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The Symbol of Little Russia: The Pokrova Icon and Early Modern Ukrainian Political Ideology

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On 8 December 1654, the very day that the Pereiaslav Council met, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky wrote a letter to the Muscovite tsar, Aleksei Mikhailovich, in which he addressed the tsar by a new title: "Sovereign of Great and Little Russia." The innovation was accepted by the tsar, and the new terms were included in his official title a month later, in February 1654.[1]

The new terms were not used by chance. They signalled that a new concept of Ukrainian identity was emerging. In Khmelnytsky's time, the concept of Little Russia was not fully elaborated. In fact, it changed and developed throughout the whole period of the Hetmanate, the Cossack polity founded by Bohdan Khmelnytsky in the middle of seventeenth century and abolished by Empress Catherine II in the 1780s.[2]

The creation of the Little Russian ideology was closely connected with the Orthodox church. It began to take form under Metropolitan Iov Boretsky (1620–1631),[3] and after 1654, it was developed by Ukrainian churchmen in Russian Left-Bank Ukraine. One essential idea of "Little Russianism" was the notion of a common *rossiiskii* (*sloveno-rossiiskii*) people that included both Russians and Ukrainians. The idea was expressed most profoundly in the *Synopsis*, the major historical work to appear in seventeenth-century Ukraine, compiled and first published in 1674 under the supervision of the archimandrite of the Kievan Caves Monastery, Innokentii Gizel.[4] The author of the *Synopsis* presented an elaborate theory of the transference of the Rus' princely sees from Kiev to Vladimir to Moscow, and evidenced strong adherence to the idea of the ethnic and religious unity of the *rossiiskii* people. At the same time,

Fig. 1. Pokrova icon from the village of Deshky.

however, he supported the traditional rights of the Ukrainian clergy against the offensive of the Moscow patriarchate. The response to Moscow's aspirations came partly in the form of presenting Kiev as an equal to Moscow, or, in some cases, as an even more important center of the *rossiiskii* state than that "ruling city." The *Synopsis* undoubtedly reflected the ideology of the Kievan monastic clergy, who supported the idea of the political unity with Moscow but with preservation of the rights of the Ukrainian clergy.[5] That clergy was instrumental in the creation of the Little Russian ideology.

The Ukrainian secular elites arrived at an acceptance of the Little Russian identity by a significantly different avenue. The Ukrainian-Polish agreement at Hadiach in 1658 demonstrated the desire of the Ukrainian nobility and Cossack officers to build a new Commonwealth in which the Rus' nation would have the same rights as the founding nations of the Commonwealth, Poland and Lithuania.[6] Although never implemented, the idea was alive in the early eighteenth century. A poem of the period describes Poland (the Polish state) as the mother of three children: Liakh, Rus', and Lytva. Two of the three, Liakh and Lytva, joined forces to kill the third, Rus', against the will of their mother, Poland:

Вінець мой златий, в Польщі положенний,
В трієх мі чадіх словно уплітенний:
Ляхи, русь, литва—то суть чада моя;
Два возгордіша, взяша мечі своя,
Юнаго брата убить совіщаша,
А мене, матер, зіло обругаша.[7]

It can be assumed that in accepting the Little Russian ideology initially created by the clergy, the Cossack elites were endeavouring to attain the goal that they had failed to realize in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The idea that two peoples, the Great Russians and the Little Russians, would be united under the authority of the tsar, who would also preserve the rights of Ukrainians–Little Russians, was one of the fundamentals in the concept of the *rossiiskii* state as formulated by the Ukrainian intellectuals.[8]

The new Little Russian ideology had a strong impact on the national and ethnic consciousness of the Ukrainian elites. Whereas during the pre-Khmelnytsky period the Orthodox magnate Adam Kysil and other members of the Ukrainian elite were aptly described as *natione Polonus, gente Ruthenus*, the Ukrainian clergy and nobility of the eighteenth century could be defined in terms of nation as *rossiiane* and in terms of ethnic background as *malorossiiane*. By restructuring the idea of the Russian (*rossiiskii*) state, the Little Russian ideology sought to eliminate the contradictions that had existed between the cultural self-identification

of the Ukrainian pre-Khmelnytsky elites and their national political identification. Now, under Russia (*Rossiia*), even the name of the state would reflect their ethnic background (Ruthenian). From the etymological point of view, that name was, indeed, much closer to the Ukrainians than to the Muscovites, the original creators of the state and its ideology.

Historically and ideologically, "Little Russianism" gave the Ukrainian elites a much greater chance to realize their desire for self-rule under Muscovy than "Ruthenianism" had given them under the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. As subsequent events would show, the Cossacks were much more able to create and preserve a polity of their own in Muscovite Left-Bank Ukraine than they had been in the Polish-occupied Right Bank.

This article considers how the Little Russian ideology was reflected in Ukrainian icon painting. That ideology, once created, influenced all spheres of Ukrainian political, social, and cultural life. It was reflected in many contemporary documents and works, among which icons have received little attention. Historians have, in general, known much less about Ukrainian icons than Russian ones. Subsequent interpretations of "pure Orthodoxy" have regarded Ukrainian icon painting, especially during its "golden age" (from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century) as "spoiled," owing to the introduction of naturalism in the depiction of sacred subjects. That style developed more readily in Ukraine than in other Orthodox lands, partly because of the absence of strong church control over iconographers. The "purists" have also been reluctant to recognize as canonical the "popular icon," which art historians have come to appreciate only in the twentieth century.[9]

Despite the "heterodoxy" of many Ukrainian icons from this period, the composition of most of them was still determined by iconographic tradition. A few iconographic themes, however, allowed iconographers to express the ideas and beliefs of their time more freely. Among such iconographic themes were the Last Judgement, the Passion of Christ, the Elevation of the Holy Cross, and the Feast of the Protection of the Theotokos, or Pokrova.

The iconography of Pokrova as elaborated in Ukraine allowed iconographers numerous possibilities to introduce contemporary elements into iconographic composition. The figures of church hierarchs, secular rulers, and laity portrayed beneath the Virgin's veil, or mantle, tell us a great deal about the forms of religious devotion and the political ideas of early modern Ukraine. The Feast of the Protection of the Theotokos arose from an account of the Virgin's miraculous appearance in the Church of the Blachernai recorded in the "Life" of St. Andrew the Fool for Christ. According to the account, the Theotokos appeared in the Church of the

Blachernai, where her veil, robe and part of her girdle were later preserved. She was seen by St. Andrew the Fool for Christ and his student, Epiphanius. The Theotokos was accompanied by a group of saints, including John the Baptist and John the Evangelist. Andrew and Epiphanius saw the whole group poised in the air, above the heads of the congregation. According to the account of their vision, the Theotokos prayed for the people (the appearance took place during one of the sieges of Constantinople by the barbarians), took off her omophorion, and spread it as a shelter (Pokrova) over the people gathered in the church.[10]

The Byzantine church did not know the Feast of the Protection of the Theotokos. It is hard to say why the story became so popular in Rus', or why this special commemoration of the Virgin's appearance and her protection was introduced in the Rus' church. We also do not know the exact date when the feast was instituted. Some scholars maintain that it was established by the Kievan church at the time of Prince Volodymyr Monomakh, who may have been the author of the liturgical text of the Pokrova service. Others scholars believe that the feast was introduced in the Vladimir-Suzdal Principality by Prince Andrei Bogoliubsky, namesake of St. Andrew the Fool for Christ.[11]

After the Mongol invasion and the final dissolution of Kievan Rus', the feast of Pokrova became extremely popular in the northern parts of the former state, in the Vladimir-Suzdal and Novgorod principalities. Judging by the number of churches devoted to the Protection of the Theotokos, the feast was especially popular in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. In the iconographic depiction of the Virgin's appearance, two schools existed, the Vladimir-Suzdal and the Novgorod. The rise of Moscow as the political and spiritual center of the developing Russian state resulted in the creation of a Muscovite iconographic school as well. The Muscovite iconographic depiction of the feast combined the features of the Vladimir-Suzdal and the Novgorod schools. It pictured the Virgin standing on a cloud with the omophorion in her hands. The group of people depicted under the Virgin's protection included St. Andrew the Fool for Christ with his student Epiphanius, St. Ananias, a tsar and tsarina, and St. Romanos the Sweet-Singer, who lived in the sixth century and was the author of hymns devoted to the Virgin Mary.[12]

In Ukraine, the iconography of the Pokrova feast originally had its own distinct character.[13] In the fifteenth century, however, this local tradition was lost, and was later replaced by iconographic types borrowed from the North (Novgorod, Vladimir-Suzdal, Moscow) and from the West.[14] Western influences were represented by the iconographic depiction of the Virgin with a mantle ("Mater Misericordiae") as developed in Renaissance Italy. With time, this Western iconographic

composition was incorporated into the Ukrainian tradition of the Pokrova feast. The Western tradition of depicting real individuals under the mantle (protection) of the Virgin helped Ukrainians to create a new type of Pokrova icon and to bring the feast much closer to their earthly life.

The special patronage of the Theotokos in Ukraine was reflected not only in the portrayal of representatives of the local elites under the mantle of the Virgin, but also in the circulation of legends that connected the feast with certain events in local history. Thus, one of the "Teaching Gospels" (*Ievanheliie uchytelnoie*), compiled in Ukraine in 1635, linked the miraculous appearance of the Theotokos and the vision of St. Andrew the Fool for Christ with the Church of the Dormition at the Kievan Caves Monastery. According to the story, related by the compiler of that teaching gospel, the Virgin appeared in the sky during the siege of Kiev by the Tatars and saved the city from them.[15]

Judging by the number of churches devoted to the feast of Pokrova, in Ukraine the popularity of the Pokrova cult continued, especially during the last two decades of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century[16]—the time in Ukrainian history when the Cossacks dominated and the Hetmanate and the Zaporozhian Sich flourished. It is no surprise, therefore, that the iconography of the Cossack regions in Left-Bank Ukraine—the Kiev region and Zaporizhzhia—was heavily influenced by Cossack tastes and that Cossack officers were the primary patrons of the churches. They ordered icons from iconographers and, according to the fashion of the time, wanted to be depicted in them.[17]

The best-known Pokrova icon is that which includes a portrait of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky. Indeed, this icon often serves as a symbol of Ukrainian icon painting. It provides not only evidence of the development of a Little Russian political consciousness, but also information on Cossack Ukraine's political culture much better than any other icon of the period.

The icon was found in the church of the village of Deshky, not far from the town of Bohuslav (in today's Kiev oblast).[18] (See fig. 1.) It belongs to the iconography of the Pokrova type in Ukraine that was elaborated under the influence of Western iconography. From the West it borrowed not only its composition, in the manner of "Mater Misericordiae," and the depiction of historical persons under the Virgin's mantle, but also other iconographic features. Among them was the reflection of the Catholic belief in the Immaculate Conception. During the early modern period, that belief had strongly influenced the way in which the Virgin was pictured in Western iconography. There the masters represented her as a young woman, or even a teenage girl, full of life and beauty. Traces of the influence of the belief in the Immaculate Conception

can be found in Ukrainian iconography as early as the middle of the seventeenth century.[19]

Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo, who kept a diary of his travels through Ukraine in 1654 and 1656, 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 a maiden, an immaculate virgin, with rosy cheeks."[20] His description exactly fits the Virgin painted on the Pokrova icon from Deshky: she has rosy cheeks and a crown over her head. The crown reflects the influence of another Western tradition—picturing Mary as the Queen of Heaven. That tradition became extremely popular in Ukraine in the eighteenth century, when the practice of including crowns on miraculous icons was introduced, but Ukrainian iconographers were already well acquainted with it at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[21] Despite the Western origin of the composition of the Deshky icon, the local population regarded it as a Pokrova icon. As a result, the Eastern tradition of the Blachernai miracle was linked with the traditions of Western iconography.

Although the icon has been published extensively in recent decades and often serves as a symbol of early modern Ukrainian icon painting, to date no specialized study of it has been written. Surveys of Ukrainian religious painting have dated it variously from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century. Usually, no explanation or comment about the dating is given.[22] The same is true of the identification of the persons portrayed on the icon. It is generally accepted that the icon includes not only a portrait of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, but also of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich. Sviatoslav Hordynsky has stated that the church hierarch pictured on the icon is the Kievan metropolitan Dionisii Balaban.[23] However, Balaban (1657-63), well-known for his support of Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky's anti-Moscow politics, was not a metropolitan under Khmelnytsky: he was installed in the Kievan see only after the hetman's death. Also, an extant portrait of Balaban shows little if any similarity to the hierarch pictured on the Deshky icon.[24]

Identification of the tsar pictured on the icon with the person of Aleksei Mikhailovich is problematical as well. Although it is true that the tsar depicted in the Deshky icon resembles Aleksei Mikhailovich more than any other Muscovite tsar, and that picturing Bohdan Khmelnytsky and Aleksei Mikhailovich together makes sense in terms of chronology, the portrait actually recalls the abstract (ideal) tsars depicted on Ukrainian icons of the early modern period. One such icon is the well-known Pokrova icon from Sulymivka, which was painted in the tradition of Eastern iconography and dates from the 1740s.[25]

The identification of only one figure pictured on the icon is beyond dispute, that of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky. The inclusion of his portrait is crucial for an understanding of the political ideology of the icon and for answering the question of when and under what circumstances the Deshky icon was painted. To answer that question, we must examine the Pokrova icon from Deshky in the context of the cult that elevated and glorified the memory of Bohdan Khmelnytsky.

There are definite traces of the emergence of a Khmelnytsky cult as early as 1649. At that time, speeches and verses glorifying Khmelnytsky were produced by a circle of students at the Kievan Mohyla *Collegium* and by Ivan Vyhovsky's chancellery.[26] A common feature of modern studies on the Khmelnytsky revolt and the personality of the hetman is the general belief that the cult of Khmelnytsky created during his hetmancy continued to exist throughout the second half of the seventeenth century. As a rule, Cossack chronicles of the eighteenth century are cited as evidence for this thesis, as are early modern panegyrics devoted to Khmelnytsky, most of which also derive from eighteenth-century manuscripts.[27] The time lapse reflected by the sources is not the result of happenstance: it can be regarded as evidence that no such cult existed during the second half of the seventeenth century.

Some anti-Khmelnytsky writings were being produced during this period, not only by the Poles, but also by some Orthodox clergy. Khmelnytsky had led the Cossacks who had started the war, and the clergy generally placed blame on them for the war's consequences, that is, for the period of travail known as the Ruin. The anonymous author of the political pamphlet entitled "A warning to Ukraine" (1669) mentioned Khmelnytsky only once, and then unfavorably: "...Україна що доброго собі не справила, ані пановат и радит собі не уміла за старого Хмелницкого...."[28]

The first panegyric to Khmelnytsky written after his death apparently derived from the course of rhetoric at the Kievan Mohyla Academy and was delivered there in 1693.[29] It can be considered one of the first indications that the Khmelnytsky cult had reemerged and begun to flourish, probably no earlier than the second decade of the eighteenth century. That conclusion is supported by an analysis of the texts of the Cossack chronicles. The first of them, written by *Samovydets* ("Eyewitness") around 1703, contains no evidence of any special veneration of Khmelnytsky, whereas the second, compiled by the Cossack officer Hryhorii Hrabianka in 1710, not only glorified Khmelnytsky, but represented him as a main hero of Ukrainian history.[30] Verses devoted to Bohdan Khmelnytsky and references to him in other poems occur in manuscripts dating from the 1710s to the 1720s: in the course of poetics,

"Libri tres de arte poeticae...," delivered at the Kievan Mohyla Academy in 1714; in the book of verses, dating from 1719-1720, of Andrii Herasymovych, a student of the academy; and in Hnat Buzanovsky's course "Congeries praeceptorum rhetoricorum...," delivered at the academy in 1729.[31] The idea underlying the famous drama "Mylost Bozhiia...," dating from 1728, is expressed in its full title: "Милость Божія, Україну от неудобносимих обид лядських чрез Богдана Зіновія Хмелницького, преславного войськ запорозьких гетьмана, свободившая...."[32] At around the same time, Samiilo Velychko completed his chronicle, in which he glorified Khmelnytsky.[33] Thus, the period between 1710 and 1729 was indeed the formative one in the creation of a new image of Khmelnytsky.

Why did the numerous panegyrics of the period glorify Khmelnytsky? There were primarily three matters for which he was praised in 1710-1720: (1) the subordination of Ukraine to the Muscovite tsar; (2) the liberation of Ukraine from the Polish yoke; (3) the protection of the Orthodox church. There is no doubt that the cult of Bohdan Khmelnytsky reemerged as an anti-Mazepa cult. Hetman Ivan Mazepa, mention of whose very name was proscribed after he went over to the Swedes, was described in the decrees of Peter I as a traitor of the tsar, an ally of the Poles, and an enemy of Orthodoxy, who wanted to invite the Poles into Ukraine and to introduce the church union.[34] The characteristics ascribed to Bohdan Khmelnytsky by Hryhorii Hrabianka in the foreword to his chronicle may better reveal the meaning of the Khmelnytsky myth for post-Poltava Ukrainians than other writings of the period. Hrabianka characterized Khmelnytsky as a faithful son "of Russia," who liberated Ukraine from the Polish yoke and brought it under the rule of the "Russian" monarch: "...общою возбужденій пользою судих і сего вірнійшого російського сина благоразумного вождя Богдана Хмелницького, Малую Росію от тяжчайшого іга лядського козацьким мужеством свободившого і російському монарсі із стольними гради в первобитность приведшого...."[35]

Thus, the Khmelnytsky cult, which began to reemerge under the hetmancy of Mazepa as part of the growing self-awareness of the Cossack elites and the glorification of Cossack leaders (Ivan Pidkova, too, received high priase), was transformed into an anti-Mazepa cult, the cult of the hetman faithful to the tsar. The Khmelnytsky myth was created by Ukrainians themselves and, from that vantage point, reflected their own aspirations. In glorifying Khmelnytsky, the Cossack elites not only wanted to rehabilitate themselves in the eyes of the monarchy, but also to secure for themselves the privileges and rights once granted by the tsar to Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky.

Securing the Cossack rights once granted to Khmelnytsky became extremely important for the Ukrainian elites after the first abolition of the

hetmancy and the introduction of rule by the first Little Russian College in Ukraine in 1721. The restoration of the hetman's office under the new tsar, Peter II, in 1727 created a new wave in the glorification of Khmelnytsky. The tsar decreed that "there be a hetman and officers in Little Russia and that they be maintained in accordance with the treaty of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky."[36] The election of a new hetman, Danylo Apostol, on 1 October 1727 was accompanied by festivities organized not only by Cossack officers, but also by city officials in Kiev. In 1728, the newly elected hetman came to St. Petersburg to participate in the coronation of the new tsar. The main goal of Danylo Apostol's journey to St. Petersburg was "the restitution of ancient Ukrainian rights and liberties according to the treaty concluded with Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky."[37] His mission was a resounding success, in that he received from the Russian government the so-called Confirmed Articles that restored many of the Cossack rights taken away by Peter I.[38] That same year the author of the drama "Mylost Bozhiia...," glorifying Bohdan Khmelnytsky and praising the new Russian tsar, called Danylo Apostol the second Khmelnytsky.[39] Clearly the mood of the whole Cossack society, as reflected in the writings of intellectuals from the Kievan Mohyla Academy, was to apotheosize the memory of Bohdan Khmelnytsky.

The reestablishment of the hetmancy and the new glorification of Khmelnytsky in years 1727-1728 had a serious impact on the portraiture of Bohdan Khmelnytsky. Apparently, W. Hondius's famous woodcut portrait of the hetman, dated 1651, was rediscovered in Ukraine only around this time. Well-known in Western Europe, the portrait was almost unknown in Ukraine until the first decades of the eighteenth century. Indeed, no Ukrainian copy of Hondius's woodcut dates to that period. The author of the famous portrait of Khmelnytsky in Velychko's chronicle, if he knew of Hondius's work at all, must have disregarded it. He, presumably, based his own portrait of Khmelnytsky on a portrait of Hetman Ivan Samoilovych.[40] (See figs. 2a and 2b.)

The first evidence we have of the rediscovery of Hondius's woodcut dates to 1728, an important year for this study. That same year, a portrait of Bohdan Khmelnytsky was painted on the wall of the Dormition cathedral in the Kievan Caves Monastery. Although it was covered with paint in 1834, an extant copy shows that the original was based on Hondius's 1651 portrait of the hetman.[41] (See figs. 3a and 3b.) The Khmelnytsky portrait in the Caves Monastery must have become the best

Fig. 2a. Portrait of Hetman Ivan Samoilovych (turn of the eighteenth century).

Fig. 2b. Portrait of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky from the Velychko Chronicle.

Fig. 3a. Portrait of Bohdan Khmelnytsky by W. Hondius (woodcut, 1651).

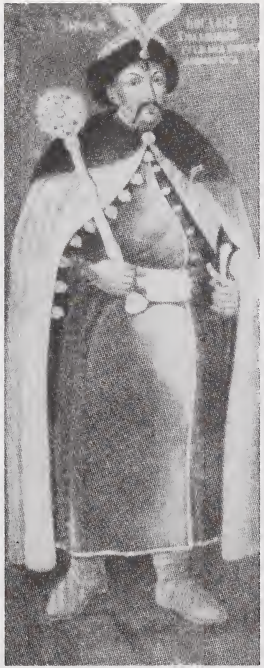

Fig. 3b. Copy of the portrait of Bohdan Khmelnytsky from the Kievan Caves Monastery (1728).

known of all of the hetman's portraits, for thousands of Ukrainians made pilgrimages to the monastery. It served as a model for many popular paintings of Khmelnytsky, including the painting called "Bohdan with Regiments," which was preserved until the 1880s in the village of Subotiv, the family estate of Khmelnytsky. As numerous scholars, from Hnat Khotkevych to Pavlo Zholtovsky, have proved, the painting is an illustration of "Mylost Bozhiia."[42] What scholars did not notice was that the painting definitely relied on the wall portrait of Bohdan Khmelnytsky in the Kievan Caves Monastery, which dates to the same year (1728) as the drama.

The years 1727-1728 unquestionably played an important role in the creation of the Khmelnytsky myth and the establishment of his iconography. It was around this time or, possibly, somewhat later that the Pokrova icon of Deshky must have been painted. There is no evidence that the portrait of Khmelnytsky contained therein was based on the Khmelnytsky portrait in the Caves Monastery, but it is clear that the iconographer made use of Hondius's woodcut or one of its later copies.

The icon from Deshky is one of the best reflections of the Khmelnytsky cult in eighteenth-century iconography. The cult, as it reemerged in the eighteenth century, symbolized the new unity of the secular and church elites of the Hetmanate. The verbal attacks of the clergy on Cossack officers that occurred in the 1660s-70s and the 1710s (after Mazepa's defeat) came to a halt in the 1720s. The development of Pokrova iconography, which allowed Cossack hetmans and officers to be depicted on icons side by side with church hierarchs, reflected the new unity of these elites.

The Khmelnytsky cult was an important part of the Little Russian ideology and reflected one of the most crucial ideas in its development. Restructured after the Poltava defeat, the cult symbolized the final 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. The Khmelnytsky cult had to reflect the loyalty of the Cossack elites to the tsars as well as their desire to preserve the office of hetman and the Cossack privileges once granted to them by the tsars.

The development of the Khmelnytsky cult should be viewed in the context not only of the legacy of Poltava, but also in that of a new Ukrainian identity in which the cult of the hero had an important place. Despite the criticism directed against "Little Russianism" in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Little Russian ideology was a most important step in the development of modern Ukrainian national consciousness and identity. In contrast to the "Ruthenianism" of the pre-

Khmelnytsky elites—who did not perceive themselves along modern national (Ukrainian and Belarusian) lines, but, instead, shared a common "Ruthenian" consciousness—the Little Russian ideology was the first to provide a foundation for modern Ukrainian self-awareness and self-consciousness.

Notes

1. The notion that the innovation first appeared in the tsar's title in Bohdan Khmelnytsky's letter was expressed by M. Hrushevsky in "Velyka, Mala i Bila Rus'," *Ukraina*, no. 1-2 (1917), reprinted in *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, no. 2 (1991), pp. 77-85. The Khmelnytsky letter was published in *Dokumenty Bohdana Khmelnytskoho*, I. Krypiakevych and I. Butych, comps. (Kiev, 1961), p. 316. As far as we know, the tsar himself first used the new terms in a letter dated 7 February 1654. See *Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiei: Dokumenty i materialy*, vol. 3 (Moscow, 1954), pp. 543-46. S. Soloviev, in his "Velikaia, Malaia i Belaia Rus" (*Voprosy istorii*, no. 7 [1947], pp. 24-38), indicated two tsarist decrees, from 1649 and 1652, that used the new terms, but expressed doubt about their authenticity; he dated the official introduction of the terms to March 1654. Soloviev stated that the terms had a Ukrainian origin and that their introduction into the tsar's title was related to the tsar's negotiations with Hetman Khmelnytsky.
2. On the history and abolition of the Hetmanate, see Z. Kohut, *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy: Imperial Absorption of the Hetmanate, 1760s-1830s* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988).
3. The first indications of the new ideology can be found in I. Boretsky's letter to the tsar dated 24 August 1624, and in the letter of the Orthodox bishop Isaia Kopynsky to the Moscow patriarch dated 4 December 1622. See *Vossoedinenie*, vol. 1, pp. 27-28, 46-48.
4. See H. Rothe, *Sinopsis. Kiev 1681. Facsimile mit einer Einleitung* (Cologne, etc., 1983) (= *Bausteine zur Geschichte der Literatur bei den Slaven*, vol. 17). On Ukrainian history writing of the seventeenth century, see Iu. Mytsyk, *Ukrainskie letopisi XVII veka* (Dnipropetrovsk, 1978); F. Sysyn, "Concepts of Nationhood in Ukrainian History-Writing, 1620-1690," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, vol. 10, no. 3-4 (1986), pp. 393-423; idem, "The Cultural, Social, and Political Context of Ukrainian History-Writing: 1620-1690," *Europa Orientalis*, no. 5 (1986), pp. 285-310.
5. On the role of Kiev in the historical conception of the *Synopsis*, see Rothe, *Sinopsis*, 85-95. On the attitudes of I. Gizel and his circle toward Moscow, see V. Eingorn, *Ocherki iz istorii Malorossii v XVII veke: Snosheniia malorossiiskogo dukhovenstva s moskovskim pravitelstvom v tsarstvovanie Alekseia Mikhailovicha* (Moscow, 1899), pp. 993-1000.
6. On the Hadiach Agreement, see A. Kamiński, "The Cossack Experiment in *Szlachta* Democracy in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: The Hadiach

(Hadziacz) Union," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2 (June 1977), pp. 173-97.

7. *Ukrainska literatura XVII stolittia. Synkretychna pysemnist. Poeziia. Dramaturhiia. Beletrystyka* (Kiev, 1987), pp. 284, 564-65. These verses, called the "Hlaholet Polshcha...," come from a manuscript written in the early eighteenth century.
8. The idea of the equal rights possessed by Little Russians and Great Russians is best expressed in Semen Divovych's "Razhovor Velikorossii s Malorossiei" (1762). See *Ukrainska literatura XVIII stolittia. Poetychni tvory. Dramatychni tvory. Prozovi tvory* (Kiev, 1983), pp. 384-414.
9. One of the best-known representatives of the "purist" approach to early modern icon painting was L. A. Uspensky. See his *Bogoslovie ikony Pravoslavnoi tserkvi* (Moscow, 1989), pp. 275-314. On the penetration of Western influences into Ukrainian iconography of the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries, see M. Zholtovsky, *Ukrainskyi zhyvopys XVII-XVIII stolit* (Kiev, 1978); S. Hordynsky, *The Ukrainian Icon of the XIIth to XVIIIth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1973), pp. 19-22.
10. On the Pokrova feast and iconography, see N. Kondakov, *Ikonografiia Bogomateri*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1915), pp. 92-102; The latest and most extensive study of the topic is M. Gębarowicz's *Mater Misericordiae, Pokrow, Pokrowa w sztuce i legendzie Środkowo-Wschodniej Europy* (Wrocław, Warsaw, Cracow, Gdańsk, Łódź, 1986).
11. See Sergii, Arkhiepiskop Vladimirskii, *Sviatyi Andrei, Khrista radi iurodivyi, i prazdnik Pokrova Presviatyia Bogoroditsy* (St. Petersburg, 1898). For a more recent discussion of this problem, see A. Aleksandrov, "Ob ustanovlenii prazdnika Pokrova Presviatoi Bogoroditsy v Russkoi Tserkvi," *Zhurnal Moskovskoi patriarkhii*, 1983, no. 10: pp. 74-78; no. 11: pp. 69-72.
12. See *Stroganovskii ikonopisnyi litsevoi podlinnik: Kontsa XVI i nachala XVII stoletii* (Moscow, 1868). On "understanding" Russian Pokrova iconography, see K. Onash, *Icons* (New York, 1963), pp. 344-45, 353-54. On the development of the Pokrova iconography, see J. Myslivec, "Dvě ikony 'Pokrova,'" *Byzantinoslavica: Sborník pro studium byzantsko-slovanských vztahů*, no. 6 (Prague, 1935-1936), pp. 191-212; A. Ovchinnikov, "Ikona 'Pokrov'—klassicheskii obrazets suzdalskoi zhyvopisi," *Sokrovishcha Suzdalia* (Moscow, 1969), pp. 155-175; Ie. Smirnova, *Zhyvopis Velikogo Novgoroda: Seredina XIII–nachalo XV veka* (Moscow, 1976), pp. 223-27.
13. See the publication of the thirteenth-century Pokrova icon from Galicia (Western Ukraine) in L. Miliaeva, "Pamiatnik galitskoi zhyvopisi XIII veka," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia*, no. 3 (1965), pp. 249-57.
14. Data on the development of the "Northern" and "Western" traditions in Ukrainian iconography of the Pokrova feast are provided in the following studies: G. Logvin (H. Lohvyn), *Ukrainskoe iskusstvo X-XVIII vv.* (Moscow, 1963), p. 85; idem, "Monumentalnyi zhyvopys XIV–pershoi polovyny XVII stolittia," *Istoriia ukrainskoho mystetstva*, vol. 2 (Kiev, 1967), p. 164; L. Miliaeva, *Stinopys Potelycha: Vyzvolna borotba ukrainskoho narodu v mystetstvi XVII st.* (Kiev, 1969), p. 106; O. Sydor, "Tradytsii i novatorstvo v ukrainskomu maliarstvi XVII-XVIII st.," *Spadshchyna vikiv: Ukrainske maliarstvo XIV-XVIII st. v muzeinykh kolektsiiakh Lvova* (Lviv, 1990), p. 39. On the Western

iconography of the Virgin with a mantle, see P. Perdrizet, *La Vierge de Miséricorde: Étude d'un thème iconographique* (Paris, 1908); Gębarowicz, *Mater Misericordiae*. On the development of Pokrova iconography in Belarus, which also experienced significant Western influences, see M. Putsko-Bochkareva, "Belorusskie ikony Pokrova," *Materyialy mizhnarodnai navukovai kanferentsyi "Tsarkva i kultura narodaŭ Vialikaha Kniastva Litoŭskaha i Belarusi XIII–pach. XX st.,"* bk. 4, pt. 3 (Hrodna, 1992), pp. 527-31; N. Vysotskaia, *Zhyvapis Belarusi XII–XVIII st. Freska. Abraz. Partret* (Minsk, 1980).

15. See M. Vozniak, *Istoriia ukrainskoi literatury*, vol. 3 (Lviv, 1924), pp. 126-127.
16. See S. Plokhy, "Pokrova Bohorodytsi v Ukraini," *Pamiatky Ukrainy*, no. 5 (1991), pp. 35, 37.
17. For reproductions of "Cossack" Pokrova icons, see H. Lohvyn, *Po Ukraini: Starodavni mystetski pamiatky* (Kiev, 1968), p. 124 (fragment of the Pokrova icon from Novhorod-Siversky); Zholtovsky, *Ukrainskyi zhyvopys XVII-XVIII st.*, p. 233 (Pokrova icon from the village of Sulymivka); Gębarowicz, *Mater Misericordiae*, fig. 129 (Pokrova icon from Myrhorod); *Narysy z istorii ukrainskoho mystetstva* (Kiev, 1966), p. 49 (Pokrova icon from the village of Deshky), fig. 159 (Pokrova icon from Pereiaslav); Plokhy, "Pokrova Bohorodytsi v Ukraini," pp. 35-36, 38-39 (two Pokrova icons from Zaporizhzhia).
18. The icon has been reproduced many times, including recently in *Ukrainska ikona: Kalendar 1992* (Kiev, 1991). The majority of reproductions, including the most recent ones, state that the icon, now preserved in the Ukrainian State Museum of Fine Arts in Kiev, was found in the Pokrova church of the village of Deshky. It is puzzling why Zholtovsky and, later, M. Gębarowicz gave the icon's origin as the town of Motyzhyn, also in Kiev oblast. See Zholtovsky, *Ukrainskyi zhyvopys XVII-XVIII st.*, p. 145; M. Gębarowicz, *Mater Misericordiae*, p. 170.
19. On the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and its reception in West European iconography, see A. Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna as Represented in the Fine Arts* (London, 1890; reprinted by the Gale Research Company, Detroit, 1972), pp. 42-53; M. Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London, 1976), pp. 236-69. On the spread of this belief in early modern Ukraine, see S. Senyk, "The 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 (Rome, 1988), pp. 520-26.
20. Paul of Aleppo, "Puteshestvie antiokhiiskoho patriarkha Makariia v Rossiiu v polovine XVII veka, opisannoie ego synom arkhidiakonom Pavlom Aleppskim," G. Murkos, trans., *Chteniia v Imperatorskom obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete*, no. 4 (1894), pp. 29-30; Senyk, "Marian Cult," p. 522.
21. 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. 103-117.

22. P. Zholtovsky in *Vyzvolna borotba ukrainskoho narodu v pamiatkakh mystetstva XVI-XVIII st.* (Kiev, 1958), p. 53, and S. Hordynsky, in *Ukrainian Icon*, p. 33, state that the icon dates to the second half of the seventeenth century. In *Narysy z istorii ukrainskoho mystetstva*, fig. 6, the icon is assigned to the last quarter of the seventeenth century. *Ukrainska ikona: Kalendar 1992* dates it to the first half of the eighteenth century.
23. Hordynsky, *Ukrainian Icon*, p. 33.
24. A portrait of Metropolitan Dionisii Balaban and basic information about him appear in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 1, V. Kubijovyc, ed. (Toronto, 1984), p. 162.
25. See the reproduction in Zholtovsky, *Ukrainskyi zhyvopys XVII-XVIII st.*, p. 233.
26. It is partly due to a belief in the continuity of the Khmelnytsky cult that the compilers of the *Biblioteka ukrainskoi literatury* included panegyrics to Khmelnytsky from eighteenth-century manuscripts in its volume on seventeenth-century literature. (See *Ukrainska literatura XVII st.*, pp. 282-93, 564-66). A curious detail: one verse, taken from the 1729 course of rhetoric by Hnat Buzanovsky, was included in the volume on seventeenth-century literature (*Ukrainska literatura XVII st.*, p. 283); another, taken from the same manuscript, was placed in the volume on eighteenth-century literature (*Ukrainska literatura XVIII st.*, p. 50).
27. Iu. Mytsyk, "Pershyi ukrainskyi istoryko-politychnyi traktat," *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, no. 5 (1991), p. 134.
28. According to the diary of Wojciech Miaskowski, the Polish envoy to Bohdan Khmelnytsky, in January 1649, students of the Kievan Mohyla *Collegium* who were welcoming the hetman upon his entrance into Kiev called him Moses, liberator from the Polish yoke, and perceived in his name the sign of God's will (*Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiei*, vol. 2: p. 109). For the text of panegyrics to Bohdan Khmelnytsky written in Ivan Vyhovsky's chancellery, see M. Hrushevsky, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 2 (New York, 1957), pp. 1523-26.
29. For the text of this panegyric, see V. Peretts, "K istorii Kievsko-Mogilianskoi kollegii: Panegiriki i stikhi B. Khmelnitskomu, I. Podkove i arkh. Lazariu Baranovichu," *Chteniia v istoricheskom obshchestve Nestora-Letopistsa* (Kiev, 1900), no. 14, pp. 7-25. I am grateful to Dr. Frank Sysyn for bringing this publication to my attention.
30. See *Litopys Samovydtsia*, Ia. Dzyra, ed. (Kiev, 1971). There are no traces of glorification of Khmelnytsky in the other major historical work of the period, the Chronicle of Teodosii Sofonovych, compiled in the 1670s. See Teodosii Sofonovych, *Khronika z litopystsiv starodavnikh*, with an introduction by Iu. Mytsyk (Kiev, 1992). For the text of the Hrabianka Chronicle, see *Hryhorij Hrabjanka's The Great War of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj*, with an introduction by Iu. Lutsenko, Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 9 (Cambridge, Mass., 1990).
31. *Ukrainska literatura XVII st.*, pp. 283-91; *Ukrainska literatura XVIII st.*, p. 50.
32. For the text of this drama, see *Ukrainska literatura XVIII st.*, pp. 306-324.
33. For the text of this chronicle in translation from Middle into Modern

Ukrainian, see Samiilo Velychko, *Litopys*, vol 1., V. Shevchuk, trans. (Kiev, 1991).

34. For the texts of the decrees, see *Pisma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 1, pt. 2 (Moscow, Leningrad, 1948), pp. 241-42, 244-45, 249.
35. *Ukrainska literatura XVIII st.*, p. 447.
36. Kohut, *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy*, p. 72.
37. D. Doroshenko, *A Survey of Ukrainian history*, O. Gerus, ed. (Winnipeg, 1975), pp. 413-14.
38. Doroshenko, *Survey*, pp. 412-15; Kohut, *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy*, pp. 72-73.
39. *Ukrainska literatura XVIII st.*, p. 322. The atmosphere of the time was also reflected in a panegyric of 1728 to Peter II, compiled by the student of the Kievan academy, Iakov Goliakhovsky. For a description of this panegyric, see *Chteniia v Istoricheskom obshchestve Nestora-Letopistsa*, vol. 11, pt. 3: pp. 41-45.
40. The date when Velychko completed his chronicle is still unknown. The year 1720 given on the title page of the manuscript was only the date when the writing of the work began; also, it was put on the title page not by Velychko, but much later. An indication of this occurs in the notice that the chronicle was compiled by Velychko in the village of Zhuky in the Poltava "uezd." The statement must have been written after 1775, when the "uezd" administrative system was introduced in the Poltava region. Given that the chronicle mentions the death of Peter I and that our latest information about Velychko is dated 1728, when he was already blind, it is logical to conclude that the chronicle was finished after 1725 but before 1728. For a colour reproduction of the title page of the Velychko manuscript, see *Z ukrainskoi starovyny. Albom*, Iu. Ivanchenko, comp. (Kiev, 1991), p. 162.
41. See Zholtovsky, *Vyzvolna borotba*, pp. 57-62.
42. Zholtovsky, *Vyzvolna borotba*, pp. 42-46.