

TSARS AND COSSACKS

A Study in Iconography



Serhii Plokhyy

Tsars and Cossacks

UKRAINIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Harvard Papers in Ukrainian Studies

Editorial Board

Michael S. Flier
George G. Grabowicz
Lubomyr Hajda
Edward L. Keenan
Roman Szporluk, *Chairman*

Robert De Lossa, *Director of Publications*

Cambridge, Massachusetts



Tsars and Cossacks

A Study in Iconography

Serhii Plokyh

Distributed by Harvard University Press
for the
Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute

Publication of this volume has been made possible by
the Dr. Omeljan and Iryna Wolyneć Publication Fund.

© 2002 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College

All rights reserved

ISBN 0-916458-95-4 (paper)

Printed on acid-free paper in Canada by Transcontinental/Best Books

Cover image: Pokrova icon from Pereiaslav (oil on canvas).

Cover design: R. De Lossa.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Plokhyy, Serhii, 1957-

Tsars and Cossacks : a study in iconography / Serhii M. Plokhyy.

p. cm. -- (Harvard papers in Ukrainian studies)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-916458-95-4

1. Icons, Cossack--Ukraine--17th century. 2. Icons,
Cossack--Ukraine--18th century. 3. Cossacks--Ukraine--Government
relations. I. Title. II. Series.

N8189.U38 P58 2002

755'.2'09477--dc21

2002006859

The Ukrainian Research Institute was established in 1973 as an integral part of Harvard University. It supports research associates and visiting scholars who are engaged in projects concerned with all aspects of Ukrainian studies. The Institute also works in close cooperation with the Committee on Ukrainian Studies, which supervises and coordinates the teaching of Ukrainian history, language, and literature at Harvard University.

Contents

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	vi
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	ix
<i>Usage Note</i>	x
<i>Introduction</i>	1
1. Cossack Identity	5
2. The Pokrova Iconography	19
3. The Wings of Protection	31
4. The Image of the Hetman	45
5. Tsars and Colonels	55
6. Cossacks, Bishops, and Kings	63
<i>Concluding Remarks</i>	73
<i>Bibliography</i>	77
<i>Index</i>	99

Illustrations

(following p. 54)

1. Title page of the *Catechismi Novitorum et eorundem Magistri*, vol. 1 (1623). From Perdrizet, *La Vierge de Miséricorde*, plate VI.
2. Frontispiece to the *Patericon* (1661).
3. The family tree of the Romanovs, from *Mech dukhovnyi*, by Lazar Baranovych (1664).
4. Composition with the tsar's coat of arms from *Truby sloves propovіdnykh na narochityia dni prazdnikov*, by Lazar Baranovych (1674).
5. Pokrova composition from *Truby sloves propovіdnykh na narochityia dni prazdnikov*, by Lazar Baranovych (1674).
6. Madonna with mantle: composition from *Runo oroshennoie*, by Dymytrii Tuptalo (1696).
7. Pokrova icon from the village of Deshky (National Museum of Fine Art, Kyiv).
8. Portrait of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi (engraving by Willem Hondius). From Pavlo Zholtovs'kyi, *Vyzvol'na borot'ba* (1958), p. 37, fig. 16.
9. Portrait of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi (*Chronicle* of Samiilo Velychko). From Pavlo Zholtovs'kyi, *Vyzvol'na borot'ba* (1958), p. 40, fig. 17.
10. Pokrova icon from Pereiaslav (oil on canvas). From Igor' Grabar', *Istoriia russkogo iskusstva*, vol. 6 (1914), p. 473.
11. Portrait of Peter I on the wall of the Dormition Cathedral of the Kyivan Caves Monastery. From Igor' Grabar', *Istoriia russkogo iskusstva*, vol. 6 (1914), p. 475.
12. Pokrova icon from the village of Sulymivka (National Museum of Fine Art, Kyiv).
13. Portrait of Semen Sulyma (National Museum of Fine Art, Kyiv).
14. Copy of tetrapod Pokrova icon from Zaporizhzhia (Dmytro Iavornytskyi Museum of History, Dnipropetrovsk).
15. Copy of Pokrova icon from Zaporizhzhia from Aleksandra Efimenko, *Istoriia ukrainskogo naroda* (St. Petersburg, 1906).
16. "The Joy of the Afflicted" from the town of Stara Sil (oil on canvas) (National Museum, Lviv).
17. "The Elevation of the True Cross" from the village of Sytykhiv (National Museum, Lviv).

All images reproduced with permission of the owners and may not be reproduced from this publication, without permission of the original owners.

*To my grandmother—
Oleksandra Krasnokutska*

*Моїй бабусі —
Олександрі Краснокутській*

Acknowledgments

This small book was long in the making, and I have accumulated quite a few debts in the process. I am particularly grateful to Michael Flier, Frank Sysyn, John-Paul Himka, Mikhail Dmitriev, Iurii Mytsyk, Ernest Zitser, and Peter Rolland for their comments on my earlier versions of the manuscript. My thanks go also to Edward Keenan, George Majeska, Zenon Kohut, Natalia Pylypiuk, and Oleksii Tolochko, who took part in discussions of my conference papers based on the material presented in this study. Volodymyr Aleksandrovych and Oleh Sydor shared results of their research with me. Andriy Hornjatkevych and Dushan Bednarsky helped me with complicated issues of ecclesiastical terminology.

My sincere thanks go to Myroslav Yurkevich for his help in editing the text and translating those parts of it that were written originally in Ukrainian. I also am grateful to Peter Matilainen and Robert De Lossa for their help with preparing the manuscript for publication. I would like to thank Olena Ott-Skoropadska for sending me a photo of a copy of the Pokrova icon from Zaporizhzhia that belonged to her father, Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky. My thanks go to Tetiana Narizhna and Oleh Sydor, who helped me to obtain permission to reproduce the Cossack icons held in museum collections in Ukraine. I also am grateful to the authorities of the National Museum of Fine Art in Kyiv, the National Museum in Lviv, and the Dmytro Iavornytskyi Museum of History in Dnipropetrovsk for granting permission for those reproductions.

Usage Note

Transliterated forms follow Library of Congress romanization rules, except for the use of ligatures, in bibliographic references in the notes and bibliography. In the narrative text, primes are not employed. Toponyms are given in the language of current jurisdiction, except for names of long standing in English (e.g., Warsaw). The capital city of Ukraine is given as Kyiv. The names of Ruthenian individuals are transliterated in their modern Ukrainian forms.

Introduction

Nikifor Fedorovich Sokira, a leading character in Taras Shevchenko's Russian-language novel *Twins* (1855), loved to attend the Orthodox liturgy at the Pereiaslav Church of the Pokrova (the Holy Protection of the Theotokos) together with his wife, Praskovia Tarasovna. One of the reasons why he decided to switch to that church after attending services in other local churches was its old picture of the Pokrova, which featured the Russian Emperor Peter I, his wife, Catherine I, and a host of Cossack officers under the protection of the Theotokos. In his novel Shevchenko gave a rather detailed description of the picture, and an even more interesting account of a conversation between Nikifor Fedorovich and Praskovia Tarasovna in front of that image:

The Church of the Pokrova, clumsy and nondescript in construction, was built in honor of Peter I's conquest of Azov by Colonel Myrovych of Pereiaslav, a friend and contemporary of the anathematized Mazepa. Preserved in that church is a remarkable historical painting, perhaps a work of Matveev, if not of some foreigner. The painting is divided into two parts: above, the Protection of the Most Holy Mother of God; below, Peter I with Empress Catherine I; and around them, all his eminent associates. They included Hetman Mazepa and the founder of the shrine in all his regalia.

Having heard the liturgy, Nikifor Fedorovich would go up to the painting of the Holy Protection, delighting in it at length and explaining to his inquisitive Praskovia who were the people depicted under the Protection of the Mother of God. Sometimes he would talk about Danilovich [Aleksandr Menshikov] and Baturyn, which he had destroyed, in such detail that Praskovia Tarasovna naively asked her husband, "Why is she protecting him?"¹

Shevchenko, who visited Pereiaslav in 1845–46 and left us a watercolor of the Pokrova Church,² was absolutely right in linking its

¹ Taras Shevchenko, *Bliznetsy*, in idem, *Povne zibrannia tvoriv* (Kyiv, 1964), vol. 4, pp. 26–27.

² For a black and white reproduction of the 1845 water color, see *Shevchenkivs'kyi slovnyk* (Kyiv, 1977), vol. 2, pp. 332–33.

construction with the name of Ivan Myrovych, the early eighteenth-century colonel of Pereiaslav. He was also right in identifying two of the personages shown in the picture as Peter I and Catherine I (Fig. 10). But what about the name of the artist who painted it and the identification of the other individuals appearing on the canvas? Was the picture in the Pereiaslav church indeed the work of Andrei Matveev, a famous eighteenth-century Russian painter,³ or was it done by a foreigner or a local Cossack artist?

Did the picture really show Peter surrounded by his “associates”? And if so, did it include portraits of Hetman Ivan Mazepa (1687–1709), who switched sides in 1708 and joined the advancing forces of Peter’s enemy, Charles XII of Sweden, and Ivan Myrovych, who died in Swedish captivity “in the name of the tsar”? Did it show Aleksandr Menshikov, who burned Mazepa’s capital, Baturyn, in the autumn of 1708 and massacred its population? And if the portraits of all of these individuals were there, what does that tell us about political identity in early eighteenth-century Ukraine and, more generally, about relations between tsars and Cossacks in the Russian Empire? No less important is the role of the supernatural third party who intervened in these relations. After all, Praskovia Tarasovna’s seemingly naive question about the reason why the Mother of God granted her protection to Menshikov was left unanswered by Nikifor Fedorovich and by Taras Shevchenko himself.

In this study I attempt to answer at least some of the questions raised above in connection with the canvas icon of Pereiaslav. These questions are equally important for our understanding of many other paintings, icons, and woodcuts, produced in Kyiv and on the territory of the Hetmanate in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Attention will be focused primarily on one of the most popular iconographic types in Cossack Ukraine, the Pokrova, which was associated with the Feast of the Holy Protection of the Theotokos. The Pokrova iconography provided for the depiction of the patrons who commissioned these icons and of the founders of Orthodox churches—that is, representatives of the Hetmanate’s Cossack officer stratum—under the *maphorion* or mantle of the Mother of God. It also

³ On Matveev and his career, see James Cracraft, *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Imagery* (Chicago and London, 1997), pp. 213–15.

included images of the tsar and tsarina, which gave icon painters the opportunity to depict the Russian monarchs of the day. It is this very “encounter” of tsars and Cossacks in icons commissioned by Cossack officers that provides students of Pokrova iconography with a subject of extraordinary interest lacking in other iconographic themes of the period.

The present study of Pokrova iconography as it developed in Cossack Ukraine from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century has been undertaken with two purposes in mind: first, to enlarge our understanding of the works of art themselves by situating them more precisely in time, as well as in the political, religious, and cultural landscape of the age; and, second, to encourage the engraving or icon to “speak,” that is, to broaden and deepen our understanding of the age and its political, social, religious, and cultural aspects. The following discussion may thus be considered one of the first attempts to decipher the intellectual content represented by the Pokrova iconography of the Hetmanate, the Moscow-dependent Cossack polity. Since the full significance of the Pokrova iconography in the Hetmanate emerges only when it is compared with icons of the same type produced outside the Russian Empire, this study also makes frequent reference to the Pokrova iconography of the western Ukrainian territories, which were under the control of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth until the last decades of the eighteenth century. It also draws on icons produced in the Zaporozhian Sich, a Cossack territory that was different from the Hetmanate in both political and social terms. The analysis begins with a general survey of the political and cultural aspirations of the Cossack officer stratum of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It continues with a brief sketch of the origins of the Feast of the Holy Protection of the Theotokos and the development of the related iconography in Ukraine, moves on to a consideration of the first attempts to “politicize” Pokrova iconography in Ukrainian graphic art of the late seventeenth century, and concludes with a detailed account of the iconographic legacy of eighteenth-century Cossack Ukraine.

One: Cossack Identity

The Pereiaslav Agreement of 1654 between the Cossack hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi and the Muscovite boyars marked the beginning of more than a century of Cossack Ukraine's existence in the Muscovite state and subsequently in the Russian Empire. That agreement became the point of departure for the next several generations of Cossack officers, who attempted to check the encroachment of Russian centralism on the rights originally guaranteed to the Hetmanate—the Cossack polity founded by Bohdan Khmelnytskyi in the mid-seventeenth century and abolished by Empress Catherine II in the 1780s.¹ A long life was ordained, however, not only to this interest in Cossack liberties and privileges, which later generations associated with the name of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, but also to the notion, generated by the hetman's contemporaries, of the Muscovite-Cossack union as an extension of the tsar's protection to fellow Orthodox believers.

On 8 January 1654, the very day of the Pereiaslav council, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi wrote a letter to Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich of Muscovy in which he introduced a new element into the tsar's title: "Sovereign of Great and Little Russia." The innovation was accepted by the tsar and included in his official title a month later, in February 1654.² The use of these new terms was no accident: they

¹ On the history and abolition of the Hetmanate, see Zenon Kohut, *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy: Imperial Absorption of the Hetmanate, 1760s–1830s* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988).

² The thesis that this new element was first introduced into the tsar's title in Bohdan Khmelnytskyi's letter was advanced by Mykhailo Hrushevskyi in "Velyka, Mala i Bila Rus'," *Ukraina*, nos. 1–2 (1917), reprinted in *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1991, no. 2: 77–85. The Khmelnytskyi letter was published in *Dokumenty Bohdana Khmelnyts'koho*, comp. Ivan Kryp'iakevych and Ivan Butych (Kyiv, 1961), p. 316. The first known letters in which the tsar himself used the new terms are dated 7 February 1654. See *Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiei. Dokumenty i materialy*, vol. 3 (Moscow, 1954), pp. 543–46. In his "Velikaia, Malaia i Belaia Rus'" (*Voprosy istorii*, 1947, no. 7: 24–38), A. Soloviev [Solov'ev] notes two tsarist decrees of 1649 and 1652 containing the new terms, but expresses doubt about their authenticity and dates the official introduction of these terms to March 1654. Soloviev states that the terms

signaled the onset of a new concept of Ukrainian identity. The development of the Little Russian ideology was closely connected with the Orthodox Church and originated during the tenure of Metropolitan Iov Boretskyi (1620–31).³ By the time Khmelnytskyi came to power, the concept of Little Russia still was not fully elaborated, but continued to change and develop throughout the whole existence of the Hetmanate. After 1654, the concept was developed by Ukrainian churchmen and Cossack intellectuals in Muscovite-ruled Left-Bank Ukraine.

One of the basic ideas of “Little Russianism” was the notion of a common “Russian” (*rossiiskii*) or “Slavo-Russian” (*sloveno-rossiiskii*) people that included both Russians and Ukrainians. It found its most profound expression in the *Sinopsis*, the most important historical work to appear in seventeenth-century Ukraine, compiled and issued in 1674 under the supervision of Archimandrite Inokentii Gizel of the Kyivan Caves Monastery.⁴

were of Ukrainian origin and associates their introduction into the tsar's title with the negotiations that Aleksei Mikhailovich conducted with Khmelnytskyi.

³ For the development of the Little Russian idea in the correspondence of Iov Boretskyi, see ch. 8 of my *Cossacks and Religion in Early Modern Ukraine* (Oxford, 2001). On Cossack identity prior to the Pereiaslav Agreement, see the first part of my article “Między Rusią a Sarmacją: ‘unarodowienie’ Kozaczyzny ukraińskiej w XVII–XVIII w.,” in *Między sobą. Szkice historyczne polsko-ukraińskie*, ed. Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel and Natalia Jakowenko (Lublin, 2000), pp. 152–72, here 154–61. For the development of Little Russian identity in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see Zenon E. Kohut, “The Development of a Little Russian Identity and Ukrainian Nationbuilding,” *HUS* 10, nos. 3–4 (December 1986): 559–76; Volodymyr Kravchenko, “‘Rosiiia,’ ‘Malorosiiia,’ ‘Ukraïna’ v rosiiskii istoriografii druhoi polovyny XVIII–20kh rokiv XIX st.,” *Zbirnyk Kharkivs'koho istoryko-filolohichnoho tovarystva*, new series, vol. 5 (1995): 3–16. Cf. V. Kravchenko, “‘Malorosiiia’ ta ‘Ukraïna’ v chasi i prostori vitchyznianoï literatury druhoi polovyny XVIII–pochatku XIX st.” in *Osiahnennia istorii. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats' na poshanu profesora Mykoly Pavlovycha Koval's'koho z nahody 70-richchia*, ed. Liubomyr Vynar [Lubomyr Wynar] and Ihor Pasichnyk (Ostrih and New York, 1999), pp. 318–23.

⁴ See Hans Rothe, *Sinopsis. Kyiv 1681. Facsimile mit einer Einleitung* (Cologne, Vienna, and Bohlau, 1983) [=Bausteine zur Geschichte der Literatur bei den Slaven, vol. 17]. On seventeenth-century Ukrainian historiography, see Iurii Mytsyk, *Ukrainskie letopisi XVII veka* (Dnipropetrovsk, 1978); Frank Sysyn, “Concepts of Nationhood in Ukrainian History Writing, 1620–1690,” *HUS* 10, nos. 3–4 (1986): 393–423; idem, “The Cultural, Social and Political Context of Ukrainian History-

The author(s) of the *Sinopsis* presented a highly elaborate account of the transfer of power from the princes of Rus' in Kyiv to Vladimir on the Kliazma and then to Moscow, strongly advancing the notion of the ethnic and religious unity of the *rossiiskii* people. At the same time, the *Sinopsis* defended the traditional rights of the Ukrainian clergy from the offensive mounted against them by the Moscow patriarchate. The response to Muscovite aspirations took the form of a representation of Kyiv as an equal and at times even more important center of the *rossiiskii* state than the "ruling city" of Moscow. The *Sinopsis* gave expression to the views of the Kyivan monastic clergy, which supported the idea of political unity with Moscow on condition that the rights of the Ukrainian clergy be preserved intact.⁵ These clergymen were instrumental in the creation of the Little Russian ideology.

The path of the Ukrainian secular elites toward the acceptance of Little Russian identity was significantly different and more complicated. As might have been expected, the Cossack officers' flirtation with the Little Russian ideology at the time of the Council of Pereiaslav was rather brief. Ivan Vyhovskyi's manifesto to foreign rulers (1658), which gave the reasons for the Cossacks' breach with Moscow and the circumstances attending it, stressed the role of religion in the Khmelnytskyi uprising and in Ukraine's relations with Muscovy, but at the same time it attributed prime importance to Cossack liberties, which the Muscovite tsar was obliged to protect but in fact was preparing to violate.⁶ The Ukrainian-Polish agreement concluded at Hadiach in 1658 had already demonstrated the desire of

Writing: 1620–1690," *Europa Orientalis*, 1986, no. 5: 285–310.

⁵ On the role of Kyiv and the historical conception of the *Sinopsis*, see Rothe, *Sinopsis*, pp. 85–95. On the attitudes of Inokentii Gizel and his circle toward Moscow, see Vitalii Eïngorn, *Ocherki iz istorii Malorossii v XVII v.*, vol. 1: *Snosheniia malorossiiskogo dukhovenstva s moskovskim pravitel'stvom v tsarstvovanie Alekseia Mikhailovicha* (Moscow, 1899), pp. 993–1000.

⁶ Indeed, this document was the first of a whole series of Cossack writings that stressed the legal rather than the religious aspect of the Cossacks' relations with Muscovy. See the publication of the "manifesto" in *Arkhiv Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*, pt. 3, vol. 6 (Kyiv, 1908), pp. 362–69. For an English translation of this document, see John Basarab, *Pereiaslav 1654: A Historiographical Study* (Edmonton, 1982), pp. 259–64, appendix 6.

the Ukrainian nobility and the Cossack officers to breach the union with Muscovy and build instead a new Commonwealth in which the nation of Rus' would have the same rights as the founding nations of the Commonwealth, Poland and Lithuania. Those who negotiated the agreement known in history as the Union of Hadiach in fact returned to the tradition, breached by the Khmelnytskyi uprising, of seeking a place for a third partner, Rus', within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In providing for the creation of the Grand Duchy of Rus', whose status was largely modeled on that of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the initiators of the Treaty of Hadiach gave expression to the dreams and aspirations of princely and nobiliary Rus' of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Nevertheless, the onset of the new Cossack era and the Cossack revolution led by Bohdan Khmelnytskyi greatly changed the nature of this long-cherished aspiration of Old Rus'. The changes pertained above all to the social content of the project, as the ruling elite in the new duchy was to consist of the Cossack officers and nobles, not of the princely and nobiliary stratum. The Treaty of Hadiach, which provided for the ennoblement of a hundred Cossacks in each regiment, made it possible for the Cossack officers to acquire nobiliary rights and privileges—a goal that the officers sought to achieve in one form or another throughout the first half of the century.⁷

Two significant forces on the Ukrainian political scene, however, stood arrayed against Hadiach. These were the rank-and-file Cossacks, who did not want to see the return of the Polish lords or the

⁷ There is an extensive literature on the Union of Hadiach. The following recent publications include bibliographic guides to the problem: Andrzej Kamiński, "The Cossack Experiment in *Szlachta* Democracy in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: The Hadiach (Hadziacz) Union," *HUS* 1, no. 2 (June 1977): 173–97; Andrew B. Pernal, "An Analysis of Disbursements for Diplomacy during the Ratification of the Hadiach Union Treaty at the Warsaw Diet of 1659," *HUS* 17, nos. 1–2 (June 1993): 72–109; Tetiana [Tat'iana] Iakovleva, *Her'manshchyna v druhii polovyni 50kh rr. XVII stolittia. Prychyny i pochatok Ruiny* (Kyiv, 1998), pp. 305–23. For texts and contemporary summaries of the treaty, see Vasyl' Harasymchuk, *Materialy do istorii kozachchyny XVII viku* (Lviv, 1994), pp. 112–26, nos. 88, 121, 126 [=L'vivs'ki istorychni pratsi. Dzherela, vyp. 1]. For an English translation of the texts of the Treaty of Hadiach, see Andrew B. Pernal, "The Polish Commonwealth and Ukraine: Diplomatic Relations, 1648–1659" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Ottawa, 1977), pp. 535–52.

“ennoblement” of their own officer stratum, and the middle-rank Cossack officers, whose hard-won prerogatives and state-building project were virtually appropriated by the Ruthenian nobility at Hadiach. The explanation for the failure of Hadiach in Ukraine should of course be sought not only in the conflict between Cossackdom and the nobility, but also in the cultural and religious contradictions of the age. The Union of Brest, which was intended to breach the Catholic-Orthodox boundary in the Commonwealth and perhaps to increase the chances of a Hadiach-type accommodation, in fact only deepened the abyss between the two confessions and radicalized the Orthodox, pushing them further in the direction of Moscow, whose faith they shared. Quite obviously, Poland was not prepared to accept Orthodox Rus' as a partner and co-proprietor of the Commonwealth, even on the same terms as the “younger” Lithuanian brother. The Poles were united with the Lithuanians by religion, while Rus' professed Orthodoxy and insisted on guaranteeing its rights. When in 1660 the Cossacks who went over to the Polish side at Chudniv demanded the ratification of the Union of Hadiach, the reply from the Polish side was in the negative, and the very mention of a Duchy of Rus' was excluded from the new Treaty of Slobodyshe.⁸

The future of Cossack statehood, which could not stand alone amid powerful neighbors, lay with Moscow. That future was neither easy nor cloudless, but the migration of the population at large and the Cossack officers from the Right Bank to the Hetmanate in the course of the late seventeenth century (among the migrants was the future hetman Ivan Mazepa) clearly indicated the direction taken by the Cossack elite in making its ineluctable choice.⁹ The self-evident, if

⁸ See Tat'iana Iakovleva, “Genezis gosudarstvennoi idei v Ukraine na primere dogovorov s Pol'shei i Rossiei,” in *Rossiiia-Ukraina: istoriia vzaimootnoshenii*, ed. A. I. Miller et al. (Moscow, 1997), pp. 51–59; Valerii Smolii and Valerii Stepankov, *Ukraïns'ka natsional'na revoliutsiia XVII st. (1648–1676)* (Kyiv, 1999), pp. 244–45 [=Ukraine kriz' viky, vol. 7].

⁹ On migrations of the Ukrainian population in the second half of the seventeenth century, see Oleksandr Hurzhii, *Ukraïns'ka kozats'ka derzhava v druhii polovyni XVII–XVIII st.: kordony, naselennia, pravo* (Kyiv, 1996), pp. 82–91. The failure of Cossack plans to establish a “common home” in the Commonwealth left a bitter aftertaste in Ukrainian circles for many decades. An anonymous Ukrainian verse writer of the early eighteenth century still saw the Commonwealth (i.e., Poland) as the joint homeland of the Poles, Lithuanians, and Ruthenians. He also considered that two

controversial, success of the Pereiaslav arrangement, as evidenced by the more than century-long existence of the Hetmanate within Muscovy and the Russian Empire, as well as the failure to establish true Cossack autonomy in the Commonwealth, make it perfectly obvious that the supporters of the Muscovite orientation among the Cossack officers were right to reject the Polish alternative.

The Union of Hadiach, regardless of its failure and ultimate rejection by the Polish and Ukrainian sides alike, became an important milestone in the political thought of Cossackdom. The text of the treaty of union not only reflected the previous strivings of the Ruthenian elite, but also defined its long-term political orientation. The experience gained by the Cossack officer elite in their model polity, the Commonwealth, long served as an important substratum for the development of a new type of Cossack statehood. When the Russian Empire of Peter I increased its centralizing pressure on Cossack autonomy in Left-Bank Ukraine, Hetman Ivan Mazepa defected to Charles XII of Sweden during the Great Northern War of 1700–21. Mazepa's action did not end Russian dominance in the Hetmanate, but culminated in the defeat of the joint Swedish-Cossack forces at Poltava in the summer of 1709. After Poltava, Peter I increased his control over Cossackdom even more, and the tsarist regime began its struggle with "Mazepism" and the "Polonophilism" of the Cossack officers.¹⁰

brothers, the Poles and Lithuanians, had shown disregard for the third, the Ruthenians, thus bringing about Poland's ruin. This set of ideas is expressed through the image of Mother Poland, who speaks as follows:

My golden crown reposes in Poland;
It is intertwined with my three children:
The Poles, the Ruthenians, and the Lithuanians—these are my children;
Two of them, grown arrogant, took up their swords,
Conspiring to kill their younger brother,
And roundly cursing me, their mother.

("Hlaholet Pol'shcha" [Poland Speaks] in *Ukrains'ka literatura XVII st. Synkretychna pysennist'. Poeziia. Dramaturhiia. Beletrystyka*. Ed. O. V. Myshanych, comp. V. I. Krekoten' (Kyiv, 1987), p. 284.) The text of the poem appears in an eighteenth-century manuscript.

¹⁰ On developments in Ukraine during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, see Orest Subtelny, *Mazepists: Ukrainian Separatism in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Boulder, Colo. and New York, 1981); Viktor Horobets', *Prysmerek Het'manshchyny*.

The “Polonophilism” of the Hetmanate’s new elite was no mere invention of the tsarist ideologists. There was, firstly, a Polish go-between in the Swedish-Ukrainian understanding—King Stanisław Leszczyński. Secondly, there is evidence that Mazepa and Leszczyński actually returned to the ideas of the Hadiach negotiations and planned to establish a Commonwealth of three nations, while the Cossack officer conspirators studied the text of the Treaty of Hadiach.¹¹ On the one hand, Mazepa and his followers feared and distrusted Poland; on the other, they largely remained products of the Commonwealth, whose political system and outlook they much preferred to the authoritarian rule of the Russian tsar-emperor.¹²

In the early eighteenth century, while the ruling stratum of the Hetmanate (the “fellows of the banner”) maintained the external trappings and attributes of Cossackdom, it turned steadily into a social group resembling the nobility in all important respects. The concentration of the commanding offices of the Zaporozhian Host in the hands of a restricted circle of officer clans transformed the descendants of former Cossack leaders into a “new nobility” that desired legislative confirmation of its rights and privileges.¹³

Ukraïna v roky reform Petra I (Kyiv, 1998); Oleksandr Hurzhii, *Heľman Ivan Skoropads'kyi* (Kyiv, 1998).

¹¹ Subtelny, *Mazepists*, pp. 28–29.

¹² On the image of Poland in the eyes of the Cossack elite of the Hetmanate, see Natalia Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukraïny z naidavnishykh chasiv do kintsia XVIII stolittia* (Kyiv, 1997), pp. 252–53. The “Polonophilism” of the nobiliary officer stratum was indignantly attacked in a book of verse exercises kept by Andrii Herasymovych, a student of the Kyiv Mohyla Academy, in 1719–20:

Wherever you go, they praise the Poles,
They all but burn the faithful,
They stuff the ears of commoners,
Tainting them with deadly poison.
Not a word passes without praise of the Poles—
Eating or drinking, they speak of them...
All spirit, all enthusiasm is devoted to the Poles.
So much for wisdom and virtue.

(“Plach Maloi Rosii” [Lament of Little Rus’] in *Ukraïns’ka literatura XVII stolittia*, p. 290.)

¹³ On the formation of the “new elite” in the Hetmanate, see Kohut, *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy*, pp. 29–41.

The new social status of the Cossack officer elite gave an added stimulus to the development in Ukraine of a particular Cossack Sarmatianism that made its way from Poland into Left-Bank Ukraine not only in its own "Sarmatian" dress, but also in the guise of the Khazar myth. Various elements of this ideology are to be encountered in the writings of Pylyp Orlyk (Mazepa's general chancellor and successor in exile), Colonel Hryhorii Hrabianka of Pryluky, and the chancery scribe Samiilo Velychko.

The Khazar idea of the early eighteenth-century Cossack intellectuals had several characteristics that clearly associated it with the Polish Sarmatian myth. Both mythogems were socially oriented in the sense that only the Polish nobility could claim Sarmatian descent, while the claim to Khazar ancestry was a monopoly of the Cossacks, especially representatives of the officer stratum, who were eagerly searching for ways of obtaining and securing nobiliary status. Thus both ideas could serve as national foundation myths, since they accounted for the exclusive descent of the ruling strata, which more often than not were solely entitled to constitute the political nation in early modern times, from non-autochthonous elements.

The Khazar myth contradicted the ethnogenetic legend established by the proponents of the Little Russian idea according to which the Eastern Slavs were all descended from Meshech, the sixth son of Japheth. This was a potential challenge to Moscow, as it excluded not only the local non-Cossack population, but also the Russian nobility from the "elect" descendants of the Khazars. Relegating to the background the myth of the origin of Rus', which was closely associated with Prince Volodymyr, the Khazar myth also secularized the genealogy of Cossackdom and broke the religious link between the Hetmanate and Moscow.¹⁴

A good idea of the aspirations of the Hetmanate's new elite is provided by the constitution of Pylyp Orlyk, which was drafted by the exiled Mazepists in Bendery in 1710. The constitution represented a compact between the new hetman, the Cossack officers, and the elite

¹⁴ On the link between Sarmatism and the Khazar myth, see Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukraïny*, pp. 248–49, as well as Yuri Lutsenko's introduction to *Hryhorij Hrabjanka's "The Great War of Bohdan Xmel'nyč'kyj"* (Cambridge, Mass. 1990), pp. lii–lvi [= Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature. Texts. Vol. 9].

of the Zaporozhian Host.¹⁵ Besides giving special guarantees to the Zaporozhians, who had traditionally been in opposition to the Hetman government since the times of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, the constitution placed considerable restrictions on the prerogatives of the hetman by enhancing the rights of the general officer staff and the colonels. The restrictions on the rights of the hetman in Orlyk's constitution were a challenge to Muscovite political culture in the sense that those rights were being limited not by the tsar but by the Cossack officers, who now claimed the sovereign right to establish a contract—the constitution—with the hetman. In expanding their rights and obtaining a written guarantee of them upon the election of the new hetman, the officers were practically copying the Polish practice of nobiliary election of the king. As against the authoritarian political model that had been so natural to the Muscovite state, especially to Russia at the time of Peter I, the Cossack officers were proposing to establish relations with their political superior on a model closer to that of Poland.

The defeat of Charles XII and Mazepa at Poltava made it impossible to disseminate the idea of rule by political contract in the Ukrainian lands. The repressions of Peter I, the abolition of the Hetman government, the demotion of the Kyivan Metropolitanate to the status of an ordinary archbishopric, and other prohibitions imposed by the central government in the 1720s forced the Cossack officers to return to the older form of the Little Russian ideology. Orlyk's view of the new political order, while based on concepts that enjoyed currency in the eighteenth-century Hetmanate, was for the most part developed in the emigration and had relatively little influence on Ukrainian identity formation on the Left Bank.

¹⁵ See "Pravovyi uklad ta konstytutsiï vidnosno prav i vol'nostei Viis'ka Zaporoz'koho, ukladeni mizh iasnovel'mozhnym panom Pylypom Orlykom, novoobranym het'manom Viis'ka Zaporoz'koho, i heneral'noiu starshynoiu, polkovnykamy, a rivno zh i samym Viis'kom Zaporoz'kym...", trans. from the Latin by Myroslav Trofymuk, intro. by Omeljan Pritsak, in *Persha Konstytutsiia Ukraïny het'mana Pylypa Orlyka. 1710 rik.* (Kyiv, 1994); Subtel'nyi, *Mazepyntsi*, pp. 65–70. See also Omeljan Pritsak, "The First Constitution of Ukraine (5 April 1710)," in *Cultures and Nations of Central and Eastern Europe: Essays in Honor of Roman Szporluk*, ed. by Zvi Gitelman et al. (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), pp. 471–96.

While the post-Poltava writings of the Cossack officers, most notably Hryhorii Hrabianka's historical work, still contained elements of the Khazar mythology, they were already dominated by the ideas of the Little Russian cycle, which stressed the Hetmanate's loyalty to the Russian Empire. The Khazar myth that continued to develop in the Hetmanate now offered no basis for the concept of a political nation entirely separate from Russia. In social terms, it provided only a historical substratum for the Cossack component of a broader Little Russian identity. Samiilo Velychko gave expression to this interconnection of social and ethnic elements in Little Russian consciousness in his oft-quoted cliché of a "Ruthenian-Cossack nation" (*rus'ko-kozats'kyi narod*).¹⁶ The "Cossack Little Russian nation" (*kozats'kyi malorosiis'kyi narod*) was one of the principal "dramatis personae" in the *Kratkoe opisanie o kazatskom malorossiiskom narode i o voennykh ego delakh* (Brief Description of the Cossack Little Russian Nation and Its Military Affairs, 1765) by Petro Symonovskyy, one of the "fellows of the banner."¹⁷ It is worth noting that many foreign travelers and authors of historical treatises who wrote about Ukraine between the seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries, from Paul of Aleppo to Jean-Benoît Scherer, defined the Cossacks as a separate people, thereby giving the social element priority in the definition of their national identity.

The nebulous views of the Cossacks themselves about the interrelation of social, ethnic, and religious components in their identity was reflected to some extent in the many variants of the name they gave their native land. In his *Razgovor Velikorossii s Malorosiieiu* (Conversation of Great Russia with Little Russia, 1762), Semen Divovych indicated the variety of names for the Hetmanate by giving the following lines to Little Russia: "From the ancient Khazars I trace my lineage and origin/ I had not a few names to begin with."¹⁸ In the

¹⁶ See Samiilo Velychko, *Litopys*, trans. Valerii Shevchuk, 2 vols. (Kyiv, 1991).

¹⁷ See Petr Simonovskii [Petro Symonovskyy], *Kratkoe opisanie o kazatskom malorossiiskom narode i o voennykh ego delakh, sobrannoe iz raznykh istorii inostrannykh, nemetskoi — Bishenga, latinskoi — Bezol'di, frantsuzskoi — Sheval'e i rukopisei russkikh* (Moscow, 1847).

¹⁸ See Semen Divovych, "Razgovor Velikorossii s Malorossieiu," in *Ukrain's'ka literatura XVIII st. Poetychni tvory. Dramatychni tvory. Prozovi tvory*. Ed. V. I. Krekoten', comp. O. V. Myshanych (Kyiv, 1983), pp. 384–414, here 384.

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such terms as Rus', the Zaporozhian Host, Little Rus', Little Russia, and Ukraine competed as designations for the Hetmanate. Gradually, the choice came down to the most commonly used terms—Little Russia and Ukraine.

The new Cossack homeland, or “Little Russian Ukraine,” as it was called at times by Samiilo Velychko, fostered the creation of a new identity, much narrower in both social and territorial terms than the Ruthenian identity of those who had drafted the Pereiaslav and Hadiach agreements. In social terms, the new Ukrainian identity bore almost exclusively Cossack characteristics, excluding the non-Cossack element even as it absorbed and obliterated the separate identity of the Cossackized nobility. In geographical terms, that identity narrowed considerably, since the Little Russian homeland of the Cossack officers excluded not only Belarus, but the western Ukrainian lands as well.

The idea of Rus'-Ukraine from Chernihiv to the Carpathians was still meaningful to the Cossack elite during the Ruin (1660s–70s), but by the time of Mazepa, that conception of Rus' rarely extended beyond the borders of the Kyiv, Chernihiv, and Bratslav palatinates, which had come under the control of Khmelnytskyi and the Zaporozhian Host according to the terms of the Treaty of Zboriv (1649). In time, even the formula of Ukraine “on both banks of the Dnipro” vanished from the writings of the chancery scribes, who were already thinking not in terms of extending the Hetmanate to the Right Bank, but of preserving Cossack liberties on the Left Bank. It was the territory of the Left-Bank regiments that became the geographical reference point of the new Ukrainian (Cossack/Little Russian) identity.

After the debacle of Poltava, Little Russianism became the sole form of political ideology that could be propagated officially in the Hetmanate. Given the lack of other officially permitted ideological alternatives, it also became an ideological cover for the defense of the few autonomous rights and privileges remaining to the Hetmanate after Poltava. One of the most prominent symbols of the new era and the new political orientation of the Hetmanate's Cossack officer stratum was the rediscovered cult of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, duly refurbished for use after the Poltava disaster. The elevation of Khmelnytskyi to the status of Little Russian national hero suited the needs of the Cossack elite of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth

centuries. The particular rights of the Zaporozhian Host/Little Russia/Ukraine, as defined by the "articles" established between the tsarist government and every successive Left-Bank hetman since the times of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, were constantly being abridged by Moscow and, later, by St. Petersburg, hence they had constantly to be defended by the Cossack elite.¹⁹ The idealized heroic image of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi came to symbolize the defense of Cossack rights and turned into an important component of Little Russian consciousness in general.

The function of the Khmelnytskyi cult changed fundamentally in the course of the century. If in Orlyk's constitution the image of the famous hetman was resurrected in order to legitimize Ivan Mazepa's defection to the Swedes, and the writers of the 1720s invoked Khmelnytskyi in order to defend the rights of the hetmancy as an institution, then the authors of the later eighteenth century needed him to obtain recognition of the equality of their ranks and posts with those of the empire. In pressing for such equality, they undertook yet another revision of the history of Cossack-Muscovite relations and employed new arguments to defend the ancient rights and freedoms of Little Russia.

In Divovych's *Conversation of Little Russia with Great Russia*, there is even a reversion—on another level and under different circumstances, to be sure—to the ideas of the "Hadiach cycle." The Polish model of state organization, based on the idea of a state of two nations, was transferred by eighteenth-century Ukrainian intellectuals to the Russian imperial context, with a number of modifications. Divovych now attempts to treat Russia, not Poland, as an equal partner in a common state. He places the following words, addressed to Great Russia, into the mouth of Little Russia:

Thus you and I are equal and form a whole;
We swear allegiance to one ruler, not two,
Hence I consider you my equal.²⁰

The Cossack officers and their descendants of the late eighteenth century had multiple political identities. In their world view, Little

¹⁹ See Kohut, *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy*, pp. 59–64.

²⁰ Divovych, "Razgovor Velikorosii," p. 395.

Russian identity did not contradict their all-Russian imperial allegiance, and often complemented it. The Cossack elite made a considerable effort to ensure that the “all-Russian” imperial language, culture and identity include as many Little Russian characteristics as possible. This process, which ultimately proved rather successful, drew jealous objections from the political elite of the Hetmanate to the Great Russian claim to a monopoly on the use of the term “Russia.” Speaking through “Little Russia,” the selfsame Divovych addressed its Great Russian “interlocutor”: “I know that you are Russia; I, too, am called by that name.”²¹

The tendency to claim the right to the name and identity “stolen” by the Great Russians was given full expression in the *Istoriia Rusov*, the major historical and political treatise of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and the swan song of the Cossack officer stratum.²² Besides much else, this work was an attempt on the part of the political elite of the Hetmanate, by then already abolished, to represent itself as the first-born claimant to Rus’ identity and to cast off the feelings of inferiority, secondariness, and subordination that were inevitably bound up with the concept of Little Russianism. As the text of *Istoriia Rusov* shows, the descendants of the Left-Bank Cossack officer clans considered themselves, not the Russians, to be the true people of Rus’. The struggle for the right to claim original descent from Rus’ signified the “return” of the Cossack elite to the Rus’ identity that had earlier been rejected. True, the “return” took place under entirely different circumstances, and the substance of the new identity was considerably altered. In territorial and geographic terms, this identity was now supposed to include not only Ukrainian ethnic territory and Belarus, but also the former Muscovy-Russia. In social terms, it did away with the identity of the Cossack officers as a

²¹ Ibid., p. 394.

²² See *Istoriia Rusov ili Maloi Rossii. Sochinenie Georgiia Koniskogo, arkhiepiskopa belorusskogo* (Moscow, 1846; repr. Kyiv, 1990). There is a considerable literature on the *Istoriia Rusov*. The most recent publications include: Volodymyr Kravchenko, *Narysy z ukrains’koi istoriografii epokhy natsional’noho Vidrodzhennia (druha polovyna XVIII–seredyna XIX st.)* (Kharkiv, 1996), pp. 101–51; Iaroslav Myshanych, “*Istoriia Rusiv*”: *Istoriografiia, problematyka, poetyka* (Kyiv, 1999).

separate stratum, merging it with the broader identity of the all-Russian nobility.

The development of this new national identity in the political thought of the former Hetmanate coincided with a political struggle no longer based on the right of the Hetmanate to autonomy, but on the desperate efforts of the former Cossack officers to gain recognition as members of the imperial nobility. The new Rus' identity thus freed the former elite of the Hetmanate from the outdated Cossack component that it no longer needed and offered broad prospects for the dissolution of the once separate Cossack and Little Russian identity within a new nobiliary and all-Russian imperial identity.

Two: The Pokrova Iconography

The transformation of the political, social, cultural, and religious preferences of both the Cossack and the religious elites of the Hetmanate found expression in a large number of monuments, among which iconography occupies a special place. Cossack officers were the financial mainstay of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine at the time. They commissioned icons from iconographers and, according to prevailing convention, wanted to be depicted in them. One of the most important features of early modern Ukrainian iconography is its reflection of the religious beliefs, as well as the political and social attitudes, of the population at large. Given the dearth and prohibitive expense of books in early modern Ukraine, as well as the low general level of literacy, icons often served as primary sources of knowledge about Christianity. Icons were also important vehicles of communication that easily crossed barriers between different social strata, spreading the ideas and tastes of the intellectual elites among the general population. Hence there is much to be learned about the forms of religious devotion, political ideas, and mentality of Cossack Ukraine by studying the figures of church hierarchs, secular rulers, and laymen depicted beneath the veil or mantle of the Theotokos.

Historians have generally been much less informed about Ukrainian icons than Russian ones. Those attached to a notion of “pure Orthodoxy” have tended to look down on Ukrainian icon painting, especially that of the “golden age” (the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), as “decadent.” This judgment represents a reaction to the realism adopted by iconographers of the period in their depiction of sacred subjects—a trend that developed more strongly in Ukraine than in other Orthodox lands because of strong Western influences and the lesser degree of church control over icon painters.¹

¹ See L. A. Uspenskii, *Bogoslovie Ikony Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi* ([Paris], 1989), pp. 275–314. For discussions of Western influence on Ukrainian iconography of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see P. M. Zholtovs'kyi, *Ukrains'kyi zhyvopys XVII–XVIII stolit'* (Kyiv, 1978); Sviatoslav Hordynsky, *The Ukrainian Icon of the XIIth to XVIIIth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1973), pp. 19–22.

Despite the “heterodoxy” of many Ukrainian icons of the period, most compositions still adhered to the iconographic tradition. Even so, there were a few iconographic themes that allowed painters greater freedom in creating their compositions, and thus more opportunity to express the ideas and beliefs of their time. Among those themes were the Last Judgment and the Passion of Christ, as well as themes pertaining to two feasts, the Elevation of the Holy Cross and the Holy Protection (Pokrova) of the Mother of God.

It is generally believed that the Feast of the Holy Protection of the Theotokos arose from the account in the “Life” of Andrew the Holy Fool of the miraculous appearance of the Mother of God in the church at Blachernai in Constantinople, where her veil, robe, and part of her girdle were preserved. The Theotokos was accompanied by a group of saints including John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, and the whole group was seen appearing in the air, above the heads of the congregation, by Andrew and his disciple Epiphaneios. According to the account of their vision in the “Life” of Andrew the Holy Fool, the Theotokos prayed for the safety of the people (Constantinople was then being besieged by the Saracens [Muslims]) and finally removed her *maphorion*, spreading it as a shelter (Pokrova) over those at prayer.²

The Byzantine church had no feast of the Holy Protection. It is hard to say why the story became so popular in Rus', leading to the introduction of a feast to celebrate the miraculous appearance and protection of the Theotokos. Some scholars link the origin of the feast and its iconography to Kyiv; others state that the feast was introduced in the Principality of Vladimir by Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii, the namesake of Andrew the Holy Fool; still others point to origins of the feast's iconography in Novgorod.³ What is known for certain is that

² On the iconography of the Feast of the Holy Protection, see N. P. Kondakov, *Ikonografiia Bogomateri*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1915), pp. 92–102; The latest and most extensive study of the topic is: Mieczysław Gębarowicz, *Mater Misericordiae—Pokrow—Pokrova w sztuce i legendzie Środkowo-Wschodniej Europy* (Wrocław et al., 1986), pp. 79–113 [=Studia z historii sztuki, vol. 38].

³ To date, the prevailing view has claimed that the Feast of the Holy Protection originated in the Vladimir-Suzdal region of Rus'. The foundations for this view were laid by Sergii, Archbishop of Vladimir, in his monograph *Sviatoi Andrei, Khrista radi iurodiivyi, i prazdnik Pokrova Presviatyiia Bogoroditsy* (St. Petersburg, 1898). For the most recent discussion of the problem, see M. Pliukhanova, *Siuzhety i simvoly*

after the dissolution of Kyivan Rus', the Feast of the Holy Protection became quite popular in the northern part of the former state, on the territory of the Vladimir-Suzdal and Novgorod principalities. The number of churches dedicated to the Holy Protection indicates that the feast was especially popular in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and maintained its popularity thereafter. In the iconographic representation of this theme, there were two major schools, centered in Vladimir-Suzdal and Novgorod. The rise of Moscow as the political and spiritual center of the emerging Russian state also resulted in the creation of the Moscow iconographic school. In Russia, iconographic representations of the Pokrova theme generally involved a two-tier composition. The Theotokos was depicted in the upper tier, standing on a cloud with the *maphorion* in her hands, while those who witnessed her appearance in the church were portrayed in the lower tier. The group under the protection of the Theotokos usually included Andrew the Holy Fool with his disciple Epiphianos, St. Ananias, a tsar and tsarina, and Romanos the Melodist, a Byzantine composer of hymns who lived in the sixth century. The church interior served as the icon's background.⁴

Moskovskogo tsarstva (St. Petersburg, 1995), pp. 23–62. Mieczysław Gębarowicz (*Mater Misericordiae*, pp. 122–25) supports the view that the feast originated in Novgorod. Volodymyr Aleksandrovych has recently challenged the established view that the vision of St. Andrew served as the source of the Pokrova iconography. In his opinion, the vision itself was inspired by the already existing Byzantine cult and iconography of the Theotokos (Protectress). See Vladimir Aleksandrovich, "Ikoniografiia drevneishei ukrainskoi ikony Pokrova Bogomateri," *Byzantinoslavica* 59 (1998): 125–35, here 126.

For arguments in favor of the Kyivan origins of the feast's iconography, see Vasilii Putsko [Vasyl' Put'sko], "Bogoroditsa Desiatinnia i ranniaia ikonografiia Pokrova" in *Festschrift für Fairy von Lilienfeld* (Erlangen, 1982), pp. 355–73, and Volodymyr Aleksandrovych, "Starokyivs'kyi kul't Bohorodytsi Zastupnytsi i stanovlennia ikonohrafiï Pokrovu Bohorodytsi," *Mediaevalia Ucrainica* 3 (1994): 47–67; idem, "Ikoniografiia drevneishei ukrainskoi ikony Pokrova Bogomateri."

⁴ See *Stroganovskii ikonopisnyi litsevoi podlinnik (kontsa XVI i nachala XVII stoletii)* (Moscow, 1868). On the interpretation of the Russian Pokrova iconography, see Konrad Onasch, *Icons* (New York, 1963), pp. 344–45, 353–54. On the development of Pokrova iconography, see J. Myslivec, "Dvě ikony 'Pokrova,'" *Byzantinoslavica* 6 (Prague, 1935–36): 191–212; A. Ovchinnikov, "Ikona 'Pokrov' — klassicheskii obrazets suzdal'skoi zhivopisi," *Sokrovishcha Suzdalia* (Moscow, 1969), pp. 155–75; È. Smirnova, *Zhivopis' Velikogo Novgoroda. Seredina XIII–nachalo XV*

The spread of the cult of the Holy Protection in Ukraine is clearly apparent from iconographic sources beginning in the fifteenth century. That period also saw the construction of one of the first known churches of the Holy Protection, a stone fortress in Sutkivtsi in Podilia (1471).⁵ Judging by the number of churches consecrated to the feast, the growth in the popularity of the Pokrova cult in Ukraine can be dated to the last two decades of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth.⁶ The notion of the Mother of God as Ukraine's special patron was reflected not only in the construction of Pokrova churches and production of Pokrova icons, but also in the circulation of legends associating the Feast of the Pokrova with particular events in local history. Thus, one of the "Didactic Gospels" ("Ievanheliie Uchytelnoie") compiled in Ukraine in 1635 links the miraculous appearance of the Mother of God and the vision of St. Andrew the Holy Fool with the Church of the Dormition at the Kyivan Caves Monastery. According to the version of the story related by the compiler of the Gospel, the Theotokos appeared in the sky during the siege of the Kyiv by the Tatars, saving the city from destruction by the Horde.⁷

In Ukraine, the iconography of the feast originally had a distinct character based on the image of the Theotokos enthroned with the Christ child on her lap.⁸ By the fifteenth century, however, this local

veka (Moscow, 1976), pp. 223–27; Gębarowicz, *Mater Misericordiae*, pp. 135–48.

⁵ Like the church at Blachernai, it had five domes. See the photograph of the fortress church and the brief accompanying article in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, ed. Volodymyr Kubijovyč and Danylo Husar Struk, 5 vols. (Toronto, 1984–93), 5: 115.

⁶ See Serhii Plokhyy [Plokhii], "Pokrova Bohorodytsi v Ukraïni," *Pam'iatky Ukraïny*, 1991, no. 5: 35, 37.

⁷ See Mykhailo Vozniak, *Istoriia ukrains'koi literatury*, 3 vols. (Lviv, 1924), 3: 126–27.

⁸ See the reproductions of the Pokrova icon from Galicia (western Ukraine) in V. I. Svientsits'ka and V. P. Otkovych, *Svit ochyma narodnykh myttsiv. Ukraïns'ke narodne maliarstvo XIII–XX stolit'. Al'bom* (Kyiv, 1991), no. 1. The icon was first studied and dated as a product of the thirteenth century by Liudmyla Miliaieva (Liudmila Miliaeva, Liudmilla Milyaeva) in "Pamiatnik galitskoi zhivopisi XIII veka," *Sovetskaia arkheologiya*, 1965, no. 3: 249–57. Putsko and Gębarowicz questioned Miliaieva's dating of the icon, but Aleksandrovich's recent study reinforces her original hypothesis. See Aleksandrovich, "Ikonoграфия drevneishei ukrainskoi ikony Pokrova Bogomateri."

tradition had been replaced by iconographic types borrowed from the North (Novgorod, Vladimir-Suzdal, and Moscow) or from the West. Evidence of the spread of the northern compositional type of the Holy Protection in Ukraine is provided by the recently restored icon from the village of Rechysia near Rivne, painted at some time between the mid-sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and now preserved in the Rivne Regional Museum.⁹ It generally reflects the northern (Russian) compositional type of the Pokrova. The same tendency is apparent in an icon from Rykhvald (latter half of the sixteenth century)¹⁰ and a Pokrova subject in a wooden iconostasis constructed in Kamianets-Podilskyi (fifteenth to sixteenth centuries).¹¹ The Russian (northern) variant of the Pokrova composition became particularly influential in Ukraine in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The first Ukrainian woodcuts with the Russian type of Pokrova composition in Ukraine were printed in the *Anfolohion* (1619) issued by the Kyivan Caves Monastery.¹² A variant of the Russian compositional type was apparently also employed in a fresco on the walls of St. Volodymyr's Chapel, which was added to the Cathedral of St. Sophia by Metropolitan Petro Mohyla in the 1630s.¹³

⁹ The icon is dated to the mid-fifteenth century by Oleh Sydor, "Tradytsii i novatorstvo v ukraïns'komu maliarstvi XVII–XVIII st.," in V. I. Svietsits'ka and O. F. Sydor, *Spadshchyna vikiv. Ukraïns'ke maliarstvo XIV–XVIII st. v muzeïnykh kolektsiïakh L'vova* (Lviv, 1990), p. 39. Volodymyr Aleksandrovych dates it to the early sixteenth century. See his "Ikona Pokrovu Bohorodytsi z Sviatotoit's'koï tserkvy u Rechysi" in *Volyn's'ka ikona: pytannia istorii vyvchennia, doslidzhennia ta restavratsii. Tezy ta materialy II Mizhnarodnoi naukovoï konferentsii, Luts'k, 29 lystopada–1 hrudnia 1995 r.* (Luts'k, 1995), pp. 9–11.

¹⁰ See Miliiaieva, *Stinopys Potelycha. Vyzvol'na borot'ba ukraïns'koho narodu v mystetstvi XVII st.* (Kyiv, 1969), p. 106.

¹¹ See *Istoriia ukraïns'koho mystetstva*, 2: 110–13. Cf. the sculptures on the theme of the Holy Protection by Muscovite masters from Solvychevodsk in David Lathoud, "Le thème iconographique de Pokrov de la Vierge," in *L'Art byzantin chez les Slaves*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1932), p. 311.

¹² See the description of this work in Iakym Zapasko and Iaroslav Isaievych, *Kataloh starodrukiv*, 1: 39, no. 120. The engravings are reproduced in Gębarowicz, *Mater Misericordiae*, pp. 154–55, nos. 103, 104.

¹³ See Nadiia Nikitenko, "Volodymyr's'kyi memorial v Sofii Kyivs'kii chasiv Petra Mohyly," in *P. Mohyla: bohoslav, tserkovnyi i kul'turnyi diiach* (Kyiv, 1997), pp. 164–65.

Western influences were represented in Ukrainian Pokrova iconography by the iconographic type of the Virgin of Mercy (*Mater Misericordiae*, *Madonna della Misericordia*), which developed in Renaissance Italy. The Western practice of showing contemporary personalities under the mantle of the Virgin helped Ukrainian artists to develop a new type of Pokrova iconography that associated the feast much more closely with their everyday lives.¹⁴ The late medieval period figures as the most probable starting point for the diffusion of the Western iconographic type of the Virgin of Mercy in Ukraine. In a rotunda in the village of Horiany near Uzhhorod, a fresco of the Virgin of Mercy type dating from the fifteenth century has been preserved.¹⁵ The frescoes of the Church of St. Onuphrius in Lavriv, Galicia, which feature a Western composition of the Virgin of Mercy type, also date to the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.¹⁶

¹⁴ On the Western iconography of the Virgin of Mercy, see Paul Perdrizet, *La Vierge de Miséricorde. Étude d'un thème iconographique* (Paris, 1908); Gębarowicz, *Mater Misericordiae*, pp. 11–78.

Apart from Gębarowicz's study, the following works provide data on the development of the "northern" and "western" traditions in Ukrainian Pokrova iconography: Hryhorii Lohvyn [Grigorii Logvin], *Ukrainskoe iskusstvo X–XVIII vv.* (Moscow, 1963), p. 85; idem, "Monumental'nyi zhyvopys XIV - pershoi polovyny XVII stolittia," *Istoriia ukrains'koho mystetstva*, vol. 2: *Mystetstvo XIV–pershoi polovyny XVII stolittia* (Kyiv, 1967), p. 164; Liudmyla Miliiaieva, *Stinopys Potelycha*, p. 106; Oleh Sydor, "Tradysii i novatorstvo v ukrains'komu maliarstvi XVII–XVIII st."

On the development of Pokrova iconography in Belarus, which also experienced significant Western influence, see: M. Putsko-Bochkareva, "Belorusskie ikony Pokrova" in *Materyialy mizhnarodnai navukovai kanferentsyi "Tserkva i kul'tura narodau Vialikaha Kniastva Litovskaha i Belarusi XIII–pach. XX st."*, bk. 4, pt. 3 (Hrodna, 1992), pp. 527–31; N. F. Vysotskaia, *Zhyvapis' Belarusi XII–XVIII st. Freska. Abraz. Partret* (Minsk, 1980).

¹⁵ Depictions of the Virgin of Mercy are to be encountered on the walls of the extension to the rotunda, constructed as early as the fifteenth century. She is shown full size, extending her mantle to cover figures depicted quite painstakingly, clearly incorporating a number of portrait-like features. They may have represented the patrons who had contributed to the construction and decoration of the new vestibule of the Horiany rotunda. See Lohvyn, *Ukrainskoe iskusstvo X–XVIII vv.*, p. 85; idem, *Po Ukraini. Starodavni mystets'ki pam'iatky* (Kyiv, 1968), pp. 377, 386–89.

¹⁶ See Miliiaieva, *Stinopys Potelycha*, p. 106. On the Church of St. Onuphrius in Lavriv, see Mykola Holubets', "Lavriv (istoryko-arkheohrafichna studiia)," *Zapysky chynu Sviatoho Vasylia Velykoho*, no. 4, series 2 (1936), nos. 3–4.

Pokrova icons of the Western type long remained popular in the Western Ukrainian lands, as shown by the inclusion of this subject in the repertoire of masters of the folk icon in the village of Rybotychi near Peremyshl.¹⁷

The notion of the intercession of the Blessed Virgin on behalf of mankind, of her role as mediatrix between Jesus Christ and humanity, was quite popular and extensively cultivated in Western medieval theology. It developed as a result of interaction between the theological traditions of the Western and Eastern churches, as attested particularly by the Eastern, Byzantine origin of the Western prayer "Sub tuum praesidium confugimus." The theme of the mercy and intercession of the Blessed Virgin found its fullest expression in the writings of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, especially in his sermon on the Assumption of Mary (twelfth century).¹⁸

The development of the idea of the intercession and mercy of the Blessed Virgin in Western theology¹⁹ prepared the way for the appearance of the corresponding iconographic symbol: the cloak or mantle of the Virgin, with which she covered the congregation that sought her protection, became a well-established and widely diffused image. The mantle of Marian iconography became the embodiment of a whole theological doctrine and, in time, artists produced numerous iconographic depictions of the intercession of the Virgin Mary and her

¹⁷ This was apparently the milieu that produced two Pokrova icons, extraordinarily similar in composition and style, in the early eighteenth century. See Svientsits'ka and Otkovych, *Svit ochyma narodnykh myttsiv*, no. 80; Janina Kłosińska, *Ikony* (Cracow, 1973), p. 248, no. 111 [=Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie. Katalogi zbiorów, vol. 1]. Depictions similar to those on the icons reproduced here were still popular in the Carpathian Mountains of Ukraine in the nineteenth century, as attested by folk icons painted in Carpathian villages. See *Svit ochyma narodnykh myttsiv*, no. 119; National Museum in Lviv, *Maliuvannia na skli iz tsyклу "Svit ochyma narodnykh maistriv" (tradysii i suchasnist')*. *Kataloh vystavky z fondiv muzeiu ta zbiorok l'vivs'kykh kolektsioneriv* (Lviv, 1990), pp. 13–14. On the Rybotychi icons, see Vasyl' Otkovych, *Narodna techiia v ukrains'komu zhyvopysi XVII–XVIII st.* (Kyiv, 1990).

¹⁸ The sermon includes the following passage: "Sileat misericordiam tuam, Virgo beata, si quis est, qui invocatum te in necessitatibus suis sibi meminerit defuisse." Cited in Perdrizet, *La Vierge de Miséricorde*, p. 14.

¹⁹ On the image of Mary as mediatrix between God and man, see Mary Vincentine Gripkey, *The Blessed Virgin Mary as Mediatrix in the Latin and Old French Legend prior to the Fourteenth Century* (Washington, DC, 1938).

patronage of various orders whose monks were shown taking shelter beneath her mantle [fig. 1].²⁰ Beginning in the mid-fourteenth century, depictions of the Madonna with her mantle became extremely popular with the laity and were used mainly for votive purposes. Small groups (and, at times, larger ones), generally representing charitable fraternities or, occasionally, urban corporate groups, sought protection and patronage beneath the cloak of the Virgin Mary. Iconographic compositions of the Virgin of Mercy type became most widespread and attained their apogee of artistic development in Italy during the Quattrocento.²¹

The development of the cult of the Virgin of Mercy and its iconography was strongly influenced by the way in which Western theology resolved the problem of the relationship between the power of the Blessed Virgin as mediatrix and savior of mankind and that of the Holy Trinity, especially God the Father and God the Son. The earliest compositions of the Virgin of Mercy type already included depictions of God the Father, shown above the Blessed Virgin with arrows in His hand, menacing the sinful human race. The Madonna's mantle was extended to protect humanity from that threat. This iconographic type corresponded to the vision of St. Dominic, which, together with the vision of Caesarius of Heisterbach, served as the basis for the first depictions of the Virgin of Mercy.²²

God the Father and God the Holy Spirit, the latter traditionally represented in the shape of a dove, also appear in other iconographic depictions of the merciful Virgin, especially in those that show her coronation by the Holy Trinity. Compositions including an image of Christ above the Blessed Virgin, at times even a scene of the Crucifixion, were also fairly common. All the iconographic types that included depictions of God the Father and God the Son together with the Virgin served to reflect and accentuate the notion that guardianship and salvation—the Holy Protection—were extended to humanity by the Blessed Virgin not as an independent agent, but in her capacity as mediatrix between God and man. The idea of

²⁰ See the engraving on the title page of the *Catechismi Novitiorum et eorundem Magistri*, vol. 1 (1623) in Perdrizet, *La Vierge de Miséricorde*, plate VI.

²¹ *Ibid.*, plates II–VI.

²² Perdrizet, *La Vierge de Miséricorde*, plates V (1), VIII (2), XVIIIff.

intercession by the Blessed Virgin—the Madonna as mediatrix—had a basis in the fundamental principles of Catholic theology, and thus was accorded toleration and support in the official church.

The veneration of the Blessed Virgin as a supernatural being capable of granting assistance and salvation independently was considered heretical by the Catholic Church. Although this notion was tolerated in the Middle Ages, it was prohibited by the Council of Trent (1545–63), which led to the condemnation of certain iconographic types of the Virgin. Such condemnation apparently failed to obliterate the earlier cult: older paintings and reliefs of the Blessed Virgin were preserved, and new depictions of the merciful Madonna were painted not only in the seventeenth century, but in the eighteenth as well.²³ Yet, by the end of the sixteenth century, the “golden age” of Western iconography of the Virgin of Mercy was undeniably past. During several centuries of development, the Virgin of Mercy as an iconographic type gave rise to a considerable number of variants and offshoots. Our discussion will be limited to those features and characteristics that influenced the iconography of the Pokrova cult in Ukraine.

These include iconographic compositions in which the Virgin confers her patronage on an entire town or monastery and is shown standing on a cloud above it, extending her mantle as a sign of protection.²⁴ A Ukrainian example of this iconographic type is

²³ See, e.g., a Mexican painting from the turn of the eighteenth century in Gerald James Larson, Pratapaditya Pal, and Rebecca P. Gowen, *In Her Image: The Great Goddess in Indian Asia and the Madonna in Christian Culture* (Santa Barbara, 1980), p. 124. A good half or more of the depictions of the Virgin of Mercy (paintings, reliefs, etc.) known today show her alone, unaccompanied by members of the Holy Trinity. This iconographic type at once reflected and reinforced the widespread conviction that the Blessed Virgin possessed independent power to rescue those in need and grant forgiveness and salvation. The crown placed on Mary's head either by Jesus Christ or by the entire Holy Trinity, making her Queen of Heaven, could just as easily be taken as a symbol of the power, authority, and unlimited independent resources of the Virgin of Mercy. See Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London, 1976), pp. 328–29.

²⁴ In 1464, the Italian painter Benedetto Bonfigli produced such a composition, showing the Blessed Virgin standing with her mantle outstretched above the town of Perugia. See Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. 2: *Iconographie de la Bible*, pt. 2: *Nouveau testament* (Paris, 1957), p. 16.

Nykodym Zubrytskyi's engraving of "The Turkish Siege of the Pochaïv Cave Monastery," dated 1704. The Virgin hovers above the monastery of Pochaïv, protecting it from the Turkish attackers, who are shown at the very walls of the monastery.²⁵ Another engraving of this type was made in 1736 by Hryhorii Levytskyi in honor of Roman Kopa. Here, the merciful Virgin is shown standing on a cloud high in the heavens, extending her mantle over the clergy and buildings of the Kyivan Caves Monastery.²⁶ The Pochaïv master Adam Hochemskyi, who flourished from 1762 to 1790, also produced an engraving of the Virgin hovering on a cloud with her mantle—a virtual copy of Zubrytskyi's engraving of 1704.²⁷

Another Western iconographic composition that influenced Ukrainian icon painting was that of the Virgin extending her mantle to cover the afflicted—the sick, the crippled, mothers with children, and others.²⁸ Ukrainian Pokrova compositions were also greatly influenced by depictions of the Madonna with her mantle in which those who find shelter beneath it turn to the merciful Virgin with prayers and entreaties whose contents are elaborated on ribbons extending from the kneeling faithful to the Madonna [fig. 1].

Especially relevant to our theme is yet another variant of the Virgin of Mercy as an iconographic type—the "Mater omnium," whose mantle extends protection to the entire world as represented by kings, popes, bishops, etc. In most of these compositions, the temporal and spiritual dignitaries are depicted with portrait-like accuracy. A characteristic feature of this iconographic type is the artists' clear division of the community to which the Virgin extends her protection. As a rule, clergymen are shown standing to her right, while the laity is grouped to her left.²⁹ Often the laity itself is segregated by sex, with

²⁵ *Z ukrains'koï starovyny. Al'bum*, comp. lu. O. Ivanchenko (Kyiv, 1981) p. 205, no. 97.

²⁶ See *Istoriia ukrains'koho mystetstva*, vol. 3: *Mystetstvo druhoï polovyny XVII–XVIII stolittia* (Kyiv, 1968), p. 16, no. 2; p. 305. Cf. *Z ukrains'koï starovyny*, p. 205, no. 97.

²⁷ For reproductions, see F. S. Umantsev, *Troits'ka nadbramna tserkva Kyievo-Pechers'koï Lavry* (Kyiv, 1970), no. 17; Kost' Shonk-Rusych, *Istoriia ukrains'koho mystetstva v iliustratsiiakh* (New York, 1978), p. 137.

²⁸ Perdrizet, *La Vierge de Miséricorde*, plate XXX (2).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, plates XIII (1), XXI (1).

men to the right of the Virgin and women to the left.³⁰ In his classification of depictions of the Virgin of Mercy, Louis Réau distinguishes three iconographic types. The first is the so-called "Mater omnium," which shows figures symbolizing the entire Christian world under the protection of the Virgin's mantle. In the second type, those protected by the mantle are representatives of a particular social group or organization—a monastic order, church brotherhood, or civic corporation. The third type, which became popular in the early Renaissance, as increased importance was attributed to the individual, showed the lone figure of the donor beneath the Virgin's mantle.³¹ This iconographic type was widespread in the western Ukrainian lands, but also became popular in the east, providing the basis for some of the best-known Cossack icons of the Pokrova.

All these Western iconographic types of the Virgin of Mercy had a profound influence on the Ukrainian iconography of the Holy Protection. Their fusion with the Pokrova iconography of the Orthodox tradition as it had developed in the East Slavic lands gave rise to the distinct type of the Ukrainian Pokrova. From the West it borrowed not only the depiction of historical persons under the Virgin's protection, but other iconographic features as well. Among them was the reflection of the popular Catholic belief in the Immaculate Conception. During the early modern period, that belief strongly influenced the way in which the Virgin was depicted in Western iconography. She was presented by Western masters as a young woman or even a teenage girl, vigorous and beautiful. Traces of this depiction are apparent in Ukrainian iconography as early as the mid-seventeenth century.³²

³⁰ Ibid., plate XX.

³¹ See Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. 2: *Iconographie de la Bible*, pt. 2: *Nouveau testament* (Paris, 1957), pp. 115–18.

³² On belief in the Immaculate Conception and its reflection in West European iconography, see Anna Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna as Represented in the Fine Arts* (London, 1890, repr. Detroit, 1972), pp. 42–53; Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, pp. 236–69. On the spread of the doctrine in early modern Ukraine, see Sophia Senyk, "Marian Cult in the Kyivan Metropolitanate, XVII–XVIII Centuries," *De cultu Mariano saeculis XVII–XVIII. Acta congressus Mariologici-Mariani internationalis in Republica Melitensi anno 1983 celebrati*, vol. 7: *De cultu Mariano saeculis XVII et*

Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo, who traveled through Ukraine in 1654 and 1656 and left an account of his journey, wrote about his visit to a monastery in Cossack Ukraine: "...in the church we saw an icon of Our Lady, painted as a young woman crowned. All along our way we saw her portrayed as maiden, an immaculate virgin, with rosy cheeks."³³ That is exactly how the Virgin appears in Pokrova icons from Ukraine: her cheeks are rosy and she wears a crown. The crown reflects the influence of another Western tradition, that of depicting Mary as Queen of Heaven. This tradition became extremely popular in Ukraine in the eighteenth century with the introduction of the practice of crowning miraculous icons, but it was well known to Ukrainian icon painters as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century.³⁴

XVIII apud varias nationes. Pars altera (Rome, 1988), pp. 520–26.

³³ Paul of Aleppo, "Puteshestvie antiokhiiskogo patriarkha Makarii v Rossiiu v polovine XVII veka, opisannoe ego synom arkhid'iakonom Pavlom Aleppskim," trans. G. Murkos, *Chteniia v Imperatorskom obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete*, no. 4 (1894): 29–30; Senyk, "Marian Cult," p. 522.

³⁴ Sophia Senyk, "Marian Cult," pp. 515, 531–32. On the coronation of the Virgin in Western iconography, see Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna*, pp. 13–26; Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, pp. 103–17.

Three: The Wings of Protection

Our notions of the development of Pokrova iconography in Ukraine of the mid- and late seventeenth century and of the expression of political ideas therein are based largely on engravings in printed books. One of the reasons for this is the almost complete absence of eastern Ukrainian icons for this period.¹ The only compensation for this deficiency is that, given the way in which new iconographic subjects generally gained currency in Ukraine, it is highly likely that innovation in this sphere began with engraving and only gradually made its way into icon painting. On the territory of the Hetmanate, the leading institution for the production of books and book engravings was the printshop of the Kyivan Caves Monastery, whose engravings may readily be assumed to have reflected the ideas, attitudes, and aspirations of the monks and archimandrites of the monastery, as well as of the Orthodox hierarchy, which was closely associated with them. What exactly were these ideas and the circumstances that shaped them?

The years after Pereiaslav were neither simple nor carefree for the Orthodox clergy. When in 1658 Ivan Vyhovskyi effectively broke the treaty concluded by Khmelnytskyi with the Muscovite tsar and returned, together with the Zaporozhian Host, to the jurisdiction of the Polish king, the higher Kyivan clergy, in the person of Metropolitan Dionysii Balaban (1657–63), approved this action of Vyhovskyi's, and the metropolitan himself had to abandon Kyiv following its occupation by Muscovite forces. The Kyivan clergy, for their part, especially the archimandrites and hegumens of Kyivan monasteries under the leadership of Inokentii Gizel, found themselves obliged to make a difficult choice—to abandon their monasteries and follow the metropolitan or seek an accommodation with the tsarist authorities,

¹ Putsko hypothesizes that icons produced in Mazepa's time (i.e., the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries) were deliberately destroyed, as a matter of policy, throughout the nineteenth century. See his "'Rozp'iattia' z portretom Leontiiia Svichky: ievropeiska spadshchyna v ukraïnskomu maliarstvi kintsia XVII stolittia" in *Mappa Mundi. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats' na poshanu Iaroslava Dashkevycha z nahody ioho 70-richchia*, ed. Ihor Hyrych et al. (Lviv, 1996), pp. 555–75, here 559.

who showed an overt interest in subordinating the Kyivan Metropolitanate to Moscow.

The new Pereiaslav Agreement concluded in 1659 between Bohdan Khmelnytskyi's son Iurii and Muscovite officials already made provision for placing the Kyivan Metropolitanate under the authority of the Moscow patriarch (instead of the patriarch of Constantinople). It was the Moscow authorities who appointed the bishop of Chernihiv, Lazar Baranovych, locum tenens of the patriarchal throne.² Kyiv had to acknowledge the growing influence of Moscow on local religious policy, and by 1660 a delegation of Kyivan clergymen was already in Moscow, attempting to persuade the tsar to permit the election of a new metropolitan, who was to be consecrated either by the patriarch of Moscow or by the patriarch of Constantinople, at the tsar's sole discretion.³

These new realities and the consequent new orientation of the Kyivan clergy were fully reflected in the engravings included in new books issued by the Caves Monastery printshop. The year 1661 saw the publication of the *Pateryk abo otechnyk pechers'kyi* (The Kyivan Caves Patericon).⁴ As noted on its title page, the book was issued "by order and with the blessing" of the archimandrite of the Caves Monastery, Inokentii Gizel, who held that post from 1656 until his death in 1683. Gizel's edition of the *Pateryk* was an interesting development in the cultural and religious life of the Ukrainian lands. On the one hand, it continued the earlier tradition of popularizing the

² In 1661, they appointed the bishop of Mstislaŭ, Mefodii (Maksym) Fylymonovych, who had been consecrated without Constantinople's assent, to the same post.

³ The delegation was organized by Inokentii Gizel. Through Gizel, of whom the voevoda V. B. Sheremetiev gave a positive report at this time, the Muscovite authorities attempted to negotiate with Iurii Khmelnytskyi (1641–1685), who had gone over to the Polish side. See Ėingorn, *Ocherki iz istorii Malorossii v XVII v.*, p. 165. For a survey of Kyivan developments in this period, see Ivan Vlasovskiy, *Narys istorii ukrains'koï pravoslavnoi tserkvy*, 4 vols. (5 bks) (New York, 1955–66), vol. 2, pp. 299–312.

⁴ See the description of this edition and the reproduction of the title page in Zapasko and Isaievych, *Kataloh starodrukiv*, 1: 73–74, 77, no. 402. For an English translation, see *The Paterik of the Kyivan Caves Monastery*, tr. Muriel Heppel (Cambridge, Mass., 1989) [=Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature. English Translations, vol. 1].

cult of miracles performed by the saints of the Caves Monastery; on the other hand, unlike the previous (first) edition of the *Patericon*, issued by Sylvestr Kosov in 1635, the book was published not in Polish but in Church Slavonic. The period separating these two editions of the *Patericon*, replete with the turbulence of the mid-century Cossack revolution, was of little more than twenty-five years' duration, yet it marked a dramatic shift in the cultural, linguistic and political orientation of Kyivan Orthodoxy. In cultural and linguistic terms, this was a shift in orientation from Poland and the West to the Orthodox tradition common to all of Eastern Slavdom; in political terms, it marked a change of allegiance from royal to tsarist authority.

There was no more eloquent expression of this shift than one of the two principal engravings used to illustrate the *Patericon* of 1661. This engraving was placed immediately after the one depicting the Dormition of the Theotokos, a traditional subject for publications issued by the Kyivan Caves Monastery, with its Dormition Cathedral. It showed the Theotokos extending her mantle to cover the emblem of tsarist rule, a two-headed eagle bearing a shield with a depiction of St. George the Dragon-Slayer [fig. 2].⁵ The composition consisted of three tiers: Jesus Christ wearing a crown in the top tier; the crowned Theotokos with the coat of arms in the center; and, at the bottom, the Dormition Cathedral flanked by monks of the Caves Monastery. Christ was depicted with wings, protecting the Theotokos and the coat of arms and, by extension, the monks below. In addition to her mantle, the Theotokos had wings that she extended to cover the entire lower tier, comprising the Dormition Cathedral and the monks. Thus, the engraving gave direct expression to the postulate adopted at the Council of Trent, whereby the divine power of the Theotokos was considered to issue from Christ (who covered the Theotokos herself with His wings), and the engravers made use of the Western iconographic type of the Virgin of Mercy, adding the less customary element of wings to this classical composition.⁶

⁵ See the reproduction of the engraving in Pavlo Zholtovs'kyi, *Vyzvol'na borot'ba ukrains'koho narodu v pam'iatakh mystetstva XVI–XVIII st.* (Kyiv, 1958). p. 48, no. 19; Gębarowicz, *Mater Misericordiae*, no. 141.

⁶ Gębarowicz (*Mater Misericordiae*, pp. 156, 173) treats the wings as attributes of Sophia, the supreme wisdom of God. This conclusion is based primarily on South European iconographic parallels and does not take into account the inscriptions on the

The theme of the eagle and his wings was dominant in this engraving, emphasized not only by the placement of the tsar's emblematic eagle in the very center of the composition, but also by the inscriptions appearing above the wings of Christ and the Theotokos. The words inscribed above the depiction of Christ were taken from Deuteronomy: "As an eagle covers her nest."⁷ Another inscription was placed above the wings of the Theotokos: "And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle." In employing this quotation from the Revelation of St. John the Divine, the engravers identified the Theotokos with the apocalyptic female figure who is described in the Biblical text as giving birth to a future ruler whom God immediately takes to Himself, while the mother eludes Satan as best she can during the period of his temporal rule.⁸

Judging by the inscriptions on the ribbons extending from the monks of the Cave Monastery (depicted in the lower tier of the composition) to the Theotokos, they were asking her to cover them with "the protection of her wings." This entreaty from the monks to the Theotokos, identified with the apocalyptic female figure of Revelation, to cover them with the wings she had been given to protect her from Satan can only be interpreted as an attempt by the engravers to combine the cult of the Pokrova with the quest for

engraving or the parallels in contemporary Ukrainian writings. Pavlo Zholtovskiy, who also studied this engraving, maintains that the wings were suggested by the iconography of the Apocalypse. He also assumes that the iconography is partly based on that of the tsar's banner, sent by Aleksei Mikhailovich to Bohdan Khmelnytskyi at the time of Pereiaslav council in 1654. See Zholtovskiy, *Vyzvol'na horot'ba*, pp. 46–49.

⁷ This quotation was taken from the Ostrih Bible (reprint: *The Ostroh Bible, 1581* [Winnipeg, 1983]). Cf. the translation of the same passage in the King James Bible, which reads: "As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings..." (Deut. 32:11). Apparently, the same image was employed by Khmelnytskyi and Vyhovskyi in their speeches at the Council of Pereiaslav. See *Vossoedinenie*, 3: 460.

⁸ Cf. "And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place..." (Rev. 12: 14). Apocalyptic imagery became quite popular in Ukraine in the mid-seventeenth century: a cycle of engravings of the Apocalypse was produced for popular distribution by the Kyiv engraver Prokopii. See Zholtovskiy, *Vyzvol'na horot'ba*, p. 49; D. A. Rovinskii, *Russkie narodnye kartinki* (St. Petersburg, 1900), p. 10.

protection by the Muscovite tsar, represented in the engraving by his coat of arms, a two-headed eagle. To be sure, the Kyivan engravers' use of elements of the official Muscovite coat of arms and their symbolic interpretation were entirely in the tradition of Ukrainian emblematic poetry.⁹ Of cardinal importance in this connection, however, is that the combination of the theme of the Holy Protection with that of the protection afforded by eagles' wings was nothing other than an iconographic expression of the images employed in speeches delivered by Ukrainian and Russian representatives at the Council of Pereiaslav in 1654.

The themes of the Pokrova and of the protection to be found under the wings of the Muscovite eagle, symbolizing the tsar's patronage of the Zaporozhian Host and Rus' as a whole, resounded in the expressions of welcome to the Muscovite delegation delivered prior to and in the course of the Council of Pereiaslav by Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, General Chancellor Ivan Vyhovskyi, Metropolitan Sylvestr Kosov, and certain representatives of the Kyivan clergy.¹⁰ The iconographic composition of the engraving also has much in common with the banner sent by Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich to Khmelnytskyi and presented to the hetman by the tsar's envoy, Vasili Buturlin, at Pereiaslav. In his speech to the hetman and the Cossack officers, Buturlin gave the following description of the banner: "On

⁹ On Ukrainian emblematic poetry, see Waldemar Deluga, "Kijowskie druki emblematyczne XVII i XVIII-wiecznych wydań polsko- i łaćniškojęzycznych," *Mediaevalia Ucrainica*, no. 2 (1993): 69–97. On emblematic poems written by alumni of Kyiv Mohyla College, see Peter A. Rolland, "Ut Poesia Pictura...: Emblems and Literary Pictorialism in Simion Połacki's Early Verse," *HUS* 16, nos. 1–2 (June 1992): 67–86. On emblematic poetry in Poland, see Janusz Pelc, *Słowo—Obraz—Znak. Studium o emblematkach w literaturze staropolskiej* (Wrocław et al., 1973) [=Studia staropolskie, vol. 37]; in Muscovy, see A. A. Morozov and L. A. Sofronova, "Ėmblematika i ee mesto v iskusstve Barokko" in *Slavianskoe Barokko: istoriko-kul'turnye aspekty ėpokhi*, ed. A. I. Rogov et al. (Moscow, 1979); in Western Europe, see Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery* (Rome, 1964), 2d ed. [=Sussidi eruditi, vol. 16].

¹⁰ In both cases, the references to wings of eagles were based on passages from Scripture (cf. chap. 8 of my *Cossacks and Religion*). In addition to the passages cited there, the following Biblical verse makes reference to the protection afforded by wings: "He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shalt thou trust: his truth shall be thy shield and buckler" (Psalms 91:4).

this tsar's banner of his the King of Kings, the all-merciful Savior, is depicted for victory over enemies, the Most Holy Theotokos for protection, and the holy Rus' suppliants with St. Barbara to intercede for you and your whole Orthodox host...."¹¹

In another section of his speech, Buturlin referred directly to the legend of Blachernai as the source of the idea of the Holy Protection: "And as the Immaculate Theotokos once covered the faithful in Constantinople with her miraculous cloak, [repelling] the enemies who armed themselves against the faithful by means of the almighty intercession wrought by her miraculous image, defeating some miraculously and putting others to shameful rout, so she is depicted among your regiments on this banner of the tsar's; when it is carried, she protects you against infidel arms and grants victory over them, keeping you and the whole Orthodox host and all the faithful safe from harm."¹²

As the composition of the frontispiece demonstrates, the ideas and images in Buturlin's speech and in the remarks of Cossack officers and Ukrainian clerics at Pereiaslav eventually made their way into the visual arts in Ukraine. It is probably not surprising that the engravers of the Kyivan Caves Monastery who visually combined the theme of the Pokrova with that of the tsar's protection were working on the basis of the Western iconographic type of the Virgin of Mercy. Clearly, they were less inhibited in this instance than when they dealt with the classical Russian composition of the Pokrova, which was well known to the Kyivan printers, if only from the engravings on the theme of the Holy Protection included in the *Anfolohion* issued by the Caves Monastery printshop in 1619.

The orientation of the Kyivan and Left-Bank clergy toward Moscow, as represented in the frontispiece of the *Patericon*, was further developed in another publication of the Caves Monastery printshop, a collection of sermons by Lazar Baranovych, issued in 1666 under the title *Mech dukhovnyi* (Sword of the Spirit).¹³ The book

¹¹ *Vossoedinenie*, 3: 467.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ See the description of the publication and reproduction of the title page in Zapasko and Isaievych, *Kataloh starodrukiv*, 1: 78, 81, no. 431. For a bibliography of Baranovych's writings and works about him, see Leonid Makhnovets', ed., *Ukrains'ki pys'mennyky. Bio-bibliohrafichnyi slovnyk*, 5 vols. (Kyiv, 1960–65), 1: 200–206.

opened with a poem "On the Banner of His Most Serene Tsarist Majesty," and its foreword was addressed to Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich. Some of the engravers who had worked on the *Patericon* were also involved in preparing the illustrations for *Mech dukhovnyi*,¹⁴ hence it is not surprising that the set of images they employed to represent the idea of the tsarist protectorate over Rus' resembled the one in the *Patericon* and was consonant with the ideas of the Pereiaslav cycle.

When *Mech dukhovnyi* was issued, its author, Bishop Lazar Baranovych, and Archimandrite Inokentii Gizel of the Kyivan Caves Monastery were engaged in a new round of negotiations with Moscow on the appointment of the Kyivan metropolitan. In 1665, the Left-Bank hetman Ivan Briukhovetskyi raised the issue with Moscow of appointing a Muscovite candidate to the metropolitan see of Kyiv in order to undermine the influence of the local clergy. On learning of Briukhovetskyi's initiative, the Kyivan clerics sent their own delegation to Moscow in the following year in order to propose the consecration by the patriarch of Moscow of a new metropolitan elected by the Ukrainian clergy from among local candidates. The initiative for sending this delegation came from the locum tenens of the metropolitan see, Mefodii Fylymonovych, as well as from Inokentii Gizel, but it was also supported by Lazar Baranovych, who enjoyed the confidence of the Muscovite authorities from 1664 on.¹⁵

Moscow postponed a decision on the election of a metropolitan until the Moscow church council of 1666–67, at which the question was not resolved after all, but the Chernihiv bishopric was elevated to an archepiscopacy, and Bishop Lazar Baranovych, in attendance at the

Baranovych's literary activity is described in N. F. Sumtsov, *K istorii iuzhnorusskoi literatury semnadsatogo stoletia*, vyp. 1: *Lazar' Baranovich* (Kharkiv, 1885). Several of Baranovych's Polish-language poems are reprinted in Ryszard Łużny, *Pisarze kręgu Akademii Kijowsko-Mohylańskiej a literatura polska* (Cracow, 1966), pp. 150–56. For his Ukrainian-language poems, see *Ukrains'ka literatura XVII st.*, pp. 294–303; *Ukrains'ka poeziia. Seredyna XVII stolittia*, comp. V. I. Krekoten' and M. M. Sulyma (Kyiv, 1992), pp. 216–29. Baranovych's copious poetic legacy includes at least one poem dedicated to the Holy Protection of the Theotokos: see Łazarz Baranowicz, *Żywoty świętych* (Kyiv, 1670), pp. 117–18.

¹⁴ Most notably the engravers who signed their names "Iliia" and "K. R."

¹⁵ See Ėingorn, *Ocherki iz istorii Malorossii*, p. 331.

council, was promoted to archbishop.¹⁶ During the council, Baranovych managed to gain an audience with the tsar, to whom he personally presented a copy of *Mech dukhovnyi*. The book was endorsed by the council and the tsar allowed it to be sold in Moscow; moreover, a large part of the press run was sent to Muscovite monasteries, with compulsory payment for copies received. *Mech dukhovnyi* was thus a great political and financial success for Baranovych.¹⁷ Clearly, in preparing the book for distribution in Moscow, Baranovych had to ensure that its contents and illustrations were appropriate.

The motif of eagle's wings as a symbol of the tsar's protection was presented in an engraving in *Mech dukhovnyi* that depicted an eagle atop the tsar's crown, together with a gathering of eaglets attacking a flock of birds. The latter probably represented the Poles and Tatars, while the eagle stood for the tsar, and the eaglets, presumably, for the Little Russians, that is, the Ukrainians.¹⁸ Along with the motif of the tsarist eagle and its protectorate over Rus', the iconography of *Mech dukhovnyi* depicted another subject of the Pereiaslav cycle. This was the representation of the Muscovite tsars as descendants and successors of Prince Volodymyr the Great of Kyiv. The theme was developed by Kyivan clerics seeking Moscow's support as far back as the early seventeenth century; it was also sounded in the words of welcome addressed by Khmelnytskyi and Vyhovskyi to Buturlin on the eve of the Council of Pereiaslav. The engravers of *Mech dukhovnyi* presented this theme in the frontispiece, which showed the family tree of Aleksei Mikhailovich growing out of the reclining figure of Prince Volodymyr [fig. 3].¹⁹

¹⁶ The change in the status of the bishopric, which was under the jurisdiction of Constantinople, was, among other things, a reward to Baranovych for his pro-Moscow orientation. See Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii*, 2: 317–21.

¹⁷ On this point, see Ėingorn, *Ocherki iz istorii Malorossii*, pp. 402–3.

¹⁸ See the description of the engraving in Zholtovs'kyi, *Vyzvol'na borot'ba*, p. 49.

¹⁹ See the description of the engraving, *ibid.* The image of the tree was apparently patterned after the representation of the Tree of Jesse (*Radix Jesse*), from whose root sprang Jesus Christ. Thus, Volodymyr is equated with Jesse (the reclining picture in the *Radix Jesse*), and Aleksei Mikhailovich is equated with Christ (usually “blossoming” at the crown of the tree). I am particularly grateful to Michael Flier for bringing this parallel to my attention.

For Baranovych, the first half of the 1670s was a period of severe shocks. From 1670, he served as locum tenens of the metropolitan see, but his status was continually threatened. On the one hand, Muscovy had an interest in seeing Gizel take over the metropolitanate, but he would not agree to change his allegiance from the Ecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople to the Patriarchate of Moscow. On the other hand, the tsarist government did not abandon hopes of annexing the "Polish" Right-Bank eparchies to the Kyivan Metropolitanate, which was already subordinate to its jurisdiction, and conducted negotiations to that end with Metropolitan Iosyf Tukalskyi, successor to Dionysii Balaban. Tukalskyi also refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Moscow, and negotiations with him broke down in 1674. In the following year, Moscow abandoned the idea of uniting the metropolitan see under one metropolitan, which greatly strengthened Baranovych's position as locum tenens.²⁰

Bishop Lazar was well known for his efforts not only to win the tsar's favor, but also to obtain his support in the pettiest of conflicts and intrigues, of which there was no shortage in his career.²¹ Almost all of his Kyivan publications, as well as the ones he later issued in Chernihiv, were replete with dedications and panegyrics to the tsar and members of his family.²² In 1674, the year in which the first edition of the *Sinopsis* was published, the Caves Monastery printshop also issued two editions of a new work by Lazar Baranovych, *Truby sloves propovidnykh na narochityia dni prazdnikov* (Trumpets of the Homiletic Word for Days of Special Commemorative Offices). Like *Mech dukhovnyi*, they were dedicated to Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich and prefaced by verses describing and interpreting the tsarist banner. The work also included Baranovych's "discourses" on various events in the life of the tsar's family.²³

²⁰ For an outline of developments, see Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii*, 2: 324–25.

²¹ See Peter Rolland, "'Nieskoro' prawi 'munsztuk do tych trąb otrymacie': On Lazar Baranovyč's *Truby sloves propovidnykh* and Their Non-publication in Moscow," *JUS* 17, nos. 1–2 (Summer–Winter 1992): 205–16, here p. 206.

²² See the descriptions of these publications in Zapasko and Isaievych, *Kataloh starodrukiv*, vol. 1, nos. 476, 518, 519, 527, 593, 611, 615.

²³ See the descriptions of these editions, *ibid.*, 1: 89–90, nos. 518, 519.

For several years, Baranovych persistently sought to publish *Truby* in Moscow at the expense of the tsar's treasury. At first the project proceeded well, and Simiaon Polatski, who was well disposed to Baranovych, was appointed censor and editor of the publication. Yet the work was not issued, partly because of the resumption of military operations in Ukraine and partly for reasons that still remain obscure. A major source of opposition to the project were some sections of the Muscovite clergy, which had serious reservations about the character of Kyivan Orthodoxy.²⁴ In the end, Baranovych had to content himself with a subsidy from the tsar in the form of a supply of paper sufficient for part of the Kyiv press run. Still, Baranovych continued to press his claim, convincing the tsarist government to permit the sale of the book in Moscow and then to buy most of the stock from him.²⁵ Baranovych's efforts to consolidate his position as locum tenens in Kyiv, demonstrate his loyalty to Moscow, and oblige the tsar to buy the stock of *Truby* naturally had a direct influence on the political orientation of the "discourses" and engravings included in the book.

One of the two editions of *Truby* issued in 1674 included a specially prepared set of original engravings. Of greatest interest is an engraving that occupies a whole page and whose basic themes clearly echo the motifs enunciated in the engraving of the 1661 *Patericon* [fig. 4].²⁶ Like the *Patericon* engraving, this one is composed of three tiers. It gives pride of place to the two-headed Muscovite eagle, which is depicted thrice: a large image with a representation of St. George the Dragon-Slayer, a central one with a depiction of a dove representing the Holy Spirit, and a smaller one with no additional image on the eagle's breast. Like the 1661 engraving, that of 1674 features a winged Theotokos and a winged Christ, as well as a depiction of the Theotokos covering the two-headed eagle with her mantle. Above the image of the Theotokos are inscribed the same

²⁴ In the opinion of Simiaon Polatski, the interpretation of the Immaculate Conception expounded in Baranovych's sermons might have raised objections.

²⁵ See Rolland, "'Nieskoro' prawi 'munsztuk do tych trąb otrymacie,'" pp. 206–209; Ėingorn, *Ocherki iz istorii Malorossii*, pp. 971–95.

²⁶ See the reproduction of the engraving in Gębarowicz, *Mater Misericordiae*, no. 142. Among the engravers who worked on both publications was a master named Illia. See Zapasko and Isaievych, *Katalog starodrukiv*, 1: 74, 90.

words from the Revelation: "And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle," while the image of the winged Christ is surmounted by the words "As an eagle covers her nest." The 1674 engraving also contains many new elements, most notably the inscription above the Theotokos sheltering the tsarist eagle: "I shall cover you, for you have recognized my name." The engraving is considerably more complex and detailed than the one in *Patericon*, which may have served as its prototype. The major "ideological" difference is that the wings of the Theotokos, Christ, and the tsarist eagle extend their protection not to the monks of the Caves Monastery but to the Muscovite tsar and his family, who are shown in the lower tier of the composition.

The idea of the tsar's protection of Ukraine is implied in another engraving in *Truby* that depicts the Russian Pokrova type. In the lower corners of the engraving, two eagles cover their young with their wings [fig. 5].²⁷ The same symbolic meaning is expressed in the above-mentioned engraving from the 1666 edition of *Mech dukhovnyi* and in an engraving in the 1680 edition of the *Sinopsis* that shows the two-headed tsarist eagle with the following inscription: "Under the protection of the eagles' wings of the tsarist banner/ The moon of the infidel shall not harm us."²⁸ An interesting aspect of the Pokrova engraving in *Truby* is its combination of the iconographic image of the eagle and eagles' wings symbolizing the tsar's protection with the Russian compositional type of the Holy Protection of the Theotokos: until then, the iconography of eagles' wings had been rather aptly combined with the Western type of the Virgin of Mercy. Yet the combination attempted in the 1674 engraving proved none too successful and is not known to have been repeated or developed in subsequent engravings.

The engravings from the 1661 *Patericon* and the *Truby* of 1674 unquestionably influenced another engraving that appeared in *Runo oroshennoie* (The Bedewed Fleece), published in Chernihiv in 1696 by Dymytrii Tuptalo (St. Dmitrii of Rostov) [fig. 6].²⁹ Here, under the

²⁷ See the reproduction of the engraving in Gębarowicz, *Mater Misericordiae*, no. 105.

²⁸ See Zholtovs'kyi, *Vyzvol'na borot'ba*, p. 50.

²⁹ See the description of the publication in Zapasko and Isaievych, *Kataloh starodrukiv*, 1: 110, no. 707. See the reproduction of the engraving in Gębarowicz, *Mater Misericordiae*, no. 106.

mantle of the crowned and winged Theotokos, in the tradition of the Western "Mater omnium" type, kneeling figures are shown at prayer: to the left of the Theotokos are representatives of the clerical order with their hierarchs; to her right are laymen with monarchs at their head. A comparison of the engravings of 1661 and 1696 shows similarity not only in the pose and drapery of the Virgin, but also in the accompanying inscriptions. Both contain the words "Cover us with the protection of your wings," as well as "And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle." The next inscription on the engraving in *Runo oroshennoie*, "I shall cover you, for you have recognized my name," is identical to the one in the above-mentioned engraving from Baranovych's *Truby* of 1674. In addition, the following inscription—a prayer to the Theotokos—was inscribed beneath the engraving: "Those who know your Most Holy Name, Mother,/ You promise to cover with your Holy Protection./ I always call you Mary/ Cover me, for I know your Name." Thus the prayer did not emphasize the apocalyptic wings of the Theotokos, but apparently sought to introduce the Western practice of addressing her as "Mary" instead of the honorific "Theotokos."

The Pokrova engravings produced in Kyiv (and subsequently in Chernihiv) reflected the particular course of development followed by one of the most popular Ukrainian Orthodox cults of the day under the influence of Western Christianity. An interesting feature of these engravings dedicated to the Theotokos is that they were used to illustrate collections of sermons, thereby symbolizing the continuity and complex interweaving in Ukrainian religious experience of the veneration of miracle cults and sermonizing. As Paul Bushkovitch notes concerning this unique aspect of Ukrainian religious culture of the early modern period, "the most sophisticated preachers (Haliatovs'kyi and later St. Dmitrii of Rostov) also produced numerous contributions to the miracle cults."³⁰

The engraving from Tuptalo's *Runo oroshennoie* appears to be the last known depiction of the winged Theotokos based on the Western type of the Virgin of Mercy. A Moscow publication issued with the

³⁰ Paul Bushkovitch, *Religion and Society in Russia: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York and Oxford, 1992), p. 168. For the role of the seventeenth-century Ukrainian clergy in reorienting Russian religious culture from miracle cults to sermons, see pp. 8–9, 150–79.

approval of the ecclesiastical censors several years later, in 1704, included an engraving very similar in composition, showing the Theotokos in the same pose and with the same entourage, but without wings.³¹ This “wingless” composition served as the basis for several Cossack icons that presented the idea of the tsar’s protection of Ukraine in a new light.

³¹ See the reproduction of the engraving in Gębarowicz, *Mater Misericordiae*, no. 126.

Four: The Image of the Hetman

With the appointment of Hedeon Sviatopolk-Chetvertynskyi, a relative of Hetman Ivan Samoilovych, to the metropolitan see of Kyiv and the metropolitanate's subsequent transfer to Muscovite jurisdiction in 1685–86,¹ the fierce struggle among the clergy for appointment as locum tenens receded into the past, and the need for pro-Russian clerics continually to demonstrate their loyalty to the tsar lessened considerably. This period also saw the demise of the generation of hierarchs who were contemporaries of Pereiaslav and developed their discourse with Moscow on the basis of the system of images created by the Kyivan clergy of the mid-seventeenth century.

At the same time, the problem of Cossack loyalty to the Russian Empire became a central issue in the political battles waged by the Cossack officers after Ivan Mazepa's defection to the Swedes in 1708. The institution of the hetmancy itself came under threat, Cossack colonels became more directly dependent on the tsar, and competition among various Cossack officer factions intensified. This new situation called for the continual demonstration of Cossack loyalty to imperial Russia, which in turn required that iconographers and their Cossack patrons devise new artistic forms for the expression of their political reliability. The Pokrova iconography, as developed by the Kyivan clergy, became one such form of expression, but, in contrast to the clergy, which controlled the printshops and made use of engravings to give expression to its ideological views, the Cossack officers chose icons.²

Of all the Cossack icons, the best known is that of the Pokrova with a portrait of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, which indeed often

¹ On the subordination of the Kyivan metropolitanate to the patriarch of Moscow, see S. A. Ternovskii, *Issledovanie o podchinenii Kievskoi metropolii Moskovskomu patriarkhu* (Kyiv, 1912).

² One type of art that reflected tastes and aspirations of both the Orthodox hierarchy and the Cossack officers was embroidery. On the Pokrova theme in Ukrainian church embroidery, see Tetiana Kara-Vasyl'ieva, *Liturgiine shytvo Ukraïny XVII–XVIII st. Ikonohrafiia, typolohiia, stylistyka* (Lviv, 1996), pp. 92–97.

serves as a symbol of Ukrainian icon painting in general. More than any other icon of the period, it is a rich source of information on the political culture of Cossack Ukraine. The icon [fig. 7] was discovered in the village church of Deshky, not far from the town of Bohuslav (in present-day Kyiv Oblast).³ The Deshky icon represents one of the Pokrova types elaborated in Ukraine under the influence of Western iconography. In composition, it closely resembles that of the Pokrova engraving from Dymytrii Tuptalo's *Runo oroshennoie* and the Moscow engraving of 1704.

The Deshky icon has often been reproduced in recent decades, but, surprisingly, has not become the subject of a special study. The dates assigned to it in various surveys of Ukrainian painting range from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century. The authors of these surveys do not usually provide evidence or explanations for their dating of the icon.⁴ The same holds true for the identification of persons depicted in the icon: it is generally accepted that the principal figures to the left of the Theotokos are Bohdan Khmelnytskyi and Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich. In his monograph *The Ukrainian Icon*, Sviatoslav Hordynsky maintains that the church hierarch pictured in it is Metropolitan Dionysii Balaban of Kyiv.⁵ However, Metropolitan Balaban, well known for his support of Hetman Ivan Vyhovskyy's anti-Muscovite policies, did not hold office in Khmelnytskyi's time: he was installed as metropolitan only after the hetman's death.⁶ There

³ There are many reproductions of this popular icon, which was recently reprinted in Liudmyla Miliiaeva, *The Ukrainian Icon* (Bournemouth and St. Petersburg, 1996), no. 68. Most reproductions, including the one in Miliiaeva's book, are accompanied by the information that this icon, now preserved in the National Museum of Fine Art in Kyiv, was found in the Church of the Holy Protection in the village of Deshky. It is hard to say on what basis Pavlo Zholtovskyy and, following him, Mieczysław Gębarowicz assert that the icon comes from the town of Motyzhyn, also in Kyiv Oblast. See Zholtovskyy, *Ukrains'kyi zhvyopys XVII–XVIII st.*, p. 145; Gębarowicz, *Mater Misericordiae*, p. 170.

⁴ Pavlo Zholtovskyy (*Vyzvol'na borotba*, p. 53) and Sviatoslav Hordynsky (*The Ukrainian Icon*, p. 33) date the icon to the second half of the seventeenth century. The authors of *Narysy z istorii ukrains'koho mystetstva*, plate 6, date it to the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Liudmyla Miliiaeva (*The Ukrainian Icon*, p. 74) states that it was produced in the late seventeenth century but repainted early in the eighteenth.

⁵ See Hordynsky, *The Ukrainian Icon*, p. 33.

⁶ For a portrait and brief biography of Metropolitan Dionysii Balaban, see

is also room for doubt as to the identification of the tsar depicted in the icon with the person of Aleksei Mikhailovich. Although the image of the tsar in the Deshky icon somewhat resembles known portraits of Aleksei Mikhailovich, and a depiction of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi together with this tsar makes chronological sense, the tsar in this icon is not unlike the abstract (ideal) tsars depicted in Ukrainian icons of the early modern period.⁷

Only one of the historical figures depicted in this icon, that of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, can be identified with complete certainty. For a host of reasons, the Khmelnytskyi portrait is crucial to understanding the political ideology expressed in the Deshky icon, as well as to determining when and under what circumstances it was painted. In order to answer these questions, the Deshky icon must be examined in the context of the cult of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi.

There are definite traces of the emergence of the Khmelnytskyi cult as early as 1649. The speeches and verses that glorified Khmelnytskyi at that time came from student circles at the Kyiv Mohyla College and Ivan Vyhovskyi's chancery.⁸ The election of Bohdan's son Iurii Khmelnytskyi as hetman in 1659, as well as an attempt to exploit him on the part of the Turks in 1677–81, show that

Encyclopedia of Ukraine, 1: 162. A fuller portrait can be found in: Borys A. Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998).

⁷ The depiction of the tsar in the Deshky icon is lacking in specific features. Similar depictions of tsars are also to be encountered in Pokrova icons with portraits of Cossack officers from Myrhorod (see Gębarowicz, *Mater Misericordiae*, no. 129) and the Chernihiv region (see Svientsits'ka and Otkovych, *Svit ochyma narodnykh myttsiv*, no. 63), as well as one with a portrait of a Cossack colonel (possibly Acting Hetman Pavlo Polubotok) from Novhorod-Siverskyi. Cf. the reproduction of the Novhorod-Siverskyi in Miliiaeva, *The Ukrainian Icon*, nos. 72, 73, and compare with the portrait of Pavlo Polubotok in Platon Bilets'kyi, *Ukrains'kyi portretnyi zhyvopys XVII–XVIII st. Problemy stanovlennia i rozvytku* (Kyiv, 1969), p. 208. Another example of the “generalized” portrayal of the tsar occurs in a well-known Pokrova icon from Sulymivka, whose composition follows the Russian iconographic model proper to this feast [fig. 12]. See the reproduction of the icon in Zholtovs'kyi, *Ukrains'kyi zhyvopys XVII–XVIII st.*, p. 233; Miliiaeva, *The Ukrainian Icon*, no. 71.

⁸ For the text of the panegyrics to Bohdan Khmelnytskyi written in Ivan Vyhovskyi's chancery, see Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 2 (New York, 1957), pp. 1523–26; *Ukrains'ka poeziia. Sredyna XVII stolittia*, comp. V. I. Krekoten' and M. M. Sulyma (Kyiv, 1992), pp. 101–104.

the name of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi was still popular among the Cossacks. Khmelnytskyi would be recalled by later hetmans when they tried to sort out their relations with Muscovy and referred to the "Articles of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi" drafted in Moscow in 1654. Khmelnytskyi's hetmancy left a positive memory among the Orthodox clergy in Right-Bank Ukraine, where the church tried to preserve the gains it had made at the time of the great revolt. Nevertheless, there was no remaining trace of the public cult of the hetman. Indeed, some anti-Khmelnytskyi writings were produced at the time, not only by the Poles, but also by the Orthodox clergy. In these writings, Khmelnytskyi figured as the Cossack leader who had started the war with Poland, and the Cossacks were generally blamed by the clergy for the resulting period of the Ruin. The unknown author of the political pamphlet *Perestoroha Ukraini* (A Warning to Ukraine, 1669), mentioned Khmelnytskyi only once, in an unfavorable context: "...Ukraine achieved nothing good for itself; under the old Khmelnytskyi it knew neither how to rule nor how to manage...."⁹

The revival of Khmelnytskyi's cult in the Hetmanate during Mazepa's time is shown by the publication of panegyric verses in his honor in the late seventeenth century¹⁰ and by the mention of Khmelnytskyi's political legacy in Orlyk's constitution. Throughout the eighteenth century, the image of Khmelnytskyi acquired overtly heroic characteristics. The abrupt growth in the popularity of Khmelnytskyi's image at the beginning of the eighteenth century is well attested by the Cossack chronicles. The first of them, written by an anonymous author ca. 1703 and known as the Eyewitness Chronicle, contains no evidence of any particular cult of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, but the second, compiled by Hryhorii Hrabianka in 1710, not only glorifies the hetman but presents him as a central figure of Ukrainian history.¹¹

⁹ See Iurii Mytsyk, "Pershyi ukrains'kyi istoryko-politychnyi traktat," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1991, no. 5: 134.

¹⁰ For the text of the 1693 panegyric to Khmelnytskyi, see Volodymyr Peretts, "K istorii Kievo-Mogilianskoi kollegii. Panegiriki i stikhi B. Khmel'nitskomu, I. Podkove i arkh. Lazariu Baranovichu," *Chteniia v Istoricheskoi obshchestve Nestora-letopistsa*, vol. 14, vyp. 1, otd. 3, pp. 7-25.

¹¹ See the most recent edition of the Eyewitness Chronicle: *Litopys Samovydsia*, ed. Iaroslav Dzyra (Kyiv, 1971). There is also no trace of glorification of

Verses devoted to Khmelnytskyi and references to him in other poetical works are to be found in a variety of manuscript sources dating mainly from the 1710s and '20s: a course in poetics entitled "Libri tres de arte poeticae..." offered at the Kyiv Mohyla Academy in 1714; a collection of verses by a student of the Academy, Andrii Herasymovych, dating from 1719–20; and Hnat Buzanovskyi's course "Congeries praeceptorum rhetoricorum...", given at the Academy in 1729.¹² The year 1728 saw the appearance of the well-known drama "Mylost' Bozhiiia..." (*The Grace of God That Liberated Ukraine from the Intolerable Polish Wrongs through Bohdan Zinovii Khmelnytskyi, the Most Glorious Hetman of the Zaporozhian Host, and That Exalted Ukraine through the Victories Granted to Him over the Poles*), whose thesis is fully expressed in its title.¹³ At about the same time, the Chronicle of Samiilo Velychko, which glorified Khmelnytskyi, was completed. Thus, the period from 1710 to 1729 was formative for the revived cult and new image of Khmelnytskyi.

What were the achievements for which Khmelnytskyi was exalted in the numerous panegyrics of those two decades? There were three principal ones: bringing Ukraine under the rule of the Muscovite tsar, liberating the homeland from the Polish yoke, and protecting the Orthodox faith. There is no question that the new cult of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi was developed to counteract the image of Hetman Ivan Mazepa, whose very name was anathematized following his defection to the Swedes. Mazepa was described in the decrees of Peter I as a traitor to the tsar, an ally of the Poles, and an enemy of Orthodoxy who had schemed to invite the Poles into Ukraine and also to introduce the union of churches.¹⁴ The meaning of the Khmelnytskyi myth for the post-Poltava Ukrainians is perhaps more fully revealed in

Khmelnytskyi in the other major historical work of the period, the Chronicle of Feodosii Sofonovych, compiled in the 1670s. See Feodosii Sofonovych, *Khronika z litopysystiv starodavnikh*, intro. by Iurii Mytsyk (Kyiv, 1992). For the text of Hrabianka's *Chronicle*, see Hryhorij Hrabjanka's "The Great War of Bohdan Xmel'nyč'kyj."

¹² See *Ukraïns'ka literatura XVII st.*, pp. 283–91; *Ukraïns'ka literatura XVIII st.*, p. 50.

¹³ For the text of the play, see *Ukraïns'ka literatura XVIII st.*, pp. 306–24.

¹⁴ For the texts of the decrees, see *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 1, pt. 2 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1948), pp. 241–42, 244–45, 249ff.

the foreword to Hrabianka's Chronicle than in any other document of the period. Hrabianka characterizes Khmelnytskyi as the faithful "Russian" (*rossiiskii*) son who liberated Ukraine from the Polish yoke and brought it under the sway of the "Russian" monarch: "...inspired by the common good, I decided not to allow the ashes of silence to conceal the deeds of our most loyal Russian son, the prudent chieftain Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, who freed Little Russia with Cossack valor from the most oppressive Polish yoke and brought it under the rule of the Russian tsar, together with the capital cities, as it was in the beginning...."¹⁵

Thus the cult of Khmelnytskyi, originally revived in the times of Hetman Mazepa as part of the growing self-awareness of the Cossack elite, which had a vested interest in glorifying Cossack leaders (among those most highly praised was Ivan Pidkova), turned into an anti-Mazepa cult—the cult of the Cossack hetman who was faithful to the tsar. Khmelnytskyi remained an undoubted hero both to the émigrés of Pylyp Orlyk's entourage and to the Cossack chroniclers of the Hetmanate who wrote their works on the territory of the Russian Empire, regardless of their somewhat different perspectives. They all agreed that the hetman's achievement was his liberation of the Zaporozhian Host and the whole Ruthenian people from the Polish yoke, while differing in their assessment of his alliance with Moscow. The émigrés did not criticize Khmelnytskyi for having accepted the protectorate of the Orthodox tsar, but attacked the tsarist regime for having breached the terms of the contract after the hetman's death. They also invoked Khmelnytskyi in order to legitimize Mazepa's defection to the Swedish king, seeing this as a continuation of Khmelnytskyi's policy toward Sweden. Naturally, the chroniclers residing in the Hetmanate did their best to avoid sensitive issues, but Velychko's restrained criticism of Peter I for infringing on the liberties of Little Russia suggests that they shared the sentiments of the émigrés.¹⁶

¹⁵ *Ukraïns'ka literatura XVIII st.*, p. 447.

¹⁶ While pointing out the positive characteristics of Peter I, as political circumstances required, Velychko noted that he had "placed all Little Russians under the yoke." The conflict between the political requirement of loyalty to the emperor and Velychko's true attitude toward him is particularly apparent in the following lines of the Chronicle: "Throughout that whole reign he accomplished deeds of such

It goes without saying that the cult of Khmelnytskyi was created by the Ukrainians themselves, and thus reflected their aspirations. In glorifying Khmelnytskyi, the Cossack elites strove not only to rehabilitate themselves in the eyes of the monarchy, but also to secure the privileges and rights originally granted by the tsar to the hetman. The goal of securing the Cossack rights granted to Khmelnytskyi became extremely important to the Ukrainian elites after the initial abolition of the hetmancy and introduction of direct rule by the first Little Russian Collegium in Ukraine in 1721. The restoration of the hetman's office under the new Emperor Peter II in 1727 inspired a new wave of glorification of Khmelnytskyi. The emperor's decree ordained that "...there be a hetman and officers in Little Russia and that they be maintained in accordance with the treaty of Hetman Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi."¹⁷ The election of the new hetman, Danylo Apostol, on 1 October 1727 was accompanied by celebrations and festivities that were organized not only by the Cossack officers, but also by civic officials in Kyiv.

After the elections, in 1728, Apostol came to St. Petersburg to participate in the coronation of the new emperor. The main purpose of his trip to St. Petersburg was "...the restitution of ancient Ukrainian rights and liberties according to the treaty concluded with Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi."¹⁸ His mission was outstandingly successful, inasmuch as he received from the Russian government the so-called "Confirmed Articles," which reinstated many of the Cossack rights taken away by Peter I.¹⁹ The same year saw the production of the play *Mylost' Bozhii...*, which glorified Khmelnytskyi and praised Emperor Peter II. Hetman Danylo Apostol was exalted in the play as a new Khmelnytskyi.²⁰ Thus the prevailing mood of Cossack society, as

renown. Two futile expeditions to the Crimea...." See Velychko, *Litopys*, 2: 276.

¹⁷ Kohut, *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy*, p. 72.

¹⁸ Doroshenko, *A Survey of Ukrainian History*, pp. 413–14.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 412–15; Kohut, *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy*, pp. 72–73.

²⁰ *Ukraïns'ka literatura XVIII st.*, p. 322. The atmosphere of the time was also reflected in a panegyric to Emperor Peter II compiled in 1728 by a student of the Kyivan Academy, Iakov (Iakiv) Goliakhovskyi. For a description of this work, see *Chteniiia v Istoricheskomo obshchestve Nestora-letopistsa*, vol. 11, pt. 3, pp. 41–45.

reflected in the writings of intellectuals at the Kyiv Mohyla Academy, was one of enthusiasm for the revived cult of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi.

This revival of 1727–28, along with the reinstatement of the hetmancy, strongly influenced the iconography of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi. Presumably, it was only about this time that Willem Hondius's engraved portrait of Khmelnytskyi, produced in 1651 [fig. 8], gained wide popularity in Ukraine. Apparently, the portrait languished in almost complete obscurity in Ukraine throughout the second half of the seventeenth century and the early decades of the eighteenth. Indeed, there are no Ukrainian copies of Hondius's portrait dating from that period. If the author of the famous Khmelnytskyi portrait in Velychko's Chronicle [fig. 9] knew the Hondius engraving,²¹ he did not consider it the canonical portrait, and presumably based his own depiction of Khmelnytskyi on one of the portraits of Hetman Ivan Samoilovych.²²

The first dated evidence of the "rediscovery" of Hondius's engraving comes from the year 1728, which is pivotal for the present study. In that year, a portrait of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi was painted on the wall of the Dormition Cathedral in the Kyivan Caves Monastery. It was painted over in 1834, but the surviving copy shows that the wall

²¹ There is some indication that the artist who drew the portrait in Velychko's chronicle—perhaps Samiilo Velychko himself—knew the engraving by Hondius. The influence of the latter on the drawing is apparent in the depiction of Khmelnytskyi's cloak (*kyreia*) and its tassels (*kytytsi*) in the two portraits.

²² Cf. the portraits of Ivan Samoilovych and Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, which resemble each other and are clearly based on a portrait of Jan III Sobieski, in Bilets'kyi, *Ukrains'kyi portretnyi zhyvopys*, pp. 116, 118, 123. For iconographic depictions of Jan III Sobieski, see Hanna Widacka, *Jan III Sobieski w grafice XVII i XVIII wieku* (Warsaw, 1987). The date of completion of Velychko's Chronicle remains unknown. The year on the title page of the manuscript, 1720, can only be considered to mark the beginning of work on the Chronicle, and was added to the title page long after Velychko's time. This is apparent from the notice to the effect that the Chronicle was compiled by Velychko in the village of Zhuky in Poltava *uezd* (district). Such a statement could have been made only after 1775, when the *uezd* administrative system was introduced in the Poltava region. Given that the death of Emperor Peter I is mentioned in the Chronicle and that the last available data about Velychko gathered during his lifetime come from 1728, when he was already blind, it would be logical to conclude that the Chronicle was completed between 1725 and 1728. See the color reproduction of the title page of Velychko's manuscript in *Z ukrains'koï starovyny*, p. 162.

painting was based on Hondius's portrait of 1651.²³ The Khmelnytskyi portrait at the Caves Monastery must have been far better known than any other depiction of him, as it was seen by hundreds of thousands of visiting pilgrims. Many of the popular representations of Khmelnytskyi were copied from it, and it undoubtedly served as the model for the painting "Bohdan with Regiments," which was preserved in the Khmelnytskyi family estate at the village of Subotiv until the 1880s. As has been noted by many scholars, from Hnat Khotkevych in the nineteenth century to Pavlo Zholtovskyi in the twentieth, "Bohdan with Regiments" was painted to illustrate the 1728 play *Mylost' Bozhiia*...²⁴

The Pokrova icon from the village of Deshky must have been painted at about this time, or possibly somewhat later. There is no evidence that its depiction of Khmelnytskyi was based on the Khmelnytskyi portrait at the Caves Monastery, but it is clear that the painter used the Hondius engraving or one of its later copies as a model for his icon. As Liudmyla Miliaieva notes on the basis of her technical analysis of the Deshky icon, it was originally painted in the late seventeenth century, but was repainted ("restored") early in the following century. During that "restoration," Miliaieva points out, the Khmelnytskyi portrait "suffered particularly badly...either because the Cossack in the 'restored' version is not Khmelnytskyi, or because the original depiction did not correspond to the artist's image of the hetman."²⁵ The second alternative is the more probable. The Deshky icon, painted in the late seventeenth century, just as the cult of Khmelnytskyi was beginning to be revived, employed a composition similar to that of the engraving in Tuptalo's *Runo orooshennoie*. At a later date (apparently, after 1728), it was repainted in accordance with the new image of the legendary hetman.

The Deshky icon stands as a prime expression of the Khmelnytskyi cult in eighteenth-century iconography. The Khmelnytskyi cult was an integral part of the Little Russian ideology and reflected one of the most crucial stages in its development. Revised

²³ See Zholtovs'kyi, *Vyzvol'na borot'ba*, pp. 57–62.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 42–46; Bilets'kyi, *Ukraïns'ke mystetstvo druhoi polovyny XVII–XVIII stolit'*, p. 58.

²⁵ Miliaieva, *The Ukrainian Icon*, p. 74.

after the defeat at Poltava, the cult symbolized the victory of “Little Russianism” over the idea of Ukrainian independence, which had begun to develop in Ukraine under Hetman Ivan Mazepa and was expressed in the writings of his general chancellor, Pylyp Orlyk. That cult could develop only in Russian-ruled Left-Bank Ukraine. On the Right Bank, where Ruthenian identity was seeking its own niche within the model of the Polish political nation, the Khmelnytskyi cult had not the slightest chance of success. Indeed, during the latter half of the seventeenth century, the Right Bank, where Ivan Vyhovskyi or Pavlo Teteria would have been more likely candidates for glorification, produced some rather critical assessments of Khmelnytskyi’s activity.

Illustrations



1. Title page of the *Catechismi Novitorum et eorundem Magistri*, vol. 1 (1623). From Perdritz, *La Vierge de Miséricorde*, plate VI.



2. Frontispiece to the *Patericon* (1661).



3. The family tree of the Romanovs, from *Mech dukhovnyi*, by Lazar Baranovych (1664).



4. Composition with the tsar's coat of arms from *Truby sloves propovǐdnykh na naročityia dni prazdnikov*, by Lazar Baranovych (1674).



5. Pokrova composition from *Truby sloves propovĭdnykh na narochityia dni prazdnikov*, by Lazar Baranovych (1674).

ПОСРЬН НА КРОВО КРИАХ ГЛОСІ



ВЛАШН ПІТОГ ІМА ТВОГ МАТИ
 СОКЪШАШЪ ПОКТОВЪ ТВОЙ ПОКІПЕШЪ
 АНЪ ВОДА МАНО ТВО НАПЦАХ
 ПОЛЪ ІМА ОМБ ДА ІМА ТВОГ ДУА



7. Pokrova icon from the village of Deshky (National Museum of Fine Art, Kyiv).



Left: 8. Portrait of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi (engraving by Willem Hondius). From Pavlo Zholtovs'kyi, *Vyzvol'na borot'ba* (1958), p. 37, fig. 16.

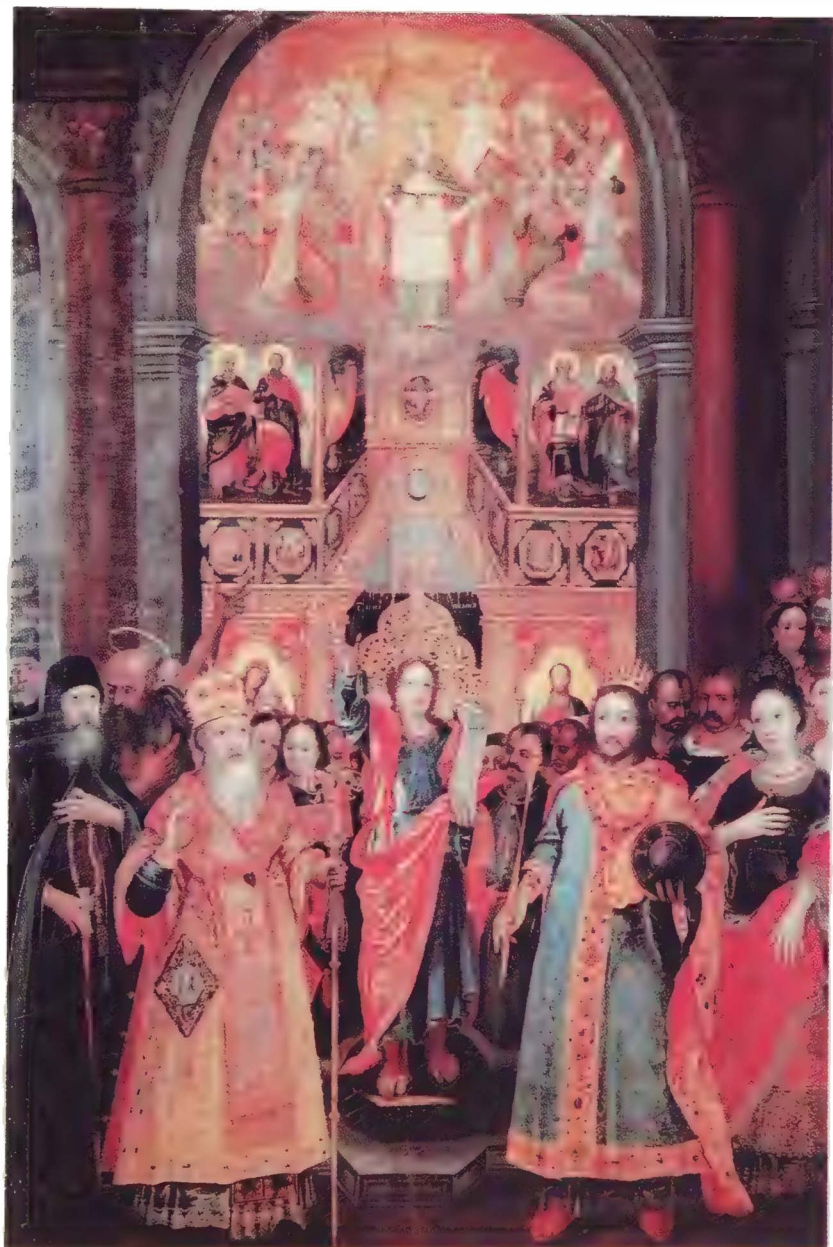
Right: 9. Portrait of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi (*Chronicle of Samiilo Velychko*). From Pavlo Zholtovs'kyi, *Vyzvol'na borot'ba* (1958), p. 40, fig. 17.



10. Pokrova icon from Pereiaslav (oil on canvas). From Igor' Grabar'. *Istoriia russkogo iskusstva*, vol. 6 (1914), p. 473.



11. Portrait of Peter I on the wall of the Dormition Cathedral of the Kyivan Caves Monastery. From Igor' Grabar', *Istoriia russkogo iskusstva*, vol. 6 (1914), p. 475.



12. Pokrova icon from the village of Sulymivka (National Museum of Fine Art, Kyiv).



13. Portrait of Semen Sulyma (National Museum of Fine Art, Kyiv).



14. Copy of tetrapod Pokrova icon from Zaporizhzhia (Dmytro Iavornytskyi Museum of History, Dnipropetrovsk).



15. Copy of Pokrova icon from Zaporizhzhia from Aleksandra Efimenko, *Istoriia ukrainskogo naroda* (St. Petersburg, 1906).



16. "The Joy of the Afflicted" from the town of Stara Sil (oil on canvas) (National Museum, Lviv).



17. "The Elevation of the True Cross" from the village of Sytykhiv (National Museum, Lviv).

Five: Tsars and Colonels

The growing popularity of the cult of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi in the Hetmanate of the 1720s was in many respects merely a defensive reaction of the Cossack officers to the constant and inexorable dwindling of the hetmancy's significance. The cult of Khmelnytskyi could not halt that tendency, and Peter I's practice of personally appointing Cossack officers, from captains to colonels and general staff officers, and of filling those posts, supposedly guaranteed to the Cossack officers, with non-Ukrainians clearly indicated the locus of real power to the "fellows of the banner."¹ If in the times of Ivan Mazepa the efforts of Cossack officers to go over his head and appeal directly to the tsar cost the hetman's opponents their properties and at times even their lives, the situation changed drastically after Poltava.

This new phenomenon in the Hetmanate—the increasingly important role of the emperor in appointing not only the hetman, but also members of the general officer staff and the colonels—was reflected in Cossack icon painting. As always, the theme of the Holy Protection offered the greatest scope for the expression of the new attitudes and demands of the Cossack patrons who funded churches and commissioned costly icons. If the portraits included in Pokrova icons had earlier been limited to those of Cossack officer patrons and occasional representatives of the local clergy, in time the depictions of tsars and tsarinas traditional in this iconographic genre also began to take on the accuracy of portraits. The images of the ruling couple initially taken to be Emperor Leo the Wise and Empress Zoe, who had supposedly witnessed the appearance of the Theotokos at the church of Blachernai, were later interpreted as depictions of Constantine the Great and Empress Helena, and eventually supplanted by depictions of ruling Russian monarchs.²

Such was the iconographic genealogy of the images of Emperor Peter I and Empress Catherine I introduced at the behest of a patron into the canvas Pokrova icon from Pereiaslav that was briefly

¹ On this practice, see Horobets', *Prysmerk Het'manshchyny*, p. 66.

² See Gębarowicz, *Mater Misericordiae*, p. 159.

discussed in the introduction to this study [fig. 10].³ The iconographic composition of this painting was clearly of Russian provenance, with the Theotokos making her appearance in a baroque church, according to prevailing convention. She was shown holding her mantle, surrounded by a group of saints, in the upper portion of the icon. Before the iconostasis (more specifically, in front of the royal doors, embellished at their apex with the two-headed tsarist eagle), Romanos the Melodist was shown holding a scroll and singing psalms to the Theotokos. To his right was a patriarch, behind whom stood Andrew the Holy Fool and his disciple Epiphanius. Peter and Catherine were shown to the left of Romanos. Standing in the second row, behind the imperial couple and the figure of the patriarch, are Cossack officers, women dressed in both European and Cossack style, and clergymen.

When was the icon painted, under what circumstances, and who was depicted in it besides the imperial couple? Unfortunately, these questions, posed in the introduction to the present study, are difficult to answer, partly because the icon itself has not survived. On the basis of the reproduction of the icon available today, one may assign it to the category of icons that “maintained a merely formal connection with icon painting,” as Pavlo Zholtovskyy observes.⁴ Scholarly opinion varies concerning the dating of the icon and the identification of the Cossack officers depicted in it. Taras Shevchenko, who saw the icon in the Church of the Holy Protection in Pereiaslav (as noted above), apparently considered it a product of the new Western school in Russian imperial painting. Among those conjectured to have been depicted in the icon, he listed Hetman Ivan Mazepa, Peter I’s right-hand man Aleksandr Menshikov, and the founder of the Church of the Holy Protection in Pereiaslav, the local colonel, Ivan Myrovych.⁵

Let us attempt to resolve the question of the icon’s date and the identification of the Cossacks depicted in it on the basis of the small amount of reliable information available. The identification of the

³ See *Narysy z istorii ukrains'koho mystetstva*, ed. V. H. Zabolotnyi (Kyiv, 1966), no. 159.

⁴ P. M. Zholtovskyy, *Ukrains'kyi zhypypys XVII–XVIII st.* (Kyiv, 1978), p. 234.

⁵ See A. V. Storozhenko, *Ocherki pereiaslavskoi stariny* (Kyiv, 1900), pp. 67–69; A. T., “Pokrovskaia tserkov' v Pereiaslave,” *Kievskaiia starina*, no. 5 (1883): 590–91; Zholtovskyy, *Ukrains'kyi zhypypys*, p. 234. Cf. the article on Ivan Myrovych in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, 3: 517.

images of Peter I and Catherine I, which has not been contradicted by research to date, can serve as a basis for further interpretation. This identification gives grounds for the assumption that the icon was painted no later than 1725, the year of Peter I's death. After 1725, the empress would very probably have been depicted alone, or alongside a "generalized" image of the tsar-emperor. As for the earliest date attributable to this icon, the determining factor is the wedding of Peter and Catherine, for their depiction as an imperial couple could not have been distributed in the empire any earlier. Since the wedding was announced in 1712, that is the earliest year to which the Pereiaslav icon can be dated.⁶ Thus, in all probability, the Pokrova icon from Pereiaslav was painted between 1712 and 1725.

What was going on in Pereiaslav at that time? It is a matter of record that the Church of the Holy Protection there was built between 1704 and 1709 thanks to the efforts of Colonel Ivan Myrovych. He did not live to see the church completed: in the spring of 1706, leading a detachment of ten thousand Cossacks that fought on the side of Peter I, Myrovych was taken prisoner by the Swedes and died in captivity. It would appear that Myrovych, a loyal fighter for the tsar against the Swedes, was an ideal candidate for iconic representation alongside Peter, and that the icon was most probably ordered by his relatives,

⁶ A number of engraved family portraits of Peter and Catherine were produced in 1715 and 1717. See reproductions in Mariia Alekseeva, *Graviura petrovskogo vremeni* (Leningrad, 1990), pp. 178, 181, 183. The figure of Catherine in the Pereiaslav icon greatly resembles her depiction in Ivan Zubov's engraving, which was presented to the Empress at the time of her coronation in May 1724 (*ibid.*, pp. 95, 97). The depiction of Catherine in the Pereiaslav icon with a crown on her head might serve as an additional argument in favor of the suggestion that Zubov's engraving of 1724 was indeed one of the iconographic sources employed by the painter of that icon. However, the depiction of Catherine's face in the Pereiaslav icon more closely resembles her portrait engraved by the same Zubov in 1721, based on a painting most probably dating from 1717 (*ibid.*, p. 91), than it does the coronation engraving of 1724. This raises doubts whether the author of the Pereiaslav icon was in fact acquainted with the coronation engraving. The portrait of Peter I in the coronation engraving has much in common with his portrait on the wall of the Dormition Cathedral in the Kyivan Caves Monastery [fig. 11], but apparently was not known to the author of the Pereiaslav icon. The depiction of the young Peter in the Pereiaslav icon was clearly based on a variant of his portrait painted by Gottfried Kneller and popularized in the Empire by numerous engravings, such as the one produced by Vasilii Kipriianov in 1714 (*ibid.*, p. 109).

but, given the fate of the Myrovyches after Poltava, that could hardly be the case. Ivan's son Fedir, who was a general flag-bearer under Mazepa, endorsed his hetman's choice and followed him into the emigration after the Poltava defeat. He served Pylyp Orlyk as general aide-de-camp and took an active part in the latter's diplomatic measures against Peter I. Fedir's "treason" led to the confiscation of the Myrovych estates. Ivan Myrovych's wife and children were exiled, first to Moscow (1712), then to Tobolsk (1716). From there, Myrovych's son Ivan managed to escape to Crimea, where he met his brother Fedir and joined Pylyp Orlyk's entourage.⁷ Thus, after 1712 the Myrovyches could not have ordered an icon depicting Peter and Catherine. It would be equally futile, of course, to seek an image of Hetman Ivan Mazepa in an icon painted after the Battle of Poltava.

But which Cossack officers could have ordered the Pereiaslav icon? It includes portraits of a number of Ukrainian officers, any of whom might have been its patron. Looking directly at the viewer, a stately Cossack in an expensive cloak appears to be listening to another, younger, officer. Both these Cossacks are shown in the second row, directly behind Peter and Catherine. To the left of Peter stand two more Cossacks, one older, the other younger; either of them, or their relatives, might have been the icon's patron. Well-dressed Cossack women are also shown. Since the icon was ordered for the Pereiaslav church, its patron may very well have been the colonel of Pereiaslav, the town's most important official. Even if one of his subordinates had ordered the icon, it would certainly have included a portrait of the colonel. Who was the colonel in office at the time? Between 1712 and 1725, there was only one "full" colonel at the head of the Pereiaslav regiment, Stepan Tomara, who held the office from 1708 until his death in 1715. For the remainder of the period, the regiment was commanded by acting colonels (yet another way for the tsarist regime to keep the Cossack officers on a short leash), most of whom held the office rather briefly. The only exception was General Flag-Bearer Ivan Fedorovych Sulyma, who served as acting colonel of Pereiaslav from 1716 to 1721.⁸

⁷ See the brief biographies of members of the Myrovych family in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, 3: 517–18.

⁸ See the list of colonels of Pereiaslav and their dates of incumbency in George Gajecky, *The Cossack Administration of the Hetmanate*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.,

Between 1712 and 1725, Sulyma was the longest-serving colonel of Pereiaslav, giving him more time and opportunity than any of his fellow officers to commission the icon. He also had more reason than any of them to seek the tsar's favor. The office of colonel was both higher in rank and better remunerated than that of general flag-bearer,⁹ and Ivan Sulyma, who spent five long years in exceedingly close proximity to "full" colonelcy, must certainly have wished to attain it. Conferment of the office depended directly on the will of the emperor (in 1715, Peter appointed the Serb Mihajlo Miloradović as colonel of Hadiach, and in 1719, the Russian Petr Tolstoi as colonel of Nizhyn).¹⁰ This gave Ivan Sulyma every reason to seek the intercession not only of the Theotokos, but of the Russian emperor as well. As it turned out, Sulyma failed to become a "full" colonel, mainly because of opposition from his principal rival, the tsar's favorite Aleksandr Menshikov.¹¹ In 1721, Sulyma led a Cossack detachment to build the Ladoga Canal. He did not return from that mission.¹²

An important argument supporting the hypothesis that Ivan Sulyma or one of his relatives commissioned the Pokrova icon from Pereiaslav is its extraordinary resemblance to the composition of an eighteenth-century Pokrova icon from the village of Sulymivka, the ancestral estate of the Sulyma family, and incidentally the birthplace of Praskovia Tarasovna, the wife of Shevchenko's Nikifor Fedorovich Sokira. The Sulymivka icon was preserved in the stone Church of the

1978), 1: 296–98.

⁹ Indicative of the status of the ranks of colonel and general flag-bearer is the fact that in the case of the Myrovyches, the father held the former rank and the son the latter. On the general officer staff, see the following works of Lev Okinshevych: "Heneral'na starshyna na Livoberezhnii Ukraïni XVII–XVIII st.," *Pratsi KIZRUP*, no. 2 (Kyiv, 1926): 84–175; *Tsentral'ni ustanovy Ukraïny-Heťmanshchyny XVII–XVIII st.*, pt. 2: *Rada starshyn* (Kyiv, 1930); *Znachne viis'kove tovarystvo v Ukraïni-Heťmanshchyni XVII–XVIII st.* (Munich, 1948).

¹⁰ See Horobets', *Prymerk Heťmanshchyny*, p. 66.

¹¹ See Bilets'kyi, *Ukraïns'kyi portretnyi zhypypys*, p. 198. We cannot know for sure whether or not this affected Menshikov's status as a potential subject within the icon. It is possible that Sulyma would not want to depict him, because of rivalry. It is equally possible that Sulyma *would* want to depict him, in order to curry favor.

¹² See the contemporary record of his death in *Sulimovskii arkhiv (Semeinye bumagi Sulim, Skorup i Voitsekhovichei)* (Kyiv, 1884), p. 6.

Holy Protection, built ca. 1708 by none other than Ivan Sulyma,¹³ who was buried there after the transfer of his remains from distant Lake Ladoga to his homeland.¹⁴ The Pokrova icon from Sulymivka is now in the permanent collection of the National Museum of Fine Art in Kyiv and has often been reproduced [fig. 12].¹⁵ In composition, it coincides almost exactly with the copy of the Pereiaslav icon: the Theotokos with her *maphorion* is at the top, Romanos the Melodist at the center, the patriarch on one side, the tsar and tsarina on the other. Behind the ruling couple and the patriarch are Cossack officers and Cossack women whose grouping and poses resemble those of the Pereiaslav model.

One of the keys to the dating of this icon, as with the Pokrova icon from Pereiaslav, is its depiction of a representative of the ruling dynasty. In the Sulymivka icon, that representative is the tsarina, whose depiction, unlike the generalized one of the tsar, has definite portrait-like features. As Pavlo Zholtovskyi has noted, the ruler shown in the icon is Anna Ioannovna, who held the Russian throne from 1730 to 1740.¹⁶ Platon Biletskyi, for his part, hypothesized that the ruler depicted in the icon was Anna Leopoldovna, who held the Russian throne as de facto regent from November 1740 to November 1741.¹⁷ In our opinion, Zholtovskyi was closer to the truth, as the image of the tsarina in the icon resembles the known portraits of Anna Ioannovna.¹⁸ The identification of the ruler in this case is not as crucial as in the case of the Pereiaslav Pokrova, given another important identification made by Biletskyi. He suggested that the figure shown between the tsar and Romanos the Melodist is Semen Sulyma, the son of Ivan, who held the colonelcy of Pereiaslav, so desired by his father, from 1739 to

¹³ The stone church built by Ivan Fedorovych Sulyma is still standing. For a long time, it was incorrectly dated to the 1620s. See Ameliia Shamraieva and Serhii Iurchenko, "Sulymivs'ka tserkva," *Pam'iatky Ukraïny*, 1997, no. 1: 78–80.

¹⁴ See Bilets'kyi, *Ukraïns'kyi portretnyi zhyvopys*, pp. 198–99.

¹⁵ One of the best reproductions of this icon is in Miliiaeva, *The Ukrainian Icon*, no. 71.

¹⁶ See Zholtovs'kyi, *Ukraïns'kyi zhyvopys*, p. 234.

¹⁷ Bilets'kyi, *Ukraïns'ke mystetstvo druhoi polovyny XVII–XVIII stolit'*, p. 38.

¹⁸ Cf. the portrait of Anna Ioannovna in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Russia and the Former Soviet Union*, 2d ed. (Cambridge, 1994), p. 85.

1766, and whose portrait has been preserved in the National Museum of Fine Art in Kyiv [fig. 13].¹⁹ Semen enjoyed good relations with the Russian authorities. In 1736 he received a special citation for having participated in the Crimean expedition of 1735, and in 1739 he was appointed to the colonelcy by order of Anna Ioannovna.²⁰ Was it not then Semen Sulyma who commissioned the icon, painted shortly after he took office, as a thank-offering for the award of the colonelcy? In all likelihood, it was he.

If the Cossack depicted in the position identified by Biletskyi (i.e., between the head of the tsar and the figure of Romanos the Melodist) is indeed Semen Sulyma, then one would also expect to find a depiction of the possible patron of the Pereiaslav icon, General Flag-Bearer Ivan Sulyma, in the same spot in the Pereiaslav painting that he commissioned.²¹ Indeed, in that position in the latter work we see the heads of two Cossacks, one with a high brow (perhaps balding), the other younger, his gaze directed at the viewer. Unfortunately, the first Cossack cannot be positively identified as Ivan Sulyma. Although there is a contemporary portrait of Ivan Sulyma, Platon Biletskyi assumes that it was not painted from life, but only after the flag-

¹⁹ See Bilets'kyi, *Ukrains'ke mystetstvo druhoi polovyny XVII–XVIII stolit'*, pp. 38, 118.

²⁰ See Ivan Boiko, "Sulymy na Pereiaslavshchyni v kintsi XVII ta na pochatku XVIII v.," *Istoryko-heohrafichniy zbirnyk*, vol. 2 (Kyiv, 1928), pp. 11–22, here 14. In 1747 some Cossack officers of the Pereiaslav regiment complained to St. Petersburg about their colonel's abuse of power. Among other things, they indicated his habit of residing in Baryshivka (closer to his landholdings and to Sulymivka) instead of Pereiaslav and ordering his officers to send all official documentation there for his signature. Sulyma survived this "rebellion" on the part of his officers, but their complaint is an interesting indication that Sulyma preferred the Sulymivka area, where he most probably sponsored the Pokrova icon, to the regimental capital of Pereiaslav.

²¹ The identification of the Cossack figures in the Sulymivka icon requires further research, and even at that, perfect certainty could hardly be achieved. Even if one accepts Biletskyi's argument that the figure of the young Cossack officer depicted in the Sulymivka icon between the head of the tsar and the figure of Romanos the Melodist resembles the later portrait of Semen Sulyma, one cannot ignore certain similarities between that portrait of Sulyma and the figure of the Cossack officer, clad in a fine cloak, standing behind the tsar and tsarina in the Sulymivka icon. Some resemblance may also be detected between the figure of the Cossack woman in the right corner of the Sulymivka icon and the later portrait of Semen Sulyma's wife, Paraska (reproduced in Bilets'kyi, *Ukrains'kyi portretnyi zhyvopys*, pp. 204–205).

bearer's death;²² hence its accuracy is not to be trusted. Identification is also rendered difficult by the fact that the Pereiaslav icon itself has not survived.²³ All that can be said with reasonable assurance is that the striking compositional similarity of the Pereiaslav and Sulymivka icons derives from their origin in the Sulymas' milieu.

There is little doubt that in the struggle for the colonelcy, the Sulymas were not only aware of the power and influence of the imperial court, but were directly affected by it, and sought to assure themselves of its support by various means, including the commissioning of paintings and icons. Under these conditions, the accession of every new emperor and empress required the "renewal" of the traditional Pokrova composition as proof of loyalty to the new ruler. Semen Sulyma passed on the family experience of rising in the ranks to his son as follows: "We affirm that you should behave diligently and irreproachably so as to appear often before the field-marshal, and the Lord will incline the magnate's [i.e., field-marshal's] heart to take you as his adjutant."²⁴

²² In Biletskyi's opinion, the artist might have been able to observe the flag-bearer's face through a window specially installed in his tar-covered coffin. See Biletskyi, *Ukrains'kyi portretnyi zhyvopys*, pp. 192–92, 198–99.

²³ It is also possible that Ivan Sulyma was depicted as the Cossack officer posing confidently behind Peter and Catherine.

²⁴ Biletskyi, *Ukrains'ke mystetstvo druhoi polovyny XVII–XVIII stolit'*, p. 118.

Six: Cossacks, Bishops, and Kings

A fuller understanding of the influence of the Cossack officers and their political and social orientations on Ukrainian iconography may be attained by comparing icons painted in the Hetmanate with those from Ukrainian lands outside the Russian Empire. In both cases, it is the Pokrova iconography that offers the greatest scope for studying the influence of the social and political circumstances of the day on the art of the icon painter. We shall proceed to analyze two Pokrova icons from Zaporizhzhia, a Cossack region beyond the hetman's control. We shall also consider a number of Galician Pokrova icons that we deem representative, since, after the Hetmanate itself, Galicia was the region where the iconographic traditions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were probably best preserved.

Let us begin with Zaporizhzhia. In the sixteenth century this area, situated beyond the Dnipro Rapids (*Zaporizhzhia* in Ukrainian) served as the cradle of Ukrainian Cossackdom and housed its headquarters, the Sich. It was there that the major Cossack uprisings, including the one led by Khmelnytskyi, began in the seventeenth century. After Khmelnytskyi's time, though, relations between the Sich and the Hetmanate—the Cossack polity in settled Ukraine—became tense and erupted in occasional conflicts. The independently minded Zaporozhians did not recognize the authority or legitimacy of the hetmans from the settled area who sought to control them. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the Zaporozhian Cossacks also became subjects of the Russian tsars, but maintained their distinct administration and social organization. The interests of the Hetmanate and Zaporizhzhia coincided for a short period during the Mazepa rebellion. The Sich otaman Kost Hordiienko supported the old hetman and, like his other backers, found himself in the emigration after the disastrous Battle of Poltava.

Peter I punished the Zaporozhians for their active participation in Mazepa's "treason" by liquidating the Sich and ruining its fortifications. The Zaporozhians were forced to move to the territory controlled by the Crimean khans, but in 1734 they were pardoned by the Russian authorities and allowed to return to their traditional base

beyond the Dnipro Rapids. The New Sich, as it was called, existed until 1775, when it was once again—this time permanently—destroyed by the Russian authorities. After their successful war against the Ottomans, the Russians no longer needed the Zaporozhians to defend the empire's southern border and did not want to tolerate Cossack unruliness in the territories envisioned by Catherine II as the center of Novorossiiia (New Russia).¹

The two Zaporozhian icons to be considered here were displayed in the Church of the Holy Protection at the Zaporozhian Sich, and, with certain reservations, may be dated to the period of the last Zaporozhian Sich (between 1734 and 1775). The first of them [fig. 14], mounted on a tetrapod, belongs to the "Mater omnium" type; its composition resembles that of the above-mentioned Deshky icon, with its portrait of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi.² The Theotokos, wearing a crown, covers the kneeling faithful with her mantle. To her right are representatives of the clergy; to the left, those of the secular order, with the tsar and tsarina at their head. Alongside the ruling couple (and, in fact, crowding the tsarina into the background) are two Cossacks with fairly individualized facial features. Although it is not to be excluded that these Cossacks were intended as representative figures of the Sich, it is most likely that they were the icon's patrons. As in most Pokrova icons painted in Ukraine at that time, the figures of the tsar and tsarina on the tetrapod icon from the Sich are not individualized, indicating that the patrons were more interested in the favor of the Theotokos than in that of the imperial court. One would expect such an attitude from the Zaporozhians, who independently elected the officers and otamans of the Sich.

¹ On the history of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, see Volodymyr Holobuts'kyi [Vladimir Golobutskii], *Zaporozhskoe kazachestvo* (Kyiv, 1957); idem, *Zaporiz'ka Sich v ostanni roky svoho isnuvannia, 1734–1775* (Kyiv, 1961); Olena Apanovych, *Zbroini syly Ukraïny pershoï polovyny XVIII st.* (Kyiv, 1969).

² In this icon, the Theotokos is shown with a feature that differentiates her from the Deshky icon: she stands on a small cloud that lifts her above the plane of the kneeling figures. Depictions of the Theotokos standing on a small cloud are also to be found in other icons of the period. See, for example, the reproduction of a similar icon in Gębarowicz, *Mater Misericordiae*, no. 145. The tetrapod from the last Church of the Holy Protection that stood at the Sich before its destruction is preserved in the Dmytro Iavornytskyi Museum of History in Dnipropetrovsk. See the reproduction in Plokhyy [Plokhii], "Pokrova Bohorodytsi v Ukraïni."

The Zaporozhian tendency toward “independent” thinking in matters of religion is much more apparent in another Pokrova icon from the Sich. The original has not survived, but at least three copies made in the early twentieth century are extant [fig. 15].³ The icon’s composition is clearly of Russian provenance. The figures are arranged in two tiers: the Theotokos, depicted with both her cloak and mantle, is shown surrounded by St. Nicholas and St. Michael the Archangel in the upper tier and by Zaporozhians in the lower one. The Cossacks stand in two groups separated by images of military insignia and artillery, but that is the end of any resemblance between the Zaporozhian Pokrova icon and classical examples of “Russian” icons of this type. There is no depiction of Romanos the Melodist, Andrew the Holy Fool, or his disciple Epiphanius. Most importantly in this connection, there is no depiction of the tsar and tsarina or of representatives of the clergy. From the lips of the Cossack officer (probably the Sich otaman Petro Kalnyshevskiy), the following prayer rises toward the Theotokos: “Grant us, we pray, your Holy Protection, and deliver us from all evil.”

Thus the Cossack officers are shown communing directly with the Theotokos without the mediation (or even the presence) of either the Orthodox clergy or the Orthodox tsar and tsarina. The obvious slighting of the clergy in the icon is a reminder of the Zaporozhian practice whereby the Host had the last word in resolving all ecclesiastical affairs at the Sich, and the “exclusion” of the tsar and tsarina from the figures depicted in the icon may reflect the acute conflicts between the Zaporozhians and the imperial government in the last years of the existence of the Sich. However haphazard the “selection” of Zaporozhian Pokrova icons that has come down to us, it provides a basis for the hypothesis, supported by traditional sources, that the Zaporozhian officers were much less closely associated with and

³ One of the copies, made at the behest of Dmytro Iavornytskyi, is displayed in his memorial museum in Dnipropetrovsk; another is in the collection of the Odesa Region Historical Museum; a third is in the private collection of Olena Ott-Skoropadska, who inherited it from her father, Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskiy (letter from Olena Ott-Skoropadska in the author’s files). See the reproduction of the copy from the Iavornytskyi Memorial Museum in Plokyh [Plokhii], “Pokrova Bohorodytsi v Ukraïni,” pp. 36, 38, 39.

dependent on the central administration, both secular and ecclesiastical, than were the Cossack officers of the Hetmanate.⁴

The Pokrova icons from Galicia present an entirely different spectrum of social and political orientations on the part of the local elite. In the western Ukrainian lands of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, following the de facto defeat and liquidation of Cossackdom, the leadership of Ukrainian society passed definitively to the Orthodox and later the Uniate hierarchy. The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were marked by the mass conversion of western Ukrainian eparchies to the Union. The Uniate synod of Zamość (1720) was something of a turning point in the "Unionization" of the former Orthodox lands, clearing the path for the "Latinization" of the church and its ritual practices.⁵ The Pokrova iconography of the period reflected a whole congeries of changes associated with conversion to the Union and "Latinization," but overall it remained within the tradition of Ukrainian icon painting, as it had long combined elements of both Eastern and Western iconographic practice and spirituality.

One of the most interesting examples of Pokrova iconography from the western Ukrainian lands is a votive icon painted on canvas, "The Joy of the Afflicted" (*Vsim skorbiashchym radist'*), from the small town of Stara Sil (now in the permanent collection of the Lviv National Museum; fig. 16).⁶ Iconographically, this painting was

⁴ On the church structure in Zaporizhzhia and Cossack attitudes to the church, see I. I. Lyman, *Tserkva v dukhovnomu sviti zaporoż'koho kozatstva* (Zaporizhzhia, 1997).

⁵ On the conversion of the western Ukrainian Orthodox eparchies to the Union in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, see Atanasii Velykyi, *Z litopysu Khrystyians'koï Ukraïny* (Rome, 1968), 5: 229–44, 272–77; Oleh Kryzhanivskyi and Serhii Plokyh [Plokhii], *Istoriia tserkvy ta relihiinoï dumky v Ukraini* (Kyiv, 1994), 3: 111–19. On the Latinization of the religious life of those eparchies in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Petro Galadza, "Lituhichne pytannia i rozvytok bohosluzhen' naperedodni Beresteis'koi unii azh do kintsia XVII stolittia" in *Beresteis'ka unii ta vnutrishnie zhyttia Tserkvy v XVII stolitti*, *Materialy Chetvertykh "Beresteis'kykh chytan'."* ed. Borys Gudziak and Oleh Turii (Lviv, 1997), pp. 1–29; Sophia Senyk, "The Ukrainian Church and Latinization," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 56, no. 1 (1990): 165–87. On the Council of Zamość (1720), see G. Khrustsevich, *Istoriia Zamoiskogo sobora (1720 g.)* (Vilnius, 1880); I. Bilanych, *Synodus Zamostiana a. 1720* (Rome, 1960).

⁶ See the reproduction in Svientsits'ka and Otkovych, comp., *Svit ochyma*

influenced by the “Mater omnium” type. Under the mantle of the Theotokos, the artist groups society’s leading figures (secular and clerical) and its most miserable unfortunates (the sick and the helpless) alike, all of them beseeching the aid of the Theotokos. The compilers of the volume containing the painting’s first reproduction, Vira Svientsitska and Vasyl Otkovych, hypothesize that the icon is the work of the artist Stefan Medytskyi and date it to the mid-seventeenth century. Regrettably, the limits imposed by the annotation format did not permit the compilers to delve into problems of attribution and dating. Yet certain compositional features and a number of assumptions about the identity of the individuals shown under the mantle of the Theotokos make it possible to move the icon’s date forward to the late seventeenth century.

Let us deal first with the problems of identifying the individuals depicted in the Stara Sil icon. Most of them exhibit characteristic individual features, suggesting that the artist drew specific persons from life. Certain deductions may also be made on the basis of the clothing worn by one person or another. At first glance, the viewer’s gaze is attracted to the most imposing figure in the foreground, that of a senior clergyman. He wears a black mantle with colored bands (*istochnyky*) and a round black *kamelaukion* on his head. The clergyman’s face is thoroughly individualized, virtually eliminating the possibility that the artist intended to depict an “abstract” hierarchy. Clearly, a specific individual was involved, perhaps even the patron who commissioned the icon. There still seems little prospect of identifying him, although the fact that he is clad in a mantle makes it possible to narrow the search somewhat: the right to wear mantles was reserved for metropolitans, bishops, and archimandrites (hegumens) of leading monasteries. Additional information about this hierarchy is provided by inscribed bands reaching upward from his lips to the Theotokos. One of them reads “confirm the church with Orthodoxy”; the other, “[grant] betterment to the bishops (*s[via]tytel[m]*).” Thus the inscriptions provide evidence that the hierarchy was Orthodox and that he held the rank of bishop, if one accepts that the word *sviatytel’*

was used in that specific sense and applied to the clergyman depicted in this icon.⁷

The depiction of the other hierarch, standing to the right of the Theotokos this time, is, in our opinion, entirely generalized. He is also clad in a mantle with colored bands, draped in an episcopal *omophorion*, with a miter on his head and a scepter in his hand. The characteristic features of this individual's dress and the inscription on the band "flying" up from him toward the Theotokos, which includes the word "of the patriarchs," give reason to suppose that in this case we have a depiction of the patriarch of Constantinople.

The fact that the icon comes from the town of Stara Sil, that is, from the lands belonging to the Peremyshl eparchy, and that it depicts an Orthodox patriarch and a bishop is also useful in establishing its date. It is a well-known fact that the Orthodox bishop of Peremyshl, Inokentii Vynnytskyi, announced the conversion of his eparchy to the Union in 1691 and that the opposition of those Orthodox (largely nobles) who did not wish to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome was completely overcome by 1694. It is thus fairly certain that the Stara Sil icon was painted no later than the beginning of the 1690s. There are also grounds to assume that the hierarch depicted in the icon was none other than the Orthodox (later Uniate) bishop of Peremyshl, Inokentii Vynnytskyi.

Also important for the dating of the Stara Sil icon is the identification of the figure whom the artist places to the left of the "patriarch," standing alongside him to the right of the Theotokos. This individual is shown with a crown on his head, which suggests that a possible prototype should be sought among tsars or kings. His clothing resembles that of a Polish noble or a Cossack officer, eliminating the possibility that this is a representation of the Russian tsar, and suggests that the individual shown here is, in all likelihood, a Polish king. Of all the Polish monarchs, the only one depicted in Ukrainian icons was Jan III Sobieski. He is identified by Platon Biletskyi in a late seventeenth-century icon of the Elevation of the True Cross from the village of Sytykhiv near Lviv [fig. 17].⁸ Sviatoslav Hordynsky also

⁷ Although the term *pravoslavnyi* (Orthodox) could be used under certain circumstances to refer to Uniates, the presence of the patriarch as well as the bishop in this icon makes it more likely that the bishop was in fact Orthodox.

⁸ Bilets'kyi, *Ukrain's'ke mystetstvo druhoi polovyny XVII–XVIII stolit'*, pp. 60–62.

maintains that Sobieski is the king depicted in a Pokrova icon dated 1703 from the village of Voikiv in the Lemko region⁹ and painted entirely in the traditional Russian style.

In the Sytykhiv icon, Sobieski is shown without a crown, but Biletskyi's identification is corroborated by the depiction of Marysienka, the consort of Jan III, who is shown standing alongside him in the crowd. She is quite easy to identify because of her characteristic hairstyle, which is known from other portraits. The woman depicted in the Voikiv icon is probably also Marysienka (in Hordynsky's opinion, at least). She stands beside Sobieski in the position traditionally reserved for consorts of Orthodox rulers in Pokrova icons. The figure of the monarch in the Pokrova icon from Stara Sil greatly resembles the image of Jan Sobieski in the Sytykhiv and Voikiv icons, making it possible to identify him. Beside the monarch is a female figure who may also be identified, with certain reservations, as Marysienka. The identification of the image of the monarch in the Stara Sil icon as Jan III provides information significant for the dating of the icon. In all probability, the Stara Sil icon could not have been painted before 1674, when Jan Sobieski was elected king, or after 1696, the year of his death, while the inscription on one of the bands in the picture, which calls for the protection of Orthodoxy, makes it impossible to push the date of the icon farther forward than 1691 or, at the latest, 1694.¹⁰

⁹ See Hordynsky, *The Ukrainian Icon*, p. 33, no. 188. Cf. Gębarowicz, *Mater Misericordiae*, no. 108.

¹⁰ Noteworthy among the figures depicted in the icon is one standing to the left of the Theotokos amid the crowd of people behind the Orthodox bishop. The arresting feature here is the direction of the figure's gaze: we see only the head of a gray-bearded man who faces the viewer directly. All the other individuals depicted in the icon are either looking upward or gazing reflectively forward, while the Theotokos, for her part, looks down at the assembled figures. Only the gray-bearded man directs his gaze toward the potential viewer. The emphasis on this figure was, of course, no accident, but a device often used to identify the patron who had commissioned the icon. In such cases, however, patrons were usually shown in the first row, while in this instance the gray-bearded individual is lost in the crowd. We do not see his clothing, nor is there a banner that would help determine his rank, status, or social origin. Given these circumstances, there is little alternative but to consider this figure a portrait of the artist himself. This hypothesis is supported by the style of the image, which resembles a self-portrait, and the long-standing Western tradition, going back to Italian art of the High Renaissance, of including a portrait of the artist in paintings

The subject and composition represented in the Stara Sil icon were clearly very popular in the Peremyshl region in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. This is attested by the inclusion of an iconic composition of this type in the standard repertoire of icon painters in the town of Rybotychi near Peremyshl, who were engaged in the mass production of icons for the general public. The style of these icons somewhat resembled that of naive folk art, often employing very limited means of expression and departing from the stylistic canons of traditional icon painting, which makes them extraordinarily valuable to present-day researchers. Being intended for the mass market, the Rybotychi icons reflected the mentality—the prevailing tastes, imaginings, ideological and theological convictions—of the Ukrainian population of the Carpathians in the early modern period.¹¹

and frescoes depicting scenes of Biblical or mythological origin.

¹¹ A variant of the Rybotychi “adaptation” of the Virgin of Mercy from Stara Sil is the icon of the Holy Protection of the Theotokos from the village of Turie, now in the collection of the National Museum in Lviv. This early eighteenth-century work is attributed to the masters of the Rybotychi circle (see *Svit ochyma narodnykh myttsiv*, no. 80). The Theotokos is here represented in the spirit of the Rybotychi tradition as a corpulent, full-faced woman covering two groups of people to her left and right, as well as the sick and unfortunate, who fill the lower range of the icon. The Theotokos is shown with a crown, as well as with a nimbus around her head. In addition to the traditional inscription MP ΘΥ, which denotes the Theotokos, the icon includes the following inscriptions: “I am your mediatrix” and “I entreat mercy for you from my Son.” The group shown to the left of the Theotokos (in the right-hand corner of the icon) includes a hierarch—a bishop, metropolitan, or patriarch—raising his hands in prayer to the merciful Virgin. Alongside him stands a round-faced figure with a drooping mustache, wearing the crown of a monarch. Although this ruler resembles the warriors to the right of the Theotokos and lacks the portrait-like features characteristic of Rybotychi icons, he is strikingly similar to the figure of Jan III Sobieski as depicted on more masterfully painted icons of the period.

Remarkably similar in composition to the icon from the village of Turie is an icon dating from the early eighteenth century, now in the collection of the National Museum in Cracow. It also shows two groups to the left and right of the merciful Virgin with her mantle (Kłosińska, *Ikony*, p. 248, no. 111). This icon, as well as the one from Turie, shows that compositions of the Virgin of Mercy were a familiar type on the territory of the Peremyshl eparchy in the early eighteenth century. Their dating lends support to our previous observations about the dating of the Stara Sil icon, buttressing the hypothesis that it was painted not in the mid-seventeenth century, but probably in its latter decades.

Galician icons of the Holy Protection that included portraits of the Polish king (most probably Jan III Sobieski) reflected the particular situation of the Orthodox Church in western Ukraine in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. As the Counter-Reformation became ever more dominant in the Commonwealth, with a concomitant lessening of toleration for non-Catholic neighbors, the Orthodox church leaders began to seek a *modus vivendi* with the Polish state. The Right-Bank Cossack hetman Pavlo Teteria repeatedly referred to the Union as a possible compromise that would allow the Orthodox to coexist with the Counter-Reformation within the Commonwealth.¹² At the turn of the eighteenth century, the Orthodox bishops oversaw the mass conversion of the Ukrainian population to the Union, hoping, like their predecessors who had brought about the Union of Brest in 1596, to reach an understanding with the royal administration and to end pressure and discrimination against the Orthodox on the part of the dominant Catholic Church. It seems quite plausible that in iconography, this orientation of Orthodox (and subsequently Uniate) hierarchs toward the royal administration was expressed through the inclusion of a monarch whose features resembled those of Jan Sobieski. It was this image, which later made its confident way into local tradition, that was fated to become the personification of the monarch as an ideal type in Galician iconography.

It was by no means easy to find a place for the Catholic king within Orthodox (and, later, Uniate) iconography. The best illustration of the difficulties encountered by patrons and artists in the process of introducing a monarch of a different faith into iconography is provided by the above-mentioned Sytykhiv icon of the Elevation of the True Cross. Here, the figures identified by Platon Biletskyi as Jan Sobieski and his consort are not only shown without royal crowns, but also situated in the background, behind the backs of the Orthodox rulers Emperor Constantine and Empress Helena. For some painters of Pokrova icons, however, the problem of including an “infidel” king in an Orthodox icon was of no consequence. In many icons, the figure of the Polish monarch (along with that of his consort) was placed immediately behind that of the Orthodox patriarch, as in the Voikiv

¹² See Velykyi, *Z litopysu Khrystyians'koï Ukraïny*, 5: 204–208.

icon;¹³ in some cases, the monarch even crowded the patriarch to the side of the icon and was placed immediately beside Romanos the Melodist.¹⁴ In all likelihood, most icon painters simply imitated existing iconographic models, knowing nothing of the original source on which the image of the iconic monarch was based. The mustachioed figure of the king/tsar/emperor, originally based on a portrait of Jan Sobieski, could later simply be reduced to a depiction intended to domesticate the image of the monarch, whose outward appearance was that of a nondescript noble, and make it more approachable to the viewer.

¹³ See Hordynsky, *The Ukrainian Icon*, p. 33, no. 188; Gębarowicz, *Mater Misericordiae*, no. 108.

¹⁴ See Gębarowicz, *Mater Misericordiae*, no. 109. An interesting example of the “marginalization” of portraits of the Orthodox tsar is offered by an eighteenth-century Pokrova icon from the Hetmanate (possibly from Kyiv) now in the permanent collection of the National Museum in Lviv (see reproduction in V. I. Svientsits’ka and O. F. Sydor, *Spadshchyna vikiy*, nos. 124–25). In this icon, the “generalized” images of the tsar and tsarina are relegated to the edge of the painting, where they stand among the figures grouped behind the patriarch. The central places in the second row (between the figures of the patriarch, Romanos the Melodist and Andrew the Holy Fool) are reserved instead for a group of monks, who may be presumed to have commissioned the icon. These compositional features, as well as the fact that the icon was preserved in a western Ukrainian collection, permit the hypothesis that the Orthodox imperial couple was marginalized because the icon was meant for patrons in “Polish” Ukraine.

Concluding Remarks

Having established the image of a “domesticated” monarch in its icons, the Ruthenian episcopate seemingly completed the creation of the ideal world to whose reconstruction the Orthodox had been inspired by the legacy of Byzantium. The summit of that world was meant to be occupied by the emperor, the patriarch, and the bishops, with the masses of the faithful below them. Even though acceptance of the Union meant a breach with the Orthodox East, it did in fact make possible the realization of the Byzantine vision of a structured world, all of whose inhabitants professed the same faith. Under these conditions, the Catholic king was accepted as one’s own. The patriarch was supplanted by the local bishop or metropolitan, and the faithful found themselves professing the same faith (if not the same rite) as the authorities. To be sure, the image of a world united in faith, reflected in the western Ukrainian Pokrova icons of the day, was largely conventional. It was much easier for the Cossack officers of the Hetmanate to feel themselves part of the ideal Byzantine world ruled by the Orthodox emperor/tsar. In that case, the Orthodox emperor quite naturally took the place of the Byzantine one, thereby completing the pyramid of the ideal Orthodox world.

If the figures of bishops and monks alongside figures of “domesticated” Polish kings in Galician Pokrova icons of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries personified the alliance and union of the Ruthenian episcopate with the Polish authorities, an important consequence of which was the spread of the Union in the western Ukrainian lands, then the Pokrova iconography in the Hetmanate, as noted above, represented the alliance of the Cossack officer stratum with Russian imperial rule, whose ideological basis was imperial Orthodoxy. The iconographic composition of the “Mater omnium” type, which was taken over from the West (along with the tradition of representing Orthodox rulers under the *maphorion* of the Theotokos), presented icon painters with a unique opportunity to depict the Ruthenian world in its entirety. In the Hetmanate, Pokrova icons reflected the religious unity of the Little Russian Cossacks with the Great Russian tsars, as well as the submissive readiness of the

former to accept the protection and supremacy of the latter. Thus, they became representative images of the Little Russian world—a land united in faith with Great Russia under the protection, supervision and authority of the Muscovite tsar, and subsequently of the Russian emperor.

Of course, there were tensions within this imagined world, but it held together throughout many years of imperial rule. In the mid-nineteenth century, for Shevchenko's Nikifor Fedorovich Sokira, who asked in his will that the Pereiaslav painting be placed at the head of his coffin during the funeral, the images of this canvas icon represented a world in which the Orthodox Emperor Peter I, his "treacherous" subject Ivan Mazepa, Peter's close aide Menshikov, and Mazepa's close associate Myrovych somehow all coexisted. Questions were asked about the propriety of showing Menshikov under the protection of the Theotokos, but not about the seemliness of including the two antipodes of official imperial propaganda, Peter and Mazepa, in the same icon.

Little Russian identity, which found its reflection in the Cossack Pokrova icons, possessed contradictory characteristics that made it a pliant and often willing hostage to the all-Russian imperial project without allowing it to dissolve completely in the new imperial identity. Under imperial control, the Little Russian idea took on a variety of political meanings, from the protection of Ukraine's separate identity and rights to the denial of its right to autonomous or independent existence. Modern historiography has yet to take full account of the significance of Little Russian identity for the historical development of Ukrainian national consciousness. For it was Little Russian identity, socially rooted in the recognition of Cossackdom as the fundamental element of the nation, and thus geographically linked with the territory of the Hetmanate, that constituted the prototype of modern Ukrainian identity. In drawing a clear distinction between Ukraine and Belarus, it marked the end of an important stage in the evolution of Ruthenian—that is, joint Ukrainian-Belarusian—identity. On the other hand, the Little Russian idea had an exclusively Orthodox coloration and was directed against the Union. In a broader sense, the Little Russian, Ruthenian Orthodox, and Ruthenian Uniate identities, which were based on an ethnoconfessional model of national consciousness, were products of the era of European religious

wars. The contradictions among them could be reconciled only in the modern age, characterized by the advance of secular political ideologies capable of breaching age-old confessional divides.

Bibliography

- A. T. "Pokrovskaia tserkov' v Pereiaslave." *Kievskaiia starina*, 1883, no. 5: 590–91.
- Aleksandrovych, Volodymyr [Aleksandrovich, Vladimir]. "Ikona Pokrovu Bohorodytsi z Sviatotoiits'koï tserkvy u Rechytsi" in *Volyn's'ka ikona: pytannia istorii vyvchennia, doslidzhennia ta restavratsii. Tezy ta materialy II Mizhnarodnoi naukovoï konferentsii, Luts'k, 29 lystopada-1 hrudnia 1995 r.*, pp. 9–11. Luts'k, 1995.
- . "Ikonomografiia drevneishei ukrainskoi ikony Pokrova Bogomateri." *Byzantinoslavica* 59 (1998): 125–35.
- . "Starokyïvs'kyi kul't Bohorodytsi-Zastupnytsi i stanovlennia ikonohrafii Pokrovu Bohorodytsi." *Mediaevalia Ucrainica: Mental'nist' ta istoriia idei* (Kyiv), 3 (1994): 47–67.
- Alekseeva, M. A. *Graviura petrovskogo vremeni*. Leningrad, 1990.
- Alpatov, M. V. *Drevnerusskaia ikonopis'*. Moscow, 1974.
- Apanovych, Olena. *Zbroini syly Ukraïny pershoï polovyny XVIII st.* Kyiv, 1969.
- Arkhiv Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii, izdavaemyi Vremennoi komissiei dlia razbora drevnikh aktov*, 8 pts., 34 vols. Kyiv, 1859–1914.
- Banac, Ivo, and Frank E. Sysyn, eds., with the assistance of Uliana M. Pasicznyk. *Concepts of Nationhood in Early Modern Eastern Europe*. Cambridge, Mass., 1986 [= *Harvard Ukrainian Studies (HUS)* 10, nos. 3–4 (December 1986)].
- Baranovych, Lazar [Baranowicz, Łazarz]. *Mech dukhovnyi*. Kyiv, 1666.
- . *Truby sloves propovidnykh*. Kyiv, 1674.
- . *Żywoty świętych*. Kyiv, 1670.

- Bardach, Juliusz, Bogusław Leśnodorski, et al. *Historia państwa i prawa polskiego*. Warsaw, 1979.
- Baron, Salo Wittmayer. *A Social and Religious History of the Jews: Late Middle Ages and Era of European Expansion (1200–1650)*. Vol. 16, *Poland-Lithuania, 1500–1650*. New York and Philadelphia, 1976.
- Barrett, Thomas M. *At the Edge of Empire: The Terek Cossacks and the North Caucasus Frontier, 1700–1860*. Boulder, Colo., 1999.
- Basarab, John. *Pereiaslav 1654: A Historiographical Study*. Edmonton, 1982.
- Belkin Stevens, Carol. *Soldiers on the Steppe: Army Reform and Social Change in Early Modern Russia*. DeKalb, Ill., 1995.
- Bieńkowski, Ludomir. "Organizacja Kościoła Wschodniego w Polsce." In *Kościół w Polsce*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, pp. 733–1050. Vol. 2. [Cracow], 1969.
- Bilanych, Joannes. *Synodus Zamostiana a. 1720*. Rome, 1960.
- Bilets'kyi, Platon. *Ukrains'ke mystetstvo druhoi polovyny XVII–XVIII stolit'*. Kyiv, 1981.
- . *Ukrains'kyi portretnyi zhyvopys XVII–XVIII st.* Kyiv, 1981.
- . *Ukrains'kyi portretnyi zhyvopys XVII–XVIII st. Problemy stanovlennia i rozvytku*. Kyiv, 1969.
- Boiko, Ivan. "Sulymy na Pereiaslavshchyni v kintsi XVII ta na pochatku XVIII v." *Istoryko-geohrafichniy zbirnyk*. Vol. 2, pp. 11–22. Kyiv, 1928.
- Brekhunenko, Viktor. *Stosunky ukrains'koho kozatstva z Donom u XVI — seredyni XVII st.* Kyiv and Zaporizhzhia, 1998.
- Bushkovitch, Paul. "The Formation of a National Consciousness in Early Modern Russia." *HUS* 10, nos. 3–4 (December 1986): 355–76.
- . *Religion and Society in Russia: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. New York and Oxford, 1992.

- Cherniavsky, Michael. *Tsar and People: Studies in Russian Myths*. New York, 1969.
- Chistovich, I. A. *Ocherk istorii zapadno-russkoi tserkvi*. 2 vols. St. Petersburg, 1882–84.
- Chynczewska-Hennel, Teresa. "The National Consciousness of Ukrainian Nobles and Cossacks from the End of the Sixteenth to the Mid-Seventeenth Century." *HUS* 10, nos. 3–4 (December 1986): 377–92.
- Cracraft, James. *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Imagery*. Chicago and London, 1997.
- Cynarski, Stanisław. "Sarmatyzm — ideologia i styl życia." In *Polska XVII wieku: państwo, społeczeństwo, kultura*, ed. Janusz Tazbir, pp. 22–43. Warsaw, 1979.
- Čyževs'kyj, Dmytro. *A History of Ukrainian Literature: From the 11th to the End of the 19th Century*. Littleton, Colo., 1975.
- Dashkevych, Iaroslav. "Rodynni klan Khmel'nyts'kykh." *Kyivs'ka starovyna*, 1995, no. 4: 95–101.
- Deluga, Waldemar. "Kijowskie druki emblematyczne XVII i XVIII-wiecznych wydań polsko- i łacińskojęzycznych." *Mediaevalia Ucrainica: Mental'nist' ta istoriia idei* (Kyiv) 2 (1993): 69–97.
- Dobrianskii, Antonii. *Istoriia episkopov trekh soedinennykh eparkhii, Peremyshl'skoi, Samborskoï i Sanotskoi, ot naidavneishikh vremen do 1794*. Lviv, 1893.
- Dokumenty Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho, 1648–57*. Comp. Ivan Kryp'iakevych and Ivan Butych. Kyiv, 1961.
- Doroshenko, Dmytro. *A Survey of Ukrainian History*. Edited and updated (1914–1975) with an introduction by Oleh W. Gerus. Winnipeg, 1975.
- Dunn, Richard S. *The Age of Religious Wars, 1559–1715*. 2d ed. New York and London, 1979.
- Ėingorn, V. O. *Ocherki iz istorii Malorossii v XVII veke. Snosheniia malorossiiskogo dukhovenstva s moskovskim pravitel'stvom v tsarstvovanie Alekseia Mikhailovicha*. Moscow, 1899.

- Eleonskaia, A. S. *Russkaia publitsistika vtoroi poloviny XVII veka*. Moscow, 1978.
- Evennett, Henry Outram. *The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation*. Notre Dame, 1970.
- Flier, Michael S. "Breaking the Code: The Image of the Tsar in the Muscovite Palm Sunday Ritual." In *Medieval Russian Culture*, vol. 2, ed. Michael S. Flier and Daniel Rowland, pp. 213–42. Berkley and Los Angeles, 1994.
- . "Court Ceremony in an Age of Reform: Patriarch Nikon and the Palm Sunday Ritual." In *Religion and Culture in Early Modern Russia and Ukraine*, ed. Samuel H. Baron and Nancy Shields Kollmann, pp. 73–95. DeKalb, Ill., 1997.
- Frick, David A. "The Circulation of Information about Ivan Vyhovs'kyj." *HUS* 17, nos. 3–4 (December 1993): 251–78.
- . "Misrepresentations, Misunderstandings, and Silences: Problems of Seventeenth-Century Ruthenian and Muscovite Cultural History." In *Religion and Culture in Early Modern Russia and Ukraine*, ed. Samuel H. Baron and Nancy Shields Kollmann, pp. 149–68. DeKalb, Ill., 1997.
- Gajecy, George. *The Cossack Administration of the Hetmanate*. 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass., 1978.
- Galadza, Petro. "Liturhichne pytannia i rozvytok bohosluzhen' naperedodni Beresteis'koï uniï azh do kintsia XVII stolittia." In *Beresteis'ka uniia i vnutrishnie zhyttia Tserkvy v XVII stolitti*, ed. Borys Gudziak and Oleh Turii, pp. 1–29. Lviv, 1997.
- Galiatovs'kyi, Ioannikii. *Mesia pravdivyi, Isus Khrystos, syn Bozhii*. Kyiv, 1669.
- Gębarowicz, Mieczysław. *Mater Misericordiae — Pokrow — Pokrowa w sztuce i legendzie Środkowo-Wschodniej Europy*. Wrocław, Warsaw, Cracow, Gdańsk, and Łódź, 1986.
- Giraud, Gianfranco [Dzhiraud, Dzhianfranko]. "'Russkoe' nastoiashchee i proshedshee v tvorchestve Innokentiiia Gizelia." *Mediaevalia Ucrainica: Mental'nist' ta istoriia idei* (Kyiv) 1 (1992): 92–103.

- Goldfrank, David M. "Moscow, the Third Rome." In *Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*, ed. Joseph L. Wieczynski, vol. 23, pp. 118–21. Gulf Breeze, Fla., 1981.
- Grabar', Igor'. *Istoriia russkogo iskusstva*. Vol. 6. Moscow, 1914 [= *Istoriia zhivopisi*, vol. 1, *Dopetrovskaia épokha*].
- Grabowicz, George. "Ukrainian-Russian Literary Relations in the Nineteenth Century: A Formulation of the Problem." In *Ukraine and Russia in Their Historical Encounter*, ed. Peter J. Potichnyj, Marc Raeff, Jaroslaw Pelenski, and Gleb N. Žekulin, pp. 214–44. Edmonton, 1992.
- Gripkey, Mary Vincentine. *The Blessed Virgin Mary as Mediatrix in the Latin and Old French Legend prior to the Fourteenth Century*. Washington, D.C., 1938.
- Gudziak, Borys A. *Crisis and Reform: The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest*. Cambridge, Mass., 1998.
- Halenko, Oleksandr. "Luk ta rushnytsia v rytsars'kii symbolitsi ukrains'koho kozatstva: paradoksy kozats'koï ideolohiï i problema skhidnoho vplyvu." *Mediaevalia Ucrainica: Mental'nist' ta istoriia idei* (Kyiv), 5 (1988): 93–110. Cf. another version of the same article, "Luk ta rushnytsia v rytsars'kii symbolitsi ukrains'koho kozatstva: do pytannia pro skhidno- zakhidni vplyvy na Ukraïni v XVI–XVII st." *Naukovi zapysky. Natsional'nyi universytet "Kyievo-Mohylians'ka akademiia"* (Kyiv) 3, *Istoriia* (1998): 49–66.
- Harasymchuk, Vasyl. *Materialy do istoriï kozachchyny XVII viku*. Lviv, 1994 [= *L'vivski istorychni pratsi*. Dzhherela, vol. 1].
- Hastings, Adrian. *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*. Cambridge, UK, 1997.
- Holobuts'kyi, Volodymyr [Vladimir Golobutskii]. *Zaporiz'ka Sich v ostanni roky svoho isnuvannia, 1734–1775*. Kyiv, 1961.
- . *Zaporozhskoe kazachestvo*. Kyiv, 1957.

- Holubets', Mykola. "Lavriv (istoryko-arkheohrafichna studiia)." *Zapysky Chynu Sviatoho Vasylia Velykoho* 2, nos. 1–2 (1927): 30–69; nos. 3–4 (1927): 317–35.
- Hordyns'kyi, Sviatoslav. *Ukrains'ka ikona XII–XVIII storichchia*. Philadelphia, 1973. [English translation: Sviatoslav Hordynsky, *The Ukrainian Icon of the XIIth to XVIIIth Centuries*. Philadelphia, 1973.]
- Horobets', Viktor. *Elita kozats'koï Ukraïny v poshukakh politychnoi lehitymatsiï: stosunky z Moskvoiu ta Varshavoiu*. Kyiv, 2001.
- . *Prysmerek Het'manshchyny. Ukraïna v roky reform Petra I*. Kyiv, 1998.
- Hrushevs'kyi, Mykhailo. *Istoriia ukrains'koï literatury*. Vols. 5–6. New York, 1960; Kyiv, 1995.
- . *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy*. 10 vols. 1st ed. Lviv and Kyiv, 1898–1937. [Repr. New York, 1954–58; Kyiv, 1991–98. English translation: *History of Ukraine-Rus'*. Ed. Frank E. Sysyn et al. Vols. 1, 7. Edmonton and Toronto, 1997–99.]
- Hryhorij Hrabjanka's "The Great War of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj." Introduction by Yurii Lutsenko. Cambridge, Mass., 1990 [=Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 9].
- Hughes, Lindsey, ed. *Peter the Great and the West: New Perspectives*. New York, 2001.
- Hurzhii, Oleksandr. *Het'man Ivan Skoropads'kyi*. Kyiv, 1998.
- . *Ukrains'ka kozats'ka derzhava v druhiï polovyni XVII–XVIII st.: kordony, naselennia, pravo*. Kyiv, 1996.
- Iakovenko, Natalia. *Narys istoriï Ukraïny z naidavnishykh chasiv do kintsia XVIII stolittia*. Kyiv, 1997.
- . Oleksii Tolochko, et al., ed. *Mediaevalia Ucrainica: Mental'nist' ta istoriia idei* (Kyiv) 1–5 (1992–98).
- Iakovleva, Tat'iana [Tetiana]. "Genezis gosudarstvennoi idei v Ukraine na primere dogovorov s Pol'shei i Rossiei." In *Rossii-Ukraïna: istoriia vzaimootnoshenii*, ed. A. I. Miller et al., pp. 51–59. Moscow, 1997.

- . *Het'manshchyna v druhii polovyni 50–kh rokiv XVII stolittia. Prychyny i pochatok Ruïny*. Kyiv, 1998.
- . “Ukrainskaia shliakhta i gosudarstvennaia ideia v roky Osvoboditel'noi voyny.” In *Natsional'no-vyzvol'na viina ukraïn-s'koho narodu seredyny XVII stolittia: polityka, ideolohiia, viis'kove mystetstvo*, ed. V. A. Smolii, pp. 112–30. Kyiv, 1998.
- Iakovliv, Andrii. *Dohovir Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho z Moskvoiu 1654 r.* New York, 1954.
- Iamshchikov, S. *Drevnerusskaia ikonopis'. Novye otkrytiia*. Leningrad, 1969.
- Istoriia Rusov ili Maloi Rossii. Sochinenie Georgiia Koniskogo, arkhiepiskopa belorusskogo*. Moscow, 1846. Repr. Kyiv, 1991.
- Istoriia russkogo iskusstva*. Ed. Igor' Grabar'. Vol. 5. Moscow, 1960.
- Istoriia russkogo iskusstva*. Ed. Nikolai Mashkovtsev. Vol. 1. Moscow, 1957.
- Istoriia ukraïn'skoho mystetstva v shesty tomakh*. Vol. 2, *Mystetstvo XIV — pershoï polovyny XVII stolittia*. Kyiv, 1967. Vol. 3, *Mystetstvo druhoï polovyny XVII–XVIII stolittia*. Ed. M. P. Bazhan et al. Kyiv, 1968.
- Jameson, Anna. *Legends of the Madonna as Represented in the Fine Arts*. London, 1890. Repr. Detroit, 1972.
- “K portretu Khmel'nitskogo.” *Kievskaia starina*, no. 1 (1882): 226–31.
- Kaczmarczyk, Janusz. *Bohdan Chmielnicki*. Wrocław, 1988.
- Kamiński, Andrzej. “The Cossack Experiment in *Szlachta* Democracy in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: The Hadiach (*Hadziacz*) Union.” *HUS* 1, no. 2 (June 1977): 178–97.
- Kara-Vasyl'ieva, Tetiana. *Liturhiine shytvo Ukraïny XVII–XVIII st. Ikonohrafiia, typolohiia, stylistyka*. Lviv, 1996.
- Karpov, G. F. “Dionisii Balaban, mitropolit kievskii. Iz istorii otnoshenii kievskoi tserkovnoi ierarkhii k moskovskomu pravitel'stvu 1654–1661 gg.” *Pravoslavnoe obozrenie* (1874): bk. 1, 103–45.

- Kartashev, A. V. *Ocherki po istorii Russkoi tserkvi*. 2 vols. Paris, 1959.
- Keenan, Edward L. "Muscovite Perceptions of Other East Slavs before 1654 — An Agenda for Historians." In *Ukraine and Russia in Their Historical Encounter*, ed. Peter J. Potichnyj, Marc Raeff, Jaroslaw Pelenski, and Gleb N. Žekulin, pp. 20–38. Edmonton, 1992.
- . "On Certain Mythical Beliefs and Russian Behaviors." In *The Legacy of History in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, ed. S. Frederick Starr, pp. 19–40. Armonk, N.Y., and London, 1994. Ukrainian translation: "Rosiis'ki mify pro kyivs'ku spadshchynu." *Krytyka* (Kyiv) 3, nos. 1–2 (January/February 1999): 4–10.
- Kharlampovich, K. V. *Malorossiiskoe vliianie na velikoruskuiu tserkovnuiu zhizn'*. 2 vols. Kazan, 1914.
- Khrustsevich, Gavriil. *Istoriia Zamoiskogo sobora (1720 g.)*. Vilnius, 1880.
- Khyzhniak, Zoia. *Kyievo-Mohylians'ka Akademiia*. Kyiv, 1970; 2d ed., Kyiv, 1981.
- Kłoczowski, Jerzy. "Catholic Reform in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Poland, Lithuania, the Ukraine, Belarus)." In *Catholicism in Early Modern History: A Guidebook to Research*, ed. John W. O'Malley, pp. 83–111. St. Louis, 1988.
- Kohut, Zenon E. "The Development of a Little Russian Identity and Ukrainian Nationbuilding." *HUS* 10, nos. 3–4 (December 1986): 559–76.
- . *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy: Imperial Absorption of the Hetmanate, 1760s-1830s*. Cambridge, Mass., 1988. Ukrainian translation: Zenon Kohut, *Rosiis'kyi tsentralizm i ukraïns'ka avtonomiia*. Kyiv, 1996.
- Kondakov, N. P. *Ikonografiia Bogomateri*. Vol. 2. St. Petersburg, 1915.
- Korzo, M. A. *Obraz cheloveka v propovedi XVII veka*. Moscow, 1999.

- Kot, Stanisław. *Georges Niemirycz et la lutte contre l'intolérance au 17-e siècle*. The Hague, 1960.
- . *Jerzy Niemirycz w 300-lecie ugody hadziackiej*. Paris, 1960.
- Kraśńska, Janina. *Ikony*. Cracow, 1973 [=Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, *Katalogi zbiorów*, vol. 1].
- Kravchenko, Volodymyr. "'Malorosiia' ta 'Ukraïna' v chasi i prostori vitchyznianoï literatury druhoï polovyny XVIII — pochatku XIX st." In *Osiahnennia istoriï. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats' na poshanu profesora Mykoly Pavlovycha Koval's'koho z nahody 70-richchia*, ed. Liubomyr Vynar [Lubomyr Wynar] and Ihor Pasichnyk, pp. 318–23. Ostrih and New York, 1999.
- . *Narysy z ukraïns'koï istoriohrafii epokhy natsional'noho Vidrozhennia (druha polovyna XVIII — seredyna XIX st.)*. Kharkiv, 1996.
- . "'Rosiiia,' 'Malorosiia,' 'Ukraïna' v rosiis'kii istoriohrafii druhoï polovyny XVIII — 20kh rokiv XIX st." *Zbirnyk Kharkivs'koho istoryko-filolohichnoho tovarystva*, new series, vol. 5 (1995): 3–16.
- Kryp'iakevych, Ivan. *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi*. Kyiv, 1954; 2d ed., Lviv, 1990.
- . "Do pytannia pro natsional'nu svidomist' ukraïns'koho narodu v kintsi XVI — na pochatku XVII st." *Ukraïns'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1966, no. 2: 82–84.
- Kryzhanivs'kyi, Oleh, and Serhii Plokhii. *Istoriia tserkvy ta relihiinoï dumky v Ukraïni*, vol. 3, *Kinets' XVI — seredyna XIX stolittia*. Kyiv, 1994.
- Kuz'min, E. "Ukrainskaia zhivopis' XVII veka." In Igor' Grabar', *Istoriia russkogo iskusstva*. Vol. 6, pp. 455–80. Moscow, 1914 [= *Istoriia zhivopisi*, vol. 1, *Dopetrovskaia epokha*].
- Lappo, I. I. *Ideia edinstva russkogo naroda v Iugo-Zapadnoi Rusi v epokhu prisoedineniia Malorossii k Russkomu gosudarstvu*. Prague, 1929.

- Larson, Gerald James, Pratapaditya Pal, and Rebecca P. Gowen. *In Her Image: The Great Goddess in Indian Asia and the Madonna in Christian Culture*. Santa Barbara, Calif., 1980.
- Lathoud, David. "Le thème iconographique de Pokrov de la Vierge." In *L'art byzantin chez les Slaves*, vol. 2, pp. 302–14. Paris, 1932.
- Litopys Samovydsia*. Ed. Iaroslav Dzyra. Kyiv, 1971.
- Lohvyn, Hryhorii [Logvin, G. N.] "Monumental'nyi zhyvopys XIV — pershoi polovyny XVII stolittia." *Istoriia ukrains'koho mystetstva*, ed. M. P. Bazhan, vol. 2, pp. 157–207. Kyiv, 1967.
- . *Po Ukraïni. Starodavni mystets'ki pam'iatky*. Kyiv, 1968.
- . *Ukrainskoe iskusstvo X–XVIII vv.* Moscow, 1963.
- . *Z hlybyn. Hraviury ukrains'kykh starodrukiv (XVI–XVII st.)*. Kyiv, 1990.
- Longworth, Philip. *The Cossacks*. New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, 1969.
- Łużny, Ryszard. *Pisarze kręgu Akademii Kijowsko-Mohylańskiej a literatura polska*. Cracow, 1966.
- Lyman, I. I. *Tserkva v dukhovnomu sviti zaporoż'koho kozatstva. Zaporizhzhia*, 1997.
- Lypyn's'kyi, Viacheslav. *Ukraïna na perelomi, 1657–1659*. Kyiv and Vienna, 1920.
- Makhnovets', Leonid, comp. *Ukrains'ki pys'mennyky. Bio-bibliohrafichni slovnky*, vol. 1, *Davnia ukrains'ka literatura (XI–XVII st.)*. Kyiv, 1960.
- Maliuvannia na skli iz tsykladu "Svit ochyma narodnykh maistriv (tradytsii i suchasnist')"*.
- Natsional'nyi muzei u L'vovi. Katalog vystavky z fondiv muzeiu ta zbirk l'vivs'kykh kolektsioneriv*. Lviv, 1990.
- Martel, Antoine. *La langue polonaise dans les pays ruthènes. Ukraine et Russie Blanche, 1569–1667*. Lille, 1938 [=Travaux et mémoires de l'université de Lille. Nouvelle série: Droit et lettres, 20].

- Medlin, William K., and Christos G. Patrinelis. *Renaissance Influences and Religious Reforms in Russia: Western and Post-Byzantine Impacts on Culture and Education (16th–17th Centuries)*. Foreword by Sir Steven Runciman. Geneva, 1971 [=Études de philologie et d'histoire, 18].
- Miliaieva, Liudmyla [Liudmila Miliaeva; Liudmilla Milyaieva], "Pamiatnik Galitskoi zhivopisi XIII veka." *Sovetskaia arkheologiia*, 1965, no. 3: 249–57.
- . *Stinopys Potelycha. Vyzvol'na borot'ba ukraïns'koho narodu v mystetstvi XVII st.* Kyiv, 1969.
- . *The Ukrainian Icon, 11th–18th Centuries: From Byzantine Sources to the Baroque*. Bournemouth and St. Petersburg, 1996.
- Morozov, A. A., and L. A. Sofronova. "Ėmblematika i ee mesto v iskusstve Barokko." In *Slavianskoe Barokko: istoriko-kul'turnye aspekty épokhi*, ed. A. I. Rogov et al. Moscow, 1979.
- Myshanych, Iaroslav. "*Istoriia Rusiv*": *Istorioghrafiia, problematyka, poetyka*. Kyiv, 1999.
- Myslivec, Josef. "Dvě ikony 'Pokrova.'" *Byzantinoslavica* 6 (1935–36): 191–212.
- Myts'ko, Ihor. "Do problemy stanovlennia populiarnykh khrystyians'kykh kul'tiv v Ukraïni." *Mediaevalia Ucrainica: Mental'nist' ta istoriia idei* (Kyiv) 5 (1998): 26–43.
- Mytsyk, Iurii. "Persnyi ukraïns'kyi istoryko-politychnyi traktat." *Ukraïns'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1991, no. 5: 129–38.
- . *Ukrainskie letopisi*. Dnipropetrovsk, 1978.
- Narysy z istoriï ukraïns'koho mystetstva*. Ed. V. H. Zabolotnyi. Kyiv, 1966.
- Nikitenko, Nadiia. "Volodymyrs'kyi memorial u Sofii Kyïvs'kii chasiv Petra Mohyly." In *P. Mohyla: bohoslov, tserkovnyi i kul'turnyi diiach*, ed. A. Kolodnyi and V. Klymov, pp. 159–67. Kyiv, 1997.
- Okinshevich, Leo [Okinshevych, Lev]. "Heneral'na starshyna na Livoberezhnii Ukraïni XVII–XVIII st." *Pratsi KIZRUP* (Kyiv) 2 (1926): 84–175.

- . *Tsentral'ni ustanovy Ukraïny-Het'manshchyny XVII–XVIII st.*, pt. 2, *Rada starshyn*. Kyiv, 1930.
- . *Ukrainian Society and Government, 1648–1781*. Munich, 1978.
- . *Znachne viis'kove tovarystvo v Ukraïni-Het'manshchyni XVII–XVIII st.* Munich, 1948.
- Onasch, Konrad. *Icons*. New York, 1963.
- The Ostroh Bible, 1581*. Winnipeg, 1983.
- Otkovych, Vasyl'. *Narodna techiia v ukraïns'komu zhyvopysi XVII–XVIII st.* Kyiv, 1990.
- Ovchinnikov, A. "Ikona 'Pokrov' — klassicheskii obrazets suzda'skoi zhivopisi." In *Sokrovishcha Suzdalia*, comp. S. V. Iamshchikov, pp. 154–75. Moscow, 1969.
- Pateryk yly otechnyk pecherskii*. Kyiv, 1661. Critical edition: *Kyievo-Pechers'kyi Pateryk*. Ed. D. I. Abramovych. Kyiv, 1930. English translation: *The Paterik of the Kievan Caves Monastery*. Tr. Muriel Heppel. Cambridge, Mass., 1989 [=Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, English Translations, vol. 1. Ukrainian translation: *Pateryk Kyievo-Pechers'kyi*. Ed. Iryna Zhylenko. Kyiv, 1998].
- Patrylo, Isydor. *Dzherela i bibliohrafiia istorii Ukraïns'koï Tserkvy*. 3 vols. Rome, 1975–95.
- Paul of Aleppo. *Puteshestvie Antiokhiiskogo patriarkha Makarii v Rossiï v polovine XVII veka, opisannoe ego synom, arkhidiakonom Pavlom Aleppskim*. Tr. G. A. Murkos. 5 issues. Moscow, 1896–1900. Excerpts in Ukrainian translation: Pavlo Khalebs'kyi, "Z podorozhnikh zapysok," *Kyïvs'ka starovyna*, 1995, no. 4: 45–52.
- . *Ukraina w połowie XVII wieku w relacji arabskiego podróżnika Pawła, syna Makarego z Aleppo*. Ed. Maria Kowalska. Warsaw, 1986.

- Pelc, Janusz. *Słowo-Obraz-Znak. Studium o emblematyce w literaturze staropolskiej*. Wrocław et al., 1973 [=Studia staropolskie, vol. 37].
- Peleshenko, Iurii. *Rozvytok ukrains'koï orators'koï ta ahiohrafichnoï prozy kintsia XIV — pochatku XVI st.* Kyiv, 1990.
- Perdrizet, Paul. *La Vierge de Miséricorde. Etude d'un thème iconographique*. Paris, 1908.
- Peretts, V. N. "K istorii Kievsko-Mogilianskoi kollegii. Panegiriki i stikhi B. Khmel'nitskomu, I. Podkove i arkh. Lazariu Baranovichu." *Chteniia v Istoricheskom obshchestve Nestor-letopistsia* 14, vyp. 1, otd. 3 (1900): 7–25.
- Pernal, Andrew B. "An Analysis of Disbursements for Diplomacy during the Ratification of the Hadiach Union Treaty at the Warsaw Diet of 1659." *HUS* 17, nos. 1–2 (June 1993): 72–109.
- . "The Polish Commonwealth and Ukraine: Diplomatic Relations, 1648–1659." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Ottawa, 1977.
- Persha Konstytutsiia Ukraïny het'mana Pylypa Orlyka, 1710 rik*. Tr. Myroslav Trofymuk. Intro. Omeljan Pritsak. Kyiv, 1994.
- Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*. 19 vols. St. Petersburg, 1887–1992.
- Pliukhanova, M. *Siuzhety i simvoly Moskovskogo tsarstva*. St. Petersburg, 1995.
- Plokhii, Serhii [Plokyh, Serhii]. *The Cossacks and Religion in Early Modern Ukraine*. Oxford, 2001.
- . "Między Rusią a Sarmacją: 'unarodowienie' Kozaczyzny ukraińskiej w XVII–XVIII w." In *Między sobą. Szkice historyczne polsko-ukraińskie*. Ed. Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel and Natalia Jakowenko, pp. 152–72. Lublin, 2000.
- . "Pokrova Bohorodytsi v Ukraïni." *Pam'iatky Ukraïny*, 1991, no. 5: 33–39.
- . "Revisiting the Golden Age: Mykhailo Hrushevsky and the Early History of the Ukrainian Cossacks." Introduction to

- Mykhailo Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 7, *The Cossack Age to 1625*. Ed. Frank Sysyn et al., pp. xxvii–lii. Edmonton and Toronto, 1999.
- . “The Symbol of Little Russia: The Pokrova Icon and Early Modern Ukrainian Political Ideology.” *Journal of Ukrainian Studies (JUS)* 17, nos. 1–2 (Summer-Winter 1992): 171–88.
- Praz, Mario. *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*. 2d ed. Rome, 1964 [=Sussidi eruditi, vol. 16].
- Pritsak, Omeljan. “The First Constitution of Ukraine (5 April 1710).” In *Cultures and Nations of Central and Eastern Europe: Essays in Honor of Roman Szporluk*, ed. by Zvi Gitelman et al., pp. 471–96. Cambridge, Mass., 2000.
- . “Pylyp Orlyk’s Concept of the Ukrainian Present, Past and Future.” In *The Diariusz podrożny of Pylyp Orlyk (1727–1731)*, ed. Omeljan Pritsak, pp. xx–xxiv. Cambridge, Mass., 1988 [=Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature. Texts. Vol. 6].
- Pushkarev, L. N. *Iurii Krizhanich: ocherk zhizni i tvorchestva*. Moscow, 1984.
- . *Obshchestvenno-politicheskaia mysl' Rossii: vtoraia polovina XVII veka. Ocherki istorii*. Moscow, 1982.
- Putsko, Vasilii [Vasyl' Puts'ko]. “Bogoroditsa Desiatinnaia i ranniaia ikonografiia Pokrova.” In *Festschrift für Fairy von Lilienfeld*, pp. 355–73. Erlangen, 1982.
- . “Het'man Ivan Mazepa i rozvytok ukrains'koho mystetstva.” *Kyivs'ka starovyna*, 1995, no. 1: 98–104.
- . “‘Rozp'iattia’ z portretom Leontii Svichky: ievropeis'ka spadshchyna v ukrains'komu maliarstvi kintsia XVII stolittia.” In *Mappa Mundi. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats' na poshamu Iaroslava Dashkevycha z nahody ioho 70-richchia*, ed. Ihor Hyrych et al., pp. 555–75. Lviv, Kyiv, and New York, 1996.
- Putsko-Bochkareva, M. “Belorusskie ikony Pokrova.” *Materyialy mizhnarodnai navukovai kanferentsyi “Tserkva i kul'tura narodaŭ Vialikaha Kniastva Litovskaha i Belarusi XIII — pach. XX st.”*, vol. 4, pt. 3, pp. 527–31. Hrodna, 1992.

- Réau, Louis. *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. 2, *Iconographie de la Bible*, pt. 2, *Nouveau testament*. Paris, 1957.
- Robinson, A. N. *Bor'ba idei v russkoi literature XVII veka*. Moscow, 1974.
- Rolland, Peter A. "'Nieskoro' prawi 'monsztuk do tych trąb otrymacie': On Lazar Baranovyč's *Truby sloves propovdnyx* and Their Non-publication in Moscow," *JUS* 17, nos. 1–2 (Summer–Winter 1992): 205–16.
- . "Ut Poesia Pictura...: Emblems and Literary Pictorialism in Simiaon Połacki's Early Verse." *HUS* 16, nos. 1–2 (June 1992): 67–86.
- Rotar, I. *Epifanii Slavynetskii, literaturnyi deiatel' XVII v.* Kyiv, 1900. First published in *Kievskaia starina*, no. 10 (1900): 1–38; no. 11 (1900): 189–217.
- Rothe, Hans, ed. *Sinopsis. Kiev 1681. Fascimile mit einer Einleitung*. Cologne, Vienna, and Böhlau, 1983 [=Bausteine zur Geschichte der Literatur bei den Slaven, vol. 17].
- Rovinskii, D. A. *Podrobnii slovar' russkikh graverov XVI–XIX vv.* St. Petersburg, 1895.
- . *Russkie narodnye kartinki*. St. Petersburg, 1900.
- Sahanovich, Henadz'. *Neviadomaia vaina, 1654–1667*. Minsk, 1995.
- Senyk, Sofia. "Marian Cult in the Kievan Metropolitanate, XVII–XVIII Centuries." *De cultu Mariano saeculis XVII–XVIII. Acta congressus Mariologici-Mariani internationalis in Republica Melitensi anno 1983 celebrati*, vol. 7, *De cultu Mariano saeculis XVII et XVIII apud varias nationes*, Pars altera, pp. 520–26. Rome, 1988.
- . "The Ukrainian Church and Latinization." *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 56, no. 1 (1990): 165–87.
- Sergii [Archbishop of Vladimir]. *Sviatyi Andrei, Khrista radi iurodivyi, i prazdnik Pokrova Presviatyiia Bogoroditsy*. St. Petersburg, 1898.

- Ševčenko, Ihor. *Ukraine between East and West: Essays on Cultural History to the Early Eighteenth Century*. Edmonton and Toronto, 1996.
- Shamraieva, Ameliia, and Serhii Iurchenko. "Sulymivs'ka tserkva." *Pam'iatky Ukraïny*, 1997, no. 1: 78–80.
- Shcherbak, Vitalii. "Ivan Sulyma." In *Volodari het'mans'koi bulavy*, ed. Valerii Smolii et al., pp. 141–51. Kyiv, 1994.
- Shevchenko, Fedir. *Politychni ta ekonomichni zv'iazky Ukraïny z Rosiieiu v seredyni XVII st.* Kyiv, 1959.
- Shevchenko, Taras. *Bliznetsy*, in idem, *Povne zibrannia tvoriv*, vol. 4, pp. 7–138. Kyiv, 1964.
- Shevchenkivs'kyi slovnyk*. 2 vols. Kyiv, 1977.
- Shonk-Rusych, Kost'. *Istoriia ukraïns'koho mystetstva v iliustratsiakh*. New York, 1978.
- Simonovskii, Petr [Petro Symonovs'kyi]. *Kratkoe opisanie o kazatskom malorossiiskom narode i o voennykh ego delakh, sobrannoe iz raznykh istorii inostrannykh, nemetskoi — Bishenga, latinskoi — Bezol'di, frantsuzskoi — Sheval'e i rukopisei russkikh*. Moscow, 1847.
- Smirnov, Ia. I. "Risunki Kieva 1651 goda po kopiiam ikh kontsa XVIII veka." In *Trudy XIII arkheologicheskogo s"ezda v Ekaterinoslave*, vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 197–512. Moscow, 1905.
- Smirnova, Engelina S. "Simon Ushakov—'Historicism' and 'Byzantinism.' On the Interpretation of Russian Painting from the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century." In *Religion and Culture in Early Modern Russia and Ukraine*, ed. Samuel H. Baron and Nancy Shields Kollmann, pp. 169–83. DeKalb, Ill., 1997.
- . *Zhivopis' Velikogo Novgoroda. Seredina XIII—nachalo XV veka*. Moscow, 1976.
- Smolii, Valerii, and Valerii Stepankov. *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi. Sotsial'no-politychnyi portret*. Kyiv, 1993.
- . *Ukraïns'ka natsional'na revoliutsiia (1648–1676 rr.)*. Kyiv, 1999 [= *Ukraïna kriz' viky*, vol. 7].

- Sofonovych, Feodosii. *Khronika z litopystsiv starodavnykh*. Ed. Iurii Mytsyk and Volodymyr Kravchenko. Kyiv, 1992.
- Solov'ev, A. V. "Velikaia, Malaia i Belaia Rus'." *Voprosy istorii*, 1947, no. 7: 24–38.
- Stepovyk, Dmytro. *Istoriia ukrains'koï ikony X–XX stolit'*. Kyiv, 1997.
- . *Leontii Tarasevych i ukrains'ke mystetsvo barokko*. Kyiv, 1986.
- . *Ukrains'ka hrafika XVI–XVIII stolit': evoliutsiia obraznoi systemy*. Kyiv, 1982.
- Stökl, Günter. *Die Entstehung des Kosakentums*. Munich, 1953 [Veröffentlichungen des Osteuropa-Institutes München, no. 3].
- Storozhenko, A. V. *Ocherki pereiaslavskoi stariny*. Kyiv, 1900.
- Stroganovskii ikonopisnyi litsevoi podlinnik (kontsa XVI i nachala XVII stoletii)*. Moscow, 1868.
- Subtelny, Orest. *The Mazepists: Ukrainian Separatism in the Early Eighteenth Century*. Boulder, Colo., 1981. Ukrainian translation: *Mazepyntsi: ukrains'kyi separatyzm na pochatku XVIII st.* Kyiv, 1994.
- Sulimovskii arkhiv (Semeinye bumagi Sulim, Skorup i Voitsekhovichei)*. Kyiv, 1884.
- Sumtsov, N. F. *Ioannikii Galiatovskii (K istorii iuzhno-russkoi literatury XVII veka)*. Kyiv, 1884.
- . *K istorii iuzhnorusskoi literatury semnadtsatogo stoletia*, vyp. 1, *Lazar' Baranovich*. Kharkiv, 1885.
- Svietsits'ka, Vira, and Vasyl Otkovych. *Svit ochyma narodnykh myttsiv. Ukrains'ke narodne maliarstvo XII–XIX stolit'*. Kyiv, 1991.
- Sydor, Oleh. "Tradysii i novatorstvo v ukrains'komu maliarstvi XVII–XVIII st." In *Spadshchyna vikiv. Ukrains'ke maliarstvo XIV–XVIII st. v muzeinykh kolektsiiakh L'vova*, ed. V. I. Svietsits'ka and O. F. Sydor, pp. 20–40. Lviv, 1990.

- Sydorenko, Alexander. *The Kievan Academy in the Seventeenth Century*. Ottawa, 1977.
- Sysyn, Frank E. "The Changing Image of the Hetman." *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 46, no. 4 (1998): 531–45. [Ukrainian version: "Minlyvyi obraz het'mana," *Krytyka* 2, no. 12(14) (December 1998): 4–8.]
- . "Concepts of Nationhood in Ukrainian History Writing, 1620–1690." *HUS* 10, nos. 3–4 (December 1986): 393–423.
- . "The Cossack Chronicles and the Development of Modern Ukrainian Culture and National Identity." *HUS* 14, nos. 3–4 (December 1990): 593–607.
- . "The Cultural, Social and Political Context of Ukrainian History-Writing: 1620–1690." In *Dall'Opus Oratorium alla Ricerca Documentaria: La Storiografia polacca, ucraina e russa fra il XVI e il XVIII secolo*. Ed. Giovanna Brogi Bercoff [=Europa Orientalis (Rome) 5 (1986): 285–310].
- Szporluk, Roman. "Ukraine: From an Imperial Periphery to a Sovereign State." *Daedalus* 126, no. 3 (Summer 1997). [Reprinted in idem, *Russia, Ukraine and the Breakup of the Soviet Union*, pp. 361–94. Stanford, 2000.]
- Tazbir, Janusz. "Polish National Consciousness in the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century." *HUS* 10, nos. 3–4 (December 1986): 316–35.
- . "The Political Reversals of Jurij Nemyryč." *HUS* 5, no. 3 (September 1981): 306–19.
- . *Polskie przedmurze chrześcijańskiej Europy. Mity a rzeczywistość historyczna*. Warsaw, 1987.
- Ternovskii, S. A. *Issledovanie o podchinenii Kievskoi metropolii Moskovskomu patriarkhu*. Kyiv, 1912.
- Tolochko, Oleksii. "'Rus' ochyma 'Ukraïny': v poshukakh samoidentyfikatsii ta kontynuïtetu." *Suchasnist'*, 1994, no. 1: 111–17.

- Tolochko, Petro. "Rus' — Mala Rus' — Rus'kyi narod v druhii polovyni XIII–XVII st." *Kyivs'ka starovyna*, 1993, no. 3: 3–14.
- Torke, Hans-Joachim. "The Unloved Alliance: Political Relations between Muscovy and Ukraine in the Seventeenth Century." In *Ukraine and Russia in Their Historical Encounter*, ed. Peter J. Potichnyj, Marc Raeff, Jaroslaw Pelenski, and Gleb N. Žekulin, pp. 39–66. Edmonton, 1992.
- Trofymuk, Oleksandra. "Literaturnyi tekst barokko iak vidobrazhennia svitohliadu doby (Na materiali 'Pacta et constitutiones legum libertatumque Exercitus Zaporoviensis')." *Mediaevalia Ucrainica: Mental'nist' ta istoriia idei* (Kyiv), 2 (1993): 98–115.
- . "Rozмова z Ekho: 'Hippomenes sarmacki...' Pylypa Orlyka." *Mediaevalia Ucrainica: Mental'nist' ta istoriia idei* (Kyiv), 4 (1995): 115–55.
- Tuptalo, Dymytrii [St. Dmitrii of Rostov]. *Runo oroshennoie*. 5th ed. Chernihiv, 1696.
- Ukrains'ka literatura XVII st. Synkretychna pysemnist'. Poeziia. Dramaturhiia. Beletrystyka*. Ed. O. V. Myshanych, comp. V. I. Krekoten'. Kyiv, 1987.
- Ukrains'ka literatura XVIII st. Poetychni tvory. Dramatychni tvory. Prozovi tvory*. Ed. V. I. Krekoten', comp. O. V. Myshanych. Kyiv, 1983.
- Ukrains'ka poeziia. Seredyna XVII stolittia*. Comp. V. I. Krekoten' and M. M. Sulyma. Kyiv, 1992.
- Ulewicz, Tadeusz. *Sarmacja: Studium z problematyki słowiańskiej XV i XVI w.* Cracow, 1950.
- Umantsev, F. S. *Troits'ka nadbramna tserkva Kyievo-Pechers'koï Lavry*. Kyiv, 1970.
- Uspenskii, B. A. *Tsar' i patriarkh. Kharizma vlasti v Rossii. (Vizantiiskaia model' i ee russkoe pereosmyslenie)*. Moscow, 1998.

- and V. M. Zhivov. "Tsar' i Bog. Semioticheskie aspekty sakralizatsii monarkha v Rossii." In his *Izbrannye trudy*, vol. 1, *Semiotika istorii. Semiotika kul'tury* (Moscow, 1994), pp. 110–218.
- Uspenskii, Leonid. *Bogoslovie ikony Pravoslavnoi tserkvi*. [Paris], 1989.
- Val'denberg, V. E. *Drevnerusskie ucheniia o predelakh tsarskoi vlasti. Ocherki russkoi politicheskoi literatury ot Vladimira Sviatogo do kontsa XVII veka*. Petrograd, 1916.
- Velichko, Samuil [Velychko, Samiilo]. *Letopis' sobytii v Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii v XVII-m veke*. 4 vols. Kyiv, 1848–64. [Modern Ukrainian translation: Samiilo Velychko, *Litopys*. 2 vols. Tr. Valerii Shevchuk. Kyiv, 1991.]
- Velykyi, Atanasii. *Z litopysu Khrystyians'koï Ukraïny*. Vols. 4–6. Rome, 1971–73.
- Vlasovs'kyi, Ivan. *Narys istoriï Ukraïns'koï pravoslavnoi tserkvy*. 4 vols. (5 bks). New York, 1955–66. [English translation: I. Wlasowsky, *Outline History of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church*. 2 vols. New York and South Bound Brook, N.J., 1974–79.]
- Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiei. Dokumenty i materialy*. 3 vols. Moscow, 1954.
- Vozniak, Mykhailo. *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury*. Vol. 2, pt. 1. Lviv, 1922.
- Vysotskaia, N. F. *Zhyvapis' Belarusi XII–XVIII st. Freska. Abraz. Partret*. Minsk, 1980.
- Warner, Marina. *Alone of all Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary*. London, 1976.
- Welyczenko, Stefan [Velychenko, Stephen, Stepan]. "Mało znany portret Bohdana Chmielnickiego." *Studia Historyczne*, 1981, no. 2: 303–308.
- Widacka, Hanna. *Jan III Sobieski w grafice XVII i XVIII wieku*. Warsaw, 1987.

- Z ukrains'koï starovyny. Al'bom.* Comp. Iu. O. Ivanchenko. Kyiv, 1991.
- Zaborovskii, L. V. "Pereiaslavskaia rada i moskovskie soglasheniia 1654 goda: problemy issledovaniia." In *Rossia-Ukraina: istoriia vzaimootnoshenii*, ed. A. I. Miller, V. F. Reprintsev, and B. N. Floria, pp. 39–49. Moscow, 1997.
- Zagorin, Perez. *Rebels and Rulers, 1500–1660*. 2 vols. Cambridge, UK, 1984.
- Zapasko, Ia. P., and Ia. D. Isaievykh, comp. *Pam'iatky knyzhkovoho mystetstva. Kataloh starodrukiv, vydanykh na Ukraïni*, vol. 1, (1574–1700). Lviv, 1981.
- Zelensky, Elizabeth K. "'Sophia the Wisdom of God' as a Rhetorical Device during the Regency of Sofia Alekseevna, 1682–1689." Ph.D. dissertation, Georgetown University, 1992.
- . "'Sophia the Wisdom of God': The Function of Religious Imagery during the Regency of Sofia Alekseevna of Muscovy." In *Women and Sovereignty*, ed. Louise Olga Fradenburg, pp. 192–211. Edinburgh, 1992.
- Zholtovs'kyi, Pavlo. *Ukrains'kyi zhyvopys XVII–XVIII stolit'*. Kyiv, 1978.
- . *Vyzvol'na borot'ba ukrains'koho narodu v pam'iatkakh mystetstva XVI–XVIII st.* Kyiv, 1958.

Index

- Aleksandrovych, Volodymyr, 21, 22, 23,
Aleksei Mikhailovich, tsar, 5, 7, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 46, 47
all-Russian imperial identity, 17, 18, 74
Anna Ioannovna, empress, 60, 61
Anna Leopoldovna, empress, 60
Andrei Bogoliubskii, prince, 20
Apocalypse, 34, 42
Apostol, Danylo, hetman, 51,
Azov, 1
- Balaban, Metropolitan Dionysii, 31, 39, 46
Baranovych, Archbishop Lazar, 32, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42
 Mech dukhovnyi, 36, 37, 38, 41
 Truby sloves propovidnykh na narochityia dni, 39
Baryshivka, 61
Baturyn, 1, 2
Belarus, 15, 17, 24, 74
Bendery, 12
Biletskyi, Platon, 60, 61, 62, 68, 69, 71
Blachernai, 20, 22, 36, 55
Bonfigli, Benedetto, 27
Boretskyi, Metropolitan Iov, 6
Bratslav palatinate, 15
Brest, Union of (1596), 9, 47, 71
Briukhovetskyi, Ivan, hetman, 37
Bushkovich, Paul, 42
Buturlin, Vasili, 35, 36, 38
Buzanovskiy, Hnat, 49
Byzantium, 20, 21, 25, 73
- Caesarius of Heisterbach, 26
Carpathian Mountains, 15, 25, 70
Catherine I, empress, 1, 2, 55, 57
Catherine II, empress, 5, 64
Charles XII, king of Sweden, 2, 10, 13
Chernihiv, 15, 32, 37, 39, 41, 42, 47
Chudniv, 9
Constantine the Great, emperor, 55, 71
Constantinople, 20, 32, 36, 38, 39, 47, 68
- Cossacks
 Autonomy, 5, 10, 11, 16, 18, 51
 officers, 1–19 *passim*, 35, 36, 45, 51, 56, 58, 59, 60, 63
 relations with Muscovy (Russia), 2, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 16, 17, 18, 39, 45, 48, 50, 51, 59, 61, 63, 64, 73, 74
 rights, 5, 8, 11, 13, 15, 16, 51, 74
Crimea, 51, 58, 61, 63
Crimean khans, 63
- Danilovich. *See* Menshikov, Aleksandr
Deshky, 46, 47, 53, 64
Divovych, Semen, 14, 16, 17
 Razgovor Velikorosii s Malorosiiu, 14, 16
Dnipro, 15, 63
Dnipro Rapids, 63, 64
Dormition Cathedral, Kyiv, 22, 33, 52, 57
- East Slavs, 6, 12, 29, 33
Epiphanius, 20, 21, 56, 65
Eyewitness Chronicle, 48,
- Fylymonovych, Bishop Mefodii (Maksym), 32, 37
- Galiatovskiy (Haliatovskiy), Ioannikii, archimandrite, 42
Galicia, 22, 24, 63, 66, 71, 73
Galician iconography, 63, 71, 73
Gizel Inokentii, archimandrite, 6, 7, 31, 32, 37, 39
Goliakhovskiy, Iakiv, 51
Great Northern War (1700–21), 10
“Great Russia” (*Rus. Velikorossia*), 10, 14, 16, 17, 73, 74
- Hadiach, Treaty of (1658), 7–11 *passim*, 15, 16, 59
Helena, empress, 55, 71
Herasymovych, Andrii, 11, 49
Hetmanate (Cossack state), 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 10–15 *passim*, 17, 18, 19, 48, 50, 55, 63, 66, 73, 74
Hochemskiy, Adam, 28

- Hordiienko, Kost, 63
 Hordynskyi, Sviatoslav, 46, 68, 69
 Horiany, 24
 Hrabianka, Hryhorii, 12, 14, 48, 49, 50
 Iavornytskyi Museum, 64, 65
 Italy, 24, 26, 69
 Jan III Sobieski, king of Poland, 52, 68, 69, 70, 72
 Japheth, 12
 Jesus Christ, 25, 27, 33, 38
 John the Divine, 34
 John the Evangelist, 20
 Kalnyshevskyi, Petro, 65
 Kamianets-Podilskyi, 23
 Khazar myth, 12, 14
 Khmelnytskyi, Bohdan, hetman, 5–8, 13, 15, 16, 31, 32, 34, 35, 38, 45, 46–55 *passim*, 63, 64
 cult of, 15, 16, 45, 47–55 *passim*
 Khmelnytskyi Uprising, 7, 8, 63
 Kopa, Roman, archimandrite, 28
 Kosov, Metropolitan Sylvestr, 33, 35
 Kyiv, 2, 7, 15, 20, 22, 31, 40, 42, 51
 Kyiv Mohyla College (*then* Academy), 47, 49, 52
 Kyivan Caves Monastery, 6, 22, 23, 28, 31, 33, 36
 Kyivan clergy, 7, 31, 32, 35, 36, 45
 Kyivan Metropolitanate, 13, 32, 33, 37, 40, 45
 Ladoga, Lake, 59, 60
 Lemko region, 69
 Leo the Wise, emperor, 55
 Leszczyński, Stanisław, king of Poland, 11
 Levytskyi, Hryhorii, 28
 Lithuania, Grand Duchy of, 3, 8, 9, 10
 “Little Russia” (*Rus. Malorossiiia*), 5, 6, 7, 12, 14–18, 38, 50, 51, 53, 54, 73, 74
 Little Russian Collegium, 51
 Little Russian identity, 6, 7, 12–18 *passim*, 53, 74
 Matveev, Andrei, 1, 2
 Mazepa, Ivan, hetman, 1, 2, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 45, 49, 50, 54, 56, 58, 63, 74
 Mazepists, 10, 11, 12
 Medytskyi, Stefan, 67
 Menshikov, Aleksandr Danilovich, 1, 2, 56, 59, 74
 Meshech, 12
 Mexico, 27
 Miloradovic, Michajlo, 59
 Mohyla, Metropolitan Petro, 23
 Moscow iconographic school, 21
 Moscow Patriarchate, 7, 32, 37, 39, 45
 Muscovy, 5, 7, 8, 10, 17, 35, 39, 48
 “Mylost’ Bozhiiia,” 49, 51, 53
 Myrovych family, 58
 Myrovych, Fedir, 58, 74
 Myrovych, Ivan (father), 1, 2, 56, 57
 Myrovych, Ivan (son), 58, 74
 National Museum of Fine Art, Kyiv, 46
 New Sich, 64. *See also* Zaporozhian Sich
 Novgorod, 20, 21, 23
 Novhorod-Siverskyi, 47
 Odesa Region Historical Museum, 65
 Orlyk, Pylyp, hetman, 12, 13, 50, 54, 58
 Constitution of (1710), 13, 16, 48
 Orthodox emperor/tsar, 50, 65, 69, 71–74 *passim*
 Orthodox hierarchy, 31, 66
 Ostrih Bible, 34
 Otkovych, Vasyl, 67
 Ottomans, 64
 Ott-Skoropadska, Olena, 65
Patericon (of the Kyiv Caves Monastery), 32, 33, 36, 37, 40, 41
 Paul of Aleppo, 14, 30
 Pereiaslav, 36, 55, 57–58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 74
 Church of the Pokrova, 1, 2, 56, 58
 Regiment, 61n20
 Treaty of (1654), 5–7, 10, 15, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 38, 45
 Peremysyl, 25, 68, 70
 Peremysyl Eparchy, 68
Perestoroha Ukraini, 48
 Perugia, 27
 Peter I, emperor, 1, 2, 10, 13, 49, 50–52, 55, 57–59, 62, 63, 74
 Peter II, emperor, 51

- Pidkova, Ivan, 50
 Pochaïv Monastery, 28
 Polatski, Simiaon, 40
 Polish king, 13, 31, 68, 71, 73
 Polish nobility, 8, 12, 13, 68
 Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 8
 Polonophilism, 10, 11
 Poltava, Battle of (1709), 10, 13, 15, 54, 55, 58, 63
 Polubotok, Pavlo, acting hetman, 47
 Putsko, Vasyl, 31

 Rechysia, 23
 Rivne Regional Museum, 23
 Roman Catholic Church, 27, 71
 Rus', 5, 7–9, 12, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 35–38
 Russian iconographic style, 21, 23, 36, 41, 56, 65, 69
 Russians, 6, 17, 38, 64
 Ruthenian identity, 15, 54
 Rybotychi, 25, 70

 St. Ananias, 21
 St. Andrew (the Holy Fool), 20, 21, 22, 56, 65, 72
 St. Barbara, 27, 36
 St. Bernard of Clairvaux, 25
 St. Dmitrii of Rostov. *See* Tuptalo, Dymytrii
 St. Domenic, 26
 St. George the Dragon-Slayer, 33, 40
 St. Michael, 65
 St. Nicholas, 65
 St. Romanos the Melodist, 21, 56, 60, 61, 65, 72
 St. Petersburg, 16, 20, 21, 34, 46, 51, 61
 St. Onuphrius, Church of (Lavriv, Galicia), 24
 St. Sophia, Cathedral of, 23
 St. Volodymyr's Chapel, 23
 Samoilovych, Ivan, hetman, 45, 52
 Saracens (Muslims), 20
 Sarmatian myth, 12
 Satan, 34
 Scherer, Jean-Benoit, 14
 Shevchenko, Taras, 1, 2, 56
 Twins, 1
Sinopsis, 6, 7, 39, 41
 Skoropadskyi, Pavlo, hetman, 65

 Slobodyshche, Treaty of (1660), 9
 Sofonovych, Feodosii, 49
 Sokira, Nikifor Fedorovich, 1, 2, 59, 74
 Sokira, Praskovia Tarasovna, 1, 2, 59
 Sophia, the Supreme Wisdom of God, 33
 Stara Sil, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70
 Subotiv, 53
 Sulyma, Ivan, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62
 Sulyma, Paraska, 61
 Sulyma, Semen, 60, 61, 62
 Sulymivka, 47, 59–62
 Sutkivtsi, 22
 Sviatopolk-Chetvertynskyi, Metropolitan Hedeon, 45
 Svientsitska, Vira, 67
 Swedes, 16, 45, 49, 57
 Symonovskiy, Petro, 14
 Sytykhiv, 68, 69, 71

 Tatars, 22, 38
 Teteria, Pavlo, hetman, 54, 71
 Tobolsk, 58
 Tolstoi, Petr, 59
 Tomara, Stepan, 58
 Trent, Council of (1545–1563)
 Tukalskyi, Metropolitan Iosyf
 Tuptalo, Dymytrii (St. Dmitrii of Rostov), 41, 42, 46, 53
 Runo oroshennoie, 41, 42, 46, 53
 Turie, 70
 Turks, 28, 47

 Ukrainian identity, 2, 6, 13, 15, 74
 Ukrainian-Belarusian identity, 74
 Ukrainians, 6, 38, 49, 51, 55
 Uniate hierarchy, 66, 71
 Uniate iconography, 71

 Velychko Samiilo, 12, 14, 15, 50, 52
 Chronicle, 49, 51, 52
 Vladimir on the Kliazma, 7
 Vladimir-Suzdal, principality of, 20, 21, 23
 Voikiv, 69, 71
 Volodymyr the Great, prince, 12, 38
 Vyhovskiy, Ivan, hetman, 31, 34, 35, 38, 54
 Vynnytskyi, Bishop Inokentii, 68

West European iconography, 19, 29,
23–30 *passim*, 33, 36, 41, 46, 66, 73

Zamość, Uniate Synod of (1720), 66

Zaporozhian Host, 11, 13, 15, 16, 31,
35, 49, 50, 65

Zaporozhian icons, 3, 63–65

Zaporozhian Cossacks, 63, 64, 65

Zaporozhian Sich, 3, 64

Zboriv, Treaty of (1649), 15

Zholtoivskyi, Pavlo, 34, 46, 53, 56, 60

Zhuky, 52

Zoe, empress, 55

Zubrytskyi, Nykodym, 28

