

Antonina Kizlova\*

***THE DORMITION CATHEDRAL OF KYIV  
PECHERSK LAVRA WITHIN HOLY KYIV  
(LATE 18<sup>TH</sup> – EARLY 20<sup>TH</sup> CT.)***

**Keywords:** *Dormition cathedral; brethren of Kyiv Pechersk lavra; orthodox sacred object; custodian of sacred object; Holy Kyiv; social communication; late 18<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> ct.*

**Abstract:** *This work deals with the links between the social system of miraculous icons and relics honoured in Dormition Cathedral of Kyiv Pechersk Lavra and Holy Kyiv. The article is an attempt to amplify the lore about the scantily explored urban and monastic attitude to the Orthodox sacred objects in bureaucratic and formalistic period under the Most Holy Governing Synod rule. The main sources are guidebooks and reference works published in 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> ct., memoirs and archival documents about the internal monastery life. The acts of exchange between Lavra and other Kyiv temples associated with sacred objects honouring in Dormition cathedral are investigated. The coffin guardians in Lavra and St. Michael's Golden-Domed monastery are compared. The social features of sacred objects repairs and provision of access for believers in Dormition cathedral are examined. A place of sacred objects of Dormition cathedral in public relations between Lavra brethren and Kyivans is analysed. The ways of belief declaration prevalent among Kyivan prayers in Dormition cathedral and among Lavra brethren outside their monastery are outlined. The symbolic causes of general solidarity around the sacred objects are depicted. In general, the administering as well as ordinary monks of all dignities and novices were deeply involved in maintenance of order near all sacred objects in Dormition cathedral. Separately of participating in divine services these sacred objects custodians spared attention to communication with believers from Kyiv and other localities. A tangle of problems in the Dormition cathedral social system is connected with Church history, cultural studies, urban history, social communications history and cultural anthropology. The scheme of links found between the sacred objects social system in Dormition cathedral and Holy Kyiv is usable as a basic for study of such links between an Orthodox conventual cathedral and its urban surrounding (in 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> ct.).*

For Orthodox Christians, every holy place became the centre of social system, where prayers and ‘custodians of sacred object’ co-operated. This cooperation from such point of view explored Tatiana Shchepanskaya. She used materials about the sacred objects mainly in the country areas of Northern Russia (Щепанская 117–119). The work of Tatiana Shchepanskaya is information-intensive and proposes heightened methodological slant on the question. The other Russian historian Tatiana Balashova attempted to find out a place of 25 Moscow monasteries in social and cultural

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\* National Technical University of Ukraine “Igor Sikorsky Kyiv Polytechnic Institute”, Ukraine.

surroundings of this city. This thesis consists the idea that monasteries were an actual part of urban culture (Балашова 117–119). Both authors paid their attention to 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> ct.

The Dormition Cathedral as the central temple in Kyiv Pechersk Dormition Cave Monastery (Lavra) is a bright example of a conventual cathedral with numerous sacred objects and a part of Kyiv as Holy City.

People live their lives in several contexts simultaneously. Historians should therefore to reconstruct real life in as many of these contexts, as possible. Each of the contexts in which the person or community examined is presented forms a part of their world, showing different aspects of it (Szijártó 209–210). That is why a base of this article is the microhistorical approach and its aim is to outline the links between these sacred objects social system and Holy Kyiv.

The results of our work will be a partial solution of more general problem. A problem is connected with the reconstruction of a real religious belief in bureaucratic and formalistic period under the Most Holy Governing Synod rule. This article is an attempt to amplify the lore about the urban and monastic attitude to the Orthodox sacred objects.

Dmytro Stepovyk and Hryhoriy Poliushko wrote the scientific works with indirect reference to this problem. Dmytro Stepovyk (mainly in the part about late 18<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> ct.) assessed involvement of prayers in some veneration practices as an attempt to take these prayers to the cleaners (Степовик 235–256). Such idea corresponds with the Soviet atheist historiography. Hryhoriy Poliushko devoted his book to the miraculous icon of Prince's Ihor Theotokos. He analysed inter alia the reasons, processes and results of decoration and repairs of this cultus image (Полюшко). This author used a wide range of historical sources for his conclusions validation.

A list of venerated icons and relics in Dormition Cathedral is presented in Table 1. The elements of this list were actual in late 18<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> ct. as officially accepted by the Most Holy Governing Synod.

**Table 1**

**Venerated icons and relics in Dormition Cathedral<sup>1</sup>**

<b>Sacred object</b>	<b>Date of the first appearance in cathedral</b>	<b>Place in cathedral</b>
the miraculous icon of Dormition	11 <sup>th</sup> ct. (synchronous with the cathedral consecration)	in the main iconostasis, straight above holy door, on the precious well decorated disk
the miraculous icon of Prince's Ihor Theotokos	1146 or 1147	near the northern door of John the Apostle sacarium

<sup>1</sup> Date of the first appearance of any sacred object in cathedral is put into Table 1 according to the perception of this date in late 18<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> ct.

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the St. Reverend Theodosius grave	1090, in 1240 secretly hidden into the wall	in the south-western corner of cathedral
the holy relics of St. Michael, the first Kyiv metropolitan	1730	near the left flank of the main iconostasis
the skull of St. Volodymyr the Baptist of Rus equal to the apostles	in the period of Kyiv metropolitan Petro Mohyla, but after 1636	near the right flank of the main iconostasis
the index finger of St. Stephane Protomartyr	1717	in the St. Stephane's sacrarium (until 1830 – in the shrine of the skull of St. Volodymyr)
the earthly remains particles of all Kyivan Caves Saints	it is a theme of particular study	in front of the St. Reverend Theodosius grave in the south-western corner of cathedral (until 1830 – in the shrine of the skull of St. Volodymyr)
the earthly remains particles of the Apostles and various numerous Saints	it is a theme of particular study	in front of the main iconostasis holy door

Sources: N.d. MS 1726 1–7; Краткое историческое 80–82; Максимович, Иван 28–33; Шероцкий 277, 281–282 etc.

Theodor Titov gave brief information about the St. Mykolay icon with the part of this Saint's relics. This sacred object appearance in the southern door of John the Apostle sacrarium is not dated in his book (Титов 42). It is very likely that mainly Kyivans venerated this St. Mykolay icon.

This long list of sacred objects is referred in numerous sources. The authors of guidebooks and reference works (Краткое историческое 80–82; Максимович, Иван 32–33; Титов 33–43; Шероцкий 277, 281–282) described all sacred objects in Kyiv churches. They wanted to help prayers from other localities to find this objects and to meet the deadlines of the main religious services. These authors held an interest in reliability of their factual report. Informal data about the sacred objects and their custodians is contained in the diaries, memoirs and private letters about Lavra (Максимович, Михаил; Никодимов; Описание путешествия; Путешествие на богомолье). The historian can verify this information with the help of a range of archival documents about the monastery internal life. The main kinds of these

documents are property registers (N.d. MS 76, N.d. MS 110), acts about routine and extensive repairs (N.d. MS 900; N.d. MS 1528; N.d. MS 1590; N.d. MS 1726), documents about different obediences executors (N.d. MS 76, N.d. MS 82, N.d. MS 101, N.d. MS 110, N.d. MS 124, N.d. MS 134 etc.), acts about solemnities (N.d. TS 1246-A) and incidents (N.d. MS 2215) in the cathedral. As for documents about all Lavra, the brethren data cards (N.d. MS 268; N.d. MS 300; N.d. MS 359), service records (N.d. MS 110; N.d. MS 112), personnel rosters (N.d. MS 82; N.d. MS 124; N.d. MS 127; N.d. MS 134), personal files (N.d. MS 158) and acts about cadre transfer (N.d. MS 442; N.d. MS 606; N.d. MS 616; N.d. MS 617; N.d. MS 659; N.d. MS 664; N.d. MS 768; N.d. MS 773; N.d. MS 751; N.d. MS 759; N.d. MS 808; N.d. MS 875; N.d. MS 884; N.d. MS 894; N.d. MS 898; N.d. MS 902; N.d. MS 906; N.d. MS 975; N.d. MS 1018; N.d. MS 1565) consist personal information about coffin guardians in the Dormition cathedral. The correctness of these documents was under the Most Holy Governing Synod and Kyiv metropolitan inspection. Accordingly, we have sufficiently valuable information basis for our theme.

In 1824 Kyiv metropolitan Eugene (Bolkhovitinov) blessed a transfer of 60 earthly remains particles of the various Saints from Lavra to Saint Sophia Duomo in Kiev. The first number in these relics list is a particle of the imperishable body of St. Michael, the first Kyiv metropolitan. This Saint is at the head of the Saint bishops, archimandrites and the monks of all other dignities (N.d. MS 1123-A 1). Lavra (including Dormition cathedral) and Saint Sophia Duomo were two metropolitan centres in Kyiv (ЦДІАК України). It is like enough that Eugene wanted to connect these centres more closely. A Saint metropolitan was the best nominee for the title position in a mentioned symbolic hierarchy.

As for a part of the St. Barbara's relics in Dormition cathedral, it lay in a special table for the earthly remains particles of the numerous Saints (see Table 1) near a part of the St. Catherine's relics (N.d. TS 1399-A). As for a part of the St. Barbara's relics was accepted from St. Michael's Golden-Domed cathedral in the monastery of the same name. There were also the sacrarium of St. Catherine in this cathedral as well as the also the sacrarium of St. Barbara (Максимович, Иван 77). The combination of the mentioned holy particles was probably a sign of the sacred unity between two great convents from different parts of Kyiv (Old City and Pechersk).

A venerable tradition of the miraculous Dormition icon cord riding descent for kiss (Никодимов; Описание путешествия 54) became a good example in Kyiv. St. Catherine Greek monastery, St. Nicholas monastery of Hermitage and a Joy of All Who Sorrow parish church inherited this custom (Шероцкий). The Dormition icon was a central sacred object in all Lavra (See for example: Краткое историческое 80; Максимович, Иван 32; Шероцкий 277). It amounts to that St. Catherine Greek monastery; St. Nicholas monastery of Hermitage and a Joy of All Who Sorrow parish church accepted from Lavra an idea of a distinctly centralized hierarchy of the sacred objects.

The Spiritual Council managed all matters of cloistral life in Lavra and reported about them to Kyiv metropolitan (the reverend archimandrite of Lavra). The father superior, the treasurer, the main checkman, the manciple, the cellarer, the confessor, the printing-house superior, the rural dean, the hospital superior, the Caves

custodians were the members of this Council. There was also the ecclesiarch among them (ЦЦІАК України 14). Inter alia, he was the superior of so-called coffin guardians in Dormition cathedral (N.d. MS 82, N.d. MS 124, N.d. MS 134). The obedience of coffin guardians in Kyiv was customary not only for Lavra but also for St. Michael's Golden-Domed monastery where St. Barbara's holy relics reposed (Кізлова 81–83).

All coffin guardians in St. Michael's Golden-Domed monastery were hieromonks, the most deserving in community (Кізлова 81–83). As for Dormition cathedral, the brethren data cards, service records, personnel rosters and some other documents provide an opportunity to set up a Table 2.

**Table 2****Coffin guardians in Dormition cathedral (late 18<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> ct.)**

<b>Ideal</b>	<b>Prevalent</b>	<b>Occasional</b>
trustworthy	trustworthy	apt to spent the nights beyond Lavra (monk Antonin)
capable of standing near the Saint's shrine for a long hours	capable of standing near the Saint's shrine for a long hours	having a second or more than 1 other important obedience
healthy	frustrated by disease	absent near the coffin by reason of disease
abstainers	it remains to be seen	drunkards (monks Antonin and Spiridon)
hieromonks	monks, monks having taken vows of schema	hieromonk (Arkadiy, Amphilohiy), deacon monks (Iona, Damian, Ahafodor), novices (Ivan Norenko, Damian Kotsubovskiy and Hryhoriy Rudnyk)
well educated	having a reading and writing knowledge of a Russian	completely illiterate

Sources: N.d. MS 82; N.d. MS 110; N.d. MS 112; N.d. MS 124; N.d. MS 127; N.d. MS 134; N.d. MS 268; N.d. MS 300; N.d. MS 359; N.d. MS 442; N.d. MS 606; N.d. MS 616; N.d. MS 617; N.d. MS 659; N.d. MS 664; N.d. MS 768; N.d. MS 773; N.d. MS 751; N.d. MS 759; N.d. MS 808; N.d. MS 875; N.d. MS 884; N.d. MS 894; N.d. MS 898; N.d. MS 902; N.d. MS 906; N.d. MS 975; N.d. MS 1018; N.d. MS 1565.

All coffin guardians in St. Michael's Golden-Domed monastery were deeply involved in communication with prayers. They were be able to forestall crowding near shrines and icons. They had a right to call to order. They also fixed the votives and the information about all donators, sold the 'finger rings of St. Barbara' and the

‘crosses of St. Barbara’ worn next to the skin (Кізілова 81–83). However, extant memoirs contain too little information about the guardians in Dormition cathedral (Ковалевский 305). Therefore, their involvement in communication with prayers is to be a theme of a special study. Now we can compare only the main responsibilities of the coffin guardians in both monasteries.

The ecclesiarch exercised responsibility for votives accounting in Dormition cathedral since 1826, after a period of the treasurer’s accountability. The ecclesiarch entrusted recorders and cashiers (monks) with a task to fix the votives and the information about the donators (N.d. MS 76, N.d. MS 110). He also had to fix highly valuable votive things personally (N.d. MS 482). Therefore, coffin guardians had not to do it. However, the Spiritual Council could debit them with money in case of a theft near a Saint’s shrine (N.d. MS 2215).

As may be supposed, the priors of mentioned monasteries adopted the coffin guardian obedience as necessary unanimously. They also did not take each other for a model of the coffin guardians’ conceptualization.

Some coffin guardians of Dormition cathedral were born in Kyiv. Ivan Norenko who stood near the shrine of St. Volodymyr’ scull until February 1805 as a novice (N.d. MS 1565) was born in the township Hornostaipil (Kyiv province). At the age of 15 he went to Kyiv for blacksmith craft training. Five years later Ivan returned home and married Theodora Andriaka. Then the young family bought a house in Kyiv. Ivan belonged to the guild administration and took part in municipal self-government according to Magdeburg Law. After a death of his wife in 1801, Ivan gave his resignation from Kyiv blacksmith guild in 1802 with the hope to become a monk (N.d. MS 158 1 a, 1 a rev., 6). Kyivans admitted Ivan Norenko to their community and recognized his authority. Therefore, Kyiv probably became his second homeland.

The information about the native Kyivans among the coffin guardians is detailed in Table 3.

**Table 3**

**Coffin guardians from Kyiv in Dormition cathedral**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Dignity</b>	<b>Period<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>Place</b>
	novice	25 August, 1821 – 29 April, 1822	the St. Reverend Theodosius grave
	monk	29 April 1822 – June of 1822	the St. Reverend Theodosius grave
	monk	June of 1822 – 27 July, 1832	the St. Volodymyr’s shine
Akindin	monk	29 April, 1836 – 1844	? (mentioned in documents as “coffin guardian in Great Church)

<sup>2</sup> The dates in all tables as well as all dates until 1918 mentioned in the article correspond Julian calendar.



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Onisiphor	monk	May of 1822 – after 1827 and before 1832	the St. Reverend Theodosius grave
	monk	20 June, 1905 – 23 October, 1907	? (mentioned in documents as “coffin guardian in Great Church)
	monk having taken vows of schema	23 October, 1907 – after 1914	? (mentioned in documents as “coffin guardian in Great Church)

Sources: N.d. MS 110 52 rev. – 53; N.d. MS 112 112 rev. – 113; N.d. MS 127 44 rev. – 45, 387; N.d. MS 141 97 rev. – 98; N.d. MS 359 № 208.

This subtle link between Lavra and Kyiv seems not formed intentionally. Nevertheless, the personalities of all mentioned coffin guardians are interesting. Naturally, they had the relatives as well as friends, acquaintances, and even enemies in Kyiv. Any one of these relatives, friends, acquaintances and enemies had access to the Dormition cathedral. They also could contact with coffin guardians near the saints' shrines.

Petty bourgeois Hryhoriy Rudnyk from Podol part of Kyiv decided to retire to a cloister in 1818, at the age of 69. His first and second wives died. The third wife Evdokia also went into convent. His two sons and three daughters become adult and all daughters were already married (N.d. MS 299 1 a, 1 a rev., 2). Monk Onisifor became a novice of Lavra in 1815 at the age of 51. He studied Latin grammar, poetry and rhetoric in famous Kyiv Mohyla academy in his youth (N.d. MS 110 52 rev. – 53). Monk Akindin became a novice in 1826 at the age of 38. He was not married in his life (N.d. MS 127 44 rev. – 45). The Synodal Orthodox Church determined a minimal age of legal consent in 1774. Men acquired a right to marry at the age of 15. The median age of the men which registered a marriage in late 18<sup>th</sup> – middle 19<sup>th</sup> ct. amounted to 16–21 years (Миронов 167). Presumably, Onisifor had serious problems with his health or a youthful dream to retire from the world. Semiliterate petty bourgeois Hryhoriy Chmylevskiy (in monasticism Iakov) became a novice at the age of 26. In Lavra he waited for taking of monastic vows since 1870 until 1890 (N.d. MS 359 № 208). It follows from these facts, indigenous coffin guardians meaning for prayers from Kyiv is a perspective line of scientific study. The question at issue is a search of new sources about all mentioned monks.

The most active among Dormition cathedral coffin guardians were they who execute their obedience near the tomb with imperishable body of Tobolsk metropolitan Pavel (Ковалевский 305). The Spiritual Council prepared materials for canonization of this church hierarch. First time Lavra brought up this subject in the last decade of 19<sup>th</sup> ct. In 1892 a special committee for authentication of the miracles near the metropolitan Pavel's shrine was convened (Жиленко 47) The coffin guardians activity was probably caused by these preparations.

Prayers from Kyiv appealed to the coffin guardians' activity in the eyewitness account. In 1914 Maria Kyrylova from Pechersk part of Kyiv described her leg healing near the hierarch's tomb in. She also said:

I asked coffin guardian, monk Sampson, to lay my stockings on an imperishable body of the hierarch. He did it... (N.d. MS 1150-A 14)<sup>3</sup>

This source suggests that Kyivans caught a sight of the effort to come into notice the new sacred object.

The sacred objects custodians promoted, that there were some eloquent details near miraculous icons and earthly remains of saints. Such details would not only underline the honouring in monastery but also confirm the presence of donors.

Rich prayers donated very precious jewellery as a votives, for example golden or silver finger- and ear-rings, bracelets and clasps with numerous brilliants, rubies, amethysts, pearls in varied combinations. These votives brought into Dormition cathedral from different localities generated a need for examination as to their transactions value. The Kyivan jewellers (for instance, Nikolai Diament, Diomid Katerlinko and Ilarion Danilevskiy) helped the monks in this process (N.d. MS 288-A 3; N.d. MS 352-A 445, 446 rev.) as the professional independent experts.

The representatives of Lavra were deeply involved in maintenance of order and splendour near all sacred objects in Dormition cathedral. For some important repairs and adornments, they sought professional assistance from outside.

In 1791 Kyivan silversmith Oleksiy Ishchenko made a silver icing frame for miraculous Dormition icon (N.d. MS 900 2).

In 1801 one of the novices Damian Kotsubovskiy asked Kyivan metropolitan Gavriyl for the permission to take monastic vows. Damian mentioned in his petition about the lapidary Petr Gurtifel. This artisan made took part in the fabrication of a golden jewelled icing frame and a silver disk for the miraculous Dormition icon. Petr Gurtifel lived in Lavra during all contract term (in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of 1799, 1800 or in the 1<sup>st</sup> half of 1801). Kotsubovskiy was his supervisor according to “oral behest of the Lavra Spiritual Council” (N.d. MS 151 1 a rev). It is possible that all materials for the repairs belonged to the monastery and the artisan could not guarantee his ability to offset a probable disadvantage.

In 1822 the Spiritual Council according to the metropolitan resolution closed a contract with Kyivan jewellers Samson Strelbytskyi and his son Olexandr Strelbytskyi in order to outfit the silver disk with miraculous Dormition icon (N.d. MS 1528 13; Кудрицький 560). As well as afire mentioned Olexiy Ishchenko Samson and Olexandr were reckoned of undisputed account in their guild (Ковалинський 151). In spite of the fact the Spiritual Council controlled their working process and gave them distinctive instructions as you can see on Photo 1.

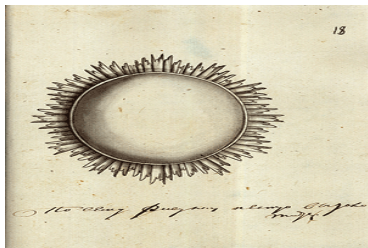
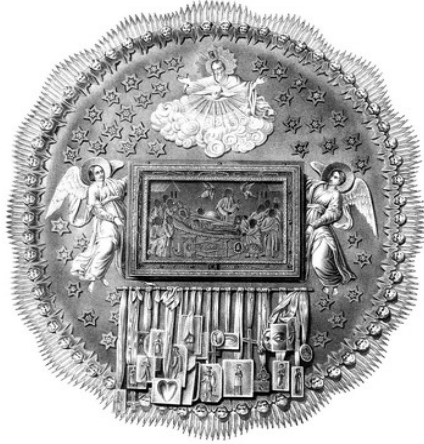


Photo 1. A sketch sent to Samson Strelbytskyi and Olexandr Strelbytskyi with such instruction: “Apply dazzling gold to a surface according to this picture”  
Source: N.d. MS 1528 18

<sup>3</sup> The original text in Russian: “Я попросила гробоваго монаха Сампсона приложить къ мощамъ святителя принесенныя мною чулки. Онъ это сделаль...”.



The successful result of close co-operation is presented on Photo 2. In 1922 the Bolsheviks confiscated this icing frame according to the prescript of All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee “About the transference of Church valuable property to the famine relief fund” (Бартош 10).



*Photo 2. A gilded disk of the Dormition icon in late 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> ct.  
Published in: Ковалинський 148*

In 1823 Lavra engaged Kyivan silversmith Hryhoriy Bryzhunov for the St. Volodymyr’s shrine mending (N.d. MS 1590 13). In 1830 Ivan Datsenko (wood sculptor) and Samson Strelbytskiy from Kyiv took part in creation of new shrine for the St. Stephane’s index finger (N.d. MS 1726 7). In 1833 Kyivan metropolitan Eugene (Bolkhovitinov) issued directions to refit unfrequented spot of the miraculous icon of Prince’s Ihor Theotokos. The ecclesiarch (hieromonk Gimnasiy) found in Kyiv wood sculptor Andriy Koltunovskiy and two jewellers: Ivan Khorev and Oleksandr Strelbytskiy (Полюшко 7–8). In 1901 mechanic M.

Berger installed new hand control hoist for the Dormition icon cord riding descent (Гришин, А. 27).

For the Dormition cathedral social system, all mentioned artisans were the peculiar delegates from the outside city. Some of them were call for bids winners. The other participants of these invitations to tender were also involved in relations with the monastery and its sacred objects.

The major repairs in Dormition cathedral necessitated its re-consecration in 1901 (N.d. TS 1246-A 1). When the repairs proceeded all sacred objects (except the immovable St. Reverend Theodosius grave) outwaited in Refectory church near Dormition cathedral (N.d. TS 1246-A 1; Путешествие на богомолье 17; Савенко 36). Anatoliy Savenko, eyewitness of re-consecration on 6 August 1901, noticed many thousands of prayers in Lavra that day. He emphasized a fact that numerous Kyivans became to gather near Dormition cathedral at dawn (Савенко 36). This raises the question about a spiritual and communicative centre of all monastery. In 1910 the Most Holy Governing Synod precepted to convey the holy relics of St. Euphrosyne from Kyiv to Polotsk. Normally her shrine stood in Far Caves, but the Spiritual Council rendered a decision to afford noctidial access to this shrine in Dormition cathedral. This action came from the fact that Kyivans wanted to get the opportunity of fond farewell (N.d. TS 352-A). In conclusion, this cathedral was a centre of extraordinary contacts between Lavra brethren and Kyivans as well as external prayers.

Did the abbot and monks of Kyiv Pechersk Lavra try to provide unimpeded access of believers to the sacred objects in Dormition cathedral?

In 1893 the Spiritual Council have opened a file caused by a short anonymous letter. Its author's unstable handwriting (N.d. MS 2926 2–3) is a characteristic of person with primary education. The writer requested to keep the Dormition cathedral open all day long. He was complaining about the order in Lavra. The churches of this monastery were closed after the Divine service every day even in summer. The Dormition cathedral was not an exception despite many hundred thousand pilgrims (N.d. MS 2926 2). The native place of the complainant is not declared. He compared the Dormition cathedral with the all-day opened other churches of Kyiv including parish (N.d. MS 2926 2). The letter consists a description of the Dormition cathedral dedication day when somebody could not kiss the Theotokos icon. These prayers were straitened for time because the monk clanged by the keys directly after the Liturgy. It was a blue peter for prayers. The anonymous author also referred to numerous previous filed complaints, published in "Kyivan" ("Киевлянин") newspaper in 1892 among the number (N.d. MS 2926 2 rev). He was aware of the deceased metropolitan Platon forced non-interference in this problem (N.d. MS 2926 3). Such complainant's familiarity with a long-term process of claims settlement enables us to esteem him as a Kyivan.

The Spiritual Council rendered a decision to honour a request (N.d. MS 2926 4–5). This executive decree is an example of the rank-and-file Kyivans role in the bureaucratic administration of Kyiv Pechersk Lavra.

The short news stories about feast days (А. И. 4; Престольный праздник 342–343) and official receptions (Два часа 256–257; Иларион... Платоном 388; Иларион... князем 6) in Dormition cathedral were published in a journal "Киевские епархиальные ведомости" ("Kyiv Diocesan Bulletin"). The most telling is an ad in "Kyiv Diocesan Bulletin" about the placing of St. Michael's relics into new shrine on 30 September 1877.

The Spiritual Council of Lavra in consequence of its register issued on September 9<sup>th</sup> and on the basis of arch-priest's resolution of the Most Reverend issued on September 13<sup>th</sup> proclaims that on September 30<sup>th</sup> the relics of St. Michael's, the 1<sup>st</sup> Kyiv metropolitan in a Great Church of Kyiv Pechersk Lavra will be replaced form old shrine into new shrine. (Духовный Собор 252)<sup>4</sup>

It was probably an invitation to visit the Dormition cathedral that day. The Spiritual Council addressed such offer primarily for Kyivans and the residents of the numerous Kyiv suburbs.

All mentioned articles in "Kyiv Diocesan Bulletin" are the proof of public relations between Lavra brethren and Kyivans. All sacred objects venerated in Dormition cathedral were an integral component of these relations.

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<sup>4</sup> The original text in Russian: "Духовный Соборъ Лавры вслѣдствіе своего журнала отъ 9-го и на основаніи архипастырской его высокопреосвященства резолюціи, последовавшей 13-го сего сентября, симъ объявляетъ для обнародованія, что въ 30-й день настоящаго сентября мѣсяца, нмѣеть быть совершено въ великой церкви кіевопечерской Лавры переложеніе, изъ старой въ новую раку, мощей святителя Михаила перваго митрополита кіевскаго".

The manuscript on 110 folios “The Spiritual Council of Kyiv Pechersk Lavra File with Written Statements of Different Persons about the Healings Received from the Theotokos Icon and Reverend Kyiv Pechersk Saints”<sup>5</sup> was destined for using within the monastery. This document contains numerous dozens of witness’s statements about prayers all around Russian empire since 1868 until 1912. There are no messages from Kyivans among this dozens (N.d. MS 3304). It means that inhabitants of different parts of Kyiv preferred not to declare in verbal form their belief in grace filling of Lavra and Dormition cathedral sanctuary.

The list of votives brought to Dormition cathedral and both Caves contains no mention of donators’ native place. Only comparative analysis helped us to search out two authentic Kyivans among the donators to miraculous Dormition icon. They were Ievdokia Morozova (petty bourgeois) and Ievdokia Khodolovska (noblewoman) (N.d. MS 110; Кізлова 112). It is not possible to verify the other names yet. Nevertheless, the material form of belief declaration was arguably prevalent among Kyivan prayers in Dormition cathedral.

On the other side, there are some examples of votives (small silver sculptures) from Lavra brethren near St. Barbara’s shrine in St. Michael’s Golden-Domed monastery.

On 5 June 1806 novice Iakov Maslianikov brought to this shrine a sculpture of the chest with hope for his chest healing (N.d. MS 633 10). On 6 February 1812 hieromonk, the Spiritual Council member Japheth sent to St. Michael’s Golden-Domed monastery a carrier with a sculpture of the right leg. 23 days later the same donator sent there per carrier a silver body (N.d. MS 664 of Collection 169 5, 5 rev.). Coffin guardian in St. Michael’s conventual cathedral did not write the causes of the both votives from hieromonk Japheth. It means that the carrier did not know about these reasons. On 3 August 1816 monk Kassian gave a votive left leg gratefully for his healing (N.d. MS 2 (1816) 17). Next year the votives were donated by hieromonk Luka (1 May) and novice Nykon Stetsenkov (25 May). Luka offered a head gratefully for his healing. Nykon brought a body for him in disease (N.d. MS 3 (1817) 6 rev, 14 rev.). Novice Ivan Polityka came to the St. Barbara’s relics on 15 July 1819 with a silver body for his health in disease (N.d. MS 1 (1819) 19 rev.). There are no detailed lists of donators for St. Barbara dated the period after 1840. However, it is observably that brothers of Kyiv Pechersk Lavra did not content themselves only with its inner sacred objects veneration, including practices in Dormition cathedral.

On 15 July 1834 Kyiv St. Volodymyr University was inaugurated with a formal ceremony. The festive prayer service took place in Dormition cathedral that day (Ричка 111). The first chancellor of the university Mykhailo Maksymovych described this event in one of his letters to Mikhail Pogodin:

I will never forget my admiration when I came from Moskow to Kyiv in 1834 and immediately visited the inauguration of Kyiv St. Volodymyr University. Before this inauguration, I gave heed to the religious rite ministered by metropolitan Eugene near St. Volodymyr’s Skull in Pechersk church. A concourse of enlightened people from

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<sup>5</sup> The original document name in Russian: “Дело Духовного собора Киево-Печерской лавры с письменными заявлениями разных лиц об исцелениях, полученных от иконы Божией Матери и Преподобных угодников Киево-Печерских”.

the both banks of Dnieper in this church was extraordinary! (Максимович, Михаил 195)<sup>6</sup>

A prayer service on 15 July (the St. Volodymyr day) was annual (Кізлова 62). Nevertheless, the unification of this service with the university inauguration and a place of holy relics in the ceremonies seems to be very symbolic.

Miraculous icons and earthly remains of the saints in Dormition cathedral were in the spotlight of prayers during the feasts of Theotokos and of these saints. The special Divine services and other veneration rites though were to be provided without regard to these sacred objects existence.

In contrast, we can mention religious processions with the Dormition icon in dangerous times. N. Taranovskiy described the processions in 1812 (invasion of Napoleon's Grande Armée), 1831, 1847 and 1866 (formidable cholera epidemics) (Тарановский 322–323). It was a great miraculous icon that hold a fascination for frightened Kyivans and probably other prayers.

The monks carried the icon only around their monastery but around all Kyiv (Тарановский 322–323). This fact is very important because there were some other 'crisis religious processions' in the city. The brethren of the Epiphany Brotherhood Monastery practiced such processions with the icon of Bratska Theotokos only in Podol part of Kyiv (Максимович, И. 573). The cholera caused procession with the St. Barbara's relics in 1830 is not localized in the source (N.d. MS 17 5–5 rev., 6 rev.). The annual celebratory processions with the St. Barbara's relics walked around the St. Michael's Golden-Domed cathedral in the monastery of the same name (Максимович, Иван 77). That's why it is possible to suppose that in 1830 this route was the same. This context points clearly to the key role of Pechersk Dormition icon for Kyivans from all parts of the city. All they united around this sacred object.

It is possible to make a conclusion that common customs in the sacred objects veneration connected Dormition cathedral with many other Kyiv temples. The closest links revealed themselves between Dormition cathedral as a part of Lavra and St. Michael's Golden-Domed conventual cathedral. The coffin guardians in Dormition cathedral and their contacts with prayers need to be investigated more circumstantially. The revisions, routine and extraordinary repairs of sacred objects induced active interaction with the artisans. Even the most competent of them worked under the supervision of the Spiritual Council and its authorized observers. The sacred objects of Dormition cathedral place were an important part of public relations between Lavra brethren and prayers, including Kyivans. These relations were connected not only with "Kyiv Diocesan Bulletin" but also with the fixing of the belief declarations and with the symbolic causes of general solidarity around different sacred objects.

In general, the administering as well as ordinary monks of all dignities and novices were deeply involved in maintenance of order near all sacred objects in

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<sup>6</sup> The original text in Russian: "Не забуду, съ какимъ восторгомъ я, только что прїѣхавшій изъ Москвы въ Кіевъ, внималъ тамъ въ 1834 году, когда, предъ открытіемъ Университета Святаго Владиміра, при Главѣ его в Печерской церкви священнодѣйствовал митрополитъ Евгеній, и было тамъ необычайное стѣченіе просвещеннаго люду с обѣихъ сторонъ Днѣпра!"

Dormition cathedral. The most active they were in the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of 19<sup>th</sup> ct. when Eugene became Kyiv metropolitan. Separately of participating in divine services these sacred objects custodians spared attention to communication with believers from Kyiv and other localities. A tangle of problems in the Dormition cathedral social system is connected with Church history, cultural studies, urban history, social communications history and cultural anthropology.

The scheme of links found between the sacred objects social system in Dormition cathedral and Holy Kyiv is usable as a basic for study of such links between an Orthodox conventual cathedral and its urban surrounding (in 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> ct.).

The perspective line of study is comparison between the sacred objects social system in Dormition cathedral and in ‘Lower lavra’ (Near and Far caves). The searching scrutiny of image of the Cave Saints’ holy relics and the caves in themselves is a main part of this analysis.

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