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## РЕЛІГІЄЗНАВСТВО

## RELIGIOUS STUDIES

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### ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS OF THE MONASTERY COMPLEX TSERKOVSHCHYNA

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*The article draws attention to religious uncertainty and challenges caused by the transition to postmodern society, world globalization, the crisis of European civilization, and the process of secularization. Attention is drawn to the fact that the phenomenon of the monastery complex in the context of institutional changes during the period of socio-political transformations necessitates a review of traditional approaches to the conditions of worship, rites and ceremonies. Knowing the essence of a person, in accordance with the existential challenges of today, necessitates a philosophical and religious discourse, a rethinking, and often a new interpretation of the main issues of ritual practice, the carriers of which are monasteries. It has been established that the restoration of the network of Orthodox monasteries in Ukraine is accompanied by a slow and problematic settlement of church-state relations in the field of protection of ensembles of monastic buildings recognized as cultural monuments. It is substantiated that the analysis of institutional transformations of the monastic complex requires the use of methodological approaches of the philosophy of religion, which formulates the principles of analysis and understanding of the development of socio-religious life, makes it possible to study the religious-church complex in the process of its transformation, taking into account socio-cultural factors and civilizational challenges of modernity. It has been proven that the museification of monastic complexes took place in a dialogic discourse between the public and the Orthodox clergy. Taking into account the regional features of religious processes is important for understanding the specifics of modern institutional transformations of the monastic complex in Ukraine and determining the lines of transformational fractures in the confessional plane. It is argued that the development of the concept of the monastery complex is based on the understanding that the concept is a complex system of interactions and mutual influences of organizationally structured church and religious institutions that are incorporated into the socio-cultural space of the Kyiv region.*

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**Key words:** philosophy of religion, church, Orthodoxy, religious cult, transformation, human development, civic practices, identity.

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## СТАНОВЛЕННЯ І РОЗВИТОК ОРГАНІЗАЦІЙНИХ ФОРМ МОНАСТІРСЬКОГО КОМПЛЕКСУ ЦЕРКОВЩИНА

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У статті привернуто увагу до релігійної невизначеності та викликів, які спричинені переходом до постмодерного суспільства, світової глобалізації, кризою європейської цивілізації та процесом секуляризації. Звернуто увагу, що феномен монастирського комплексу в контексті інституціональних змін періоду суспільно-політичних трансформацій зумовлює перегляд традиційних підходів до умов проведення богослужіння, обряду та церемонії. Пізнання сутності людини, відповідно з екзистенційними викликами сьогодення, зумовлює необхідність філософсько-релігієзнавчого дискурсу, переосмислення, а нерідко й нового тлумачення основних питань ритуальної практики носіями, якої є монастирі. Встановлено, що відновлення мережі православних монастирів в Україні супроводжується повільним та проблемним врегулюванням церковно-державних відносин у галузі охорони ансамблів монастирських споруд, визнаних пам'ятками культури. Обґрунтовано, що аналіз інституціональних трансформацій монастирського комплексу зумовлює використання методологічних підходів філософії релігії, яка формулює принципи аналізу та осмислення розвитку соціорелігійного життя, дає змогу вивчати релігійно-церковний комплекс у процесі його трансформації, враховуючи соціокультурні чинники та цивілізаційні виклики сучасності. Доведено, що музеєфікація монастирських комплексів проходила у діалогічному дискурсі громадськості та православного духовенства. Врахування регіональних особливостей релігійних процесів має важливе значення для розуміння специфіки сучасних інституціональних трансформацій монастирського комплексу в Україні та визначення ліній трансформаційних зламів у конфесійній площині. Стверджується, що розробка концепції монастирського комплексу ґрунтується на розумінні, що означене поняття представляє собою складну систему взаємодій та взаємовпливів організаційно структурованих церковних і релігійних інституцій, які інкорпоровані в соціокультурний простір Київського регіону.

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**Ключові слова:** філософія релігії, церква, православ'я, релігійний культ, трансформація, людський розвиток, громадянські практики, ідентичність.

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**Formulation of the problem.** The study of the religious-church complex as a complicated social phenomenon in the context of institutional changes during the period of socio-political transformations leads to the revision of traditional approaches to the conditions of worship, rites and ceremonies. Among the important conditions of modern religious transformations, general civilizational shifts caused by the transition to postmodern society, world globalization, the crisis of European civilization and the process of secularization are considered. The specified processes actualize existential problems and cause the rapid adaptation of Orthodox institutions to the realities of today on the basis of ecclesiology. Knowing the essence of a person, in accordance with the existential challenges of today, necessitates a philosophical and religious discourse, a rethinking, and often a new

interpretation of the main issues of ritual practice, the carriers of which are monasteries. After a period of persecution against the Church by the Soviet government in Ukraine, the network of Orthodox monasteries is being restored and new abodes are being created. A component of this process is the delayed and problematic settlement of church-state relations in the field of protection of ensembles of monastic buildings recognized as cultural monuments. The analysis of the institutional transformations of the monastic complex presupposes the use of methodological approaches of the philosophy of religion, which formulates the principles of analysis and understanding of the development of socio-religious life, makes it possible to study the religious-church complex in the process of its transformation, taking into account socio-cultural factors and modern civilizational challenges. The

development of the concept of the monastery complex is based on the understanding that this idea represents a system of interactions and mutual influences of organizationally structured church and religious institutions that are incorporated into the socio-cultural space of the Kyiv region.

**The purpose of the article** is to analyze the genesis of the formation and development of the caves of the "Tserkovshchyna" area as an object of religious worship in the 17th – early 21st centuries.

**Discussion and results.** In the course of the 19th century, the mass production of guides to Kyiv began, which were mostly devoted to the inspection of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra. This shrine turned out to be a more popular place of pilgrimage even than Hagia Sophia. A similar sequence in the representation of the city's sanctuaries is highlighted by the Lavra editions – "Teraturgima of the Miracles of the Pechersk Lavra" (1638) and "Brief Historical Description of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra" (1795) [1: 137].

At the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries, the Lavra began to take the leading place among the shrines of Kyiv visited by pilgrims. Thus, among all Kyiv shrines, only one Lavra is mentioned in his manuscript "Xenos" ("The Traveler") by the monk-deacon Zosym, who visited here in 1420 and felt inspiration to continue the pilgrimage to Palestine [2: 123]. It is the Lavra Cathedral of the Assumption, and not the Sophia Cathedral, that for several centuries becomes the burial place for many princely families of Lithuania. First of all, for the first prince of Kyiv of Lithuanian origin – Volodymyr Olherdovich, whose burial in the Lavra is evidenced by the testament of his son Andriy from 1446 [3: 23–75]. During 1460-1462, the Lavra hosted the compilation of the I and II Kasiyan editions of the "Kyiv-Pechersk Paterik", which completed the long process of forming a collection of hagiographic works of the end of the 11th – beginning of the 13th centuries about the Lavra ascetics of the pre-Mongol era [4: X–XV]. "Paterik" glorifies

the virtues of the "Reverend Fathers of Pechersk", starting with the founders of the Lavra, Anthony and Theodosius, promotes the thesis of this Lavra, – through the exploits of its best monks, – a special grace, which most often manifests itself in the Dormition Cathedral and the caves – the original monastic center, and later – the place of seclusion of the strictest ascetics and the burial of the departed brothers, including many saints [4: 172–173].

Early monasticism was spontaneous, as people went to deserted places and devoted themselves entirely to prayer and spiritual feat. That is why the church never rejected monks, but on the contrary looked for ways to give them their proper place in the life of the Christian community. The church faced the task of including the monks in the active life of the community, but in such a way as not to violate the identity of this institution. This role was fulfilled by church hierarchs who tried to organize monastic life, to give it certain institutionality [5: 267–268]. The first monasteries mentioned in the "Tale of Past Years" (beginning of the 12th century), the Georgiyivskiy and Irynynskiy monasteries, were built in the first half of the 11th century in Kyiv itself by Prince Yaroslav Volodymyrovych (the chronicler dated information about them to 1037), and the information about the foundation of the Lavra, which began with the seclusion of the monk Anthony in a cave outside the city, dated as early as the end of Yaroslav's reign (1051) [6: 89, 95–97].

The articles in "Tales" devoted to the beginning of the history of the laurel describe its birth in the following order. The scholar and ascetic priest Hilarion, who served in the church of the princely residence of Berestov near Kyiv, dug a cave nearby in the forest and visited it for secret prayer. It can be assumed that in this way the shepherd-intellectual, who enjoyed friendship, took his "private" piety beyond the boundaries of the "official" one, and borrowed the form for this from translated church literature. After the consecration of

Hilarion as a metropolitan in 1051, the cave was abandoned for a short time. Soon Antony, who came from Ljubech, but before arriving in Kyiv, became a monk on Mount Athos and returned to Russia with the blessing of his priest, who saw Antony as a teacher for future monks, settled there. Arriving in Kyiv, Antony visited the monasteries already existing here, but did not stay in any of them, but found Hilarion's cave and liked it. Later, Antony becomes famous, he is visited by Prince Izyaslav Yaroslavich, who inherited the Kyiv table in 1054. After that, a community of associates formed around Antony, who dug cells and a church in the cave [6: 95–96].

This stage is described in more detail in another work, which, like some "Laurian" articles in "Tales", became a component of "Kyiv-Pechersk Paterik" – "Life of Theodosius of Pechersk" (between the 11th and 12th centuries). According to "Life", the first companion of Antony was the experienced monk-priest Nikon the Great. After him, Feodosius came to Antony, who before that also visited the Kyiv monasteries and was not accepted anywhere due to the simple clothes he wore from a young age for ascetic reasons (despite belonging to a wealthy family). After Theodosius, the son of the senior Kyiv boyar Varlaam and Major Yefrem of Izyaslav joined the community. This provoked the anger of Izyaslav, who summoned Nikon (it was he, according to "Life", who performed the rite) and, under the threat of imprisonment of the community and destruction of the cave, demanded the annulment of the two tonsures. However, the princess interceded for the cavemen, and the prince reconciled with them [4: 28–35]. Since "Life" further informs about Antony's new seclusion – he dug a separate cave for himself – and his appointment of Varlaam as hegumen (a similar message about these two is also contained in "Tales"), as well as Nikon's temporary departure from Kiev (to the Tmutarakan principality) and Ephrem (to Constantinople) [4: 35–37], historiographers of the Lavra believe that

reconciliation was possible thanks to a certain compromise between the community and the prince.

Whether Feodosius was the builder of the above-ground monastery or not, it was "The Tales" and "Life" attribute to him the introduction of the dormitory statute in the monastery. In both sources, it is reported that, after becoming abbot, Theodosius did not leave the cave ascetic: once a year, during Great Lent, he secluded himself in the first monastery cave until the eve of Palm Sunday. "Tales" adds that on Saturday or Sunday it was possible to communicate with the abbot through an opening in the cave, and "Life" – that sometimes the abbot secretly from the brothers on the first night left the Lavra cave and went to a remote one in one of the monastery estates (in other episodes of "Life", it is said that Feodosius was given estates for the monastery by the nobility, while the abbot himself led an extremely ascetic life, strictly monitored the modesty of the brothers and himself gave regular alms to the needy), about which no one knew the other did not know, but from there he also secretly returned to the Lavra cave before Palm Sunday. Also, "Life" contains a description of the prayer struggle of Feodosius in cave seclusion against demonic attacks.

In 1073, the first brick temple was built for the Pechersk monks – the Dormition Cathedral ("Tales"), the site for which was chosen on a mountain near the original monastery estate ("Life"). After the death of Theodosius in the spring of 1074, the temple was completed by the next abbot Stefan ("Tales", "Life"), and the brothers settled around the cathedral, and in the old yard they left a few monks to serve in the wooden church and bury the dead ("Life") [7].

The "Tales" conveys another "cave" story – about the monk Isakiy, who settled next to Anthony (who already lived in the new cave after the appointment of Varlaam as hegumen) as a recluse and had a cell "by four cubits", where you could only sit. After a long

confinement (the chronicle indicates a figure of seven years, which could be epic), Isaac was attacked by demons (at first he heard supposedly angelic voices about the approach of Christ and, without crossing himself, bowed down, and then the guests forced him to dance) and fainted. The treatment of the paralyzed man lasted for two years: at first Antony took care of him, and during the elder's forced departure to Chernihiv (Izyaslav suspected him of sympathizing with the Kyiv people, who in 1068 expelled the prince from the city for six months), Feodosius took the sick man to himself. Having recovered and realized his mistake, the former recluse continued to live and work in the dormitory monastery, and when the first miracle happened to him – and some other monks saw it – he began to behave foolishly in order to avoid honor, and provoked punishment from Abbot Nikon (1078–1088). At the end of his life, Isaac again settled in a cave, but this time he had already defeated demonic charms [8: 72].

In 1225–1226, in Volodymyr-na-Klyazma, Bishop Simon, a graduate of the Lavra, wrote "A Word about the Great Church of the Caves" (Assumption Cathedral) and "A Letter" to the Lavra monk Polycarp, whom he reprimanded for contempt and to whom he described the exploits of some Lavra monks for edification ascetics. These works have not been preserved independently (as, by the way, "Tales" and "Life": the first – only as part of later chronicles, starting from the XIX-XV centuries; the second – In the "Assumination Collection" of the XII-XIII centuries), they are in the collections, where next to Simon's "Word" and "Message" you can find another "Message" – mentioned by Simon Polycarp to his abbot Akindin (also not preserved separately): according to this work, Polycarp (probably impressed by Simon's stories) collected many more legends about the Lavra saints and combined them in a letter to the Pechersk Archimandrite. In the Simon-Polycarp cycle of works that formed the basis of "Paterika" (already gradually

they began to add excerpts from chronicles and Feodosius's "Life") we find numerous examples of cave-making at the end of the 11th and during the 12th century. Two directions of the spiritual life of the Lavra can be traced in "Paterik": Antoniivsky, underground-heroic, borrowed from the stricter Egyptian tradition of the first centuries of monasticism, and Feodosiivsky, more moderate – from the Palestinian tradition, while in "Paterik" there are vivid examples of each current (strict cave dwellers Mark and John the Long-suffering, "moderate" monks of the terrestrial monastery Alipiy and Sviatosha), as well as examples of the synthesis of both [9: 188–189]. One of the accents of the pateric stories is that next to the terrestrial monastery, the main component of which was the territory around the cathedral (now the so-called Upper territory of the Lavra), there was a peripheral, but no less important from a spiritual point of view, cave part of the monastery: here the strictest hermits (in particular recluses) were "saved" and "radiated" miracles of the power of the departed saints.

Already after the registration in 1462 in the Lavra of the so-called II Kasiyan edition "Paterika", another cave episode – the Easter miracle of 1463 – was added to the collection [10: 147]. Just as the Pecherian editor of "Tales of Past Years" contrasted the Lavra "founded by fasting and tears" with the Dimitrov Monastery of Prince Izyaslav, so more than a century later Simon in "The Word" about the Great Dormition Church contrasted it with numerous accompanying miracles ("Life" of Feodosia between the 11th and 12th centuries depicts this foundation more prosaically, although not without one miracle), to the church (any kind), which is "a creature of violence and plunder, which itself cries out [to God] against the one who created it" [11]. "Having gone through the books of the Old and New Testaments, nowhere will you find such miracles about the holy churches as about this one... Blessed and thrice blessed is he who will be placed in it: he will receive great grace

and mercy from God" [11]. In another place, the "Word" calls (putting the call to the lips of one of the secular benefactors of the Lavra): "Let no one [of the family's descendants] be separated from the house of the Holy Mistress of the Mother of God and Saint Theodosius. If, even in the last impoverishment, someone comes without having anything to give [for burial in the Pechersk church], let him be buried in the estates of that church, because the prayer of Feodosius protects everywhere" [11].

Paterik's stories formed a sacred image of the caves of the Lavra as an instrument of salvation, a place of healing grace, a place of victory over passions and a place of peace, where time has stopped and where the relics of the saints rest outside the flow of the trials of history.

The inclusion of Ukrainian lands in the composition of Lithuania and Poland and the subsequent unification of these two states in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1569), the absorption of Byzantium by the Ottoman Empire, the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation in Europe are the context of attempts to Catholicize and Polonize Ukraine, intensifying the controversy between the Orthodox and by Catholics, as well as a new wave of purposeful popularization of the Lavra Caves.

From the end of the 16th century, written testimonies of travelers about visiting the Lavra Caves and measures for their beautification – fortification (for the safety of visitors), lengthening (for ease of navigation), decoration (in accordance with the tastes of the time) appear more and more often. "The Tale of Past Years" distinguishes between the "cave under the old monastery", where the monks first lived underground and then built an above-ground monastery, and the "cave that is under the new monastery", which was dug by Antony after the formation of the monastic community in the first cave and above which later, the brick Cathedral of the Assumption was built [6: 96–97]. According to the "Tale" and "Life" of Theodosius, Anthony was buried in the

second, Feodosius in the first [6: 116–118], and in 1091, the "Narrative" tells about the transfer of the relics of Theodosius to the Dormition Cathedral [6: 128–129]. The "Theodosius Cave" is mentioned in 1156 by the Kyiv Chronicle [6: 267], about the cave with Antony's burial – reminds several times of Polycarp's "Epistle" [4: 139].

Even in the "Epistle" of Polycarp, we find a description of the order of laymen to the laurel, using the example of a secular person – a prince [4: 155]. Although these lines represent a later expansion of the mention of the "Tale" in 1107 about Svyatopolk Izyaslavych's regular visits to the Lavra [6: 162], here it is valuable to record the ancient sequence of visiting the Lavra shrines by guests: first – the cathedral (dominant sacral "pole") with the relics of Theodosius, then – caves (peripheral "pole") with burials of monks (holy monks), starting with Anthony [12: 98].

The same order is simpler, in more detail, described in his memoirs by the merchant Martin Gruneweg, after visiting the Lavra in 1584. First, Gruneweg inspected the territory of the current Upper Lavra with the Dormition Cathedral, and then the accompanying monk gave him "a wax lamp for one and a half shillings and took him to the old man, whose was the key to the cave." [13: 127]. The story is illustrated by schematic drawings in the margins of his manuscript [13: 128]. The diagram of the caves given by Gruneweg represents a closed rectangular contour ("gallery") with two perpendicular branches to the outside – down (entrance corridor) and to the right ("passage to the chapel"), "cutting" the lower left corner with a dark strip ("a window filled with bones") and a hole in the upper right corner ("wood-lined pit"). Below the diagram of the caves is a typical view of the side wall of the gallery – vaulted dark openings located in two tiers and at the same distance from each other ("one next to the other and one above the other") [2: 124].

In 1594, ten years after Gruneweg, Lyasota visited the same caves,

separated from the cathedral area by a garden. But there were already more wooden supports in the labyrinth, a second underground church appeared, located near Antony's burial, further from the entrance and from the older church (hence the name "back altar") [2: 125–126].

At the beginning of the 17th century, in the lower part of the titles of the editions of the Lavra printing house, on both sides of the image of the Dormition Cathedral, they began to place views of the entrances to the two caves – Antony's and Feodosy's: this triptych is in "Conversations of St. John Chrysostom on the 14 Epistles of the Apostle Paul" (1623), "Conversations of St. John Chrysostom on the Acts of the Apostles" (1624) and "Interpretation of St. Andrew of Caesarea on the Apocalypse" (1625). The preface to the first of these books contains the following lines [14: 127].

In 1627, Archimandrite Petro Mohyla appointed caretakers to the cave and hung plaques with names above the relics, in 1635, under his patronage, a new edition of Paterik was created – in Polish, printed and according to the new structure of the material, and in 1638 – its continuation with a description of new miracles. known as "Teraturgyma" ("Miracle Workers"). In Teraturgim, maps of the caves are printed, which are designated as Near Antony and Far Feodosius, the author claimed that there was an old courtyard in the Far Caves (this does not follow from ancient sources, as Kabanets noted, but it became a tradition and fits into the general trend of church intellectuals of Kyiv in the 17th century to develop a new sacred topography that would refer to the topography of pre-Mughal times). On the map, most of Paterik's heroes rest in the Near Caves, which are located closer to the Dormition Cathedral. There are the same two underground churches in the caves: the ancient Vedenskaya (at the branch point marked by Gruneweg) and the young Antony's (which Lyasota saw). There are gates for people, the slope is fortified with a wall. In 1643, Mohyla initiates the printing of "Services

to the Cave Saints and All Saints of Little Rus'", which became the canonization of most of Paterik's heroes outside the Lavra (only Anthony and Theodosius and a few bishops who left the Lavra had this general veneration). In 1651, the artist Abraham Westerfeld records in the caves the presence of not only openings of locules or crypts (externally the same as in Gruneweg's drawing), but also arcosols (longitudinal niches) and wooden tombs near the walls on pillars. A separate topic is the heads, myrrh-flowing, everyone from Gruneweg mentions them.

According to Bobrovsky, the separate resting of the heads is connected with the practice of the Athos custom in the laurel of separating the heads from the rest of the bones during reburial to compact the area. In 1654, Pavlo of Aleppo visited the Lavra, who described the openings as shelters for small children and expressed his admiration for the exploits of the ancients. 1661 Paterik is edited for printing in Slavic, but taking into account both manuscript and Polish traditions. At the same time, maps are being reprinted, where the openings of locules with crypts and arcosolies are clearly visible (for the Far Caves, these images are conditional: research in 1968 showed that there were longitudinal locules in place of the "arcosolies"). In 1691, the third church of Varlamivsk was excavated in the Near Caves, in Dalny there were already three in 1638. In 1702, a new version of the maps was published, where we see an even greater increase in the number of arcosolia and a decrease in locules, which indicates the continuation of the process of revisions. But the number, which almost corresponds to the modern one, was already recorded on the military plan of the 1740s. In the 18th century, marble Byzantine pillars from the vivatra decoration of the Assumption Cathedral were installed in the cave churches of the Near Caves, which was extensively reworked under Ukrainian Baroque. At the same time, in the Near Caves, the pilolgga is paved with cast-iron slabs, in the Far Caves, this will happen in the

19th century. A comparison of the plans between 1638 and 1744 indicates an increase in the length of the corridors. Since the time of Gruneweg, almost all authors have written about the strange length of the caves, up to the obscene length, although the Lavra in "Tekrautgim" refuted these gossips, which even found their way into scientific treatises, and in 1675, the Vilna pastor Johann Gerinius additionally observed this in the treatise "Rheological Kyiv caves". The decoration of the Lavra caves continued (Kizlova), and they lost their original appearance more and more, but it was the invention of alternative monastic caves in Kyiv in the 19th century that created an opportunity for pilgrims to see the conditions in which the initial Lavra history took place. The brightest of such opportunities were provided by the Hnyletsy Caves.

**Conclusions.** The monastery complex of the Kyiv area "Tserkovshchyna" has its own stable identity and develops according to immanent laws. Initially, it was the original center of the Hnyletsy monastery, and later it was transformed into a church memorial to Feodosius Pecherskyi and a "visualization" of

paintings of the cave asceticism of the heroes of the "Kyiv-Pecherskyi Paterik". The memorialization of the Hnyletsy Caves at the first stage took the form of popularizing the monument in church narratives and organizing visits to the sacred place, later the ensemble of underground structures was supplemented, and at the beginning of the 21st century it was turned into a museum. All stages of the memorialization of the monument had specific features compared to the experience of presenting other similar sites in the territory of Ukraine. At the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, the museification of the Hnyletsy Caves took place in a dialogic discourse between the public and the Orthodox clergy. Taking into account the regional features of religious processes is important for understanding the specifics of modern institutional transformations of the monastic complex in Ukraine and determining the lines of transformational fractures in the confessional plane. In the complex dynamics of modern religious development, consideration of problems related to the history and prospects of functioning of the regional socio-religious space acquires special relevance.

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