, dedicated to the Holy Wisdom, blended together to strengthen symbolically the primacy of the new Christian state and to reinforce Byzantine theological thought in the new territory. The main figures and scenes of the Christian faith are situated at the eastern end, mainly in the apse, the altar and the central cupola, where they were executed in mosaic with a background of gold. In the zenith of the cupola one finds the stern countenance of Christ-*Pantocrator* (*Vsederzhytel'*) — the Omnipotent — in a medallion surrounded by four Archangels. Further down, the twelve Apostles are rendered full length circling the drum and, still lower, on the pendentives supporting the central cupola, are the Four Evangelists.

Clearly, the attention of the faithful who enter the church from the western end and move forward towards the altar is focused on the apse, starting at the easternmost arch in the crossing. Just as the scene of the Annunciation on the Royal Doors of an iconostasis introduces the liturgical truths of the Eastern Church, so, too, it is this scene which marks the border of the sanctuary of St. Sophia. The Archangel Gabriel on the left post of the arch, and Mary the Virgin on the right, frame the entrance to this sacred area. The viewer sees them both frontally and laterally, as he would read an iconostasis, as he is led towards the blessed realm.

Appropriately, the apse of Kiev's St. Sophia contains an expressive depiction of the Eucharist, a symbolic representation of the communion of the Apostles — the principal dogma of Christian life. The lower range of the

apse is occupied by the Fathers of the Church. All three apse levels are carefully and thoughtfully conceived; there is a powerful, emotive interconnectedness among them. Eventually, the iconostasis completely consolidated this mural programme, beginning with the image of Christ-*Pantocrator* on the first level up to the images of the Fathers of the Church at the top level. As a compact wall, the iconostasis serves to establish an important iconographical linkage between the icons and, like the mosaics and frescoes of Kiev's cathedrals, systematically and in a programmatic fashion reveals the foundations of Christian belief.

The reading of an iconostasis begins at the level of the Royal Doors where one finds a range of four local (*namisni*) icons. Two are invariably set to each side of the Royal Doors: on the left is the icon of the *Hodigitria*, representing the first coming of God as Man; on the right is the image of Christ-*Pantocrator* as Ruler and Judge in the Second Coming, holding the Book of the Gospels. At the far ends of the local level are icons depicting, on the right, the patron saint or feast day to which a particular church has been dedicated, and on the left, usually but not exclusively, the icon of the popular St. Nicholas.

The second row of icons, above the local level, is designated for the *deesis* group, flanked on each side in equal numbers by saints and angels, all positioned as if in procession, facing the middle. This is the level of orders, or *chyn*. The image of Christ enthroned is situated in the very centre. Thus the whole range, though consisting of separate icons, represents a single heavenly participation in interceding for the faithful. Here are the archangels, the Holy Fathers and a pleiad of bowing apostles and saints.

In larger and more elaborate iconostases, the third and fourth tiers are filled with icons of patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament, with the lower row completely dominated by the scenes of the Feast Days of the Virgin and Christ — the twelve major holy days of the Eastern Church, from the birth of the Virgin to her Assumption, and from the Nativity of Christ to Pentecost. Some feasts of the Church, such as those related to the life of Christ and his Crucifixion, are compressed into a single icon of the Passion. Here the icon painter has sought inspiration for the smaller scenes in his icon from manuscript illuminations as well as from compositions

originally rendered in fresco in the naves of Kievan churches. But, in icon form, the scene of the Crucifixion is controlled by the number of images represented and by the standard set of figures that are depicted in the episodes of the Passion. These are rendered in a miniaturist style, unified in colour and decorative patterning with the main and larger image of Christ's Crucifixion — all against a gold background. Thus the main and culminating theme is fully integrated with all the aspects of the Passion which can be read from left to right as follows: Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, the Transfiguration, the Holy Supper, the Washing of the Feet, the Prayer at Gethsemane, Judas Accepting Thirty Pieces of Silver, the Kiss of Judas, Christ before Anna and Caiaphas, Christ before Pilate, the Pillaging and Scourging, the Raising of the Cross, the Way to Golgotha, Expiration on the Cross, Christ's Descent from the Cross, the Entombment, the Descent into Hell, Christ's Appearance to the Three Marys and the Resurrection. Frequently, usually in village churches, another Crucifixion scene would crown the entire iconostasis, fitted in between the wall of icons and the low barrel ceiling of the church.

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From the introduction of Christianity in Ukraine to the twelfth century, Kiev provided all of Rus' with the masters who decorated churches and painted icons. In the second half of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth, one could already find Kievan masters migrating to Novgorod, Halych, Volhynia, Chernihiv, Rostov and other parts of Rus'. Apprentices continued to flock to Kiev to learn the techniques of icon production and to carry their knowledge to outlying areas. Outside Kievan Rus', various styles of icon painting began to flourish with local adaptations diverging, at first slightly, later dramatically, from the Byzantine norms propagated by Kiev. The Mongol-Tartar invasions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries interrupted the exchange of icon painters but, perhaps fortunately, they also ended the transmigration of artistic styles and helped to isolate stylistic features of icons produced in Ukraine by local masters. The relics of icons made in the Dnipro and

Dnister regions before the Mongol invasions indicate a distinct concomitance of artistic pursuits, establishing an entire range of particular traits which are not found outside Ukraine, and especially not in the major centres of Russian icon painting — Pskov, Smolensk, Vladimir on the Klyazma, Rostov, Yaroslavl, and even Novgorod.

The style of Kievan icons, as already noted, bears a strong resemblance and kinship to their Greek models: faces are rendered by an ovular form, ears are crescent-like, the nose and lips are treated as scant lines. The depiction of the body was mostly stylised. Hair is usually black or reddish, but unnaturally interwoven within tight, regularised locks. The dress, or drapery, falls in light folds to the knees and beyond. Hands and feet are at times thickly drawn without any attention to reality, nor to aesthetics as an ultimate aim. Such treatment of the drawing reflects the fact that all the figures are more or less the same, although not of the same stature, and are thus undifferentiated in their visages. Points of recognition can occur in the dress of individual figures and in specific features of certain saints. Thus, for example, St. Nicholas's hair is always short, grey, slightly waved and parted, as is his beard. He can be distinguished by his high forehead and by his bishop's garb.

In an icon, the figure on the face of the panel alone determines the theme and composition. Deliberate disproportions can clearly indicate the main figure and those less prominent, but usually the proportions of human forms remain constant and uniform throughout the work, and it is only by isolating the protagonist of the scene compositionally that the artist shows what or who is most important in the icon. Furthermore, in the icons of the early Kievan period, the icon painter took no interest in suggesting a real relationship of figures to nature. When landscape or interior settings are depicted, they break all rules of perspective and only serve as a background to trigger in the viewer's mind the Biblical location of the religious theme being rendered. This is the fine line between an icon painter and a secular artist: whereas the latter tries to recreate reality on canvas, the former works in the realm of faith and belief.

There are almost no early icons from Western Ukraine which would allow us to document strict adherence to Byzantine models with the same assurance. With only a

few exceptions the earliest extant icons from Western Ukraine date from the fifteenth century. The majority of these icons reveal a gradual distancing from the primary canons of icon painting to an increasingly independent and diversified approach. L'viv, Galicia and most of Western Ukraine always maintained close ties with Western Europe. Not surprisingly, therefore, fifteenth century icons from Western Ukraine already show an absorption of regional artistic tendencies, with even some evidence of exposure to both Gothic and Renaissance ideas of space and form. With the bulk of icon painting being transferred to workshops rather than monastic centres at this time, moreover, a greater independence in style begins to emerge.

It would be a misconception, however, to regard this as a revolution in icon painting. For while Gothic elements might be identified as the source of an extreme elongation of bodies, of the vertical striations in drapery folds, it would be fallacious to relate this directly to the plastic and sculptural traditions of Gothic cathedrals, or to the elegant style of manuscript illumination which became widespread in Western Europe in the fourteenth century. Galician and other Western Ukrainian icons, therefore, do not really ever break with the precepts of icon painting as first introduced to Kiev. Rather, by borrowing certain features from Western art, Ukrainian icon painters merely adorned their Byzantine inheritance. The style, spirit and appearance of these icons is still faithfully in keeping with the stateliness and courtliness of Byzantine art. For while Galician icons might reflect a greater interest in depicting deeper space, or maybe even a horizontal line, as an example of Renaissance influence, their landscape, nonetheless, remains stylised, abbreviated and only laconically illustrated, with no interest whatsoever in perspective.

What is different about Galician icons, however, is that, in addition to manifesting an inherited Byzantine richness, they also possess a naive local folk character. The relatively early twelfth and thirteenth century icon of the Intercession (*pokrova*) from Eastern Galicia already illustrates a greater freedom of approach, for instance, than any Kievan icon. There is a looser construction of form and less subtly gradated colour. There is also a greater informality here, with explicit gestures and far more individuality and variability of types and settings.

In an icon of approximately a century later from Volhynia, called the Volhynia Mother of God, a *Hodigitria* type, a greater austerity, but not severity, dominates the work. Since the Child in his Mother's arms is the teacher here, there is a greater abstractness in the handling of his face; his human qualities, in fact, defer notably to his godliness, although both are in evidence. The contours are thus robust, and a strong assertiveness emanates from the figures, revealing a frank confidence on the part of the artist himself.

Some scholars wish to interpret this remarkable sternness (almost to the point of suggesting a scowl on the Virgin's face) as a reflection of the extremely difficult years of invasions and interferences from various factions — the Mongols, Tartars, Poles, Lithuanians and Magyars in Ukraine. If society showed determination, courage and a certain ferocity in defence of itself, then it would not be surprising to find some of these qualities expressed in art. However, in the case of icon painting, it would be wrong to carry such an interpretation too far, precisely because of its inherent uniqueness as an art that deals not with terrestrial, pedestrian subjects, but with higher and nobler sentiments.

Courage and daring to overcome all odds are certainly the qualities conveyed by the icon of St. George. This iconographic type was widely proliferated throughout all of Rus' in many variations. An image of St. George, the spiritual patron of Yaroslav the Wise (George was Yaroslav's Christian name), was located at the northernmost side altar of St. Sophia. St. George was also the patron saint of L'viv and his image as the one who felled the dragon, the embodiment of all evil, was a particularly popular one in Western Ukraine. A striking example of this icon type can be found in the L'viv Museum of Ukrainian Art. The flatness with which the figure of St. George is handled is a successful artistic means by which the icon painter was able to funnel all attention into a single, concentrated action. In this lies a distinct Byzantine trait, creating focalised monumentality and a heightening of spirit — abstracting the motion of activity to centre on a main symbolic theme. The restrained ferocity showing in the face of St. George is in keeping with the statuesque spirit of the work as a whole. The face is treated with animistic detail deliberately lacking in

every other aspect of the icon, except perhaps for the head of the dragon.

In other instances of the depiction of St. George in an icon, many figures can emerge, each with carefully outlined facial features and a compelling graphic narration of the story. These icons show figures in a doll-like plasticity, such as the 15th century icon from the village of Zvyzhnya. The abstract two-dimensionality of the previous icon here gives way very slightly to a greater involvement with three dimensions. St. George's body is no longer a stiff silhouette; here one can see a gentle twisting of the torso. The symbolism is still sublimated, as is more typical of earlier Byzantinesque icons from Kiev, but the narrative with its many details is here brought to the fore. In this icon one notes the decorativeness which helps to lay out the details of the story. In a sense, the grander and more intensified fervour of the St. George icon from Stanyla previously discussed is here embellished by the inclusion of the princess whom St. George saves from being sacrificed to the dragon, next to a tower in which are sequestered the king, queen, knights and courtiers. There are even guards at the gate. Painted a century later, this icon shows much greater individuality and freedom in handling the content, but this is not to say that it has diverged from its Byzantine prototypes.

Since so many more icons have survived from Western Ukraine than from Kiev, it is far easier to designate categories, styles, schools and, in some cases, specific hands and masters of individual icons. (Only rarely, however, will one find the date of an icon, such as on the icon of the *Pantocrator* from Dolyna, clearly dated 1565). It is rather the way in which figures are rendered, the mood of the works found in specific locales and in certain periods, and also the colour palette, that give these works an odd distinctiveness and sensibility. Some, for instance, show great restraint in emotion, while others seem to unburden feelings — qualities detected mainly in faces, body postures and gestures. As a result, the classification of certain schools of icon painting from Western Ukraine can be made, identifying them as being from L'viv, Peremyshl' or Volhynia. Volhynian icons, it is thought, offer a particularly broad scope of references to local folk detail and topography. What becomes evident is an artistic expression orientated towards the folk culture and

religious psyche of the Ukrainian people, maintaining lively, creative local elements whilst expressing a statuesque simplicity and quietous monumentality and gracefulness still in keeping with the Byzantine inheritance.

Generally speaking, however, it is difficult to summarise conclusively and identify categorically those features which characterise Ukrainian icon painting as a clear and distinct entity. A comparison of two fifteenth-century icons of the martyr saints Cosmas and Damian from locations relatively close to each other shows how problematic it is to assign one specific style or school to both. In the icon of SS. Cosmas and Damian from Tylych the bodies of the two saints stand like solid tree trunks; their limbs are separated by a schematic branching of short, stubby lines. In keeping with traditional icon painting techniques, there is a carefully drafted manner embodied in this icon rather than a loose, painterly handling. Furthermore, the limited choice of colour, mainly green, red and yellow, links and holds all the images of the *zhytiie* together, and the simple, tri-coloured compositional scheme meticulously repeats itself throughout.

The icon of SS. Cosmas and Damian from Yablunytsia-Rus'ka, by contrast, shows the two saints not as mirror images of each other, but as defined individuals with distinct characters. Although their faces are very much the same, each breathes with a life that is strikingly different. The stiff, hieratic poses frontally displayed in the Tylych icon here give way to an implied gentle turning and swaying of the bodies. Finally, the ground on which they stand is not just a flat square, but abounds with various flowers and grasses. Here, too, the colours are used with a far greater range of tonalities. Thus, icons from Western Ukraine are especially varied inasmuch as they can be invested with an extremely laconic, almost abstract style, while, on the other hand, the style indicates an inordinate dependence on multifarious detail. Colouration, however, becomes all-important in some Galician icons which lean towards a more expressive folk element. For example, there is a truly bright palette in the Archangel Gabriel's garment in the icon from Drohobych. The white highlights in the drapery folds are applied with a regularity verging on sheer decoration, much like the flowers which extend from freely drawn small leaves playfully arranged on the ground.

By the sixteenth century, a greater softness can be seen in Ukrainian icons. The once acutely angled and sharply elongated verticals give way to a roundness of form. The organised, controlled fluidity of earlier styles now moves towards a freeborn musicality similar to the uninhibited renditions of folk songs and dance. Figures display a greater litheness and less gravitational turgidity. The ornamentation of various parts becomes prevalent, to the point of creating subtle illusionistic effects of relief on the icon surface.

Whereas the old Galician icon of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is characterised by a graphic nuclearity expressing a great internal peace, by the sixteenth century Ukrainian icons come to be filled with an ebullient dynamism, restrained only by the religious intent of the work itself. One such example is the Annunciation icon from the village of Dalyova. The staid, reserved model for icon painting transposed from the fresco painting and mosaics of the eleventh century, as in the Annunciation scene in the arch posts of St. Sophia, is here transformed into a lively, exuberant interchange between the Angel Gabriel and the Virgin Mary. Their bodies evoke the heightened emotions of the glorious moment. Words are not exchanged; only the bodies of the figures reveal the content. The Angel Gabriel sweeps diagonally into the picture space, no longer just a flat golden background, and almost breaks into a lunge as he gestures to the Virgin. His appearance, the rays of godly presence from the orb above, agitate the Virgin into submission. One of her hands is clenched with tension; the other opens up in recognition of and compliance with her task. The moment is made even more expressive by the warm colouration of the interior — a touch of local colour as opposed to a nondescript, strictly golden heavenly realm — and the lush colour choices in the drapery of both.

By the sixteenth century, Baroque features creep into Ukrainian ecclesiastical art. The robust, sweeping forms of this style dominant in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are mostly in evidence in church architecture and stunning, richly carved iconostases, some of the finest wood carving ever to be witnessed: at Rohatyn, Buchach, Krasnopushchany and Bohorodchany, as well as in L'viv's church of St. Pyatnytsya, not to mention the iconostasis in Kiev's St. Sophia. Because of an increasing Westernisation

of outlook in the Western Ukrainian lands, by the beginning of the seventeenth century icon painters, too, were able, with great dexterity, to transmit some of that typically agitated space and vibrant Baroque movement into their works. Yet, whatever the degree of Baroque influence, the icon still retained a high qualitative level of Byzantine reserve.

As Ukrainian migrations settled further and further west, nestling in the hills of the Carpathians, one could find in the icon painting of these regions an ever-increasing variance from the once codified archetypal features of the original Byzantine model, especially since these newly-colonised territories became the crossroads of many artistic influences which were fused with local ethnic tastes. Regional topography came to be recognised, including village motifs such as shepherd boys or farm animals grazing. This was the beginning of a naive realism, in other words, a folk poeticising of Byzantine iconic types. Notwithstanding such creative devices, the basic formulae of the long-inherited tradition — frontality, stiffness, seriousness and rhythmic counterbalance in composition — could all still be detected. The icon of St. Michael the Archangel from the now extinct church in Rivne bears this out. From the time of old Rus', Michael was regarded as the patron of the armies of Kiev's princes, as well as of the entire city of Kiev. As a symbol of both religious and secular militancy, the image of St. Michael was situated in the southernmost side altar of Kiev's St. Sophia. The episodes of his victories are carefully laid out in the *zhytii* on the frame of the Rivne icon, while his own posture, despite its naive rendition, ennobles the very qualities he stands for. The meticulous, thoughtful attention offered to the composition, which embodies action and counteraction, is exemplified by the contrapuntal arrangement of his sword and sheath, and this position repeated in his arms as they carry out the action. These abstract qualities of rhythm, regular proportions and an overall harmonious effect are a direct inheritance from Byzantine art.

Despite efforts on the part of some masters to nationalise their icons by introducing small features such as local flora and fauna, regional folk genre and ornamental motifs, these details serve only as subtle bridges between the art of icon painting as a cult art on the one hand, and

folk art as such on the other. In reality, their only link is an inherent and unified tradition of decorativeness. Otherwise, the categories of icon painting and folk craft are kept clearly apart, and remain differentiated in every region of Ukraine.

For instance, the art of Slobozhanshchyna, on the eastern Ukrainian frontier, which during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries became the nucleus of some of the most transient and diversified artistic influences, is quite varied. Yet its icon painting is still as clearly Byzantinesque as it is in Galicia, in Subcarpathia, Volhynia or Kiev. A simple comparison between the *Pantocrator* from Dolyna and the two local (*namisni*) icons from the village of Dvurichny Kut in Slobozhanshchyna gracefully demonstrates the point. Certainly, there are slight differences and nuances amongst these icons, but a powerful, compassionate sensibility emerges from all of them and completely absorbs us.

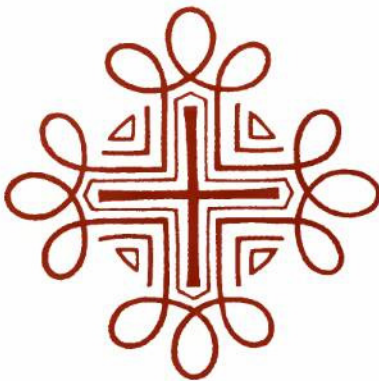
It is only towards the end of the eighteenth century that local painters or specific workshops such as Rybotyche come to be identified in connection with ecclesiastical centres. However, the first signatures of icon painters — Hayets'ky, Torons'ky, Mireyovs'ky — along with their individualised conceptions of figures, prove that the icons made for the churches in Mikulashiv, Tsigla and Venetsiya were no longer serial products of one dominant workshop, but rather individual contributions by different masters.

The icon collections in Sanok, L'viv, Bardejov, Cracow, Kharkiv, Svidnik and many other places protect these cherished objects and give us a limited but rich sense of the extent of icon painting and its inseparability from the life of Ukrainians everywhere who have sought to carry forward their Byzantine Christian tradition. Thus, the museums of the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia provide evidence of a uniquely unified people and culture. Ukraine's political boundaries have often changed. Her people have been scattered well beyond their native regions but, because of its icons, the Ukrainian nation can boast of a millennium of existence, tracing its origin to that important moment when Christianity was brought to Rus' by Volodymyr the Great.

Myroslava M. MUDRAK

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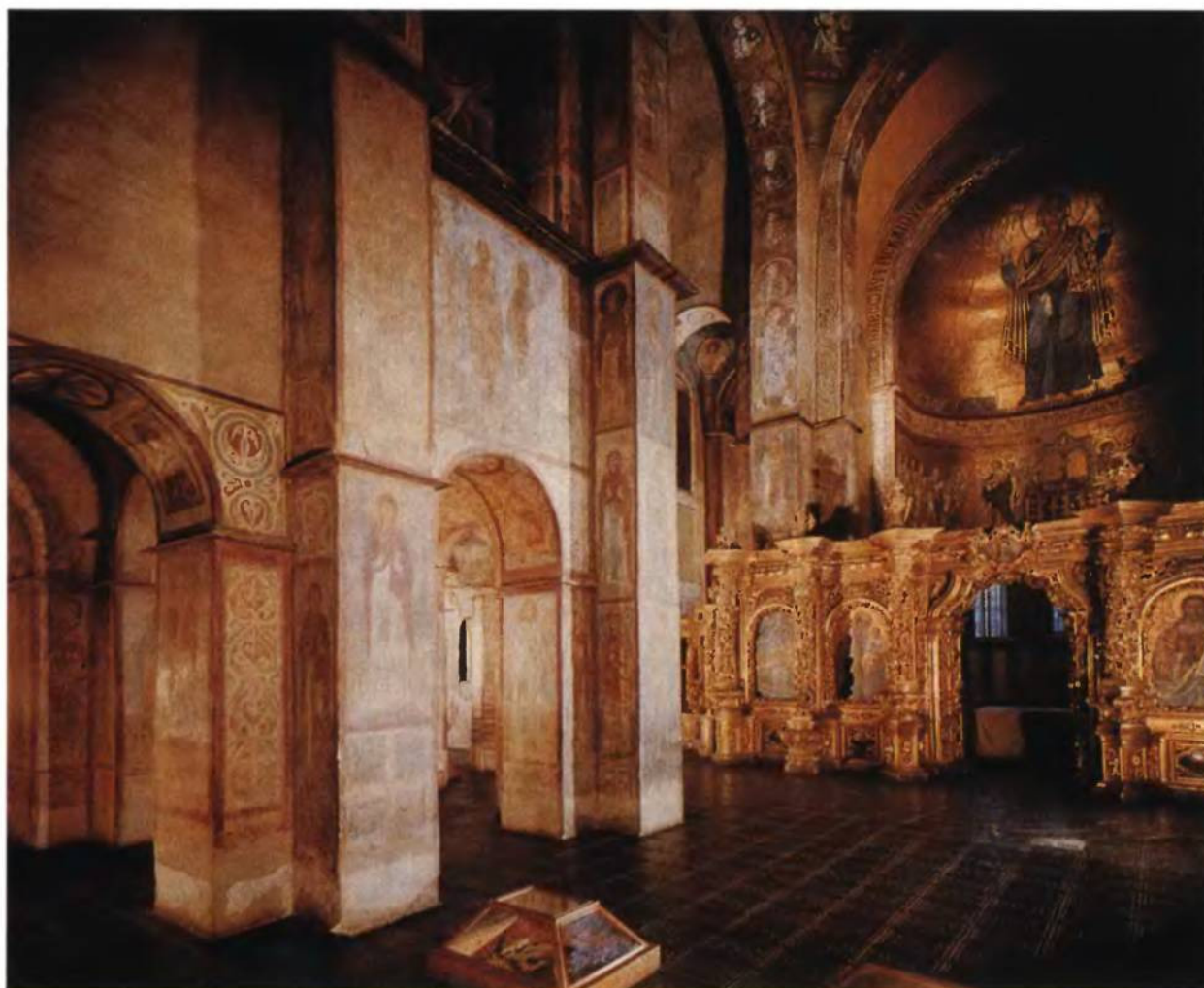


"THE BLACK MADONNA", X c. Constantinople

OUR LADY OF VYZHHOROD, end of XI — beginning of XII c. egg tempera on wood,
78 × 55 cm, Constantinople

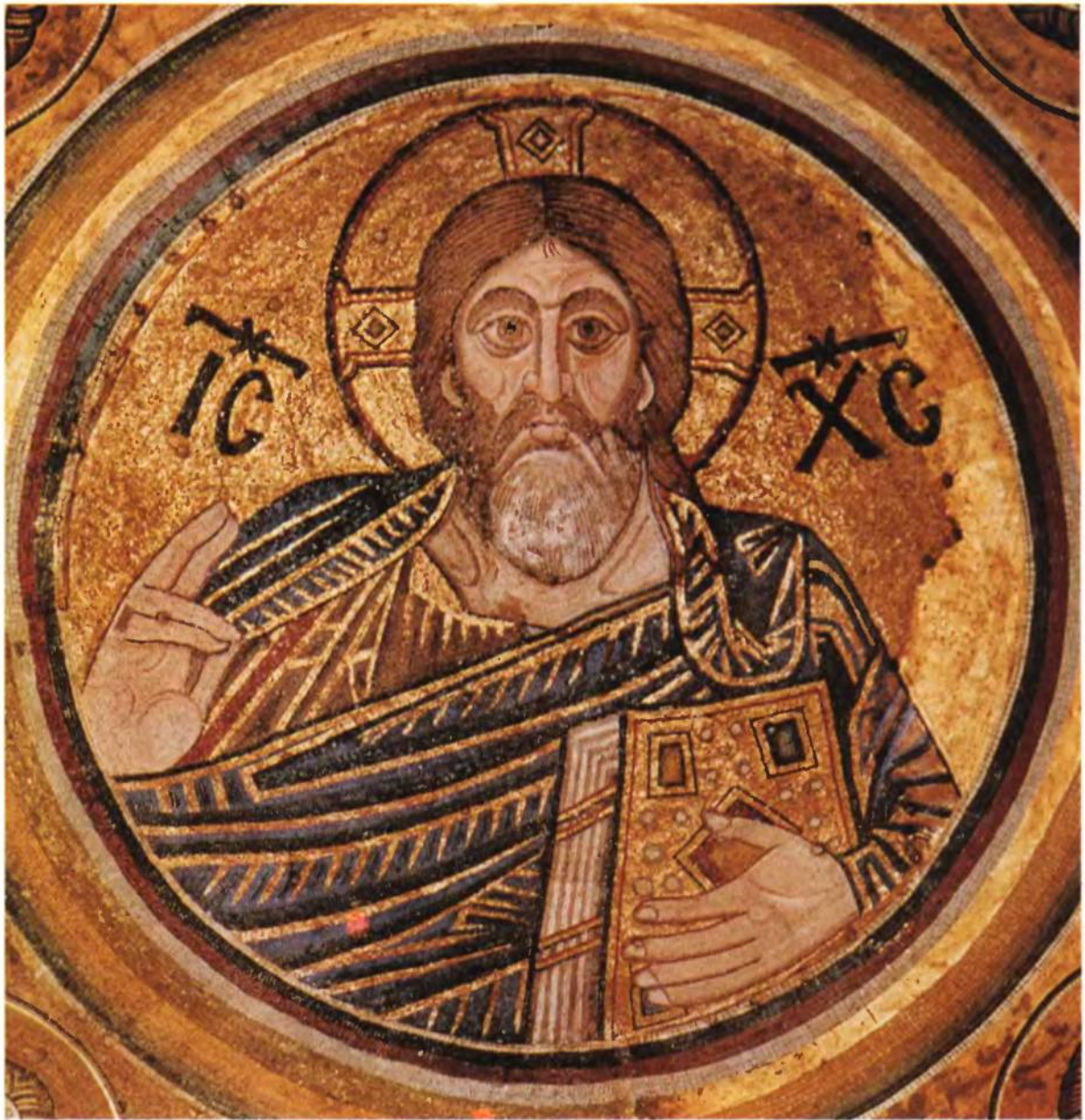


THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. SOPHIA, INTERIOR, Kiev





THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. SOPHIA, MAIN NAVE, Kiev



CHRIST PANTOCRATOR, The Cathedral of St. Sophia, Kiev, mosaics



VIRGIN ORANS, The Cathedral of St. Sophia, Kiev, mosaics



THE VIRGIN — GREAT PANAGIA, XI c. egg tempera on wood, 194 × 120 cm.
Monastery in Yaroslavl

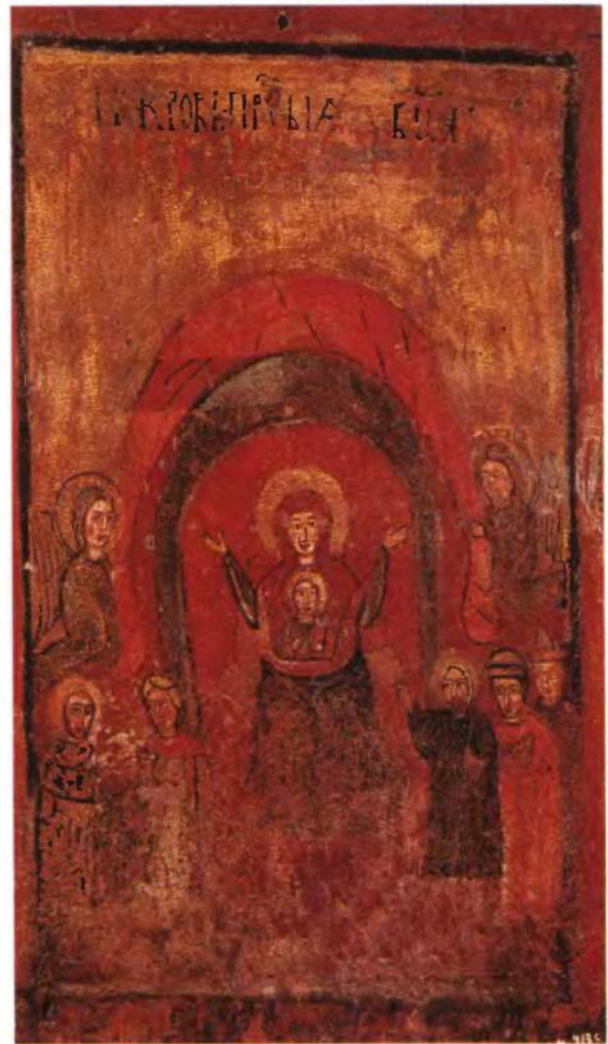
HLIB FROM TMUTOROKAN, XI c. the stone icon,
Taman Island



ST. TEKLA, XI c. fresco,
Cathedral of the Saviour, Chernihiv



ST. STEPHEN,
XII c. mosaics, St. Michael's Cathedral of the Golden Domes, Kiev



THE INTERCESSION, XII-XIII c. egg tempera on wood, 79,5 × 47,5 cm. Eastern Galicia



THE VIRGIN OF PECHERSK (OF SVENA), XIII c. egg tempera on wood, 67 × 42 cm.



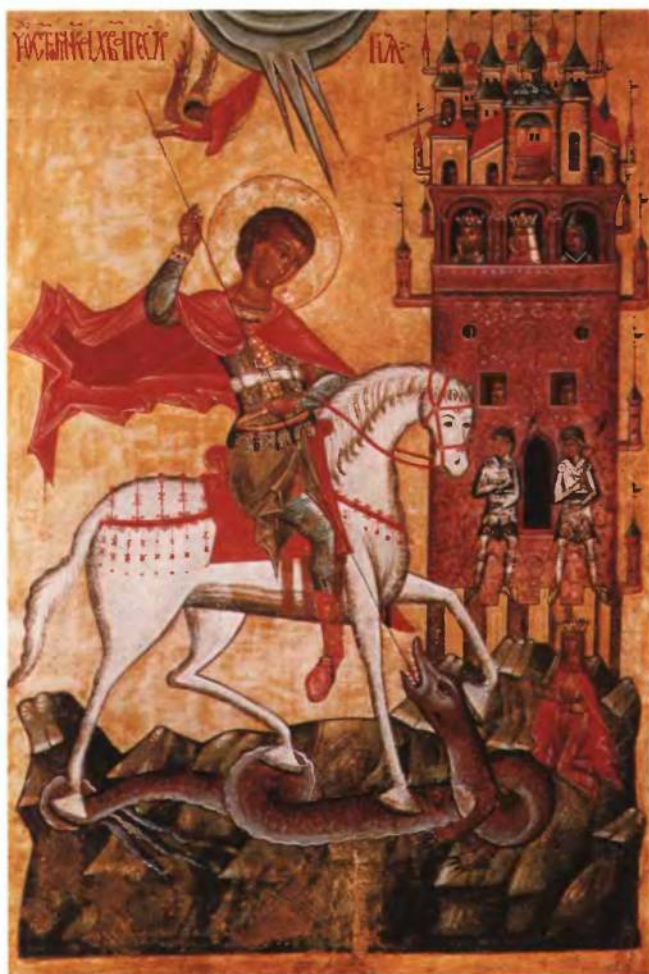
THE VIRGIN OF VOLHYNIA,
XIV c. egg tempera on wood, 85 × 48 cm, Lutsk



ST. COSMAS AND ST. DAMIAN,
XV c. egg tempera on wood, 255 × 105 cm. Tylych



THE PASSION, XV. c. egg tempera on wood, 192 × 133 cm. Zvyzhen



ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON,
XV c. egg tempera on wood, 114 × 79 cm. Zvyzhen



ST. COSMAS AND ST. DAMIAN WITH SCENES FROM THEIR LIVES,
XV c. egg tempera on wood, 135 × 108 cm. Yablonytsia-Ruska



ARCHANGEL MICHAEL,

late XV c. egg tempera on wood, 93 × 50 cm. Drohobych



PARASKEVA-PYATNYTSYA, XV c. Halych

THE PASSION, XV-XVI c. egg tempera on wood, 138 × 98,5 cm. Trushevychi





CHRIST PANTOCRATOR WITH APOSTLES, by master painter Dymytri, 1565,
egg tempera on wood, 137 × 125 cm. Dolyna



THE VIRGIN HODEGETRIA,

XV-XVCI c. egg tempera on wood, 115 × 82,5 cm. Cracov



THE ANNUNCIATION,

XVI c. egg tempera on wood, 90 × 46 cm. Daliv



ARCHANGEL MICHAEL,

XVI c. egg tempera on wood, 144 × 93 cm. Sharysh-Rovno



ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON, XVI c. Stanyla



CHRIST ENTHRONED, MARY AND ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST,
XVI c. egg tempera on wood, 110 × 141 cm. Sharysh-Rovno



ST. NICHOLAS,
XVI c. egg tempera on wood, 137 × 105 cm. Dubova



FLAGELLATION OF CHRIST, XVII c. fresco, St. George's Church, Drohobych



CHRIST PANTOCRATOR,

XVII c. egg tempera on wood, 96 × 73 cm. Trochany

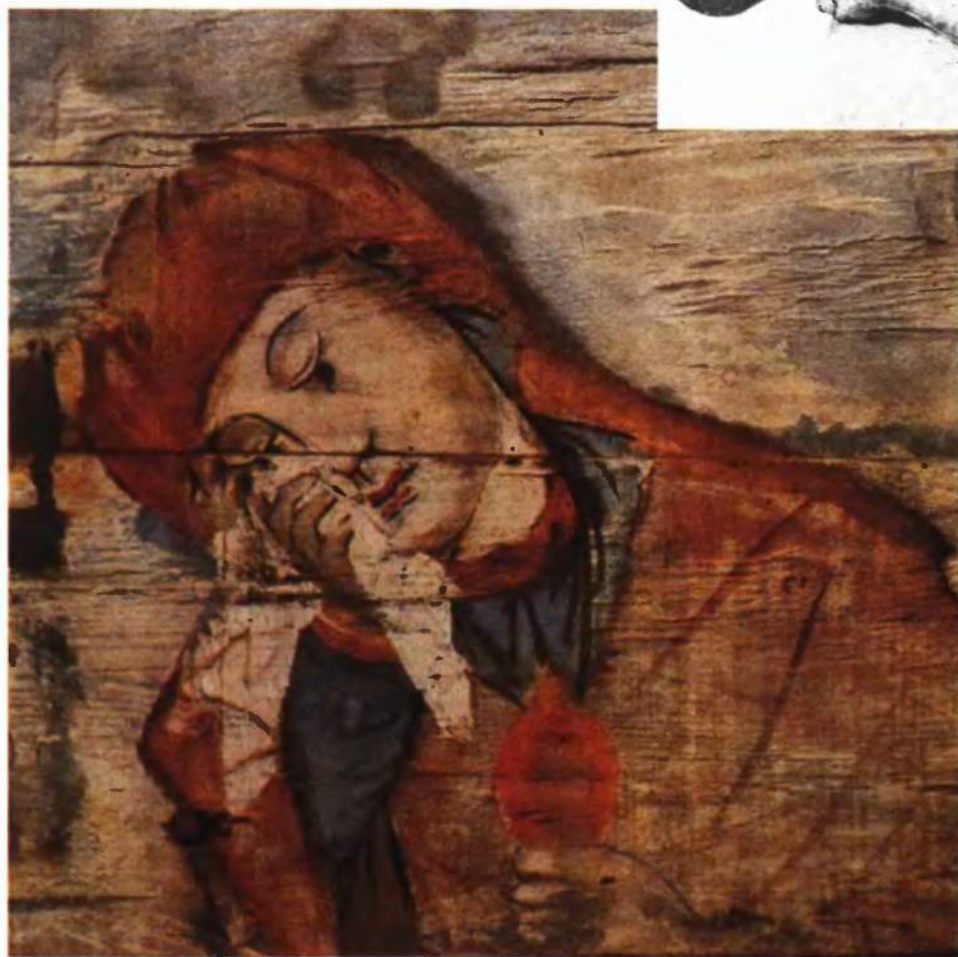


PICTURE OF CHRIST "NOT MADE BY HANDS", XVII c. Matysová



**EPITAPHION, XVII c. presented by Hetman Iván Mazepa
to the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem**

CHRIST IN PRISON, XVII c. detail of sculpture in wood, Putyvl



PIETÁ, detail of the fresco, 1620, Church of the Holy Ghost, Potelych



DEPOSITION, Volodymyr Borovykovsky, 1787, oil and egg tempera on wood, 67 × 53 cm. (courtesy of Mr. V. Luciv)



EPITAPHION — detail, 1655, Monastery of the Caves, Kiev



ICONOSTASIS, XVIII c. Kalná Rostoka



GILDED SILVER CHALICE, XVIII c.



Introduction

Great is the benefit from reading books, for through books we are shown and instructed in the way of penitence, since we acquire wisdom and discipline from what is written in books. They are rivers which water the universe, they are springs of wisdom; books are an immeasurable depth; by them we are consoled in sorrow; they are the bridles of self-restraint. [...]

If you diligently search for wisdom in books, you will obtain great profit for your soul. He who often reads books converses with God or with holy men. In reading the utterances of the prophets, the teachings of the Gospels and of the Apostles, and the lives of the Holy Fathers, he receives great profit for his soul.

The author of this passage, one of the monk-editors of the *Primary Chronicle (Povist' vremennykh lit)*, was moved to these praises of books and book-reading when under the year 1037 he began to describe the promotion of culture in Kiev by Grand Prince Yaroslav. Yaroslav's love of books and the establishment of a scriptorium in Kiev for the copying and translating of books prompted the chronicler to the above digression in praise of books, after which he returned to Yaroslav and the library he founded at St. Sophia. The benefits of reading which are so highly extolled are not simply the acquisition of knowledge — rather, reading is directed towards the good of the soul.

Not that the author of this passage displays any disdain towards “secular” knowledge; his attention is merely concentrated on “sacred” writings, which for him include not only sacred scripture, but religious writings in general.

The same line of thought is developed by the compiler of Svyatoslav’s *Izbornyk* of 1076, a collection of various texts, some translated and some native to Rus’, which provides instruction in the Christian Life. The introduction to the work contains an exhortation to reading similar to that of the Primary Chronicle and gives concrete examples of the profit to be derived from books.

The reading of books, brethren, is a good thing, especially for all Christians. [...] Let us, brethren, understand and let us listen with the ears of our mind and let us understand the power and the instruction of the holy books. Listen to the life of St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom and of St. Cyril the Philosopher [the apostle of the Slavs], and of many other saints, how it is said of them at the beginning that from youth they were intent on reading holy books and then set out to do good works. See how the instruction of holy books is the foundation of good deeds. So, brethren, through both the former and the latter let us be roused to set out on the path traced by their lives and imitate their deeds, and let us learn from what the books teach us, carrying out their will as they command, that we also may be worthy of eternal life.

In other words, by reading books, and specifically the lives of saints, one will first find out how these saints benefited from reading and then one’s own reading will encourage one to lead the same kind of life as they did.

The purpose of this article is to examine what reading matter was available to any Christian of Kievan Rus’ who took these recommendations to heart.

We are here concerned with the kind of literature the authors of the two quoted passages had in mind: texts with a religious content. Medieval culture was not as fragmented as ours; religion was not partitioned off from other aspects of life. Consequently, it is difficult to draw a line between religious and non-religious writings. The chronicles, for instance, whether those translated from the Greek, such as the *Chronography* of John Malalas, who interprets pagan antiquity in a Christian key, or the native chronicles that insert hagiographical texts or moral

commentaries, cannot easily be assigned to one or other category. Nevertheless, one can distinguish between works with a religious purpose and works directed primarily towards other goals, such as providing a record of past events, though these events were to be instructive for the chronicler's contemporaries.

Our knowledge of the religious literature of Kievan Rus' is and will always remain incomplete. The earliest manuscripts of many works of the Kievan period are copies made in later centuries. Works that have come down to us even in this fashion do not exhaust the corpus of Kievan literature. We know, from references to it in other works of Kievan Rus', of the existence of a life of St. Antony, one of the founders, in the eleventh century, of the Caves Monastery in Kiev, but a search for it was conducted in vain already in the fifteenth century. Other works perished without leaving even this trace.

The aim of this article is not to provide a complete catalogue of the religious literature of Kievan Rus'. Rather, a characterisation of this literature is attempted, with attention focused on the most important works.

Translated works

The earliest Christian works in Kievan Rus' were Greek in origin, translated into Slavic in Bulgaria, and also Slavic works from Moravia-Bohemia and from Bulgaria. Soon after the official introduction of Christianity by Volodymyr, Greek works began to be translated in Rus' itself.

For the most part it is difficult to determine exactly where or when a particular translation was made, since successive copyings of a work tended to alter grammatical and lexical forms, and manuscript evidence is generally of later date. Nevertheless, a long list of foreign works and authors undoubtedly known in Kievan Rus' can be drawn up. Early works written in Rus' drew inspiration from and were modelled on this imported literature.

At the beginning of the mission of Sts. Cyril and Methodius to the Slavs in 862 the brothers set out to translate the following books: the Gospels, the Psalter and the Oktoechos. All of these were needed immediately for liturgical celebrations. Written Slavic literature thus began

with texts intended for church use. This course was followed each time that Christianity was introduced into a new land. The first Christian books of Rus', therefore, were those indispensable for church services.

The biblical books (Gospels, Epistles and Psalter) with which Slavic translations began were used not only for church services, but for private reading as well. These three, the first to be translated by the Slavic apostles, were the best-known biblical books in Rus'.

Two different arrangements of the Gospels and the *Apostol* (Acts of the Apostles and Epistles) existed, one for church use, the other for non-liturgical reading. In Kievan Rus' the books of the Gospels and Epistles used in church bore the appellative *aprakos*, from the Greek word *apraktos* meaning "non-working", because at first they contained readings only for festal days, that is, Sundays and feasts (short *aprakos*). Later they also included readings for the other days (long *aprakos*), arranged not according to their place in the New Testament, but as the readings come in the course of the liturgical year. Copies of the Gospels and Epistles meant for non-liturgical reading contained the texts in the order in which they are found in the Bible.

The Psalter, widely used in church offices, was the most widely known book of the Bible, serving as a private prayer-book or even for the telling of fortunes. A version with a commentary (*tolkovaya psaltyr'*) already existed in the eleventh century.

The Bible in its entirety was not known in pre-Mongolian Rus' — not all of the Old Testament was available.

Of Old Testament books other than the Psalter, the texts used for readings in church offices, collected in the *parimiinyk*, were the most widely known. The name of the collection comes from the Greek *paroimia*, which means proverb or maxim. The title rightly indicates that the major portion of the texts came from the books of wisdom of the Old Testament, though some historical and prophetic texts were likewise included.

Many biblical texts were diffused in the various compilations bearing titles such as *Izmaragd*, *Pchela*, or simply *Sbornyk*/*Izbornyk*. The two best-known examples are the *Izbornyk* of Svyatoslav of 1073 and that of 1076.

The *Izbornyk* of Great Prince Svyatoslav of 1073 is a sumptuous volume commissioned by Grand Prince Izyaslav Yaroslavych. Very soon after its completion at the beginning of March 1073 Izyaslav's younger brother Svyatoslav seized the throne of Kiev. Izyaslav, fleeing into exile, left the *Izbornyk* behind, and it became Svyatoslav's property.

The codex is a Kievan copy of a Bulgarian volume, the *Izbornik* of Tsar Simeon (882-929), which in its turn is a translation of a Greek compendium. The work contains selections from the Fathers and other ecclesiastical writers, among them Basil, John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Eusebius, and the Latins Augustine and Hippolytus. The central portion consists of passages from the *Questions and Responses* (*Interrogationes et responsiones*) of Anastasius of Sinai (seventh century), in itself a compilation of citations from Scripture and from the Fathers on the whole range of Christian teachings and on life.

Individual portions of this *Izbornyk* occur in other compendia, but there also exist what may justifiably be called copies of the 1073 *Izbornyk*, though they may omit or add texts, or contain them in a different arrangement. Such copies continued to be made well into the eighteenth century. This particular compilation of patristic texts was therefore known not only to the limited circle of persons who had access to the costly volume of Kiev, but had a wider diffusion, which implies a certain level of theological knowledge and religious culture in Rus'.

The *Izbornyk* of 1076, often also called *The Izbornyk of Svyatoslav*, was not produced for the Grand Prince, but was an ordinary volume of instructive readings for Christians in general. Unlike the *Izbornyk* of 1073, it is not a translation or copy of an already existing volume, but an original compilation. Scholars have identified many of the Greek texts from which its components were translated; the translations were not necessarily made expressly for the 1076 *Izbornyk*, but could have come from other Slavic manuscripts. A number of its other sources are the scriptures (Psalms, Ecclesiasticus, which in Slavic, as in Greek, went by the name of the Book of Jesus the Son of Sirach), patristic passages (from the homily ascribed to St. Basil against drunkenness, for instance).

Passages which are probably original to Rus' have a pronounced social character. Christian teaching in Kievan Rus' did not remain only in the realm of ritual practices, as sometimes happened in later centuries, but had an effect on outlook and behaviour. One such passage may serve as an example:

If you have open access to authorities and to princes, take pains to speak for him who has been wronged by the powerful and press the orphan's cause for all you are worth [literally, "until you break out in sweat"], so that the Lord may count a drop of your sweat as martyr's blood.

If you are unknown to the prince, then plead the poor man's cause with those who have access to him, and the Lord will count this as equal to the former.

Pchela, which means *The Bee*, was a translation of *Melissa*, a Greek compilation of aphorisms arranged in chapters according to subject matter (Virtue and Vice, Wisdom, Justice, Almsgiving, On the Uncertainties of Life, etc). The work contains material from a great variety of sources: the Old and New Testaments (of the former, the books of wisdom in particular), the Fathers (such as Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa), and other Christians writings (Photius, various *Paterika*), as well as Greek philosophers and other writers (such as Aristotle, Pythagoras, Xenophon, Demosthenes). The sayings are moralising in tone, such as the following ascribed to Socrates from the chapter on Glory: "Seek to emulate the good deeds of those whose glory you wish to possess".

Another group of compilative works was more closely connected with church use. Homilies for the feasts of the Christian year, lives and panegyrics of the saints were arranged according to the church calendar. The *Greek Synaxary* was a collection of brief lives of the saints read in the course of church services. The Slavic translator of the *Greek Synaxary*, probably working in Rus' at the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century, mistook the title of its prologue for the title of the entire work, hence the Slavic title *Proloh*. The *Proloh* was not identical with the *Greek Synaxary*, since it included saints venerated by the local Church; in Rus', in time, it came to include notices about such native saints as Borys and Hlib,

Theodosius, Ol'ha. Moreover, in Rus', short edifying and moralising articles were added to the brief lives under each date. One such edition was made in the mid-twelfth century, and another in the thirteenth. From being a liturgical book the *Proloh* developed into a volume for private reading which remained popular for many centuries.

Full-length lives of the saints and homilies for feasts, also arranged according to the church calendar, were collected in what are known as *Chet'i-Minei*, literally "monthly books for reading". Similar in content to the *Chet'i-Minei* was the *Torzhestvennyk*; it contained homilies and lives of the saints for feasts (*torzhestva*).

Chet'i-Minei and *torzhestvennyky*, translated from the Greek, appeared first in Bulgaria and from there were brought to Rus'. Their contents varied according to circumstances, with Slavic works being included.

The oldest preserved manuscript of this type of work is the so-called *Uspensky sbornik* of the late twelfth-early thirteenth century, probably from the Kievan region; it derives its name from the Uspensky Sobor in Moscow, where it was discovered in the nineteenth century. The first part contains lives of the saints, predominantly those whose feasts occur in May, which might identify it as a May volume of the *Chet'i-Minei*, but it includes also a few lives of saints from other months and a series of homilies, chiefly by St. John Chrysostom, arranged in no recognisable order.

The value of the *Uspensky sbornik* lies not only in its early date — it is enhanced by the early Slavic works it contains (the Life of St. Methodius, the Encomium (*Pokhvata*) of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, a homily by the Bulgarian John the Exarch of the early tenth century), and especially by the earliest preserved texts of several original works of Rus': the *Tale (Skazanie) of Borys and Hlib* with the *Tale* of their miracles and the *Life of St. Theodosius of the Caves*, to which works we shall return.

Translated Greek literature included apocrypha, the writings of the Fathers, lives of the saints, and other works.

The *Uspensky sbornik* contains the apocryphal "Vision of Isaias". Though such early manuscript testimony exists for only a few apocryphal writings, native Rus' works testify to the acquaintance of their authors with other

apocrypha. The Protogospel of James, which recounts Mary's birth and early life and the birth of Jesus, was as avidly read and unquestioningly accepted in Rus' as throughout the rest of medieval Christianity. As in other European lands, the Protogospel in Rus' provided many subjects for church iconography, such as the cycle devoted to the life of Mary in St. Sophia in Kiev and in other churches.

The greatest number of works of patristic literature was by or ascribed to St. John Chrysostom. Special collections of his homilies existed, the principal being called in Slavic *Zlatostrui* (*The Golden Stream*).

The title *Zlatostrui* was already applied to at least two different collections of Chrysostom's works, translated in Bulgaria in the tenth century from ready-made Greek compendia. One of these Slavic versions, like the Bulgarian original of the 1073 *Izbornyk*, was produced for the Bulgarian Tsar Simeon. The earliest preserved manuscript of the *Zlatostrui* from Rus' is from the eleventh century.

The *Hexaameron* (homilies on the six days of creation) and the ascetical works of St. Basil were known, as were homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, separate collections of which also existed.

Though preference appears to have been given to patristic works with a pastoral or moral content, works of a more theologically reflective nature were likewise copied in translation, such as those of the third century bishop Methodius of Olympus. St. John Damascene's *On the Orthodox Faith* is quoted in the *Tale* about the miracles of Sts. Borys and Hlib.

A special category is that of monastic writings, especially various *paterika*. The *paterika* are collections of the sayings (*apophthigmata*) and lives of the monks of single regions or monasteries. Throughout Christianity to the present day the words and examples of the early fathers of monasticism have served as spiritual instruction.

Best known in Kievan Rus' appears to have been the *Paterikon* of Sinai, a translation of a work by John Moschus, a Palestinian monk who died in Rome. In the Greek original it bears the title *Limon pneumatikos* (*The Spiritual Meadow*) and consists of 219 short chapters. The Slavic version, perhaps already translated in the ninth century, comprises 301 chapters, to which are added 35 others. The work of Moschus retained its popularity in

Rus' for many centuries. It was printed for the first time in Kiev in 1628 with the transliterated title *Limonar'*. *The Ladder*, a guide to Christian perfection which gave its author John his epithet Climacus (*Klimax* in Greek means "ladder"), was also very popular. Finally, among the translated monastic works, we cannot omit a mention of *Barlaam and Joasaph*, ascribed to St. John Damascene, in reality a Christian adaptation of an ancient oriental tale about a king and his righteous son (on which theme is built also the Buddha tale, which has nothing else in common with *Barlaam and Joasaph*).

The story of the monk Barlaam and the Indian prince Joasaph whom he converted serves as a vehicle for teaching the main tenets of the Christian faith and asceticism, and was enormously popular in Rus'.

Slavic Literature from Other Lands

Besides translated Greek literature, Rus' benefited also from the literature of Slavic lands earlier converted to Christianity: Bulgaria and Moravia-Bohemia. Slavic Literature began with the invention of the first Slavic (Glagolitic) alphabet and the translation of liturgical and other books from the Greek by the Slavic apostles Cyril (d. 869 in Rome) and Methodius (d.885 as Archbishop of Moravia). "By them were first translated books for the Moravians; these are called Slavic letters, which letters are also in Rus' and among the Danubian Bulgars", the Primary Chronicle says under 898 when describing their mission.

Bulgaria became Christian during the reign of Boris I, 853-889; several disciples of Methodius, persecuted in Moravia, found refuge in Bulgaria and there laid the foundation of original Slavic literature. The first Bulgarian kingdom, before the destruction of its eastern half by Byzantium in 971, produced an extensive and varied Christian literature, which was of great importance for the literary culture of all the lands that used the Slavic language in the liturgy. Bulgarian writings, original ones as well as translations from the Greek, were brought to Rus' soon after the introduction of Christianity by Volodymyr. An indication of how widely diffused they were is the large number of early copies preserved in Rus':

for instance, seventy copies of the homilies of Clement of Ohrid, dating from the twelfth-thirteenth centuries, have been found. Clement's homilies are for various feasts of the church year: Christmas, Transfiguration, St. Michael, St. Elijah, and others.

The most important of the Bulgarian works and those that enjoyed the greatest popularity in Rus' were the *Lives of St. Methodius and of St. Cyril*, written in Bulgaria by their disciples. The *Primary Chronicle* gives an account of the mission of the two brothers based on these *Lives*.

Closely connected with the veneration of Sts. Cyril and Methodius and the literature devoted to them is the literature concerning St. Clement, fourth bishop of Rome. An ancient tradition reports his martyrdom at Khersones in the Crimea. Before their mission to the Slavs, Cyril and Methodius were sent on a mission to Khersones, where they are believed to have found the relics of St. Clement, which they later brought to Rome. Some of Clement's relics were brought to Kiev in Volodymyr's time and placed in a chapel in the Desyatynna, the church built by Volodymyr. The presence of the relics as well as the association of Clement with the Cyrillo-Methodian heritage assured him a place in the hagiographical literature of Rus'; this included a translation of a Greek *passio*, early Slavic *vitae*, and an original Kievan work about a miracle worked by Clement.

Cheti-Minei and *torzhestvennyky* contain homilies by the Bulgarian writer John the Exarch; these draw heavily from Greek works on similar themes and are influenced by the style of liturgical prayers. Among them is a cycle on a favourite theme of early Christian Literature — the six days of creation (*Hexaemeron*, *Shestodnev* in Slavic) — like the cycle of St. Basil.

Of Bohemian literature, hagiographic works about St. Lyudmyla, martyred in 920, and about her grandson St. Wenceslas, martyred in 929 or 935, were known and even imitated in the early writings of Rus'.

Only a brief *proloh* life has come down to us from the Kievan literature on Lyudmyla. But other works of the Kievan period show that the full-length Slavic *Life of Lyudmyla*, preserved today only in a Latin translation, was known in Rus'.

Lyudmyla's life bears certain resemblances to Ol'ha's, and the praises of the first Christian ruler of Rus' in the

Primary Chronicle under 969, the year of her death, echo similar praises of Lyudmyla in her *vita*.

[Ol'ha] was the precursor in our Christian land like the aurora before the sun and like the daystar before the dawn. For she shone like the moon in the night; she shone among men like a pearl in rubbish, for we were soiled with sin, unwashed by holy baptism. She was washed in holy baptism, and the old garment of the old Adam was removed, and she put on the new Adam, which is Christ. Rejoice, you through whom Rus' came to know God, through whom began our reconciliation.

Rus' preserved the Slavic works about St. Wenceslas better than did his native Bohemia. Kievan Rus' knew two full-length lives of St. Wenceslas, one originally written in Slavic, the other deriving from Latin, and two brief *proloh* lives, as well as liturgical texts. The early hagiography of Rus' took its inspiration from the works that described the martyrdom of the young prince, and the lament of Wenceslas in his *Life* is echoed in Hlib's words to his assassins. Borys, knowing that Svyatopolk had sent his men to kill him, invokes Wenceslas together with other martyrs.

Original Literature of Rus'

The Borys and Hlib Cycle

To judge from the number of surviving copies, the writings about Borys and Hlib (Roman and David in baptism) were among the most widely known works in Rus'. Several separate works by different authors were written about the two princes, the sons of Volodymyr and a Bulgarian woman, who were killed on the orders of their brother Svyatopolk in 1015 and venerated as martyrs almost immediately after their death.

Borys, prince of Rostov, who shortly before Volodymyr's death had been sent to defend the open steppe borders of Rus' against a Pecheneg incursion, was killed in the southern steppes on the Alta river on the 24th of July; his body was brought to Vyshhorod near Kiev and buried in the church of St. Basil. Hlib, prince of Murom in the north, was summoned to Kiev by Svyatopolk, who

pretended to be carrying out the wishes of the supposedly still living Volodymyr. He set out for Kiev by the river route and was killed outside Smolensk on the 5th of September; his body too was brought to Vyshhorod and laid next to that of Borys.

A brief account of the events, and a record of the miracles that soon began to take place at their tomb, is presumed to have been kept at Vyshhorod (after Svyatopolk's defeat by Yaroslav in 1019) and was used by the authors of the works that have come down to us.

The *Primary Chronicle* under 1015 recounts how the two brothers were sought out and killed on the orders of their elder brother Svyatopolk and concludes with a prayer to them. This *Chronicle* account served in turn as the factual basis for other literary works about their martyrdom.

The Kievan monk Nestor, who may be one of the editors of the *Primary Chronicle* (circa 1113) and the author of the *Life of St. Theodosius of the Caves*, wrote a *Legend* (*Chtenie*-“Reading”) about Borys and Hlib in the 1080s. In his work Nestor tells us that he also made use of oral evidence, especially when writing about the miracles performed through the intercession of the two martyrs.

Nestor's *Legend*, to judge from manuscript evidence, was not as popular as the *Tale about Borys and Hlib*. So far 20 manuscripts of the *Chtenie*, compared with 175 of the *Skazanie*, have been discovered. The *Skazanie*, that is, the *Tale*, or Story, about the martyrdom (*strast'* = *passio*) of Sts. Borys and Hlib is by an unknown author of the eleventh century. In the *Uspensky sbornik* to this *passio* is added what was originally a separate work, a Tale dating from the first quarter of the twelfth century, about the miracles occurring at the saints' tombs and the history of the building of successive churches to house their relics, with the celebrations occurring at each translation of the relics. The *passio* and the Tale about the miracles are by two different authors.

The Tale of the martyrdom is a work of great literary merit, lyrical and solemn in tone. Its author was well acquainted with Byzantine hagiographical and rhetorical literature in Slavic translation (though it is not excluded that he knew Greek), which he does not copy slavishly, using its devices creatively. The following passage comes from the lament of Hlib when the assassins seize his boat and is a good example of the rhythm created by the

author's use of repetitive phrases.

Do me no harm, my dear and beloved brethren, do me no harm, who have never done you evil; do not nurture hatred, brethren and lords, do not nurture hatred. How have I injured my brother and you, my brethren and lords? If there be some injury, lead me to your prince and my brother and lord. Pity my youth, pity, my lords; you will be my lords and I your slave. Reap me not from life unripe, reap not the unripe stalk yet bearing the milk of innocence. Cut not the vine still growing and still bearing fruit.

The *Proloh* contains several brief accounts about Sts. Borys and Hlib. A short life is found under the 24th of July, their major feast. An account of Hlib's death occurs under the 5th of September. Further notices concern dates of various translations of their relics.

The church built over their tomb by Yaroslav was replaced by his son Izyaslav; the relics of the two saints were transferred there on the 20th of May 1072 with great solemnity, with the participation of Yaroslav's three sons Izyaslav, Svyatoslav and Vsevolod, who carried the casket with the relics into the new church, Metropolitan George of Kiev, four bishops, Theodosius, then *ihumen* of the Kiev Caves Monastery, other monastic superiors, monks, and a large concourse of people. From that time on, as the *Tale* about the miracles tells us, this translation of their relics was commemorated yearly; thus, under the 20th of May, the *Proloh* contains a brief notice. The church was again rebuilt under Svyatoslav (1073-1076), but upon completion the roof caved in. The struggle for the throne of Kiev prevented its speedy restoration. It was only under Volodymyr Monomakh, on the 2nd of May 1115, one hundred years after the martyrs' death that, in the presence of great crowds, the church could be consecrated and their relics placed in it. The anniversary of this translation was likewise commemorated with brief descriptions of the event in the *Proloh* under the 2nd of May; it may be worth noting that the *Uspensky sbornik* places the *Tale of the martyrdom of Sts. Borys and Hlib* under the 2nd of May. Finally, the *Proloh* under the 11th of August has a short notice about the consecration in 1191 of a monastery church on the spot outside Smolensk where Hlib was killed. The original tomb in which the bodies of the two brothers were placed in Vyshhorod was brought as a relic to this church.

The popularity of these first saints of Rus' is evident already from the number of *Proloh* entries dedicated to them. The tale about the miracle occurring at their tomb tells of people coming there in pilgrimage from all parts of Rus'. The appeal of the two prince-martyrs appears likewise in the unique inclusion of brief *vitae* in the *parimiinyk*: with this one exception the readings are exclusively from the Old Testament.

The nature of the appeal of the two *Strastoterptsi*, as they are designated — that is, persons who did not suffer death for the faith (usually, as here, it was for political reasons), but who accepted their death in a Christian manner — is made evident in an encomium (*Pokhval'noe slovo*) probably composed in 1175. It is in the form of a sermon pronounced in the presence of princes, though probably this was only a literary device and the work was meant for reading. The immediate occasion for the composing of the encomium was the breaking out among the princes, at the instigation in 1174 of Prince David Rostyslavych of Vyshhorod, of one of the intestine feuds that plagued Rus'. The author recalled the example of Borys and Hlib, as well as of prince David of Chernihiv, all of whom refrained from raising arms against their brothers. The work appealed to contemporary princes to refrain from feuding and to submit to the rightful holder of a throne, to keep the oaths they swore to maintain peace, and above all not to call in the pagans (in this period, the Polovtsians) to help in their internecine fighting, to the destruction of Rus'. The population, paying with lives and well-being for the constant warring among the princes, fervently desired the ideal of non-violence portrayed in the lives of Borys and Hlib.

The *Pokhvala* of Sts. Borys and Hlib deserves attention also on another count: it discusses the question of lay sanctity. The example of David of Chernihiv is cited to demonstrate that family life, involvement in the affairs of this world, and the possession of houses and lands need be no impediment to sanctity, if in one's heart one is free from enmity and revenge and if one does good. Already in the author's time, we learn from his words, some doubted that a layman could be holy; unfortunately, this conviction later took an even greater hold, and met with no further effective refutation.

St. Theodosius and the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev

The literature of Kievan Rus' included a number of works about the Kiev Caves (*Pechers'ky*) Monastery and its monks, especially its co-founder Theodosius.

The Primary Chronicle places the story of the founding of the Caves Monastery under 1051; it continues the history of the monastery under 1074 (the year Theodosius died) and 1091 (the translation of his relics). These three parts may at one time have formed a single account of the beginnings of the Caves Monastery and its early monks; they were separated when the story was inserted into the *Chronicle*.

A full-length *Life of St. Theodosius* by the Kievan monk Nestor also exists, probably written between the years 1078-1088, the only work from Kievan Rus' that recounts in detail its hero's life from birth to death. The *Life of Theodosius* also contains the early history of the Caves Monastery.

The two accounts of the first years of the most important Ukrainian monastery — as told in the *Primary Chronicle* and in the *Life of Theodosius* — not only highlight events from two different standpoints, but provide us with a series of contradictions. It is not an easy task, therefore, to reconstruct the early history of this monastery or to identify the authors of the two versions, both of them monks of the Caves Monastery. In the *Chronicle* story about the monastery the author several times refers to himself in the first person: he tells us that he was received into the monastery as a seventeen-year-old by Theodosius himself, while the author of the *Life* tells us he came to the monastery after the death of Theodosius and was received by the *ihumen* Stephen. Though this contradiction may be resolved by conceding a misplacing of the clause of the original account when it was divided to be inserted into the *Chronicle*, others are not so easily resolved, as we shall see.

The *Life of Theodosius* existed independently (as in the *Uspensky sbornik*), but it became widely known, especially as part of the Kiev *Paterikon*, where it forms chapter (*slovo*) 8. Greek saints' lives that existed in Slavic translation (such as the Lives of St. Antony the Great, St. Theodosius of Palestine, and especially St. Sava of Palestine) served Nestor as a model for his work. Medieval

hagiographers were innocent of a cult of personality. Much as they admired their heroes, in their lives they saw conformity to Gospel teachings and a likeness to well-known hagiographical types rather than unique examples of fidelity to Christ; it was natural, therefore, for them to use much the same phrases in describing any holy monk.

An examination of such borrowings in Nestor's *Life of Theodosius*, however, reveals that they mostly concern a general characterisation of the hero or attempt to describe imputed thoughts or words. "[Theodosius] was humble-mannered, peaceful, and simple in his thoughts, and filled with all wisdom, possessing a pure love for all the brethren." Such stock phrases, considered mandatory by Nestor and his contemporaries, do not detract from the impression of realism given by the work as a whole.

As in his *Legend about Borys and Hlib*, so also in his *Life of Theodosius* Nestor tells us that he gathered oral testimony about his subject, chiefly from monks of the Caves Monastery who had lived with Theodosius or who themselves had collected reliable information. One such was the monk to whom the mother of Theodosius, who ended her days as a nun in Kiev, described her son's early years. Out of these personal recollections Nestor composed a vivid picture of the "founder of common life" in the monasticism of Rus', as Theodosius is called in liturgical offices. Theodosius and the contemporaries that appear in his *Life* emerge as living persons, and Theodosius himself as a most attractive one, bent on living the Gospels, even in spite of the opposition of his mother during his early youth. As a monk and as the superior of his monastery he was ascetic and kindly, charitable to all in need, whether with provisions or with a word before a harsh judge, fearless in speaking out before those in authority when their actions needed to be reproved. In its completeness and its realistic vividness Nestor's *Life of Theodosius* is unique in the literature of Kievan Rus', which, together with the appeal of Theodosius himself, made it one of the most popular and enduring works.

One day, when [the monks] wished to celebrate a feast of the Mother of God, and there was no water — the Theodore I mentioned above was cellarer then and he was the one who told me so much about this most excellent man [Theodosius] — he went and told blessed Theodosius that there was no one to carry

water. The blessed one quickly arose and began to carry from the well. Then one of the brethren happened to see him carrying water and quickly went and told some brethren, who hurried over and brought up more than enough water. On another occasion, when the wood had not been prepared for cooking, the cellarer Theodore went to blessed Theodosius and said: "Perhaps you, father, could tell one of the brethren who isn't busy to go and prepare the wood that's needed." The blessed one said "I'm not busy, I'll go." It was the hour of dinner, so the blessed one told the brethren to go to the refectory, while he himself took an axe and began to hew the wood. After the brethren had finished eating they came out and saw their venerable ihumen hewing wood and working so hard, so each one then took up his axe and they prepared wood to last them many days.

Not only works about Theodosius, but some texts by him have come down to us. These are short and artless sermons for Lent delivered by Theodosius in his monastery. They are composed of New Testament quotations held together by connecting phrases, as the beginning of this sermon for the Wednesday of the third week of Lent shows.

What have we, beloved, brought into this world or what are we going to take out? Have we not left the world and what is in the world according to the commandment of Christ, who said: "He who does not come to hate all and to follow me is not my disciple", and again, "He who loves me, he will keep also my word."

Though two anti-Latin letters continue to be ascribed by some to this Theodosius, they are the work of a twelfth-century Greek monk from Kiev who bore the same name, as was demonstrated over a century ago.

The *Life of Theodosius* became an integral part of the *Paterikon* of the Kiev Caves Monastery. The Kiev *Paterikon* is a compilation of a number of articles written at different times, from the late eleventh century to the second half of the thirteenth, already after the Mongol invasion. The *Paterikon* consists of the following basic parts: an account of the building of the Dormition church at the monastery, the *Life of Theodosius*, an encomium of Theodosius, a letter by bishop Simon of Vladimir and his

lives of Kievan monks, and a letter and further lives by the monk Polycarp of Kiev.

The opening section contains six chapters (*slova*) about the building by Greek masters of the great Church of the Dormition and the miracles that accompanied this construction.

To the account of the building of the church is appended a chapter which bears the title: "A tale by Nestor, monk of the Caves Monastery, why the monastery came to be called 'of the Caves'". This chapter agrees with the account in the *Primary Chronicle* about the origins of the Caves Monastery and differs in the same points as that account from the *Life of Theodosius*. Like the *Chronicle* account, this chapter ascribes the building of a monastery above ground to *ihumen* Varlaam; the *Life of Theodosius* gives to Theodosius the credit of providing better accommodation than a cave, after Varlaam had been summoned to become the *ihumen* of another monastery. Hence this chapter cannot be the work of the same person as the *Life*; either the ascription to Nestor was a later addition, or there were two monk-authors named Nestor.

There follows Nestor's *Life of Theodosius*, to which are appended a chapter on the translation of his relics on the 14th of August 1091 and one on his reliquary; the chapters relating to Theodosius end with an encomium (*pokhvala*). Two other short chapters follow: the exemplary lives of early Cave monks, and a life of Nifont, monk of the caves and later bishop of Novgorod (twelfth century). These two chapters have corresponding entries in the Hypatian codex (in the *Primary Chronicle* and in the *Chronicle of Kiev*).

The *Paterikon* as such — a collection of articles about the Caves Monastery and its monks — had its origins in an exchange of letters between Polycarp, a monk from the monastery, and Simon, who had also once been a monk there and at the time of writing was bishop of Vladimir (d.1226). Polycarp had complained to Simon about the lack of consideration from which he was suffering, seeking by this to justify his attempts to obtain an *ihumen's* or a bishop's post somewhere. Simon reproaches Polycarp (chapter 14), reminding him of basic monastic virtues and the holiness of the Caves Monastery. To demonstrate more effectively that Polycarp should consider himself fortunate in dwelling in such a holy place, Simon wrote a series of vignettes about its monks. A second series of such stories

was then written by Polycarp himself at the request of archimandrite Akyndyn.

The stories of Polycarp and Simon about the Kievan monks are characterised by an abundant use of wandering motifs and hagiographical commonplaces, yet at the same time by a realistic, often unflattering depiction of monastic life.

Simon chides Polycarp for wanting a higher post elsewhere, when being buried at the Caves is in itself salvific (chapter 15). His stories, which are supposed to corroborate this statement, are filled, however, with trite wonders (Nikon is mysteriously freed from Polovtsian captivity and translated to Kiev in the twinkling of an eye, Athanasius revives after his death), which occur here and there to shame the unedifying behaviour of the monks (Athanasius had been left unburied because he was poor, Evagrius on his deathbed refuses to forgive his fellow-monk Titus). Monastic life in these stories has a very different spirit from that exemplified by the life of Theodosius.

The causes of this may lie in the different kind of sources drawn upon by the authors of the *Life* and of the other parts of the *Paterikon* and in a real change of outlook within monasticism in Rus'. The *Life of Theodosius*, for all the hagiographic commonplaces it contains, is unmistakably based on factual evidence; the lives written by Polycarp and Simon are adaptations, set in the Caves Monastery, of widely-known narrative motifs. Insofar as the thirteenth century lives bear witness to a different concept of what renders a monastery holy, we see an obvious decadence from the ideals of Theodosius (his love of poverty, to cite only one striking difference).

The *Paterikon* was revised at the Caves Monastery twice in the 1460s by the monk Cassian. It was printed for the first time in 1661 at the Kiev *Lavra* and continued in its popularity until modern times.

Ilarion

From the literary point of view, the finest work to come down to us, not only of the religious works of Kievan Rus', but in all of Kievan literature (with the exception of the Tale of Igor's campaign), is the Sermon (*Slovo*) of

Ilarion, which is actually several separate works set together to form one harmonious whole.

At the church of the Apostles of Berestiv, a residence of the grand princes outside Kiev, one of the priests in Yaroslav's time was Ilarion, "a good man, well-read, and an ascetic", who used to retire for solitary prayer to the forest on the Dnipro shore, for which purpose he even dug himself a cave — the future site of the Caves Monastery. In 1051 he was elected Metropolitan of Kiev, the first native of Rus' to occupy that post. The *Primary Chronicle* does not elaborate on the circumstances of his election. Though its one sentence on the event has given rise to considerable literature, the opinions of scholars remain divided concerning the bearing Ilarion's elevation had on Byzantine-Rus' relations. The First Novgorod chronicle of 1055 mentions a Metropolitan Ephrem; this signifies that Ilarion died in early 1055 at the latest.

Ilarion himself prepared an edition of his works; since his manuscript included the profession of faith as required of a hierarch at his episcopal ordination, it was edited after 1051. Here we are concerned with what is conveniently called his *Slovo*, which consists of four separate parts: 1) the *Slovo* proper, that is, the "Sermon on the Law Given to Moses and on Grace and Truth which came through Jesus Christ;" 2) a collection of Old Testament verses referring to the divine plan of salvation for all; 3) an encomium of Volodymyr; and 4) a prayer for the land of Rus'.

The *Slovo* was delivered by Ilarion before his elevation to the metropolitanate, in the presence of Yaroslav and his family. From general theological considerations of the superior excellence of the Grace given by Christ over the Law given by Moses — Grace foreshadowed and prepared by the Law — Ilarion passes to the spreading of Christianity throughout the world and to its reaching "also our Rus' people". Ilarion rejoices in the replacement of pagan rites by Christian services and in the spiritual enlightenment that the Christian religion brought to Rus'. "To all lands our good God has shown his mercy, and has not despised us, but has willed to save us and to lead us to the knowledge of truth."

Joy at knowing Christ and his Gospel develops naturally into gratitude towards the person who was responsible for spreading this knowledge in Rus', "our *kahan* Volodymyr".

This gratitude is expressed in a deeply-felt eulogy of Volodymyr which culminates in a prayer to him. The entire work ends with a prayer to God.

The content and style of the *Slovo* reveal Ilarion to have been well educated in theology and endowed with natural oratorical gifts of high quality, perfected by training in rhetoric. Ilarion knew the Fathers; apparently he knew both Greece and the West, France in particular, from personal observation. His work, however, captivates the reader just as it must have captivated the listeners when it was first delivered, not so much by its erudition as by the author's sincerity, by his convictions expressed so brilliantly that the careful construction of the work appears as a spontaneous outpouring of the heart.

The *Slovo's* excellence was so widely recognised that later writers casting about for expressions with which to praise their contemporaries could think of nothing better than to help themselves generously to entire passages from Ilarion. Such is the case with the *Pokhvala* of Prince Volodymyr Vasyl'kovych of Volhynia included under the year 1289 in the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle.

No translation can adequately convey the rhythmic cadences and the sheer beauty of the original language of the *Slovo*. The culminating point is reached when Ilarion forgets the audience in front of him and addresses Volodymyr, the baptiser of Rus'.

Arise, o precious head, from your grave, arise, shake off your sleep. You have not died, you only sleep until the general resurrection. Arise, you have not died, it is not right for you to die, you who have believed in Christ, the life of the entire world. Shake off your sleep, raise your eyes, to see what honour the Lord has there conferred on you, and on earth, through your son, has not let your memory fade. Arise, see your son Yuri Yaroslav. [...] .See also the town shining in might, see the churches flourishing, see Christianity growing, see the town gleaming with the splendour of the icons of the saints and resounding with divine praises and holy songs. See all this and rejoice and be glad and praise the good God, the maker of all this. You see all this, though not in body, but in spirit. The Lord shows you all this, for which rejoice and be glad that your faithful sowing was not parched by the burning heat of unbelief, but through the showers of

God's help was cultivated to bring a rich harvest. Rejoice, Apostle among rulers, you have raised not dead bodies, but have resurrected us dead in soul, who had died through the malady of idolatry. Through you we revived and came to know the life of Christ; we were paralysed through the wiles of the devil and through you we became erect and set out on the path of life; through the wiles of the devil our hearts' eyes were blinded by ignorance, and through you we gained sight of the light of the triunely irradiating Godhead; we were dumb, and through you we found speech and today already we all, small and great, glorify the Trinity one in essence.

Cyril of Turau

Only a few biographical particulars are available about Cyril of Turau (early 1130s to late 1182). He was born and spent his entire life in this Polissian town, the capital of a principality and an episcopal see. In his native Turau he became a monk and for some time lived as an anchorite in a tower. Before 1169, as the candidate put forward by the prince and the people of Turau, he became its bishop.

Cyril's authentic works include eight homilies, three instructive conferences, about twenty-two prayers and one liturgical canon. After his death many other works were ascribed to him, a sure indication of the popularity and authority of his authentic writings.

The preserved homilies of Cyril are probably a part of what had been a full cycle for the liturgical year. Those which have come down to us are for the period beginning with Palm Sunday and breaking off before Pentecost: Palm Sunday, Easter, the second, third, fourth and sixth Sundays after Easter, Ascension, and the Sunday between Ascension and Pentecost, which commemorates the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 325.

Liturgical prayers in that period of the church year express joy at the resurrection of Christ and its consequences for men; it is only natural that the same tone of joy should be echoed in the season's homilies. Had we any of Cyril's homilies for other seasons of the liturgical year, their dominant tone would doubtless have been different. It is liturgical prayers, and not a frame of mind peculiar to Cyril or to Christianity in Kievan Rus',

or a rejection of asceticism (as is sometimes asserted in writings about Cyril), that inspire Cyril to the exclamations that follow, contained in his sermon for the Sunday of St. Thomas (the Sunday after Easter).

Today the heavens have cleared up, having discarded dark clouds like sackcloth, and proclaim the Lord's glory with radiant air. I do not mean the visible heavens, but the rational, the Apostles, who today on Sion recognised the Lord who entered among them and forgot all troubles, and shook off the grief of fear of the Jews, and overshadowed by the Holy Spirit clearly preach the resurrection of Christ. Today the sun, resplendent, rises on high and, rejoicing, warms the earth — for Christ, the sun of justice, has emerged from the grave and saves all who believe in him. Today the moon, having descended from the highest degree, gives honour to the greater light - for the Old Law as it is written with its Sabbaths and prophets has ceased and gives honour to the law of Christ. [...] Today spring is decked out in finery, reviving earthly beings, and mighty winds softly blowing call forth an abundance of fruit, and the earth, maturing seeds, brings forth the green grass. The lovely spring is Christ's faith, which through baptism gives birth to a new life of man; mighty winds are the thoughts that bring forth sin, but which by repentance are transformed into virtue and help to produce an abundance of fruit profitable to the soul.

Cyril's homilies, as even this brief excerpt indicates, draw a great deal from the liturgical prayers which Cyril as monk knew so well. The long succession of sentences beginning with "Today ..." (only a part is given above) is typical of liturgical prayers, especially for the major feasts. This stylistic device comes naturally to Cyril the preacher. Very many of the phrases, to say nothing of the images used, also derive from liturgical offices.

The homilies repeat liturgical texts, elaborate them, explain their imagery. They generally commence with a brief recapitulation of the event commemorated on that particular day. In other words, they are commentaries by the bishop to make more comprehensible to the people the meaning of the feast and of the prayers used in church for that feast.

Volodymyr Monomakh

The last outstanding ruler on the throne of Kiev was Volodymyr Monomakh (1053-1125), the son of Vsevolod Yaroslavych and a Greek princess. Volodymyr's first wife was Gida, daughter of King Harold II of England who was defeated by the Normans at Hastings in 1066.

He writes that his father spoke five languages; he too was highly educated. Already in 1067 his father appointed him Prince of Smolensk; later, Volodymyr held the appanage of Pereyaslav (1094-1113) and occupied the Kievan throne from 1113 to his death. He was a ruler popular with nobles and common folk alike, for his campaigns against the Polovtsians, who were then threatening the Kievan state, and for his activity in promoting peace among the princes of Rus'.

The Laurentian codex under the year 1096 inserts into the texts of the *Primary Chronicle* Volodymyr's *Poucheniye*. As it stands, it combines the *Poucheniye* (instruction) proper, which includes autobiographical notices, and a letter to prince Oleh Svyatoslavych of Chernihiv; a prayer stands at the end.

The *Poucheniye* is an exhortation to his children and to others who might come to read it, as he says at the beginning. It is not based on ready-made models that Monomakh could have come across in his reading (and he was fond of reading, as he tells us and his citations show), but springs from personal experience and a desire to pass on that experience, as well as to record for posterity his own many military campaigns and his deeds of prowess.

Volodymyr exhorts his sons to be as attentive to their duties as he was to his. His admonitions are based on Christian principles of life and revolve around the themes of piety, justice and mercy in ruling, and the observance of oaths.

When you are on horseback and are not occupied with other persons, if you do not know how to recite other prayers, then exclaim unceasingly in secret, "Lord, have mercy": this prayer is better than all others, rather than thinking nonsense while riding.

Above all, do not forget the poor, but provide for them as much as you can, and give alms to the orphan, and yourselves see to it that justice is done to the widow, and do not allow the mighty to ruin a

man. Kill neither the innocent nor the guilty, nor order that he be killed; if he deserves death, do not destroy a single Christian soul. In conversing, whether about evil or about good, do not swear by God or the cross — there is no need for that. If you swear an oath to your brethren or to anyone else, examine your heart about what you can observe, then swear to that, and once sworn, keep that oath, so that by breaking it you may not damn your soul.

Volodymyr's works are striking for the high moral principles they voice. It may have been easy enough to put lofty ethic sentiments into words, but, in his letter to Oleh, Volodymyr demonstrates that for him they were more than mere words. In 1096 Oleh of Chernihiv had killed Monomakh's son Izyaslav. The subject of the letter is not bitter reproach, but an offer of forgiveness and reconciliation.

Daniel the Pilgrim

Of the many pilgrims from Kievan Rus' who undertook the arduous and dangerous journey to the Holy Land, the *ihumen* Daniel left us the most complete description, which usually goes by the title of *Khozheniye*, that is, Journey, or Pilgrimage. The number of copies preserved — about 150 from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries — shows its popularity both among other descriptions of pilgrimages to Palestine and among Kievan works in general, though the preservation of manuscripts depends on so many chance elements that statistics can give us only approximative indications and should not be accepted absolutely. We may, nevertheless, compare this number with the known number of manuscripts of other Kievan works dealt with in this article: 44 of Ilarion's *Slovo*, 60-80 of the *Paterikon*, over 170 of the *Tale about Sts. Borys and Hlib*.

About Daniel himself we know only what he himself tells us in his work, which is very little. He was the superior (*ihumen*) of a monastery, probably in the region of Chernihiv, since he refers to the river Sozh which flows there. Daniel does not begin his account from the moment he sets out from his monastery, so we know nothing about it; instead, he begins with the sea voyage from Constantinople to Palestine. On the basis of his references

to persons and events, his pilgrimage can be dated 1106-1108. His stay in the Holy Land lasted sixteen months, as he himself tells us.

I, lowly *ihumen* Daniel, arrived in Jerusalem and stayed sixteen months, residing in the *Lavra* of St. Saba; this way I could go around and observe attentively all those holy places. Without a good guide who knows the language it is impossible to get to see all the holy places. What I had of my poor means, I gave it all away to those who knew well all the holy places in the city [Jerusalem] and outside the city, so that they would show it all thoroughly to me, as in fact then happened. And God granted that I should find in the *Lavra* a holy man, old in years and very learned. God put it into the heart of this holy man that he should love me, and he showed me all the holy places in Jerusalem and took me all through that land, all the way to the sea of Tiberias and to Tabor and to Nazareth and to Hebron and to the Jordan and all the other places and was at pains to show me around for the sake of charity. And I saw many other places, as I shall say later on.

Already from this introductory paragraph the reader can gather how anxious Daniel was to see everything of note for the pilgrim and to commit to writing a careful factual record of what he had seen. During his sojourn in the Holy Land, Daniel obviously must have kept notes in the form of a travel diary, which upon his return to his monastery in Rus' he elaborated into a literary work.

The popularity of Daniel's description depends a great deal on the preliminary care taken by him to make of his work a complete guide to the Holy Land or at least a fully adequate literary surrogate for those unable to make the pilgrimage personally. His work is based on his own observations; he was not influenced by, nor does he imitate, guides to the Holy Land which existed in other languages. Daniel mentions each place connected with incidents or personages of the Old and New Testaments and describes whatever is worthy of note for the pious pilgrim.

Daniel was a conscientious author, who did not invent marvels or sights he had not seen; on the other hand, he cannot be expected to treat local traditions after the manner of a modern exegete. When he was told, for

example, that the altar on which Abraham was to sacrifice Isaac was next to the place of crucifixion on Golgotha, he accepted this as fact and carefully noted the location of the altar in his *Khozheniye*.

Daniel's work is an important testimony to how Latin Christians were viewed in Rus'. He visited Palestine during the reign of the crusader king Baldwin I of Jerusalem. Several times Daniel mentions his favourable reception by Baldwin and the favour the king showed him. His work is free of polemical attacks against the Latins.

The *ihumen* from Rus' ends his description of the sights of the Holy Land with a description of the heavenly light that descended on the Holy Sepulchre on Holy Saturday. At that time he too placed a lamp on the Holy Sepulchre "from all the land of Rus'." He ends his account with assurances of prayers at all the holy sites for "the Rus' princes and princesses and their children, for bishops, priests and nobles, and for my spiritual children and all Christians".

Daniel's work, like the other literary works of Kievan Rus' which found favour with readers, was not only copied, but was reworked and adapted. As late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it continued to serve as a guide to the Holy Land.

Conclusion

In conclusion, some general observations may be in order to characterise the religious literature of Kievan Rus'.

The language of the liturgy in Kievan Rus' was Church Slavonic, that is to say, basically Old Bulgarian; the spoken language consisted of Eastern Slavic dialects. The literary works that have been considered here were written in the language of Rus' but contained lexical and grammatical elements of Church Slavonic. The degree of influence exerted by Church Slavonic varies from work to work; it depends on such factors as the author's background (the language of a monk like Cyril of Turau will be closer to the liturgical language than that of Volodymyr Monomakh) and the desired style — more solemn and "high" (Ilarion) or more simple and "low" (*Life of Theodosius*).

The religious literature of Kievan Rus' arose in the school of Byzantine literature, the translations serving as models of genres and as conveyors of a particular outlook on life; they were exemplars of style and a source, when necessary, of the ready-made phrase or of an entire passage or episode. What may appear as plagiarism to us was to medieval man but the legitimate use of the elements of the tradition which he absorbed and shared.

The profound consciousness of belonging to a tradition, even in a restricted literary sense, did not have the effect of cramping the author's style, but rather brought out his gifts. If these were modest, then his work emerged as a compilation of cited and paraphrased texts, where his own contribution was confined to the connecting phrases that cemented the whole together. This is characteristic, for instance, of quite a few homilies of this period and certain chapters of the *Paterikon*. If the author's gifts were of a high order, then the result was a literary masterpiece, such as Ilarion's *Slovo*.

Not only was the literature we are considering not primarily conceived to display the author's originality, but its exclusive purpose was that of instructing and edifying. That is, this literature was not for art's sake; aesthetic aims were foreign to it, and though it was not indifferent to style, style was subordinated to the purpose of teaching. Because of this, works that endured through the centuries were not preserved as they issued from the pen of their authors, since not the letter but the moral or religious content was esteemed. Thus, of the copies of Ilarion's *Slovo* that have come down, only one is complete, and none can be considered as an authentic replica of the original.

Kievan religious literature, therefore, is rhetorical; it aims to influence the convictions and deeds of the audience to which it is directed. Obviously, the higher its literary qualities, the better it succeeds in its purpose and achieves longevity beyond the culture in which it arose.

Nestor's *Life of Theodosius* was meant to preserve the memory of the founder of the Caves Monastery as well as to serve as a portrait of the ideal monk; its qualities of realism drawn from life and its engaging directness assured it an enduring place among the works that continued to be read and copied in succeeding ages.

Writings that abounded in commonplaces, on the other hand, were valued accordingly and had slighter chances of surviving, though it may be worth repeating that the preservation of the works from Kievan Rus' was to a great degree fortuitous, and we cannot claim that all its finest examples have come down to us. Monomakh's *Poucheniye* is preserved solely in one copy as it is found in the Laurentian chronicle.

As this example shows, the works of Kievan Rus' were not transmitted singly, by author, but in compendia (*sbornyky*). Some of these compendia have been described. Though there were some stable types of collection, the contents of a compendium were generally dictated by the reader — that is, the copier himself, or the person who ordered a book. Whether a work continued to be copied or not depended on whether or not it served the needs of the reader.

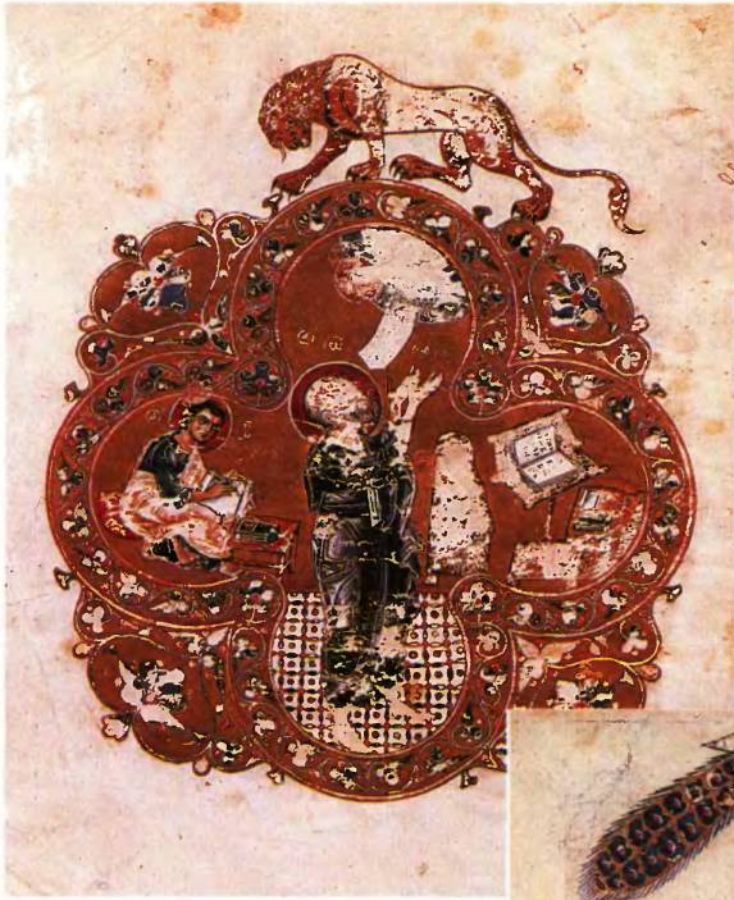
When you read books, don't hurry to reach the next chapter, but try to grasp what the book and the words are saying, and, if need be, go over the same chapter even three times.

Izbornyk of 1076, Introductory article

Sophia Senyk







THE OSTROMYR GOSPEL — ST. JOHN,
Kiev, parchment, miniature 24 × 20 cm.



THE CODEX OF SVYATOSLAV, 1073, Kiev, parchment, miniature 33,5 × 25,5 cm.

THE OSTROMYR GOSPEL — ST. LUKE,
Kiev, parchment, miniature 25 × 19 cm.



GOSPEL — ST. LUKE,
XIII c. Galician-Volhynian Principality,
parchment, miniature, 14 × 9 cm.





THE CONSECRATION OF THE TITHES (DESYATYNNA) CHURCH,
 miniature from the Radziwill Chronicle



CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS RECEIVES OL'HA,
 miniature from the Radziwill Chronicle



THE BAPTISM OF VLADIMIR SVYATOSLAVYCH,
 miniature from the Radziwill Chronicle



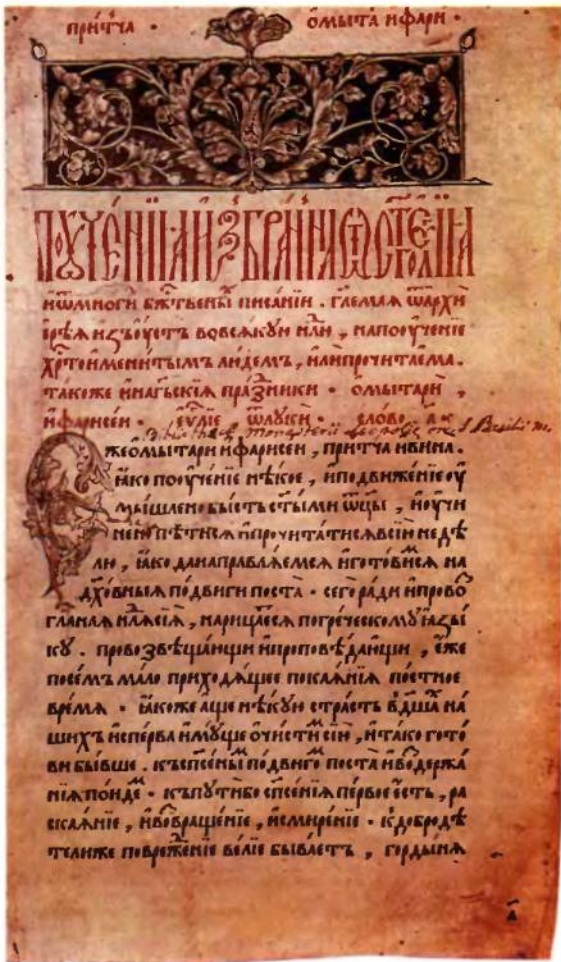
THE ARRIVAL OF PRINCESS ANNA TO KIEV,
 miniature from the Radziwill Chronicle



THE KHYSHYVYCH GOSPELS — ST. LUKE,
1546, miniature



THE ZAHORIV APOSTLE, 1554, Volhynia



THE GOSPELS, frontispiece, 1569, Zabludiv



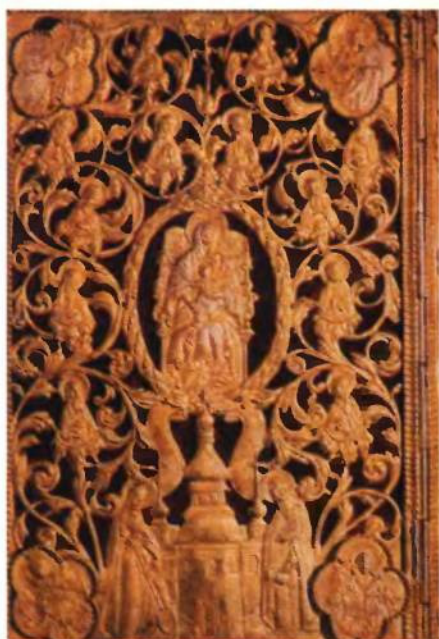
NEW TESTAMENT, 1580, Ostroh



ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON, XVI c. engraving



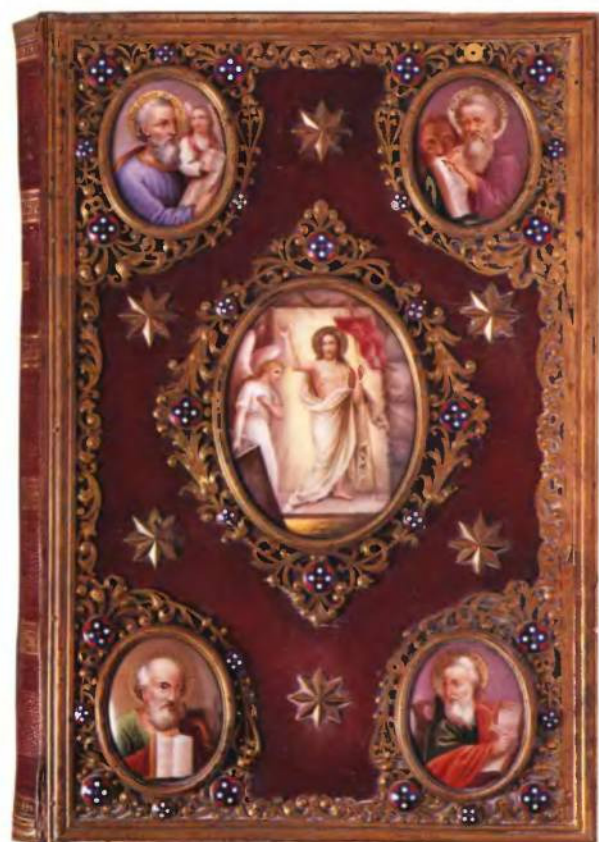
THE MONASTERY OF THE CAVES, 1677, Kiev, engraving



GOSPEL COVER, 1707, Lokhvytsya



ACADEMIC THESIS dedicated to the Metropolitan of Kiev Raphael Zaborovsky, 1739,
copper engraving by H. Levytsky



GOSPEL, printed at the Stavropyhiysky Institute in Lviv, 1891, leather bound, enamel plaques
from around 1840. (Courtesy of Taras Shevchenko Library and Museum, London)





The aim of this article is to provide an overview of the development and achievements of Ukrainian visual art and architecture from ancient times to the present. In tackling such an extensive subject one must, naturally, single out for attention only the most important works and artists in as concise a manner as possible. Nevertheless, in order to understand the development of art in the present-day ethnographic territory of the Ukrainian people it is worth going back to prehistoric times.

Archaeological finds prove that artistic processes began in Ukraine many thousands of years ago. In the Chernihiv region, where the village of Mizin is now situated, a primitive settlement was uncovered, yielding tools made of bone and mammoth's tusks, decorated with artistically highly developed ornaments which, in the opinion of scientists, were created more than fifteen thousand years ago.

The ability of man to decorate objects of ritual and everyday use on such a level proves that, already in the Stone Age, a culturally developed society existed in the Ukrainian ethnographic territory.

This geographic region, with its favourable climate and natural wealth, has attracted man since time immemorial. Man fished with ease in the multitude of rivers and lakes. He hunted in the forests and mountains. In the steppe zone he found extremely fertile land for cultivation. The

Black Sea connected this country with other lands and peoples and created great possibilities for barter and trade.

A particularly important part in the life of the people of this territory was played by the river Dnipro, which cuts across the Ukrainian lands from north to south and empties into the Black Sea. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the Dnipro basin there evolved one of the oldest and most important human cultures — the Culture of Trypilya, which had reached a high level of development as early as five thousand years ago. This is confirmed by the nature of the settlements of that time, as well as by everyday objects, especially the earthenware with its highly artistic ornamentation.

The development of human society and its spiritual life, and in particular the spread of religious beliefs and rituals, enriched and diversified local art forms to a great degree.

Our precursors attached ever more importance to the decoration of everyday objects, such as weapons and dress. Golden artifacts, exquisite silver and bronze jewellery and pottery have been found in various tombs.

The inhabitants of the Dnipro region built stone sanctuaries and sacrificial altars for religious ceremonies. Using wood, stone, bronze, silver and gold they created images of the pagan gods of the sky, sun, fire, wind, thunder and other personifications of the forces of nature. One such idol has survived — the four-faced god Sviatovid, who was worshipped by the Eastern Slavs, the descendants of the land-cultivating tribes of the Trypilyan Culture.

In the fourth century A.D. the Eastern Slavic tribes inhabiting the steppe and forest-steppe regions, the Antes, established the first state federation on the territories between the Don and Western Buh and Sian. This lasted until the beginning of the seventh century. That date, according to some scholars, marks the beginning of the statehood of the Ukrainian people.

It is natural that the art of the Antes should have developed from the rich cultural basis which had existed in the Ukrainian lands for millennia, as well as from cultural exchange with the Scythians — nomadic and agricultural tribes who colonised the Ukrainian lands over a period of thousands of years.

The achievements of Scythian culture, excellent examples of which have survived to our days, were an important source of the formation of Slavic-Antean art. Interesting examples of Scythian art, created as far back as the fourth century B.C., are a golden comb from the tomb of Solokh, a silver vase decorated with images of Scythians, and, most important of all, a gold Scythian breast-plate from the tomb of Tolsta, of such beauty and artistic and historical value that it is considered by international experts as the “find of the century”.

The Ukrainian lands were important crossroads where different tribes, peoples, beliefs and cultures met. Fifteen hundred years before Christ the Cymmerians appeared, in the seventh century before Christ came the Greeks, at the beginning of our era — the Sarmatians and Alans, in the third century — the Goths, in the fourth — the Huns, in the sixth — the Avars, and, still later, the Bulgars, Khazars, Magyars, Pechenegs and others. Their existence in the territory of Ukraine left its trace in the development of local culture.

In the sphere of art the most lasting and important influences were those of the ancient Greeks, exemplified in the Ukrainian lands by a quantity of highly artistic artifacts, both jewellery and everyday objects, such as the silver vase from the fourth century before Christ found in a tomb at Chortomlyk, or the ancient Greek bronze dish also found here. There were also edifices in Khersones, Olbia, Ponticapaem and in other Greek colonies in the ethnographic lands of Ukraine, some of which survived to the Middle Ages.

Intense trade between East and West was carried on through Ukrainian territory, which was crossed by the great trade “route from the Varangians to the Greeks”. It is natural, therefore, that the cultural riches of the tribes and peoples with whom the local East-Slavic tribes came into contact should have actively influenced the formation of the Ante culture. This is confirmed by the specific design of houses and settlements fortified with ramparts, bearing characteristic signs of the development of decorative art forms.

* * *

The cultural heritage of the Antes gave rise to the Ukrainian culture and, in particular, art of the princely era, from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries. This was the period of the powerful state of “Kievan Rus”.

In 988, in the rule of Volodymyr the Great, the Kievan State embraced a new religion — Christianity. This encouraged the spread, in Kiev and throughout Ukraine, of Byzantine art — in those days the bearer of Christian culture, whose elements are visible in architecture, monumental paintings, iconography, book decoration and decorative art forms.

In Ukrainian art, Byzantine traditions found singular and original interpretations based on local aesthetic tastes. Convincing proof of this is the world-renowned Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev, which is the most striking and important monument of the architecture of the princely era surviving to the present day. Built in 1036, in the reign of Yaroslav the Wise, the Cathedral of St. Sophia became the agelong Christian place of worship of the country.

The architecture of this famous church has a singular and dynamic character. Numerous cupolas rise majestically above the white, powerful walls, decorated with a variety of forms and mouldings. Over the colourful green and gold cupolas, with their characteristic pear-shaped forms, golden “poppy heads” and crosses solemnly shine. The dignified external appearance of the Cathedral (the final additions and décorations were completed in the eighteenth century) is matched by its striking interior. It contains many well-preserved, highly artistic and multicoloured mosaics from the eleventh century (the image of the Pantocrator, the Holy Mother of God, the Archangel Gabriel, St. John Chrysostom, St. Gregory the Miracle Worker), as well as frescoes (notably the princes and their families), which are examples of an art of worldwide importance.

Good examples of stone or brick churches were also erected in other centres of the Kievan state, for instance, the Cathedral of the Saviour in Chernihiv, built at the beginning of the eleventh century.

After the Tartar-Mongol destruction of Kiev in 1240 and the partition of the Kievan State into smaller principalities, the most important centres of the development of Ukrainian culture and art became Galicia

and Volhynia — Western Ukrainian lands which in time emerged as the Galician-Volhynian Principality.

In the early period of the development of Ukrainian culture, most works of art were of a religious nature, depicting the lives of the Saints and scenes from the Bible, and were used as illustrations for sacred books. Various examples of the artistic culture of the princely era, including the *Ostromyr Gospel* and the *Collections (Izbornyky) of Sviatoslav*, with their beautiful decorations and miniatures, have survived to our times. These are highly artistic works of Ukrainian goldsmiths, richly decorated and enamelled.

Unfortunately, chroniclers have preserved few of the names of the artists of the time. One was Alimpi — an outstanding Kievan painter of the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century, who collaborated in creating the mosaics of St. Michael's Cathedral of the Golden Domes and the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev. The image of St. Demetrius of Thessaloniki, which adorned the walls of St. Michael's Cathedral, barbarously destroyed in Soviet Ukraine in 1934-1936, gives us an idea of the high artistic standard of these mosaics.

The architecture, painting, books, decorative arts, gold and silverware produced in Ukraine during the princely era, which even today impress us by their perfection and beauty, have served as an example and a source of inspiration to many generations of Ukrainian artists, as well as to artists of other Slavic peoples.

* * *

From the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, Ukrainian culture, and in particular art, developed in relatively favourable conditions under the protection of the Cossacks. This social and military national force formed the Cossack State, an expression of the national aspirations of the Ukrainian people.

Many examples of folk creativity from that time have come down to us — rugs, embroidery, artistic weaving, decorative art, Easter eggs, glass, pottery, metal objects and carvings. The existence of such examples of folk art testifies to the fact that, since time immemorial, the Ukrainian people have decorated their abodes, dress, arms

and objects of everyday use with original designs which express their aesthetic needs and tastes.

Through the centuries, the development of Ukrainian decorative folk art was conditioned by the wide demand for objects of beauty for use in everyday life.

Of great importance in this development were tradition, the availability of suitable raw materials, and the creative assimilation of past Ukrainian artistic achievements and of the artistic cultures of other peoples.

The artistic ideals of the Ukrainian nation clearly expressed themselves in wooden architecture, mainly in the building of churches. They were ordered by the villagers and erected by local builders and craftsmen whose names mostly remain unknown.

Some of these original, awe-inspiring edifices, like the Church of St. George in Drohobych (seventeenth century), the Church of St. Michael in Mukachiv, Transcarpathia (1777), and the Trinity (Cossack) Cathedral in Novoselytsia now in the Dnipropetrovs'k region, (1779, built by Yakym Pohrebniak), have survived to our times.

The unrepeatable beauty and variety of architectural forms and their organic unity with the original and highly artistic paintings, sculptures and decorative folk art, earn Ukrainian wooden churches a place among the better examples of world architecture.

On the whole, folk art was always a basic, inexhaustible source of inspiration and enrichment for Ukrainian professional art. The latter is distinguished by the depth of its absorption of folk art traditions, local forms, ornamentation, colouring and other characteristics, and by the nature of their creative transformation.

In the Cossack Period the development of Ukrainian professional art reached a summit. Many churches were built in stone or brick. We can gain an idea of their grandeur and beauty from examples like the Church of the Dormition with its Korniakt Tower in L'viv (1591 — 1631, architects P. Rymlyanyn, V. Kupynis, A. Prykhylnyj), the All Saints Church above the Ekonomna Gate at the Caves Monastery in Kiev (1696-1698, built for Hetman Ivan Mazepa), the Cathedral at the Monastery of the Elevation of the Cross in Poltava (1689 — 1709), St. George's Cathedral in L'viv (1745 — 1760, architect — B. Meretyn), the bell tower at the Further Caves in Kiev (1754 — 1761, architect — S. Kovnir) and the Cathedral of the Dormition

at the Lavra of Pochaiv (eighteenth century).

The dominant style of that period was the Baroque — literally, “whimsical” — which evolved in Italy and was distinguished by high pathos and ornamentation. In Ukraine, however, this style underwent basic changes — a certain simplification of forms and the wide use of local folk motifs, stipulated by its broadly historical character and, in particular, by the active participation of folk artists in the artistic process. The differences between the Ukrainian and the Western European forms of Baroque provide many art historians with a basis for asserting the existence of an individual style — the so-called Ukrainian or Cossack Baroque.

An acquaintance with the decorative adornments of certain buildings of that period, like the Gate of Raphael Zaborows'ky in Kiev, St. Michael's Church, the Trinity Church “Above the gate” and the bell tower of the Kiev Caves Monastery, can give us a clear idea of the characteristics of Cossack Baroque.

The flourishing of church building contributed to the development of Ukrainian art such as icon-painting, sculpture (especially the iconostasis — a composite form of sculpture), architecture, Goldsmith Craft and embroidery. These forms of art found their highest, most harmonious unity in the works of Volodymyr Borovykovs'ky (the icon “Mother of God in Glory”, 1784, oils), Ivan Rutkovych (the icon “The Archangel Michael” on the iconostasis in Skvariana-Nova, 1697-1699), and Yov Kondzelevych (the icon “Ascension”, end of the seventeenth — beginning of the eighteenth centuries).

One of the leading genres of painting at the time was portraiture, which in most cases depicted famous personages in solemn and serious postures, the “Portrait of Bohdan Khmelnyts'kyi” (the work of an unknown artist of the seventeenth century), or the “Portrait of the Zaporozhian Cossack Vasyl' Hamaliya” (painted by an unknown artist in 1760). These portraits concentrate the viewer's attention not only on the image of the sitter, but also on the various often minute details of his dress, arms, etc.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a type of oil painting called “Cossack Mamai”, which represented a Zaporozhian Cossack at rest, became very popular in Ukraine, predominantly in the villages. Traditionally the cossack was seated, holding a “kobza” and fully armed.

The authors of this popular, legendary image of the defender of the Fatherland were anonymous folk masters, who nevertheless often created masterpieces.

The high level of cultural life in Ukraine at the time of the Cossack State manifested itself in printing, engraving and book decoration. Already at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, numerous printing establishments were producing fine examples of book print and engraving. There exist, for instance, wood engravings like “The Evangelist Luke” from the Epistles by Ivan Fedoriv, published in 1574 in L’viv, and “St. John Chrysostom” from the “Liturgicon”, published in 1604 in Striatyn.

Inseparably linked to the activities of the printing houses, in particular those at the Kiev Caves Monastery and the Kiev Mohyla Academy, was the creative activity of numerous important Ukrainian copper engravers like Hryhori Levyts’ky, Oleksander and Leonti Tarasevych, Ivan Shyrs’ky and Nykodym Zubyts’ky.

The copper engravings, book illustrations, portraits and paintings on various subjects created by these and other Ukrainian masters were distinguished by a high level of professionalism. Large laudatory engravings called *theses*, like the Academic *thesis* by Hryhori Levyts’ky dedicated to Metropolitan Raphael Zaborovs’ky of Kiev (1739), or the Academic *thesis* by Ivan Shyrs’ky dedicated to the rector of the Kiev Mohyla Academy Prokopi Kilachyns’ky (1697-1702), constituted an interesting and unique phenomenon in the European engraving of the day.

From the sixteenth century, Ukrainian printing houses produced large numbers of wood engravings known as “popular pictures”, for example “St. George and the Dragon” (end of the sixteenth century) and “St. Barbara the Martyr” (first half of the seventeenth century). These inexpensive engravings, produced mostly by unknown masters, were in wide demand among various classes of Ukrainian society, and in particular among country people.

Before the introduction of printing in the sixteenth century, Ukrainian monasteries produced beautiful examples of manuscript books like the “Peresopnytsya Gospel” (1556-1561), decorated with exquisite miniatures.

Defensive and civil architecture, too, was of a high standard. The fort in Khotyn (thirteenth century, rebuilt in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries), the fort in Kamianets’-Podil’s’ky (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries), the “Black Stone

House” in L’viv (end of the sixteenth — beginning of the seventeenth century) and the College in Chernihiv (1700-1702) all give us an idea of the achievements of the time.

From the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, many artists of non-Ukrainian descent worked in Ukraine. Among their most notable achievements are the church of St. Andrew in Kiev, designed by an architect of Italian descent, Bartolomeo-Francesco Rastrelli, built in 1747-1753; the main bell tower of the Kiev Cave Monastery, built in 1731-1745 by an architect of German extraction, Johann-Gottfried Schädel; and the portrait of Hetman Bohdan Khmel’nyts’ky, executed in 1651 by the Dutch engraver Wilhelm Hondius.

The creative output of Ukrainian artists of the Cossack Period was well known and valued in other countries. The better Ukrainian masters were invited to decorate the houses of Polish and Lithuanian rulers, to illustrate books in Germany, and to produce icons and engravings in Russia.

The art of Ukraine in the Cossack Period reflected the tastes of the nation and drew upon centuries of local tradition, but at the same time developed in the mainstream of European artistic culture and was an inseparable part of it.

* * *

From the end of the eighteenth century and up to the twentieth, Ukrainian art developed against the background of a loss of national independence and the struggle for an independent, unified Ukrainian State.

It was a period when constraints on Ukrainian culture and art were imposed by foreign, mainly Russian, oppressors and colonisers. And yet, at the same time, it was a period of progress for Ukrainian artistic culture. Under very difficult circumstances, Ukrainian artists gave their nation works which have an honourable place in the heritage of world culture.

The transformation of Eastern part of Ukraine into a colony of the Tsarist Russian empire was accompanied by an unrelenting invasion of Ukrainian culture by the Russian colonisers, with the aim of uprooting Ukrainian national consciousness. The name “Ukraine” itself was replaced by the term “Malorossiya” (Little Russia), and,

later, by “Southern Russian land”.

Ukrainian teaching institutions, notably the Kiev Mohyla Academy, were forced to suspend their activities as national cultural centres. From the end of the eighteenth century Ukrainians had to go to Russia in order to receive a higher artistic education. Without exception, all teaching centres were russified, and from the 1870s teaching in the Ukrainian language in primary and secondary schools was suppressed.

Ukrainian intellectuals — scientists, writers, artists, actors — who expressed national consciousness in their work were persecuted by the Russian authorities. In connection with this one need only mention the tragic fate of the brilliant painter and poet Taras Shevchenko.

Shevchenko left a truly significant mark on Ukrainian culture, not least in the field of the visual arts. His artistic activity was based on his convictions as a philosopher-enlightener and as a fighter for human freedom. He felt that it is the artist's duty to serve the interests of his people and country, to mould the people's national consciousness in the struggle for a free and independent Ukraine and to fight with determination against serfdom, a form of slavery brought to Ukraine by the Russian subjugators.

The love and sympathy for the enslaved Ukrainian peasants and the ardent patriotism manifested in Shevchenko's works provoked the anger of Tsar Nicholas I. By personal order of the Tsar, the poet-painter was dispatched to the desert near the Aral Sea for military service, and forbidden to draw or write.

The severe conditions of a ten-year exile failed to break the will and conviction of Taras Shevchenko. In his series of highly skilled drawings entitled “The Parable of the Prodigal Son”, executed in exile, Shevchenko was the first to depict with great force the cruel and wilful trampling of human dignity which took place in the Russian empire.

In his oft-stated aesthetic views, Taras Shevchenko emphasised that highly artistic works can only be created if the artist thoroughly studies contemporary life or historical material, and if he achieves perfection in art forms. He argued for the necessity of developing national art forms, which make possible the originality and singularity of each nation's cultural heritage. Shevchenko's aesthetic convictions found clear embodiment in his own

works, above all those relating to folk customs, as well as historical subjects and landscapes.

Most characteristic from this point of view is the series of etchings called "Picturesque Ukraine," (1844-1845), which includes "In Kiev", "The Vydubys'ky Monastery in Kiev", "The Village Council", "The Match-Makers", "A Tale: Soldier and Death", and "Gifts in Chyhyryn, 1649".

The description in the prospectus of this edition specified the broad creative intentions of the artist, who also planned to publish etchings with views of Chyhyryn, Subotiv, Baturyn, the Sich Church of Mary the Protectress; etchings depicting customs, like "The Bride", songs like "The Chumak's Seven Years on the Don", wedding and harvest ceremonies and etchings on subjects from Ukrainian history, like Ivan Pidkova in L'viv, Sava Chaly, Pavlo Polubotok in St. Petersburg, and Semen Pali in Siberia.

Shevchenko's plans failed to materialise owing to his arrest in 1846 and his ten-year exile. But the six etchings in the first edition of "Picturesque Ukraine" are the pride of Ukrainian art. Their appearance signified the beginning of a new direction in Ukrainian art, characterised by an interest in the life of the people and their national history, by the portrayal of the beauty of nature and of Ukraine's famous places and by a condemnation of the existing order.

Taras Shevchenko's attitude towards art, as well as the works themselves, had a strong influence on the output of many Ukrainian and Russian artists, both contemporary and subsequent. Among them were Lev Zhemchuzhnikov, Konstantyn Trutovs'ky, Mykola and Oleksander Murashko, Mykola Pymonenko, Serhi Vasyl'kivs'ky, Ivan Yizhakevych and Foti Krasys'ky. In the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, at a time when Ukrainian nationhood and culture were being negated, patriotic artists continued to develop in the main direction of Taras Shevchenko's creativity — that of serving one's nation and native land. In their works they depicted glorious episodes from the Cossack Period of Ukrainian history, the life and customs of the Ukrainian peasantry and the natural beauty of Ukraine. In painting, the graphic arts and sculpture there appeared vivid images of cossacks, peasants and the creators of national culture.

Among the best-known works which characterise this

direction are the oil paintings “The Zaporozhians Writing a Letter to the Turkish Sultan” (1880-1891) by Ilya Repin, “Funeral of a Zaporozhian Leader” (1900) by Oleksander Murashko, “Wedding in the Kiev Region” (1891) by Mykola Pymonenko, “Cossack’s Meadow” (1893) by Serhi Vasyl’kivs’ky, “Hut in the Moonlight” (1919) by Hryhori Svitlyts’ky, “Spring” (1906) by Mykhailo Krasits’ky; the graphic works “Portrait of Taras Shevchenko” (1864-1867, auto-lithograph) by Mykola Murashko, “Oksana Butrymykha” (1875, pencil) by Porfiri Martynovych and sculptures, like the monument to Ivan Kotliarevs’ky in Poltava (1909) by Leonid Pozen.

In the realm of architecture attempts were made, in accordance with contemporary demands, to take advantage of traditional forms of construction. An example is the Poltava County Council building designed by the architect Vasyl Krychevs’ky and erected in 1909.

We have discussed the development of Ukrainian art in the Ukrainian lands colonised by Imperial Russia. Ukrainian art also developed in difficult and unfavourable circumstances in the regions of Hutsul’schyna, Boikivshchyna, Lemkivshchyna, Galicia, Bukovina and Transcarpathia — Ukrainian lands that found themselves under the rule of Poland, Austro-Hungary and Rumania. In these Western Ukrainian regions artists also managed to make a significant contribution to the development of Ukrainian culture. This is exemplified by the works of such masters as Oleksa Novakivs’ky, Olena Kul’chyts’ka, Ivan Trush, and Mykola Ivasiuk. A closer acquaintance with the better works of these artists (“Lost hope”, a painting from 1903-1908 executed by Oleksa Novakivs’ky; “Oleksa Dovbush”, wood engraving by Olena Kul’chyts’ka; “Portrait of Ivan Franko”, 1903, oil, by Ivan Trush; “Entry of Bohdan Khmel’nyts’ky into Kiev”, 1892-1912, by Mykola Ivasiuk) convinces us that national subject matter was the basis for their creative talents.

The depth in which they studied their subjects, and their skill in execution, made these masters widely known throughout Ukraine. The national character and high technical skill of Ukrainian artists from Western Ukrainian lands, although separated from the rest of the country by state borders, make them an inseparable part of the Ukrainian cultural heritage.

From the eighteenth to the twentieth century, hundreds of Ukrainian artists lived and worked beyond the borders of Ukraine. There were many reasons why so many artists left their homeland, but foremost was their desire to acquaint themselves with the achievements of Western European art.

Ukrainian artists were particularly drawn to Paris where they participated in the latest art movements such as Impressionism, Post-Impressionism, Symbolism, Cubism and Futurism.

Often such journeys stimulated the creation of significant paintings, engravings and other graphic works. For instance, Oleksander Murashko painted one of his better portraits, "The Girl in the Red Hat" (1902-1903, oil), while in Paris.

Sometimes, as is the case with Oleksander Arkhipenko, Ukrainian artists were in the forefront of modern art and contributed to the latest innovations. Arkhipenko who was born in Kiev achieved fame in Paris in being the first sculptor to create Cubist three-dimensional works.

A considerable number of Ukrainian artists worked in Russia, mainly in the capital, St. Petersburg. The main reason for studying in St. Petersburg, in particular at the Academy of Art, was the complete impossibility of receiving an art education in Ukraine. This applied not only to higher education but, to the end of the nineteenth century, even to intermediate schooling. Another reason was the desire of most talented artists to play a full part in professional artistic life, which, owing to the anti-Ukrainian policy of the Russian authorities, was practically non-existent in Ukraine for several decades.

Thus Antin Losenko, Dmytro Levyts'ky, Ivan Martos, Volodymyr Borovykovs'ky, Taras Shevchenko, Ilya Repin and other gifted Ukrainian artists developed their talent and reached the summits of their artistic mastery not in their own country, but abroad.

This trend continued into the twentieth century when Vladimir Latlin who grew up in Kharkiv, Kazimir Malevich who was born near Kiev, David and Vasyl Burluk, and Aleksandra Exter made significant contributions to the Russian avant-garde art.

During the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth, a significant number of artists of non-Ukrainian origin worked in Ukraine. Their achievement

often had nothing in common with the development of Ukrainian national art, but some of their works contributed to a greater or lesser degree to Ukrainian culture. Among the artists who were particularly prolific and enriched Ukrainian art with their works were the painters Konstantyn Trutovs'ky, Vasyl Sternberg, the painter and engraver Leo Zhemchuzhnikov, the sculptors Vasyl Demut-Malynovsky, Petro Kodt and Mykhailo Mikeshein, and the architects Hermann Helmer, Ferdinand Felner, and Joseph Hlavka. The above list could be added to considerably.

The rebirth of Ukrainian statehood in 1917-1920 was marked by a flourishing of Ukrainian national culture. Many artists persistently sought new forms of artistic expression based on their study of the Ukrainian cultural heritage and the developments of modern art.

Particularly prolific and important was Yuri Narbut, a nationally conscious and innovative artist. In his graphic series "The Ukrainian Alphabet", his designs for banknotes for the Ukrainian National Republic, and his book illustrations, Yuri Narbut developed and enriched the old traditional art forms with unsurpassed mastery and artistic taste. This gave rise to a contemporary national graphic style. The works of Yuri Narbut became a model for many contemporary and later Ukrainian artists.

* * *

After the Ukrainian movement of independence in 1917-1920 was suppressed and the communist regime and ideology were imposed upon the Ukrainian people, the arts continued to flourish in the 1920s during the period of Ukrainisation. Eventually the artistic process came under the complete control of the Communist Party. As a result, the direction and character of artistic development underwent basic changes. Traditional subjects and means of expression were condemned and rejected as articulations of bourgeois or nationalist thinking, hostile to the communist regime. Consequently, the entire national cultural heritage was negated and rejected.

Official Soviet policy established control over the creative activity of all artists, demanding from them the creation of a new "proletarian" art based on the search for a new "revolutionary form" and pro-Soviet subject-matter.

As a result, only works compatible with communist ideas or marked with “revolutionary form” were permissible. In 1934, the communist regime established new basic principles and criteria which conditioned the development of Soviet art. These constituted the “method of socialist realism”.

This “method” gave the artist the function of an assistant, in reality a servant, of the Communist Party in the task of moulding the viewpoint of Soviet citizens and their consciousness in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist ideology, and forcing non-artistic propaganda upon them. Unconditional acceptance of such demands by a certain group of artists and their eagerness to please the party in some way led to the emergence of a caricatured depiction of workers — always happily smiling or heroically determined. Let us at least mention such examples as “The Step of the Century” by Oleksander Turans’ky (1971, oil), “The First Communists” by Hryhori Vasets’ky (1967, oil), the linocut “On the Throne” by Ivan Selivanov (from the series “His Highness the Working Class”, 1960), or the monument to the crew of the armoured train “Tarashchanets” (1974) by the sculptor Valentin Znoba and the architect Ievhen Pyl’nyk.

Socialist realism denied and condemned innovations in art, canonising the works of a group of Russian artists of the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century known as the “Peredvyzhnyky”. This was a society of artists whose members represented the school of realism, sometimes approaching naturalism or photo-realism.

The Communist state became the basic consumer of works of art. Complete control of the arts was assured through the Artists’ Union, art institutions and schools, as well as all publications. So began the process of degradation and perversion of the works of most artists who, for the sake of making a living or the “brilliant” career of a so-called “people’s artist”, were forced to create cloyingly false “ideological works” on mostly dull subjects, glorifying the communist regime and its leaders.

The Communist revolution did not bring essential changes in the attitude of Russians to other nations. The majority of them remained chauvinists and russifiers. After a short period of so-called “Ukrainisation”, dictated by the need to find support for the Communist regime among

naively-thinking and pro-Soviet members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, a violent and uncompromising attack on Ukrainian culture in all its manifestations was launched.

Under the pretext of fighting against “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism” (it is interesting to note that the term “Russian bourgeois nationalism” does not exist in the Soviet Union), innumerable works and names of promoters of culture were struck from the cultural register. Throughout all Ukraine, there was a mass destruction and profanation of churches and historic cultural monuments. The Ukrainian nation will always remember the barbarous destruction of such famous edifices from the princely era as the Golden-domed Monastery of St. Michael and the Cathedral of the Dormition of the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev.

All nationally conscious cultural activists, in particular artists, were physically destroyed, arrested or cruelly persecuted. This constant harassment, often developing into cruel campaigns against the artists, continues to the present day.

Among the means employed against Ukrainian national art by the Communist regime in Moscow and its local Ukrainian servants are: concealing the achievements of Ukrainian culture from the international community, representing Ukrainian art abroad by unworthy examples; falsifying historical facts, and in particular presenting a large number of well-known Ukrainian artists and their works as being Russian, particularly in specialised art literature.

The ideology and economic policy of the Communist regime also had a negative effect on the development of traditional Ukrainian folk crafts. The imposition of enormous taxes on the masters of folk art led to the disappearance of most of the well-known artisan industries. Official interference in the creative process, like the introduction of foreign, Communist subject matter and emblems, and depictions of party leaders in traditional folk ornamentation, led to a general degradation of quality, and the emergence of pseudo-folk works (for instance, wooden Easter eggs, and some decorative pottery, like “Vershnyk” by Andri Kholoptsev).

An important part in this destructive process was played by the lack of traditional raw materials and the introduction of “plans” regulating quantity and deadlines

in the newly-created kolkhoz-like industrial art factories.

The general lowering of artistic standards in this sphere was also due to industrial methods of mass-production, which resulted in mediocre and often wholly useless imitations of folk-art objects of everyday use.

However, government officials failed to destroy the patriotism of the Ukrainians and, in particular, of Ukrainian artists, their love for their country with its ancient and rich culture and their interest in the history of their people.

Proof of this are the numerous works of artists who created works brimming with patriotism, which enriched the artistic treasury of the Ukrainian nation. Those include "The Family" (1927, oil) by Fedir Krychevs'ky, "Battle of Cossacks with Polish Winged Hussars" (1930, watercolour) by Mykola Samokish, "Perebendia" (1938, oil) by Ivan Yizhakevych, "Song" (1958, etching) by Mykhailo Derehus, "To Sich" (1954, etching) by Oleksander Danchenko, and "Taras Shevchenko" (1964, stained glass) by Alla Hors'ka and Panas Zalyvakha.

Communist officialdom was unable to force all Ukrainian artists to adopt the infamous canons of social realism. The natural tendency of young artists like Feodosi Humeniuk, Volodymyr Makarenko, Volodymyr Strelnikov, Witalij Sazonow, Anton Solomukha and others to search for new directions proved invincible to such an extent that neither prohibitions nor persecutions by the regime were able to stop the development of this "non-conformist" trend in the contemporary art of Soviet Ukraine.

* * *

As mentioned above, Ukrainian artists outside the borders of their homeland have long been active. However, the reinforced offensive against Ukrainian culture by the communist regime in Ukraine gave birth to a new phenomenon in the development of Ukrainian art — the activity of political emigrants who, as patriotic artists, had refused to bow to the demands of the communist government and rejected its anti-Ukrainian politics.

The Ukrainian art which has developed beyond the boundaries of Soviet Ukraine is based on the free expression of creative ideas. This trend is distinguished by

its diversity of styles, subject matter and medium of expression. Ukrainian themes, particularly historic ones, are widely and freely interpreted, according to the viewpoint of individual artists like Petro Andrusiv ("Battle at Konotop," 1977, oil), Serhi Makarenko ("Hetman Ivan Mazepa", 1966, oil), Nadia Somko ("Genocide in Ukraine", 1982, oil), Leonid Molodozhnyn ("Ukrainian Emigrants — Pioneers in Canada", sculpture erected in the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, Canada), Maria Dol'nyts'ka ("I Drop the Hemp...", 1963, enamel), Rostyslav Hluvko ("On Sunday Morning...", Tempera), Edvard Kozak ("I Have a Young Wife...", humourous painting, gouache), Petro Mel'nyk and Oleksa Bulavyts'ky (Still Life), and dozens of other Ukrainian artists in the Western World.

This group of artists is represented by a variety of styles, such as realism (Gregor Kruk, "Country Wedding", sculpture), constructivism (Mykhailo Andreienko-Nechytailo, "Construction", 1971, oil), expressionism (Liuboslav Hutsaluk, "Windmills in La Mancha", 1965, oil), abstract art (Themistocle Wirsta, "Struggle of Life", 1968, acrylics), and stylised-decorative (Sviatoslav Hordyns'ky, "Hutsul Musicians", tempera. Others who should be mentioned are Myron Levyts'ky, "Trinity", oil; Mykhailo Dmytrenko, "The Girl and the Lizard", 1964, oil; Halyna Mazepa, "Girls Telling Fortunes", 1947, oil).

Ukrainian architects, painters, sculptors and decorators living in the diaspora, like Myroslav Nimtsiv, Radoslav Zuk, Ivan Zhikovs'ky, Sviatoslav Hordyns'ky, Petro Kholodny the younger, Yuvenali Mokryts'ky, Omelian Mazuryk and others have made a notable contribution to the rebirth and development of national traditions in both church building, which in Soviet Ukraine is non-existent, and painting. Examples of their work are the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Rome, the Ukrainian church in the Hutsul style in Hunter (USA), and the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Lourdes (France).

Thanks to the efforts of artists and members of the Ukrainian diaspora, important artistic centres and associations have been created in the West (particularly in the U.S.A. and Canada), which organise exhibitions on a regular basis. These centres attract emigré artists as well as nationally conscious artists of Ukrainian origin born outside Ukraine. It is the honour and responsibility of this

considerable group to create Ukrainian art in exile at both the professional and amateur level, and to assist in acquainting non-Ukrainians with the achievements of Ukrainian culture.

The Soviet authorities, hostile to this movement and its representatives because they spread Ukrainian national awareness, have done everything in their power to prevent the achievements of this group from becoming known inside Ukraine.

The omission of Ukrainian emigré artists from art history books in the Soviet Ukraine shows the irreconcilability of the communist regime and the russifiers with Ukrainian national culture and reveals their unscholarly approach in presenting the social and cultural life of the Ukrainian people.

In the meantime, Ukrainian emigré artists like Oleksander Arkhipenko, Oleksa Hryshchenko, and Jacques Hnizdovs'ky have gained international acclaim. Ukrainians in the diaspora as well as non-Ukrainians are able to appreciate the works of these and other Ukrainian emigré artists in museums and art collections in the West.

It is interesting to note that the names and works of well-known Russian emigrés, often very hostile to the communist regime in Russia, are not excluded by the Soviet authorities from Russian art history, and are sometimes even popularised by them. At the same time, however, the works of Oleksander Arkhipenko which, being abstract, have no particular national or anti-Soviet characteristics, were proscribed in Soviet Ukraine — a clear example of anti-Ukrainian bias and Russian chauvinism on the part of the Soviet authorities.

Very important in the development of Ukrainian art is the creative activity of artists who were born and worked outside Ukraine. In the U.S.A., Canada, Europe, Latin America and Australia, these artists are making their contribution to Ukrainian cultural life, demonstrating the inextinguishable Ukrainian spirit and its active presence in different parts of the world today. Foremost among them is William Kurelek who has immortalized the life of the Ukrainian pioneers in Canada through his numerous paintings. Among them we also have Petro Shostak and Christine Dokhvat.

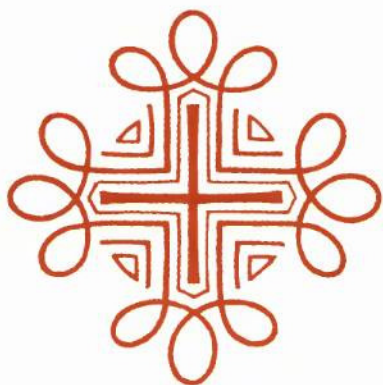
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From all that has been said above we may conclude that the art of Ukraine, exemplified by so many great works, is an important and inseparable part of the world's cultural heritage. Even a superficial acquaintance with the achievements of Ukrainian art and architecture shows that Ukrainians have much to be proud of.

The presentation of these achievements to a wider public will assure Ukrainian culture and, in particular, art, an honourable place in world culture.

Yuri Turchenko







GOLD PECTORAL,
IV c. B.C. Tovsta Mohyla, Dnipropetrovsk Region, 300 mm. dia.



GOLD PLAQUE in a shape of a stag,
VI c. B.C. Synyavka, Cherkassy Region



GOLD PENDANT, XII-XIII c. Kiev, cloisonné enamel



GOLD NECKLACE, XII-XIII c. Kiev



COSSACK MAMAY, unknown artist, XVIIIc



BOHDAN KHMELNYTSKY,
portrait by an unknown artist, XVIIIc

VASYL HAMALIYA,

portrait by an unknown artist, 1760, oil



V. ARSENIEVA, Volodymyr Borovykovsky, 1795, oil





VILLAGE COUNCIL, Taras Shevchenko, 1844, etching



E. W. KEIKUATOV, Taras Shevchenko, 1847, oil

PUNISHMENT, Taras Shevchenko, 1856, drawing



IN KIEV, Taras Shevchenko, 1844, etching



OXSANA BUTRYMYKHA,
Porfiri Martynovych, 1875, pencil drawing



WEDDING IN THE KIEV DISTRICT,
Mykola Pymonenko, 1891, oil

COSSACK'S MEADOW, Serhi Vasylykivsky, 1893, oil



GUEST FROM ZAPORIZHIA, Foti Krasysky, 1901, oil



THE GIRL IN THE RED HAT,
Oleksander Murashko, 1902, oil



LOST HOPES, Oleksa Novakivs'ky, 1903, oil



SPRING, Mykhailo Tkachenko, 1906, oil



**ILLUSTRATION FOR THE
MAGAZINE "ART",**
Yuri Narbut, 1919, pen and ink



HOUSE IN MOONLIGHT, Hryhori Svitlytsky, 1919, oil

FEMALE FIGURE, Oleksander Arkhipenko, 1923, sculpture



FEMALE FIGURE,
Oleksander Arkhipenko, sculpture





THE FAMILY, Fedir Krychevsky, 1925, oil



CATHEDRAL, Oleksa Hryshchenko, oil



THE SHEEP, Jacques Hnizdovs'ky, 1961, wood engraving



WINDMILLS IN LA MANCHA, Lyuboslav Hutsalyuk, oil



THE GIRL WITH THE LIZARD,
Mykhailo Dmytrenko. 1964. oil

HEADLESS BARBER, Davyd Burluk, oil



CONSTRUCTION,
Mykhailo Andrienko-Nechytailo, 1971, oil





VILLAGE COUPLE, Hryhori Kruk, bronze



MY TEARS, MY WOUNDS. . .,
Volodymyr Makarenko, 1976, water colour

UKRAINIAN FAMILY,
Feodosi Humeniuk, 1975, oil



UKRAINIAN FESTIVAL IN MANITOBA
William Kurelek, oil



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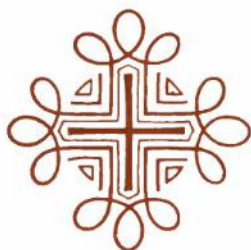
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THE UKRAINIAN MILLENNIUM COMMITTEE in Great Britain is an inter-denominational body founded by representatives of the Ukrainian community organisations in Great Britain on March 24th, 1984, for the purpose of planning and organising events and projects to celebrate the millennium of Christianity in Ukraine. The main projects: the raising of a monument in London to St. Volodymyr who established Christianity in Ukraine in 988, the organisation of a Jubilee Celebration — the presentation of Ukrainian choral church music at the Royal Albert Hall in London on 29th May 1988 and the publication of this volume on the Christian culture of Ukraine.

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