Abstracts of papers

Lecture 1

Volodymyr Aleksandrovych (IH HAHY, Lviv), The Byzantine canon in the Ukrainian religious painting

The adoption of Christianity and its centuries-long functioning in the ecclesiastical structures of Constantinople has determined the widest turning of the Ukrainian artistic tradition to the Byzantine experience as the example – the basis for building up its own branch of the religious culture of Eastern Christianity. However, in Kyiv, the exemplary norm was immersed in a completely different environment, cultivated on the excellent basis, which commanded a fundamentally different result. Painting offers the most refined reflection of this process, much wider than purely painting context.

The early steps of the new tradition were connected with the invitation of the masters, as for the Church of the Tithes, the Assumption Cathedral Church of the Pechersk Monastery, and the import of Byzantine icons. Already in the period of St. Volodymyr the Great (imperial son-in-law) this was supposed to be, first of all, aristocratic models. Such orientation is confirmed by the oldest survived objects of imported paintings – Vyshhorodskaya and Kholmskaya icons of the Virgin Mary with Emanuel. The introduction of the elite samples has become customary for the prince’s era, also continued in the next period, has grown into a broad, but modestly documented tradition. This orientation caused not only the rise to the late princely era of the masterpieces of Constantinople painting and provided unprecedented growth in the region of Central and Eastern Europe, which was evidenced by the oldest icons of the “miniature style” of the second half of the 13th century on the western Ukrainian ground and the monumental early paleologist sample of the first half of the 14th century. With their recent discovery, Ukraine is emerging as the newly identified region of the most remote areas of Byzantine influence on the painting of the aristocratic Constantinople model. Through the active involvement of exemplary experience, the national heritage also retained a certain important evidence of norms, not recorded in the Byzantine tradition itself.

Continuation of this practice in Volyn’ in the part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is proved by frescoes of the second half of the 14th century of the Cathedral of St. John the Theologian in Lutsk, the repetition of the contemporary Constantinople elite original in the Theotokos of the Holy Second half of the 1510–1520s from the church of the Apostle Luke in the village Dorosyny of the Rozhysche district of the Volyn’ region, depicting about 1500 AD. Spas with the Virgin, John the Forerunner and the apostles of the Trinity Church in the village of Rychytsya, Volodymyrets district, Rivne region, younger than the same Master of the Virgin with Emanuel in the church of the Nativity of the Virgin in the village of Trostianets of the Kivertsi district of the Volyn’ region.

At the same time, the iconography of the first saints of the Kiev Church – Hlib and Boris and initiated by the original Byzantine reverence of the Theotokos the Protector before the middle of the 1220s, the iconography of the Protection of the Virgin and its further development unique to the Eastern Christian world, offering vivid evidence of building on the Byzantine basis of its own experience. Such newer examples gave the assertions with the restoration of the KievMetropolitanate in the second half of the 15th century, exclusively a whole-figure prayer series in prewar fences, monumental Passions and Terrible Courts in
conjunction with them as a holistic triune ensemble, the spread of unknown icons from the Creator without Archangels over the royal gates, the dedicated Savior in Glory and Praise of the Mother of God, and the iconography of saints with abridged history.

The original rethinking of the original Byzantine experience asserts the national tradition of a distinctive version of the religious artistic culture of Eastern Christianity with exceptional individual traits, providing it with a prominent independent place in the art of Constantinople pedigree.

Turning to the model norm took place by three examples, in two of which – at import and duplication – a dependence on Byzantium is the brightest directly reflected. The development of the national tradition was based on the third model – the rethinking of the original model, the creation of a new, vivid example of which is the developed from the Byzantine idea of the Mother of God, the Ukrainian veneration of the Protection of the Virgin and its iconographic component.

Lecture 2

Igor Danylevsky (НИУ „ВШЭ”, Moskow), Ancient Russian religious polemic with the Latins and the practice of communicating with them (11th – middle of the 13th century)

The controversy between the western and eastern spiritual hierarchs, which ended in 1054 by the split of the churches, continued in the considerable polemical literature of the next period. Ancient Rus’ also wasn’t remained aloof. Beginning from the second half of the 11th century, there is appearing a significant number of original works directed against the „Latins”. On the one hand, there were the polemical treatises written by Greek priests, who were sent to higher ecclesiastical ranks to the new metropolitan, on the other hand – there were the letters prepared by the newly-converted monks and priests. Their number in the corps of written sources – in general, rather poor, compared with Western Europe and Byzantium, – is striking.

In the overwhelming majority, all these anti-Latin works were quite exhaustive and in detail analyzed in the century before (A. Popov, A. Pavlov, A. Sinai, M. Cheltsov, etc.). In recent years a number of works have appeared, the authors of which are continuing to study and comment on these sources (G. Benevich, M. Busygina, R. Pikhoy, E. Redkin, J. Erickson, A. M. Barmin’s fundamental monograph, and also the dissertations of A. Barmin and K. Kostromin, etc.).

There were clarified the sources used by their authors, the time and circumstances of their appearance. In addition, a series of problems was identified and analyzed, through which the western church was criticized by ancient authors. Among these issues were the problems, so to speak, of daily communication: sharing food, marrying with „other believers” or „newborns”, etc.

In between, an appeal to the real practice of Old Rus' society (at least its top), which reflected in the historical sources, makes it doubtful that the philippines addressed to the „Latins” were embodied in life. V. Moshin also drew attention to the fact that from the well-known to us 38 marriages of ancient princes, concluded in the 11th century, 28 falls on the Catholic West. Moreover, while in Rus’, the princesses-Catholics continued to profess their own faith. About this, in particular, are the prayer records of Gertrude, the wife of Prince of Kiev Izyaslav Yaroslavich. At the same time, there is practically no doubt that she was present at the Orthodox worship and took the communion with the Orthodox model from the hands of Orthodox priests. This, in particular, led O. Nazarenko to the conclusion that „the prince's court lived in a characteristic atmosphere of denominational indifference, which, however, is unlikely to be confused with conscious tolerance”, while the church hierarchs held a rigid anti-Latin stand.
However, such a conclusion does not explain the quite normal contacts of Orthodox priests with „Latins”. Bright examples of this type of communication (not only tolerant but also benevolent – both from one side and on the other side) presents the text Walking abbot of Daniel to the Holy Land.

Obviously, all such cases require the close attention and special research.

Section I

**Konrad Lewek** (UJ, Krakow), *Beliefs in Rus in 9th and 10th century in the light of new archaeological and antropological researches on religious system of primitive tribes*

What beliefs had existed in Rus’ before it was converted into Christianity? Were they similar to Siberian shamanism of 19th and the beginnings of 20th centuries and to „medicine wheel” of North American Indians? Might be they were more like religions of ancient Greece which based on an expansive mythology with many gods and goddesses who performed more or less real duties. Or on the contrary, may be at the end of paganism at Rus’ territory they tried to create a cult inspired by monotheism with the main god called Perun?

It looks like the subject of paganism wasn't too interesting for the chroniclers in the Dark Age. As a result our access to a source of information about it is very limited. The relics found by archeologists can't support us with a complete information,too,as they are evidences of material culture. Also the beliefs preserved to 19th and 20th centuries among Slav nations and written down by ethnographers were much changed and lost their original meaning.

Despite all the troubles the scientists obtained quite a lot of news about religions in Rus' 1000 years ago. They created a general picture of the systems of beliefs and gave some bais. Unfortunately, it wasn't always taken into account that the cult at Rus’ territory might have been more differentiated than it was expected. In 9th and 10th centuries we deal with ethons of Slav, Finn, Balts and from Rus’, Sweden and also some nomadic tribes. Each of them developed own traditions, habits, rituals, own gods and languages. Undoubtedly it should be considered that the beliefs could have been different not only among all the nations and tribes but also some significant differences might have occured each settlement complex.

As we see the theories about early forms of religions in Rus' is still largely a set of unknowns and many questions need to be answered. In that case I may complicate it a bit more by moving some further interpretations those are based on recent researches relating to the origin and growth of spirutality and beliefs in the world. Refer to phenomena called religious syncretism I decided to analyze the relation between theories resulting from the researches and information supplied to us by archeological and written sources from the territory of Rus'.

**Elena Tianina** (МГУ, Moscow), *The discussion of the Perun’s cult in the Novgorod land (based on records of the archeological research of Novgorod)*

Perun is considered to be the principal deity of the Eastern-Slavic heathen pantheon. However the question of his traditional worship in the Novgorod land remains debatable. A number of researchers consider the Perun’s cult to be uncharacteristic for the Northern Rus and brought here along with the establishment of the authority of Princes of Kiev. The historical records of Vladimir the Great’s heathen reform and the interpretation of the results of excavations made in the Peryn sanctuary near Novgorod were used in discussion. However the archeological materials received during the Novgorod’s excavations are still beyond the discussion.

Among the objects from Novgorod’s collection the axe-amulets (bronze pendants in the form of tiny battle-axes) which occur mostly in the strata of XI century are the items associated with „druzhina’s” culture. But the geography and chronology of the amulets’
spread prevent researchers from making the one-valued conclusion about their semantics and their connection with Perun.

Another category of objects is the „thunderous” type of weapons (stone objects of the Neolithic age). The mythological aspect of their worship has the ancient Common-Indo-European tradition and connected with the Thunderer’s cult as the one who defeats evil spirits and brings fertility. Medieval Novgorod citizens used them as personal and domestic talismans and also as magic attributes. There are currently about a hundred of such objects revealed in Novgorod, their spread covers the whole Medieval period (10th–15th centuries) and all the districts of medieval city, i.e. their worship was citywide and lasted after spreading of the Christianity. Those findings demonstrate that the Perun’s cult not only existed in Novgorod but also was widespread. In addition to that Perun was worshipped as the thunder god who defeats evil spirits and brings fertility. Vladimir the Great’s reform for the Novgorod land was not an introduction of the new cult of knyaz and druzhina but an attempt to personify the existing religious beliefs and „authorize” old deities for „knyaz and druzhina’s” functions.

Pavel Vařeka (ZCU, Plzeň), House offerings as a magical protection of a dwelling and their archaeological record – a comparison of evidence in the Western and Eastern Slavic traditional culture

Ethnographic research of traditional culture in the eastern part of Central and Eastern Europe documented rich world of rituals connected with construction of a dwelling and evidence of its magical protection in the second half of the 19th and 20th centuries. Its important part is represented by house offerings, which as a material evidence can be recorded by archaeological investigation and thus studied also in older periods. The paper focuses on the comparison of building offerings in West (especially Bohemia and Moravia) and East Slavic traditional culture in the Middle Ages and Modern period, both on the basis of archaeological and ethnographic sources which reflect archaic perceptions and belief.

Section II

Kiorsak Vladyslav (IJHV, Lviv), Scandinavian influence on the paganism of Rus'

Modern researchers when engaged in researching the religious situation of medieval Rus' often did not take into account the fact that the first providers were Vikings. How is it possible that they so quickly adopted a new religion? In the Rus'-Byzantine Treaty of 911 described that Russians-pagan entered into an agreement and swore on weapons that was traditionally for Vikings. At first, the oath was dedicated to Perun, Veles then only for Perun. Ancient Scandinavians believed that their gods had power only in his territory. Thus accepting Christianity and Islam in distant lands due to the economic benefits. Eastern Europe territory found plentiful rtfacts that had religious appointment. Russian historians in the early 20th century convinced that Perun was a Slavic interpretation of Tohr or Odin. Functions of Perun were similar to Thor, but K. Tiander noted that Scandinavian Thor was a peasant god, not a patron of warriors which were the majority on this land. These functions also performed by Odin.

Perun was the god of the Varangian army. Perun's roots can be seen in the 6th century, when Byzantine historian Procopius wrote that the Slavs worshiped, „Maker of the lightning”.

Within the Odin Cult, there were the first military formations. Chieftains of these formations believed that their ancestors were gods. Then the Chieftains became rulers of small state institution. In these times Scandinavia, have being Christian, They're traditions still existed. For example, one of the heroes of the Halfdanar saga Eystcinnamonsonar, a „sea king” was the descendant of the God Odin. According to researchers this chieftain could be an ancestor of prince Rurik.
Arabian sources describe the traditions of the Rus. The most interesting, in this ease, the episode about ritual hanging. This ritual dedicated to Odin. In the beginning, the religion of the Rus' princes differed very little from the Scandinavian's. Though they changed gods, their mentalities still differed from native people. Paganism in the first stage of Rus' origin is an example of religious syncretism. The formation of the first state in north Eastern Europe is associated with the expansion of the Vikings. This was not a territorial expansion of the Scandinavian state rulers, additionally not the descendants of the royal families. These people were also not interested in territorial conquests. They wanted to control trade routes. At this time there were major trading settlements that became centers of future government. In our opinion this issue requires further research and revision the main concepts.

Oleksandr Romensky (IIIMXMP, Kharkiv), *Rus’ of Prince Oleg between Paganism and Christianity*

The person of Prince Oleg (Helgi), the real founder of the Rus’ state in Eastern Europe, regularly attracts the attention of researchers. In classic historiography Oleg was made to identify the „pagan reaction” that followed after the murder of supporters of Christianity (or even baptized) Askold and Dir. Recent studies increasingly postulate the relationship of northern newcomer with Christianity. A. Chernov considers Rus-Byzantine agreement with a favorable conditions for Rus’, which in his opinion, were offered in return for a promise to be baptized and baptized Rus. The hypothesis about Oleg as Christian supporter was endorsed by A. Domanovsky who emphasizes the continuity of the Byzantine vector of the prince’s policy and finds evidence of his commitment to Christianity in the famous legend of the death from the horse. However, the text of Rus-Byzantine agreement of 911 (or 912) p. was concluded by the Rhomaioi and of course, reflects primarily their protocol and diplomatic norms, according to which a reference to the Christian God is not strange. The legend of the death of Oleg has a distinct folk-epic nature with traces of later editing and its interpretation is also not monosemantic.

However, some evidence suggests that the part of Rus’ was baptized in the early tenth century. First of all, it is the information of Sharaf al-Marvazi who wrote about baptism of Rus people in 300 year of Hijrah. Ruses changed the choice in favor of Islam when it turned out that the new belief „dulled their swords”. The data of Marvazi becomes clear in the context of the evidence of al-Masoudi about Rus’ campaign on Caspian Sea coast in 912 (913). It is possible that after the conclusion of an agreement with Byzantium some Oleg’s warriors were converted to Christianity. After the defeat caused by treachery of Khazar Khagan, some of the participants of Caspian expedition were forced to convert to Islam. According to the Primary Chronicle, Byzantines promoted their sacred relics and the beauty of Christian worship among Rus’ envoys. Symeon the Logothete demonstrates the same action among Arabs after concluding a peace with them, therefore, these data of different narratives reflect some real tradition.

In summary, we note that the hypothesis of personal baptism of Oleg (Helgi) seems speculative, while the spread of Christianity among some members of his military actions is likely.

Maryia Samonava (ГГУ, Homel), *Scandinavians and Christianization of Rus’*

The penetration of Christianity into the East Slavic lands had begun in the 9th century. That was an extremely important time in the history of Rus’ connected with the processes of state formation. One of the main driving forces of those processes was the penetration of Christianity into the lands of the Eastern Slavs and its adoption as a state religion in the Old Rus’ principalities.
The geographic factor played a crucial role in the choice of religion. Rus’ emerged and formed on the territory through which the way “from the Varangians to the Greeks” had passed. Not only active trade and political communication of Scandinavia and Rus’ with Byzantium were carried out along this route, but there was also the penetration of Christian religion into the lands of the Eastern Slavs and Scandinavians. The participation of the Scandinavians (Varangians in Old Rus’ sources) in the spread of Greek Orthodox Christianity in Rus’ was vividly evidenced both by Old Norse and Old Rus’ written sources. In all the lists of the „Tale of Past Years” under 983 there is a tale about the martyrdom in Kiev of two Varangian Christians.

The Prolog Life of Prince Vladimir mentions a certain „Tury” which is designated there as the first holy martyr in Rus’ („intercessor of our salvation”). A well-known researcher of the Old Rus’ Chronicles A. Shakhmatov expressed the hypothesis that the Tury is the Varangian who „came from the Greek” mentioned in the „Tale of Past Years” article of 983. The name „Tury” is also directly related to the Turov land – in the „Tale of Past Years” under the year of 980 it is said of the Tury from whom the inhabitants of Turov were named. About the Scandinavian origin of Rogvolod and Tury – the first known princes in the Belarusian lands from the written sources – we have written in detail in our publications.

Thus, in Old Rus’ sources there is evidence that the first saints in Rus’ could be considered to be Varangian martyrs who adhered to the Greek faith. In addition it is known from the „Tale of Past Years” that many Varangians served in the squads of Old Rus’ princes. They traveled to Byzantium as soldiers, merchants and diplomats, and there they accepted Christianity. It was in this way that the two first Rus’ holy martyrs – the Varangian about whom the „Tale of Past Years” tells – adopted Christianity. Varangian Christians could influence that layer of Old Rus’ society with which they were most closely connected, i. e. princely and military-trading groups.

Ostap Kardash (ЦМС ПНУ, Ivano-Frankiwsk), A problem of spreading of the church jurisdiction of the Magdeburg archbishopric on the lands of the Rurik dynasty in the light of the Germanic Latin chronicles and annals of the 11th century

In April 973 in the city of Quedlinburg the imperial congress was held, where among the numerous foreign representations the ambassadors arrived „from Rus’ with great gifts” from prince Yaropolk (972–978). Exactly in this period the Holy Roman Empire in the person of Otto I (962–973) and Otto II (973–983) considered the possibility of restoring of the church-political relations with the Rurik dynasty after an unsuccessful attempt of the evangelizing mission of Bishop Adalbert in the lands of Rus’ between 959 and 962. Therefore in this context one of the most important tasks of the Quedlinburg Congress, probably, was a spreading of the church jurisdiction of the Magdeburg archbishopric on the lands of the Rurik dynasty.

We can assume, that after 959 the Rurikoviches’ lands, although formally, but still could be subjected to the Magdeburg Bishopric. Significantly, in the Germanic Latin chronicles and annals of the beginning of the 11th century a number of messages, related to the missionary journeys of Magdeburg bishops in the lands of Rus’, is growing. That’s why in Adam of Bremen’s Gestae Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum among the „Winulorum populos”, namely the folks, which subordinated to the Magdeburg Archbishopric, the „Ruzziae regnum” („the kingdom of Rus”) is mentioned.

In addition to the mentioned work, Rus’ is also fragmentarily cited in the Germanic chronicles: Thietmari Merseburgensis episcopi Chronicon, Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium and annals: Annales Hildesheimenses, Annales Altaehenses maiores, Annales Lamberi, Annales Weissemburgenses, as well as in a number of others. Usually, these references take place in the context of the missionary activity of the monks from Magdeburg.
Despite the fragmentation of the information, it still allows us partially to reconstruct the church relations of the Magdeburg Archbishopric with the Rurik dynasty in the second half of the 10th century.

The main purpose of my report is an attempt to localize the eastern missionary limit of the Magdeburg archbishopric in the Slavic lands in the second half of the 10th century, based on a source-analysis of the Germanic Latin chronicles and annals of the 11th century, and then – to answer the question, whether the church jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Magdeburg extends to the possessions of the Rurik dynasty.

**Simon Malmenvall** (UL, Ljubljana), *Boris and Gleb and the Concept of Salvation History in Rus’*

Boris and Gleb were the first canonized East Slavic saints („passion-bearers”). They were sons of Grand Prince Vladimir Sviatoslavich (980–1015), who declared Christianity, adopted via the Byzantine Empire, the state religion of Rus’. After Vladimir’s death, his eldest son Sviatopolk ordered the assassination of his younger brothers Boris and Gleb. Both of them respected the will of their older brother Sviatopolk, voluntarily accepting their violent death in order to prevent further bloodshed and demonstrate the transience of the earthly possessions (in this case the political power). The three main narrative texts written up to the beginning of the 12th century (two hagiographies and a chronological account), where the *Lesson about Boris and Gleb* by the monk Nestor stands out as the stylistically and conceptually most advanced, symbolically compare the fate of the murdered holy brothers to the murder of the Old Testament patriarch Abel and the salvific sacrifice of Jesus Christ. On this basis, the author of this contribution advocates the following main thesis: the fact that the first canonized East Slavic saints came from the secular ruling elite testifies to the attempts of the Rus’ literati to patriotically self-affirm the spiritual position of their homeland, stressing the strong influence of recently adopted Christianity on politically important decisions in Rus’, which allegedly achieved its religious „maturity” within the context of salvation history through this. Consequently, Rus’ was portrayed as included in the global process of salvation history and as a full-fledged part of the Christian community. The author understands the concept of salvation history as a typical medieval Christian notion that the historical process is a struggle between good and evil and an expression of God’s providence – not only in the universal (global) but also particular (regional) history.

**Section III**

**Vadym Aristov** (KMA, Kyiv), *The legend about Polish origin of Radymychi and Vyatychi in the context of religious contacts between Rus’ and Poland*

*The Primary Chronicle* of Rus’ contains a legend about the Polish origin of two Slavic tribes: Radymychi and Vyatychi. Their progenitors were two brothers: Radym and Vyatko. All the attempts of realistic interpretations of this legend failed. There is no archaeological, linguistic or written evidence of the specific link of these tribes to Western Slavs. However, another explanation is put forward: the legend was purely fictitious and was created in the „laboratory” of the author of *the Primary Chronicle*. The hypothesis is that the chronicler utilized the consonance of the ethnic name „Radymychi” and the name of the first metropolitan of Gniezno – Radym (Gaudentius). The name of his brother – Vojtech (Adalbertus) – echoed the ethnic name „Vyatychi”. In this way, the two venerable brothers, famous Church figures, became the model for the fictive progenitors of the Slavic tribes. It could be the reason, why the chronicle asserted cognition between Radymychi and Vyatyachi. The „polishness” of Radym and Vojtech prompted the chronicler to claim that Radymychi and Vyatychi had Polish origin. This interpretation allows restating the question about literary
and religious contacts of Rus’ with its western neighbors. In particular, it seems probable that
the author of the Primary Chronicle knew a variant of the Life of st. Adalbertus. Therefore,
the account of the origin of Radymychi and Vyatychi can be added to the sources which
indicate familiarity of Rus’ with western, especially Central European, saints. At the same
time, this literary legend can supplement our knowledge with some aspects of perception of
„Latinians” or „Lyakhy (Poles)” as „others”.

Tatyana Vilkul (ІІУ НАНУ, Kyiv), Reminiscences from the Explicit Apocalypse in the
“Tale of Bygone Years”

The thesis about significance of the topic of the Second Coming and the Court for the
people of the Old Russian era nowadays can be considered completely traditional. The
problems of apocalyptic expectations in annales, chronicles and quasi-historical works are
elaborated in detail, which also touches on general questions of perception of the historical
events through the prism of the sacred history. In particular, it applies to the most ancient
historical land of the known historical land - the Tale of Bygone Years. The textual basis of
such studies on the material of the Initial Chronicle, however, is substantially limited by the
fact that we have virtually no precise quotes. The chroniclers were probably familiar with the
Revelation of John. The text of the Apocalypse, along with the interpretations of Andrew
Caesarea, was translated into the early period of Old Slavic literacy. Meanwhile, from the last
book of the Bible, no one liturgical reading has been involved (that is, it has not been read on
the services). Perhaps due to this, it was not so often cited by the compilers of the chronicles.
The complete comparison of the chronicles and biblical texts demonstrates the specifics of the
usage of the Apocalypse in the PVL.

Maria Lavrenchenko (МА / ИС РАН, Moscow), Kinship terms in Old Russian Cleric and
Monastic dialogs in 11th–13th centuries

Kinship metaphors come along the centuries of oral and book traditions of Christianity
and by the time it established in Old Russian society the terms of kinship accumulate a lot of
semantic layers. In Kiev Pechersk Patericon, Old Russian Chronicles and hagiography dialogs
we can see the universal medieval system of addressing: „brother” in appeal to hierarchically
equal (between priests, monks), „father”, „son” („child”) in clergy to layman addressing, in
dialog between spiritual father and son.

In Old Russian society this universal Christian terms usage acquires some unique
features and has a great variability. At first, we can frequently find several terms in one
address, such as „fathers and brothers” in Basil appeal to monks, „brother and son Nifont” in
the words of Theodosius Pechersky. This paired application is usual as for Rurikovich royal
dialogs.

The addresses „son” and „father” in dialogs between monks or priests (when in
common situation it is „brother”) points to the emotion and spiritual tension of the context, for
example in the appealing of Bishop Simon to Polycarp.

In some cases we can note the reception of the Byzantine epistolary tradition, for
example, the address „mistress” in nuns letters of St. Barvara monastery in Great Novgorod
(birch letter No 682, 50s–90s 12th century).

There are a lot of similarities in terms of kinship usage in royal society and clergy and
monastery societies: here we can see a greater diversity and tints of word meanings then in
Rurikovich dialogs. For example „beloved brother and colleague” (Patriarch of
Constantinople Herman the II to metropolitan Kirill) and „friends and brothers” in the story
about monk Pimen in Kiev Pechersk Patericon.
Stsiapan Tsemushau (БГУ, Minsk), *Some issues of material provision of the church in pre-Mongol Rus’*

Historians repeatedly drew attention to the most important feature of the church organization in Ancient Rus’, which consisted in its full material support at the expense of the princely (ie state) treasury. Thus, there was no fundamental difference in the provision by the state of the princely družina, from which the state apparatus was originally formed, and the church. This allowed even to talk about the ancient Russian church organization as a „state church”. In this regard, the metropolis of Kiev and All Rus’ was closely associated with the tax-tributary system of the Old Russian state, whose effectiveness depended directly on its material well-being. In a natural way, changes in the state fiscal system itself led to changes in the provision of the church.

Unlike the position of the Christian church in Western Europe in Ancient Rus’ (and also in other Slavic states), the satisfaction of the material needs of the church organization was not due to the award of lands with dependent people on them and not tithes as a tax on the entire population, but at the expense of tithing from princely / state taxes (tribute, judicial and trade duties). The origin of the Slavic version of the church tithe is associated with the practice of ensuring the pagan sanctuaries in the pre-Christian era, or with the general ethical biblical commandment about the tenth „god” part of every estate and the influence of similar practices of the Armenian church. Anyway, in the absence of a developed idea of land ownership, the state power found the most accessible means for reliable and permanent provision of an important state institution, which fulfilled the function of protecting the interests of the whole population (state) before higher powers. In this case, a group of people who belonged to the church organization turned out to be similar to another group which defended against external danger (and also internal repressive functions), – the družina.

In Ancient Rus’ church landholding appears rather late. As early as the middle of the 12th century, the prince’s tithe in Rus’ retained a much greater share than in the Czech and Poland. In the absence of a legal basis for owning landed property in Ancient Rus’, one can find a peculiar period of transition to the design of church land ownership. It seems that originally there was a transfer to the church of the „service organization”, characteristic for the provision of the princely family and the court. In Ancient Rus’ there was no Western European understanding of landed property with full immunity rights; originally it was about the transfer of taxes from the population (their special categories), specific material revenues from the land.

The onset of political fragmentation was a new stage in the development of the tax and tribute system of Ancient Rus’, as well as in the ways of material support for the church. In the conditions of political decentralization, the princely power endowed the church with other methods of material support (except for tithing). And only at this time it is possible to talk about the appearance of ecclesiastical landownership.

**Section IV**

Jiří Dynda (KU/SÚ AVČR, Prague), *Rus’ and Polish Homiletics and Rural Magic in Middle Ages*

The paper will examine a few exemplary Polish (written in Latin) and Rus’ (written in Old Church Slavonic) homilies that are concerned with the so called „pagan survivals in medieval popular culture”. The credibility and ideological filters of these sources will be reconsidered in the prism of contemporary philology, cultural anthropology, and religious studies. The main focus will be put on some rare concordances between the two scriptural homiletic traditions, concordances that refer to some magical practices and to the syncretic usage of Christian symbols in a non-Christian way. The possible textual filiation will be
considered as well as the option of simultaneous description of similar ritual practices of medieval Slavic peoples.

**Oleh Fayda (ЛНУ, Lviv), Anti-Western rhetoric in publications devoted to the baptism of Rus’ (on materials of the church scientific periodicals of the Dnieper Ukraine at the end of the 19th century)**

At the end of the 19th century Russian Orthodox Church, the authorities of the Russian Empire and other organizations held a series of events dedicated to the 900th anniversary of the baptism of Rus’. Preparations for the celebration were accompanied by the publication of numerous materials dedicated to the anniversary. A significant part of scientific researches and journalistic texts appeared on the pages of editions of the spiritual department, first of all, „Works of the Kyiv Theological Academy”.

Criticism of the West, first of all, of the Roman Catholic Church and scientists from its environment is one of the common features of these materials. Already the first publications devoted to the baptism of Volodymyr, were called, as precisely noted by M. Petrov, „mainly to prove that St. Volodymyr received St. faith not from the Catholic West, as it is argued and claimed by Catholic authors, but from the East”. Polemic and defamatory texts appeared in connection with the events of the Polish uprising in 1863–1864, and had to give historical reasons for the accession of the Right Bank Ukraine to the Russian Empire. At the same time, in a number of works, the general anti-Western coloration of texts was lower, greater attention was paid to scientific discussion.

With renewed strength, polemical anti-Western motives appeared in two publications in 1888 – in the solemn speech of I. Malychevsky and in „the Foreword” by V. Pevnytsky. Fear-mongering of the anti-Catholic rhetoric is explained by the victory of the conservative forces in the spiritual and scientific environment of the empire after the curtailment of reforms, in particular by appearance of a conservative statute of the Orthodox theological academies in 1884.

The polemic around the theme of the baptism of Rus’ in 988 once again outlined the basic theses of Russian imperial ideology. The main theses of anti-Western rhetoric in the texts of scholars from the church environment at the Ukrainian territories of the Russian Empire at the end of the 19th century are as follows:

- an ample scheme showing the interpretation of the events of the baptism of Rus’ was constructed, with chronological framework from the middle of the 9th to the 19th century;
- creation of the opposition „East-West”, where Byzantine Christianity has a sacred character, instead, the shortcomings of Latin Christianity are emphasized on;
- Latin (Latin-German) propaganda constantly declared claims on Rus’ and other Slavic peoples;
- criticism of Catholicism for latinizing of spiritual life, as well as attempts to interfere in state and political life.

**Maria Fayda (ІУАД НАНУ, Kyiv), Circumstances of the introduction of Christianity and the organization of the ecclesiastical life of medieval Ukraine in the works of Ukrainian historians-emigrants of the interwar period**

The interwar period in Ukrainian historical science is marked by the evolution of discourse – from the populism to the state discourse, not least dictated by the events of the Ukrainian revolution of the 1910–1920s. This is especially noticeable in the scientific environment of Ukrainian interwar emigration.

In spite of the complicated circumstances of life and professional realization, emigrant scientists paid a lot of attention to the problems of Ukrainian medieval history. One of the key issues in this context was the Christianization of Rus’. Interest to this problem was also
dictated by the political factor that researchers had to take into account. The foundation in 1925 of „The Department of Orthodox Theology” in Warsaw University, where Ivan Ohienko, Vyacheslav Zayikin, Oleksandr Lototskyi, Vasyl Bidnov and Dmytro Doroshenko worked, was also very important.

The theological and historical narratives of emigrant scholars are actually the first syntheses in Ukrainian historiography. Adoption of Christianity in Rus’ and the development of the church organization were considered by researchers as part of the process of institutionalization of the Ukrainian Church and system-forming factor of the Ukrainian society. For example, O. Lototskyi historically substantiated the right of the Ukrainian Church to autocephaly. I. Ohienko in due time thoroughly examined preconditions for spreading of the Christianity. V. Zayikin advocated his opinion about non-hostile perception of the Catholic tradition in Rus’.

The approaches of researchers to interpretation of the sources, considered primarily as a cultural product of the epoch, are important for the analysis of the theological and historical works of this period. Thus, the ways of penetration of Christian religion into Rus’, the peculiarities of its “use” in different territories of the state, the perception of a new faith by the elite and the common people, the relationship of the church hierarchy with secular power, the transformation of customary law under influence of the Church, the influence of this institution on key aspects of social life were the main issues of theological and historical studies in the research of emigrant scholars.

Michał Beczek (UJ, Krakow), *Selected elements of the sacred sphere in the Rus’ warfare according to Kievan Chronicle*

In my presentation I would like to focus on different types of religious behaviours occurring in medieval Rus’ warfare and which are described in *Kievan Chronicle*.

It is the first class source in case of studying history of Rus’ principalities in 12th century. It starts in 1118 and finishes in 1198 (although according to V. Pashuto, *the Chronicle* could have been continued until 1238). Original form of *Chronicle* has been lost but we can use copies which preserved in a few later chronicles, especially in *Hypatian Chronicle*.

Although the *Kievan Chronicle* focuses mainly on political events it is also extremely useful source in the study of cultural and social issues as well as religious issues of medieval Rus’.

In my talk I will discuss some of the different religious elements that appear in descriptions of the Rurikids’ warfare. I will begin with the issue of prayers recited in the intention of victory or as a thanksgiving after the battle and closely related issue of involving saints during the conflicts. Then I will refer to the situation of treating battles as God’s judgement. Another issues that I want to touch are the miraculous phenomena taking place during a war. Although the references to this subject are quite rare, they should be examined as an interesting example of penetration between military and sacred spheres. The last issue I will refer is about the presence of clerics among Russian troops during war campaigns. I have decided to resign from considering the issue of „kissing the cross”. This issue was already discussed by Norbert Mika on previous *Colloquia Russica*.

Albena Stamenova (СУ, Sofia), *Religious relations with the Balkan countries in the modern Bulgarian historiography*

In the modern Bulgarian historiography, the problems of the religious relations of ancient Rus’ with the Balkan countries, however strange it may seems, are still on the periphery of the scientific interests of researchers. It should be noted that the philological aspect of the study of the Bulgarian-Russian cultural relations is developed much more
detailed than the historical one. The main attention is paid on the issue of borrowing of the Cyrillic alphabet and the literary language (language of worship) from Bulgaria, the emergence in Rus’ and copying there of the ancient Bulgarian liturgical and the four religious books and the ancient Bulgarian translations of the Greek texts of the corresponding content (including the apocrypha), the influence of the ancient Bulgarian literacy on the formation of Old Russian original works, the influence of the ancient Bulgarian and Middle Bulgarian languages on the formation of literary languages of Rus’, Russia, Ukraine, and others.

The hypothesis of baptism of Rus’ not directly from Byzantium, but through the Bulgarian mediation deserves the particular attention. However, it has not received any serious development in the modern Bulgarian historiography. The questions of the baptism of Rus’ and the religious relations are covered in the Bulgarian literature mainly by references to the works of pre-revolutionary, Soviet and contemporary Russian scientists, but the actual Bulgarian special researches of these issues are practically absent. It is clear that all of the above issues today require serious attention from the scholars of humanities in Bulgaria and special studies.

Yuri Yasinovsky (УКУ, Lviv), *The most ancient liturgical monuments of the Kievan Church: translations, localization, evolution*

Liturgical books of the Princely period for some reason were accepted to be localized in the northern lands of Rus’, about which, surprisingly, in 1912, wrote a Rus’ scholar of church singing Vasily Metallov and attempted to transfer it to the Kiev-Galych lands. The most recent studies quite confidently review these biased statements, in particular, regard to the stuffed books. Therefore, there are already many bases to argue, that the oldest liturgical books of the Kievan Church were still rewritten in Kyiv. The mines of the prawns (Dubrovsky, Iliya) were preserved since the 11th century, the noted codes of the 12th century – irmollogians, kondakarsnce, si the 13th century – *Mineya Praznichna* (RGB, Soph. 385). Exactly these liturgical manuscripts of the type of structural organization most clearly find its continuation in the Ukrainian manuscript and early printed anthologies of the early modern, and the noted – in the notolynical irmollogions of the same time. The compactness and a certain universality of these monuments clearly connects it with the cathedral and paraphernal worship and contributed to the emergence of the numerous lists, and later, the old printed matter.

With the Kievan Pechersk Lavra we associate the completion translation and editing of the 12-volume body of service mines of the 1074, the almost complete cycle of which has survived since the end of the 11th – the beginning of the 12th century, and since the 12th century – 10 volumes of the noted mines, which belonged to the St. Sofia Cathedral in Novgorod. Later in the Kievan Church this type of liturgical collections did not become so popular as the mines of the feast, and in particular, its three editions appeared only in the second half of the 17th century – in Kyiv in 1750 and 1787 and in Pochayev in 1761; the handwritten sights were also small.

Section V

Ivan Palachanin (БГУ, Minsk), *To the question of Christianization of the Finno-Ugric periphery of Ancient Rus’*

Various sources confirm long preservation of pagan beliefs in the environment of the Finno-Ugric population, which appeared on the periphery of the Slavic settlement in Eastern Europe. It looks paradoxical enough in the contest of the triumph of Christianity on the lands inhabited by the Eastern Slavs.
The question of the reasons for the slowness in the spread of Christianity on the Finno-Ugric periphery of Rus in comparison with its center fell in the field of view of researchers, but it seems necessary to pay additional attention to the geographical factor and the features of the functioning of the tax-tributary system.

The processes of Slavization and Christianization of peripheral regions didn’t proceed synchronously. So, in fact, the spread of Christianity in Rostov-Suzdal land began only in the second half of the XI century and went very sluggishly and with big difficulties. If the Christianization of the Slavic population in the region began late, the Christianization of the Finno-Ugric wasn’t carried out. Such pliability of the princes of Ancient Rus, was, apparently, caused by a number of reasons:

1. The Finno-Ugric periphery in most cases was a vast, sparsely populated and poorly developed space, which made it difficult to spread the new religion.

2. All people dissatisfied with the introduction of Christianity (as well as with tax oppression) could flock to the outskirts from all lands of Rus, especially the southern ones, which made the population of the peripheral regions more hostile towards Christianity.

3. Behind the eastern and north-eastern outskirts of Rus there were huge spaces without any state entities (with the exception of the Volga Bulgaria) and with a low population density, where the disaffected population could easily move in case of pressure on it.

4. Between the Volga Bulgaria, which appeared in the beginning of the X century and adopted Islam at the same time, and Rus, up to the Mongol invasion, there were „buffer” lands of the Mordva and the Cheremis (Mari), for influence on which both sides fought. Both sides, apparently, didn’t want to convert into their religion by force the population of the disputed territories because of fears of its resettlement to the rival's side.

6. The princes of Ancient Russ didn’t show a desire for active Christianization of the outskirts of their lands, since the primary task saw in collecting tribute from the population living there.

Thus, the relatively slow spread of Christianity in the peripheral region and the Rurikovich's refusal of fast (and therefore violent) Christianization of the dependent Finno-Ugric population were influenced by a number of factors, the most important of them were geographical and fiscal.

Ihor Vozny (ЧНУ, Chernivtsi), *Paganism Elements in Spiritual Culture of People in Northern Bukovyna during the 12th – Early 13th centuries*

One of the important problems of modern historical science is the study of the spiritual culture of Slavs in different chronological periods. Equally important in this study is the evolution of paganism and Christianity, their interpenetration and mutual influence. On the territory of Northern Bukovyna as a result of archaeological research obtained materials to some extent indicate that after the adoption of Christianity, pagan beliefs that come from ancient times and later became the basis of all world religions slowly retreated under the pressure of the new faith.

Archaeological materials during the 12th – early 13th centuries from the territories of Northern Bukovyna partially illustrate the statement that „even now in Ukraine they pray to cursed gods, Perun, and Horse and Mokosh, and Vilam”.

In the researched area several settlements continue to operate at this time, pagan shrines, built in previous times. Those are Kulishivske, Babinske, Nahoryanske, Zelena Lypa, Galitsia etc. According to B. Rybakov is due to the renaissance that ancient paganism population dissatisfied with the church attack on its traditional way of life.

Besides the pagan shrines, which continued to operate after the introduction of Christianity in North Bukovyna scientists discovered here the pagan cult objects built in the ancient time. Obviously, the more successful competing with Christianity pagans create new
places of worship that are similar to the West Slavic called „idol temples”. The remains of one such building excavated in Turkish Well near the village Zelena Lypa.

The ancient pagan ritual „sacrifice builders” certified findings in white stone church chronicle Vasiliv is preserved in Bukovyna in the 12th – early 13th centuries. Equally common was laying ceremony of various animals as „builders’ victims”. It traced the foundation under feudal housing on the site in Chornivtsi.

Archaeological materials confirm and complement the complex picture of the spiritual life of ancient people in the days of dual faith, make it possible to carry out a comparative analysis of ethnographic evidence of 19th – early 20th centuries, and trace remains of pagan beliefs in North Bukovyna to the present.

Iryna Lutsyk (IV HAHY, Lviv), Christian burial complexes of medieval Volodymyr-Volynskyi

Discovery of the first Christian burials of Old Rus’ period in medieval Volodymyr was the result of studies of ritual constructions carried out by A. Prakhov in the end of 19th century. The interest in researches of the ancient temple architecture also caused beginning of excavations led by M. Karger, P. Rappoport, A. Peskova and M. Kuchinko, which took place in the next decades. In addition, discovery of the older construction under foundations of the temple of 12th century in Stara Catedra Place initiated discussion about chronology of establishing of the city's first episcopate. Historians suggest several different dates of its probable foundation: 992, 1078–1085, period before 1080, or 1089, or 1090 years.

However, we can claim about the establishing of Christian tradition in this territory only regarding second half of 12th century, when in 1160 Volyn knyaz Mstyslav Izyaslavych completed construction of the Assumption Cathedral. The last one also became the tomb of knyaz and his family. Results of excavations of this site were published at the articles and reports written by O. Dvernytskyi, O. Levytskyi, F Loboda, and others. In fact, despite the importance of discovery of remains of knyaz-philosopher Volodymyr Vasylkovych, mentioned publications are often characterized by fragmentation, a number of inaccuracies, and sometimes by factual differences. Moreover, now researchers assume that the cause for the death of knyaz was not a cancer, but leprosy or odontogenic osteomyelitis.

The category of the temple burials include women’s ones discovered in brick tombs in Stara Catedra Place, separate burial with deceased’s head pierced by nail in the tomb of Mykhayliv cloister complex, that was found on the site of the legendary place of burial of knyaz Vojshelk. Underground burials were also opened in Onufriivshchyna (Velesivschyna) Place in wooden temple of 12th–13th centuries. Some separate burials were also found nearby.

Burials located near churches of Paraskeva Pyatnytsya, (excavated by Malevska), St. Mykolay, Mykhaylo, the Blessed Virgin Mary and Iliia are belong to the church ones. Except for the first, all others were discovered accidentally and destroyed eventually. The same applies to separate burials discovered both in the city and in its outskirts, as well as to accumulations of human bones with traces of cutting, found in the layer of coal and ash near rusty weapon and other artifacts of 13th–14th centuries. Anthropological analysis allow us to suggest that the skulls found in the city, pierced with nails, not have a ritual origin, or even that the nails appeared in the filling of skulls accidentally or were mistakenly interpreted earlier.

Yaroslav Knysy (IV HAHY, Lviv), Necropolis of the Galician-Volyn Romanoviches

In the dynasty of Romanovich there are many unresolved issues regarding the location of their burials. The oldest tomb of the genus was the Assumption Cathedral in Volodymyr-
Volynskyi city, in which, besides its founder – Prince Mstislav Izyaslavich, three representatives of the Romanovich dynasty – Vasilko Romanovich, his wife, Elena, and their son Vladimir, as well as relative Vsevolod Mstislavich, were buried.

The burial place of Roman Mstislavovich is still controversial, because some researchers consider that he has found an eternal rest in Volodymyr-Volynsky, the others – in Galich. According to our research, which is based on the reconstruction of the corresponding fragment of the Kievan chronicles of the late 30's of the 13th century, the remains of the founder of the Romanovich dynasty are located in the Cathedral of the Assumption in Galich, where Yaroslav Osmomysl is also buried.

For several years in the city of Kholm the archaeological and architectural studies of the Cathedral of the Nativity of the Virgin are continuing. Some investigators believe that it has been repeatedly mentioned in the Galician-Volyn chronicle and exactly in it Danylo Romanovich was buried with his sons Roman and Shvarn and his great-grandson Mikhail Yuryevich. In our opinion, this written source refers to the Church of the Assumption of the Theotokos, which has not survived to this day, as well as the other three churches of Kholm of the princely period, mentioned in the chronicle.

In the last decades of functioning of the Galician-Volyn state its capital was the city of Lviv. In the dungeons of his main temple – the Assumption of the Theotokos, the last representatives of the Romanovites from Lev Danylovich to Yuri-Boleslav Troydenovich were buried (whom to this dynasty we assign conditionally).

Andrii Husak (УЗПР, Lviv), *The state and prospects of study of the Cyrillic inscriptions from the walls of the St. Panteleimon temple in Galich*

The Church of St. Panteleimon in Galich is a valuable but not well-investigated monument of history, art and architecture of the princely period of the history of Galich. It has a great source potential, in the form of epigraphic inscriptions, preserved on the walls of the temple and executed in the different languages (Old Ukrainian, Armenian, Polish and Latin). The greatest attention is drawn to the inscriptions made by Cyrillic (Old Ukrainian), since they are the oldest and originate from the 12th century.

The importance of studying of this shrine first of all is that such temples on the territory of Galicia practically haven’t survived to our time. While graffiti of St. Sophia of Kiev were investigated by several generations of scientists, the graffiti inscriptions of the St. Panteleimon Church were studied by the scientists onlyselectively.

The report focuses on two key points: the history of studying of the Cyrillic inscriptions of the St. Panteleimon Church and the prospects of its further study.

The study of epigraphic monuments on the walls of the temple already has a certain history. Such scientists as A. Petrushevich, O. Pelensky, O. Khalpakchian, O. Ioannisyan, V. Vuytsik, T. Rozhdestvenskaya, V. Kornienko, M. Kostik, Yu. Lukomsky etc. made a significant contribution in this direction. They introduced into the scientific circle the graffiti-inscriptions found on the walls of the temple and made the first attempts to identify and interpret them.

The prospects of studying of the Cyrillic inscriptions of the St. Panteleimon Church on the researches of the abovementioned scientists are not exhausted. First of all, it is necessary to make a frontal study of the epigraph of the Church of St. Panteleimon. After all, exactly the frontal study will open for historians, linguists, art critics, etc., the new materials that will expand the source study base of historical studies on the church history of the Galician land.
Vasiliy Matveev (ГЭ, Saint-Petersburg), _Relief tiles from Halich as an architectural evidence of the activity of catholic monastic orders in Old Rus'_

In the 30-es of the 20th century in Halich the tiles with relief images of griffins, peacocks and other mythical creatures were found by J. Pasternak. Later a huge amount of such tiles was discovered here by M. Karger. These items made from red clay, have square shape and straight edges and their thickness is 3,5x4,5 cm. They do not have analogues with Old Rus’ architectural ceramics, and in the same time, they are similar to tiles, which were widespread in Western Europe, where from the half of the 12th century the architectural ceramics began to be produced on a large scale. Using tiles to pave floors and to decorate walls (rarely) began at the end of the 12th century in France and Germany and in the 13th century in England and Ireland. Most of tiles from England and France were discovered in buildings connected with order of Cistercians. The nearest region to Halich, where such tiles were used, was Lesser Poland (Małopolska). Here, in the first half of the 13th century, Ivo Odrowąż, bishop of Krakow (1218–1229), began a broad building activity. He invited a Cistercian building team to work in the cloisters of Jędrzejów, Wąchock and Koprzywnica. The tiles, similar to Halich items, were found in Krakow and its neighborhood in 25 buildings, connected with Cistercians and Dominicans.

The origin of these items, which are so unusual for local building tradition in Rus, is connected exactly with these two monastic orders. The leading role was played by Dominicans, who had been having a mission in Kiev until 1233, and the finds of bricks in the repairs of the first third of the 13th century are connected with their building activity.

The Halich region from the end of 12th, especially in first half of 13th century was under political and military pressure of catholic Hungary and Poland. Here, in the 13th century appeared the Annunciation church, having a shape similar to a catholic parish church. Therefore, it seems natural and logical, that the tiles, which belong to the building activity of monastic orders in whole Europe, appeared exactly in Halich.

**Section VI**

Nebojša Kartalija (UNS, Novi Sad), _Cultural and spiritual relations between Serbia and Rus’ on Mount Athos from the 12th until the 14th century_

In this paper we will try to give detail reconstruction of spiritual relations of medieval Serbia and Rus’ on the of Mount Athos in period from the 12th to the 14th century.

This center of Orthodox spirituality was very important for the two countries. In the spiritual and cultural sense, both Serbia and the Rus’ belonged to the so-called the Byzantine Commonwealth. In this particular area these two countries have entered into closer spiritual relations.

With the coming to power of the Nemanjić dynasty, the firm foundation of the Orthodox Church organization on the territory of Serbia began. The youngest son of Stefan Nemanja, Rastko, played a decisive role in this process. He had went to the Mount Athos accompanied by the Russian monks, where he became also a monk, and took the spiritual name Sava. His novice time Sava has spent in the monastery of St. Panteleimon (also known as Rossikon), which was considered as center of monks from Rus’. The two Sava's biographers, both Athonite monks themselves, Domentian and Theodosius, give different descriptions of these events. The author will tend to try to highlight the role of monks from Rus’ for the beginnings of the monastic life of this Serbian prince, monk and future saint. One of the inspirations for the rise of the Hilandar monastery was the monastery of St. Panteleimon.

Relations between Serbian and Rus’ monks on Athos continued throughout the 14th century. At the beginning of this century Mount Athos was under attack of the Catalan
company. This mercenary force was attacking and pillaging monasteries. Serbian monastery of Hilandar was under Catalan siege. Its abbot Danilo (future archbishop Danilo II) led successful defense. During this siege he stayed in the monastery of St. Panteleimon, which was later plundered and burnt down by the Catalans.

In the second half of 14th century monastic community of St. Panteleimon and Nemanjić dynasty again came to closer relations. Serbian emperor Dušan during his campaign of conquest towards Byzantine Empire gained control over Mount Athos. Tending to gain legitimacy in the eyes of monastic community he took monasteries on Mount Athos under his protection. Stephan Dušan visited St. Panteleimon in 1348. On that occasion he give certain possessions to this monastery and put Serbian abbot.

In monastery of St. Panteleimon Serbian monk Isaia lived and produced. For certain time he was abbot of this monastery. Elder Isaiah was much estimated as writer and translator. He translated works of St. Dionysius the Areopagite into the Serbian language. Also, he was important as source for period of first Turkish conquests after Battle of Marica 1371.

All this data indicate significant and intensive contacts of the Nemanjić dynasty with the monastic community from Rus’ from the 12th until the 14th century.

Myroslav Voloshchuk (ЦМС ПНУ, Ivano-Frankivsk), Catholic bishops from the Rurik dynasty during the 12th–14th centuries

A history of contacts of the „conditional” Rurik dynasty with the rulers of the Latin West during of the 11th–14th centuries predicted not only the systematic conclusion of the matrimonial relations, military conflicts, reconciliation, powerful trade, but also the closest cultural whilst confessional interchange. The arrival of the western princesses to Rus’, the active missionary activity of the squalid monastic orders, the permanent presence of the constant communities-adepts of the western rite (Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Czechs and Moravians etc.), the correspondence with the Catholic pontiffs and hierarchs introduced the representatives of „the Eastern world” to the nuances of the Latin „confession”. Sometimes such acquaintance had the fateful consequences for the acquaintances. During the 12th–14th centuries, thanks to the active marriage ties of the Piast and Arpad dynasties with the Rurikids, the sources allows to identify four persons of the Ruthenian origin, who were nominated for the different bishoprics of the Hungarian kingdom and in the lands of the Piast dynasty. They were highly educated persons, some of them had an university education, having done a brilliant career at the court or, sometimes, entering into the spiritual knight’s orders. Probably these and others, not fixed by documents, cases promoted the more active involvement of the Ruthenian elites to „the Latin world” in 13th–14th centuries, the conversion and getting the smaller church governments. It must have promoted the more active involvement of Ruthenian students to the higher education institutions of Western Europe, the participation of Ruthenian nobility (which recognized the Polish king as its suzerain) in the development of neighboring states.

Aleksey Martyniouk (БДУ, Minsk), „Unrevealed martyrs”: to the understanding of the image of St. Michail Vsevolodovich of Chernigov

Martyrdom of prince Mikhail Vsevolodovich of Chernigov in the Horde in 1246 made a huge impression on contemporaries and became a kind of symbol of spiritual resistance of Rus’ to the Mongol conquerors. The church gave veneration to Michail as early as in the 13th century, and over time he became one of the most revered Russian saints. The circumstances of the death of prince Michail attracted the attention of historians repeatedly. The latest analysis was given by A. Gorsky, who revealed the political background of these events. Nevertheless, in the writings of historians of the 19th – early 21st centuries, there is a certain perplexity as to why is it particularly Michail of Chernigov – not the main „hero” of the
history of Rus’ from the point of view of modern historiography – received such posthumous recognition? The report suggests a new look at this problem. An attempt to look at the glorification of prince Michail from the point of view of contemporaries of events will be made. The key to understanding of the image of St. Michail of Chernigov is, in our view, the phenomenon of „unrevealed martyrs”, known in the Orthodox tradition.

**Djura Hardi** (VHC, Novy Sad), „Rutheni sunt schismatici”: confessional affiliation of Russian princes Rostislav Mikhailovich and Lev Danilovich in the light of the selected Hungarian and Czech diplomatic sources – comparative analysis

The focus of the report is on two documents of Hungarian and Czech origin, which were sent to the papal curia. The first is the letter of Bella IV to Pope Incantius IV written on November 11 (probably in 1247). The second is the report of the Olomouc bishop Brunus, a close associate of the Czech king Przemysl II Otokar, concluded on December 16, 1273, for Pope Gregory X. The common for the letters is the fact, that two warring Catholic royal courts provide the information about the marriage ties of the royal family of Arpadoviches with the Rus’ princes Rostislav Mikhailovich and Lev Danilovich, defining that they are schismatic, namely, Orthodox. The author of the research analyzes the historical context of these messages, which were sent from two competitive sides at the certain time distance. He concludes that the marriages of the Arpadoviches’ dynasty with the Orthodox princes from the Rurik dynasty in the middle of the 13th century. Were a political reality, and its confessional element, which is defined in a negative sense, was a means of mutual rivalry in the relations between Hungary and the Czech Republic with the papacy.

**Illya Parshyn** (ЛНУ, Lviv), *Iohannes de Ladimiria: A short biographical Essay about the Chaplain of Henry VI, duke of Silesia*

The past of the Galicia-Volhynian state in the 14th century is a real terra incognita for scientists. From the short articles of Latin sources it is possible to establish only certain events that relate primarily to the political history. At the same time, the problems of religious life are analyzed by researchers, as a rule, from the point of view of the inevitable opposition of Western and Eastern Christian influence in the region.

Paradoxically, there is very little information about individual religious figures. For example, we are talking only about the highest representatives of the Orthodox or Catholic clergy, whose names are preserved in several documents or chronicles. At the same time, information about individual representatives of the clergy, descendants from Rus’, who reached high posts under the offices of West Slavic rulers, remains unknown.

This article deals with the problem of a biography of Iohannes de Ladimiria, chaplain of Silesian duke Henry VI and his wife Anne of Habsburg. Maybe, he was a head of duke’s notaries. Also, the addition to his name – „de Ladimiria” – indicates a direct connection with the Volhynian principality. It is known, that there were many German settlers in Volodymyr. So, one can assume that he was not a Rusian ethnos, but this question is debatable. Taking into account the generally tolerant policy of the Romanovych’s dynasty to the Catholics, he could play a part in restoring the West Christian bishopric in Kiev. The report, nevertheless, will be about his stay and functions at the Silesian court, which are certified by documents, including Papal bulls.
Poster session

Elena Tianina (MGU, Moscow), **Pagan Antiquities of the Ludyn kinets of medieval Novgorod (based on the Troitskiy excavation materials)**

The study of pagan religious objects is one of the aspects of study of the spiritual culture of medieval Novgorod. Its findings in the cultural stratum point to the complex processes that took place after the official adoption of Christianity, based on the syncretism of pagan and Christian representations. The study of objects of the pagan cult also allows to complement the picture of the multicomponent Novgorod culture, which included various ethnic elements, and also the close ties between the owners of the farmsteads with the Novgorod district and distant lands.

The Ludyn kinets was one of the centers of the primitive nucleus of medieval Novgorod, in the 10th –12th centuries. played a major role in its political life. Archaeological works in the Ludyn kinets, in layers of the 30's. of the 10th – early 15th centuries are conducting on the Troitskiy excavation (total area of more than 8 thousand sq. m, currently works are continuing). The collection of pagan religious objects of the Troitskiy excavation is constantly replenishing by the new finds. Thanks to the large study area, which allows to explore the whole farmsteads, as well as the ability to date the construction horizons by the method of dendrochronology, we managed to identify the chronology and topography of the different categories of pagan antiquities. A poster contains the main categories of these finds (amulets of non-ferrous metals, animal icons, stone Neolithic instruments, which used for the religious purposes, wooden ritual rods and anthropomorphic wooden sculpture) in a chronological distribution, with a brief description of the origin, semantics and magical destination.

Konrad Lewek (UJ, Kraków), **What kind of information archaeological finds delivered about early medieval pagan rhutenian beliefs**

The poster present selected early medieval finds conected with sacrum, from east Slavs territory. They include leather and wooden masks, and wooden figurines.

Masks are a part of costumes wearing in time of diferent pagan rituals. Researchers are usually agree that rituals were related to the cult of the ancestore. The medievalages chronicles and ethnography are sources that proof it.

Interpretations of wooden figurines are not clear. It could be miniature idols, elements of home altar. Some experts consider them as amulets or toys.

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The cult of the wolf and the bear has been formed by inhabitants of the forest zone, in the foothills or in the forest-steppe, therefore in the natural habitat of these animals. It has been also developed in Slavs and Turkic-speaking nations.

The bear in Slavic beliefs symbolized a positive inexhaustible power of nature, identified with such phenomena as earth fruitfulness, forest wealth, fertility and health. This power, according to the beliefs, gave the bear a power of healing. It was thought that the bear was a protector of domestic animals and had an influence on the human life. These beliefs translated into healing practices, love magic and the ritual of marriage. The bear in the Slavic world was identified with the „host” of the forest, „homely”, it was closer to a man. Its opposite was the wolf, symbolizing the beginning, aggressive actions. It used to be linked with strength, bravery, authority, and independence. Therefore, it became an attribute of the class of warriors, of prince’s military team and of princes, and synonymous for the terms „alien”, „foreign”. Therefore, the Slavs considered the wolf as an animal of the „borderland”.

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It played inter alia a role of an intermediary between the world of the living and of the dead. In the Slavic world these animals were of opposite value.

The wolf belonged to the old „deities” of Asia, who entered the pantheon of totemic animals already at the early stage of the formation of early Turkic culture. The clans, from which came the rulers wielding of the Turkish-speaking federation, saw their ancestors in the wolf. The wolf according to Turkic mythology was a celestial and astral animal. It ruled lightnings and stars. As a messenger of heavenly deities, the wolf had the power to kill evil spirits, and was a mediator in the transition to the world of the deceased, a palfrey and the guide of a shaman. The ancestors manifested themselves in a form of a white wolf. Its presence signaled approaching happiness, success, fertility and health. Body parts of wolfs were used in a folk medicine.

The cult of the bear in the Black Sea and Caspian steppe zone has probably been assimilated by the Turkic people through the cultural relations with the Ugro-Finnish population. It is possible, however, that it penetrated into the forest zone much earlier, through early nomads, and was re-adapted by the late Turkic-speaking people, for the bear belonged to the totemic animals of the early Turks. It was included among chthonic creatures. The bear was also a protector of shamans. In hunting magic was considered as an animal that dies and revives, so the bear was associated with a cycle of changes. The occurrence of the bear worship among nomads indicates the existence of cultural components of the forest provenience among their distant ancestors.

The worship of the wolf and the bear in the archaeological materials is illustrated by the findings of fine figural art and amulets made of canines, claws and bones of these animals both in the Slavic and in the Turks cultural milieus, as well as in the form of monumental stone sculptures, rock art and decorative motifs on leather and fabrics by the Asian Turks.

**Ihor Ivaskiv** (BO, Buchach), *New finds of the sacral metaloplastics of the Old Rus’ Age from the territory of the modern Buchachyna*

It is known a lot of the prince period finds from the Western Podillia, including jewelry with a sacral content. Buchach region is not the expection. It is the area where from time to time some finds of the prince period are found. However they aren’t introduced to the science appeal and they aren’t made public. In my speaking I’ll present such sacral finds of the Old Rus’ Age from the territory of the modern Buchachyna, as:

1. Encolpion (or, rather its front). According to the classification that was made by Rus' scientists – Hali Korzukhina and Hanna Pieskova, it belongs to the relic crosses of the relief-blacking type (from the name of the jewellery technic-blacking). It was found in the village of Perevoloka. Datting in the 11th–12th century.
2. Encolpion that belongs to the relief-blacking relics and this subtype is called „the straight ends cross” with four just (ledges) in the serenity. It was found in the village of Bobulyntsi. Dating in the 12th – the first part of the 13th century.
3. The icon-pendant is the fifth important artifact from Ternopil region. The previous four things were found in the village of Krutyliv Husiatyn district, the village of Mushkativka Borschiv district, the village Nyrkiv Zalishchyky district. It was found in the village of Trybukhivtsi. Dating in the second part of 12th – the first part of the 13th century. We can suggest that their producing was can developed in the territory of the modern Ternopolshyyna.
4. The books-fasteners that were found in the village of Tsvitova and Bobulyntsi, a silver crescent-shaped pendant, that was found in the village of Perevoloka, the fragment of the encolpion that was found in the village of Trybukhivtsi, which maybe come from the chronicle Terebovlia.
Ihor Koval (ІПУ, Ivano-Frankivsk), *Galician copper alloy Crosses of 12th century with integrated emulsion*

The art of cloisonne enamels belongs to the highest achievements of the medieval jewelry business. In the early 20th century, a Russian explorer A. Peskova, carrying out the classification of ancient Russ encolpion in the 12th and 13th centuries, made a hypothesis about the possible existence of a center for the production of crosses with cloisonne enamels in the ancient Halych. New monuments of this rare species of cross-encolpions, discovered recently as a result of the archaeological study of the capital of the Galician Principality, have given the opportunity to revise the hypothesis and guide it into the channel of scientific truth. Thus, we managed to establish that the magnificent business was the highest development in Halych in the second half of the 12th century.

Radosław Liwoch (MA, Krakow), *Old Rus’ Devotional Items from Western Ukraine*

„But people in Rus’ and in the land of Iauan [Byzantium] are probably very pious because they are doing at their gates and on the doors of their homes and on the walls of their homes «signs of the unbelievers» [the crosses and icons]” – wrote just one and a half centuries after the baptism of the Kiev prince Vladimir rabbi Eliezer ben Nathan (circa 1080–1150) from Mainz. The words in which he compares in terms of the piety of the Ruthenians to the Byzantines testify to the relatively rapid adoption of the Christian culture by the Eastern Slavs. Icons and crosses from the walls of Ruthenian homes mentioned by a Jewish writer have not survived until today, however, many early medieval artifacts of personal devotion have preserved but still come from the vast majority of the century after the rabbi’s death – from the mid-twelth to the 1240/1241. In the poster, and then in the paper, the following groups of artifacts will be presented:
- crosses, including enkolpions – reliquary crosses, which are the most typical signs of the personal piety of Christians;
- small icons (pendant plaques);
- lunula pendants, because some of them are probably Marian symbols;
- miniature axes, which can be linked with St. Olaf;
- other pendants, including the so-called zmeeviki (snake amulets).

Particular attention will be paid to the typology and chronology of these objects, since preliminary analysis shows that the second issue requires further research in particular. Written by authors in publications of dating artifacts are largely implied, although they generally fall into the sphere of probability. The controversial issue of interpretation of lunulae (lunula pendants) and miniature bronze axes will also be discussed. It seems that crescent pendants beginning with 12th century specimens can be combined with the worship of Mary (there are known texts in which Christ is compared to the Sun, and the Virgin Mary to the Moon), while the axes with the worship of St. Olaf, who spread himself since the 1030s after the elevation of his relics.

Yuriy Lukomskyy (ІУ НАНУ, Lviv), Vasyl Petryk (НУ „ЛП”, Lviv), *Architecture of the Cathedral Churches in the Halych and the Kholm*

The recently undertaken architectural-archaeological study the Church of the Virgin Mary (also known as the Cathedral of the Assumption) on the ancient Halych and the Church of the Virgin Mary in Kholm has resulted in the definition of their plans and details of building technology, an understanding of their phasing and archaeological stratigraphy, and of the material culture related to these sites. This knowledge has supported the dating of these sites and structures, an interpretation of their function, and the creation of conjectural graphic reconstructions of their form and appearance.
Halych. The remains of the Church of the Virgin Mary (also known as the Cathedral of the Assumption), described in historical chronicles of the Halych Principate, was first discovered in the village of Krylos and archaeologically investigated in 1936–1938 during an expedition under the direction of Yaroslav Pasternak. As revealed and described by these investigations, the cathedral was one of the largest structures erected on the territory of Rus’. It was described as built in the four-piered, cross-in-square form, with a larger central dome and four lesser domes at the corners of the building, and flanked by galleries on three sides. The masonry structure was erected in the Romanesque white-stone tradition utilizing blocks of local alabaster and limestone; its exterior was adorned with relief sculptures, and it was roofed with clay tiles and lead sheathing. Renewed excavations by the Y.Lukomskyy in 1992–2000 provided a new and more detailed interpretation of the plan of the cathedral, and revealed several phases of construction of its foundations. These were related to two building periods (the middle of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th c.) and were indicated by two different technologies of masonry wall construction. Currently several conjectural reconstructions have been suggested for the Halych Cathedral. Based on the analysis of the most recent architectural-archaeological investigations, a conjectural reconstruction of the cathedral after its second phase of construction has been presented.

Kholm. During 2013–2017 years the Polish-Ukrainian science project has been carried out with the aim of recognize the cathedral church of the Virgin Mary (Bogorodytsia) built in Colm by Danylo Romanovych. Interdisciplinary, non-invasion prospections as well as archaeological excavations were done with a view to finding and identifying the location of the cathedral church, known until present only from the written sources. Analysis results of the archaeological researches allow us to propose a hypothesis on the original architectonic and planning structure of this cathedral. It was 14 m wide and near 22,4 m long. It was east-west oriented. The architectural-spatial layout of the church was based of two lengthened rectangular parts –three-aisled four-pillared part and the apse. The foundation walls were made of sandstone bonded with chalky-clayey and sand-lime mortars and was about 2,0 m wide. The walls of the church were made of the brick in the Romanesque masonry technique. The results of the research show that the first cathedral in Kholm, its architectural and building techniques represents the innovative technology for its time – the middle of the 13th century on the Eastern Europe.

Lecture

Olexandr Osipian (KHY, Kyiv), Armenians and the Armenian Church in medieval Rus’


The inter-confessional encounters: Armenian merchants, their wives, maid servants, and cohabits. The efforts of laic and clerical elites to limit the inter-confessional encounters.

**Section VII**

*Sven Jaros* (LU, Leipzig), *Against Tatari, Rutheni et Litfani, hoste fidei. The Polish integration of Crown Ruthenia in in the field of tension between Latin and Orthodox denomination*

When the Romanovich dynasty died out in 1323, the ruthenian Principality of Halych-Volhyn became the goal of its neighbours competing interests. The Polish kings, especially Kazimierz Wielki after 1340, succeeded with Hungarian support to incorporate large parts of its territory, not least because of the use of Crusading and *Antemurale* rhetoric. In result, a specific frontier evolved, often named as classic example for a space where Latin and orthodox influences overlap.

In my paper, I would like to focus on three main aspects. Firstly, what role did the different Christian denominations play during the Polish conquest? Which actors and practices were establish in the region? Hereby, I will not only present the development of the highest church hierarchy such as archbishoprics, bishoprics and eparchies, but also the spreading of convents of mendicant orders. Secondly, I would like to summon the traces of other religious groups, e. g. the Armenians, Jews and others: How did they position inside this field of actors? Finally, I would like to concentrate on the regional elites: Did they support the changing religious configuration of Crown Ruthenia? And if so, how?

The dynamics in the polish political situation let to the situation that Louis of Anjou, king of Hungary, succeeded Kazimierz as Polish king in 1370. During his reign, Crown Ruthenia was tied to the Hungarian kingdom. After his death and a short *interregnum*, Jadwiga of Anjou and her newly converted husband Władysław II. Jagiello reconquered the region from 1387 onwards. I thereby will have to bear in mind this changing political contexts for my approach.

*Marius Ščavinskas* (KU, Klaipėda), *Christian and Barbaric pagans; semantic asymetry it terms of forming Pagan image in Medieval Western European literature and Rus chronicle tradition*

The image of pagans, regardless of tribe (Vikings, Balts, Finns, Mongols), was constructed in Medieval chronicles accourding to a certain pattern, based on near rigid categories. It was conducted for two basic objectives. First, the reader (or listener) immediately would recognize pagan image. Second, he would be intergrated into the general image about the remaining patterns. It should be noted that the visual assessment of pagans was perceived as narrator biased on systematic prism of traditions and beliefs. In Latin Europe the language itself possessed vast and crucial influence (*latina vulgata*). There are no doubts that traditions and beliefs were determined by two groups of visual pagan interpretation: *interpretatio romana* and *interpretatio christiana*. The first case was based on the antique heritage and the second one referred to *Bible* and comments of clergy. It is clear that both interpretations were interrelated or complementary. However, we are facing medieval Christian pagan perception. Such perception provides a „natural“ pagan-Christian antithesis.

On the other hand, the Church (both Western and Eastern) purified the three categories of the „other“ people: „sordid“ Jews, „bad“ heretics and „blind“ pagans. Later another two categories were revealed – converts and apostates. Although those were genuinely connected with Christian missions and the others (apostates) were treated worse than pagans. Keeping this in mind, it must be accepted that the pagan image in the Middle Ages was not static as it might be comprehended at first glance. or example, in *The Song of*
Roland pagans were portrayed as the barbarians, deceived by the devil. However, the frames of noble pagan commenced to emerge which the best are revealed in William of Trier and Wolframs from Eschenbach chronicles. The same could be said about so-called 1262 Chronograph, to which, excluding the Malala chronicle and other chronicles, was integrated in equal parts in Eastern Church. It must be stressed that a concept of pagan was not purified in medieval chronicles even though term itself was utilised almost mutually with another concepts such as „infidel” and „godless”. It is not enough to provide a generic descriptions of „good-bad”, „infidel”, „Christian-Pagan”. However an approach of mentioned descriptions should be discussed, reffering to pagam image. In other words, there could be a possibility of „good and bad” pagans, „faithful” pagans ( not as it should be) „godless” pagans and finally „Christian-like” behaving pagans and barbaric ones. We are dealing with semantic pagan and visual asymmetry. In all these descriptions an emotional stress plays a vast role, objectives of literary works, the author's position, literary suggestion, finally, tradition and countless other factors, including political. For example, in the narratives of past time chronicles we can generally accept the image of a „barbarian” pagan, although sometimes the image of pagan can remain as neutral because they were depicted as political opponents of Kievan rulers and their representatives. Meanwhile in previously mentioned Chronograph we can notice the images of „false pagans”, „noble pagans” and pagan „barbarism” is articulated by the author of the Chronograph, replacing one or another position in favor for evaluating political events.

Norbert Mika (CSH, Warszawa), „Сілу честного креста”. The cross and the practice of kissing the cross in the face of danger and Tatar invasion (until the end of the 15th century)

The significance of the cross in medieval Rus' in the context of danger and Mongolian (Tatar) invasions ought not to be overlooked. This Christian sign, symbolising Christ’s death and victory, as well as the gesture of kissing the cross in oath-taking accompanied the Rus' dukes in the course of their struggles with the Mongols (Tatars) from their first encounter (the battle of the Kalka River in 1223) until the end of the Golden Horde’s dominion over Rus' (the events at the Ugra River in 1480). The symbol of the cross united Rus' in their fight against the Tatar invaders and gave them the feeling of community in faith and interests. The kissing of the cross occurred, therefore, often at times preceding immediate Tatar danger, for instance in years 1293, 1375, 1462–1464 and 1473, as reported in the sources. Needless to say, there arose also some controversial situations as for instance in 1446 when certain Rus' dukes made pacts with the Golden Horde khans against their co-religionists and fellow Rus', despite previously deferring to the Christian symbol and kissing the cross. An alternative interpretation would be that they used the gesture of kissing the cross for their own purposes, in part to solve conflicts with other Rus' rulers and merely cooperating with the Tatars. This reading is confirmed by medieval sources recounting events from 1399, 1471 and 1478. Despite numerous inconsistencies in the practice of kissing the cross in Rus', deferring to the symbol of the cross by the Christian community in the face of danger and Tatar invasions was a universal value and enhanced Rus' identity and religiousness.

Section VIII

Pavel Smrž (TU, Liberec), The campaign of the Swedish king Magnus IV. Eriksson against the Novgorod fortress of Orekhov in 1348 as an example of dogmatic disputes between western and eastern Christendom

In 1348 a military campaign against Novgorod fortress of Orekhov protecting an important river passage from the Gulf of Finland to the Novgorod the Great. Swedes achieved to capture the fortress and leave their own soldiers in it. In the following year the Novgorod army put the fortress under siege and Swedes yielded after few days. On the first sight it
evokes just one of the many Novgorod-Swedish struggles of the second half of the 12th century. But the accounts in the Novgorod chronicles describing the campaign of the Swedish king are exceptional thanks to the fact, that it describes the reasons, why the king launched the attack. The chronicles maintain, that war begun after the Novgorod people had declined the Magnus’s proposal to organize a disputation to choose, whose faith is the right one. 

First skirmishes between Novgorod people and Swedes happened by the half of the 12th century. First missionaries and crusaders from German lands, Denmark and Sweden wandered to areas of today’s Latvia, Estonia and Finland during these years. Turning these lands to the right fate was accompanied by systematic conquest and establishment of the land of western Christians. This process caused inevitable clash with eastern Christians. Novgorod chronicles usually describe these clashes as wars with any other enemies and only rarely name the reasons for war. This study attempts to answer the question, why just in the half of the 14th century just the one of many Novgorod-Swedish conflicts was described as the clash of the two Christian faiths. During the research, the course of the Crusades, above all these directed to the regions of today's Finland and Karelia will be analysed as well as the Novgorod understanding of the western faith and forced turning of the subjected people to this faith. The process of creating the Novgorod chronicles will be analysed as well, but more importantly the oldest account about the 1348 Swedish campaign will be analysed above all.

Marcin Grala (UPJPII, Krakow), Problem of rejection of metropolitan Pimen in Moscow in 1380

Despite the will of patriarch Philotheos, by which Cyprian was to become the successor of late metropolitan of Kiev and the whole Ruthenia, Moscow ruler Dmitry Ivanovich Donskoy saw on this ecclesial position his own candidate Mitya. That is why, in summer 1379 the prince sent the priest to Constantinople, hoping that he would return from Bosporus as full-fledged metropolitan and Alexius’s successor. The prince’s candidate travelled with considerable entourage of trusted dignitaries both ecclesial and secular. However, during their journey to Constantinople, a perfectly prepared legation faced the least foreseeable circumstance which was Mitya’s death. Despite this unexpected occurrence, the legates decided to continue their mission and chose among themselves one, named Pimen, who was then introduced in Constantinople as Moscow ruler’s recommended candidate.

In 1380 the patriarch Nilus of Constantinople ordained Pimen as a new metropolitan, which could be considered as a success of the legation. However, once Dmitry Ivanovich received the news, he expressed his surprise and disapproval: „Њємъ послаль Пимина въ митрополиты, но послаль его, яко единого оть служащихь Митяю; что же се сотворено ест, о нижге азъ слышу такова? Unexpectedly, Pimen was rejected by Moscow and the invitation to the metropolitan throne was granted to Cyprian.

The article presents circumstances, in which the legation found itself at Mitya’s death. The author tends to consider that the decision of the members of the expedition, although arbitrary to a certain extent, was taken in good faith and with belief that assignments were duly fulfilled. Pushing through the choice of Pimen in Constantinople should then satisfy Dmitry, which however did not happen, as already mentioned. With regards to such turn of events, the article discusses the circumstances of Dmitry’s unexpected decision, who by rejecting Pimen, makes a choice of taking back Cyprian, expelled from Moscow earlier on.

Jitka Komendová (UP, Olomouc), Languages and Alphabets in Missionary Activities of Russian Church in the Middle Ages

The talk focuses on the linguistic issue in missionary activities of Russian Church in the Middle Ages compared to the Western and Byzantine traditions. The primary focus is directed towards the analysis of the role of the language in missions of Stephen of Perm,
Tryphon of Pechenega and other missionaries, as interpreted by their hagiography. The issue is studied in the context of *Tale on Russian Writing* and other texts which define the meaning of Church Slavonic language and its role among world languages (such as *On the Letters* by Chernorizets Hrabar, *Life of St. Constantine*, etc.)

Due to the fragmentary character of the information in primary sources about Russian missions over the centuries preceding the activities of Stephen of Perm, the issue of language can be analyzed only through indirect allusions, remarks and parallels. In the Western and Byzantine practices, the command of the language of the people who the missionary intended to baptize was not taken for granted. The decision not to limit the communication to speaking the foreign language but to create a new alphabet and give a liturgical role to the language of former pagans was even a greater exception.

In one of the central chapters of *Life of Stephen of Perm* entitled „On Perm Alphabet“, its author Epiphanius the Wise eagerly glorifies Stephen’s activities and defends him against criticism. The hagiographer objects to the notion of the exceptional position of Greek language, however, he perceives languages hierarchically and prioritizes Old Church Slavonic writing system. The similar message can be found the *Tale on Russian Writing* created in the 14th century, as well as in the treatise *On the Letters* by Chernorizets Hrabar, but such a notion is in a stark contrast with understanding the issue of the language in the *Life of St. Constantine*.

**Yury Afanasenka** (Belarus, Minsk), *Reception of hesychasm ideas in the Russian lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (the end of the 14th – beginning of the 15th century): to the formulation of the problem*

Hesychasm as a philosophical-religious and cultural phenomenon is an object of scientific study for quite a long time. However, problematic issues related to the process of its dissemination and reception in various spheres in Eastern Europe have not received proper scientific lighting. This process was conducted in the Russian lands of the GDL and other East Slavic lands. It leads to the need to raise some issues related to the dissemination and the results of the influence of hesychasm on various spheres of culture on the lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the entire Eastern European region in the late 14th – early 15th century.

Bulgarian most prominent representatives such as patriarch Euthymius of Tarnovo, Constantine of Kostenets, metropolitan Cyprian, Gregory Tsamblak, and others were mediators of hesychasm ideas on the space of Slavia Orthodoxa in this period. Two of the school of patriarch Euthymius descents had to play a key role not only in the cultural-historical, but also in church-political life of Eastern Europe in general.

It is obvious that the ideas of hesychasm and its religious and philosophical influence were manifested in many spheres. However, the most prominent instance of this process is represented in book culture, in particular, in works of Gregory Tsamblak. After being elected at the Novogrudok council in 1415, he was engaged not only in active church-political, but also in book activities. The living connection of the Balkan-Byzantine region with Eastern Europe can be noticed in his works, and, consequently, the cultural, intellectual and spiritual contacts of the East Slavic lands with the Orthodox world in a broad context.
Section IX

Andrii Stasiuk (НЗ „ДГ”, Halych / ІЦМС ПІНУ, Ivano-Frankivsk), Holy Cross Convent in Lviv as a Centre of Franciscan Missions in Rus’ in the second half of the 14th century – the first third of the 15th century

Lviv was the central organization station of Franciscan missions in Rus’ of the late Middle Ages. The capital city of the Galician-Volhynian Romanovich dynasty, and soon of the land of Rus’ as a part of the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland and the Hungarian Crown, due to a dynamic and social-economic development formed a favorable environment for missionary activity of the Latin clergy in general and the Minorites in particular. Introduction of the Magdeburg Law, princely and royal liberties for different city communities/peoples opened a wide expanse for pastoral activities of the Friars Minor among the Christians of the Latin, Greek and Armenian rites, Muslims and Jews.

Holy Cross Convent in Lviv, that apparently originated from the former missionary center, from the beginning of the 70s years of the 14th century represented a main manor of the Rus’ Minorite vicariate „Societatis Fratrum Peregrinantium“. A vicar’s residency and a Lviv custodian’s residency periodically had their locations here, and from the end of the 14th century – the beginning of the 15th century – it was the seat of a Galician archbishop of the Latin rite. Generous donations ensured that the dwelling was the richest of all other Franciscan centers of the Rus’ vicariate. The head of the Lviv convent was the guardian, who often took active part in social and political life of the city. The Franciscans of Lviv together with the local Dominicans repeatedly defended their own missionary privileges from legal claims of secular clergy, which were often considered personally by the Pope.

Ethnically, the monks of the Holy Cross Convent in Lviv composed a kind of interethnic conglomerate. In particular, it may be seen from the documents of that time that among them were Germans, Poles, Dutch, Moldovans, Southern Slavs, etc. The congregation of the Friars Minor in Lviv was polyethnic as well: Poles, Germans, Armenians, Ruthenians, Tatars, etc. Consequently, the Franciscan Holy Cross Convent in Lviv most fully demonstrates the inherent example of the organization and functioning of the missionary centre of the vicariate of Rus’ in the second half of the 14th century – the first third of the 15th century.

Roman Ivashko (ЛНУ, Lviv), The Basel-Florence vicissitudes in the Lviv archdiocese

Basel council started in 1431. It would put the end to the Hussite heresy, schism, simony and nepotism. However, differences had been increasing between the papal and council authority which negotiated with Byzantine about the union independently one of another.

Basel fathers sent document with the encouragement to make donations in favor of Union between the Church and for protecting Constantinople in exchange of indulgences for the remission of sins to Christians of the Lviv Latin archdiocese in November 1436. Their weighty role was ended in relation to the union. The initiative had been adopted by Pope Eugene IV who gathered Unite council in Ferrara.

The clergy of the Lviv Latin archdiocese apparently did not take part in the Unite Ferrara-Florence Council. Papal legate, Cardinal Isidore was allowed to pray in Lviv Cathedral „according to folk rite“, but after he recognized obedience to the Basel Council. Obviously, clergy who took part at Church synods of the Lviv Latin archdiocese were in obedience to this council in 1440–1443. The Basel fathers sent 4 other documents to the Lviv Latin archdiocese besides indulgence of 1436.

Archbishop, clergy and Catholics of Lviv had already been in obedience to the Apostolic See in the second half of the 40's years of the 15th century. For example, the judges
from the Pope Eugenius IV had been doing the division of the heritage, according to covenant the Lviv citizen Peter Chansner in the 1446–1447. Also, the Apostolic See completed property dispute in favor of the Cathedral College and citizens of Lviv which Basel council had been trying to solve before.

The Pope Nicholas V decided to hold jubilee year in the Latin Church in 1450 as ending of struggle with Conciliarism movement. The Polish king Casimir IV Jagiellon received special conditions of jubilee for residents of Polish Kingdom after special request. Catholics from here were allowed not to perform pilgrimage to the Eternal City and to visit the local cathedral in „Gniezno, Lviv, Krakov” and „Vilno” because of the Tatar threat to the Polish Kingdom.

So we found out that the Lviv Latin archdiocese had supported Conciliarism, and returned to the obedience to the Apostolic See in the middle of 40’s years of the 15th century.

**Tetiana Hoshko (УКУ, Lviv), *Biblical Influences in the Ordinances of Town Law (13th–16th centuries)*

1. In the Middle Ages, the world order was perceived as confirmation of the Scriptures. God was the highest manifestation of justice and the embodiment of law. This was also stated in the *Sachsenspiegel* by Eike von Repgow, which was used by lawyers of the 16th and 17th century for the interpretation of the town law in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. They divided law into God’s, innate, and human laws, of which God’s law was the highest (B. Groicki). There are similar passages in the treatise by P. Szczerbic, for whom God was the beginning and end of all things and the head of all sciences.

2. There was also a direct influence of the Bible on the town law, in particular on the articles that interpreted the origin of the world. One can find it in the *Sachsenspiegel*, where the influence of the Old Testament is particularly noticeable. P. Szczerbic also used the Bible stories in his treatise to explain the origins of human history.

3. From the Bible, as well as from theological treatises, in particular, the *Scholastic History* of P. Comestor, E. von Repgow borrowed the symbolism of numbers. The numbers 2, 3, and 6 had symbolic meanings, and most of all – 7 as the number of spiritual perfection, universality, and completeness. The Biblical symbolism of numbers is present in later codes of town law, in particular in the texts of B. Groicki, P. Szczerbic, and P. Kuszewicz.

4. The sacred attitude to the oath is related to the symbolic dimension of the notions of the world and society. The importance of the oath was determined by the fact that God Himself was called as a witness and Himself punished for perjury. One had to swear before noon, because the Christians associated the time before noon with the life of Jesus, and afternoon – with His death.

5. Through the prism of Christian ideas and the Bible, the lawyers of the 13th–16th centuries reassessed the attitude towards people with disabilities. In the Middle Ages, people believed that everything is from God including the deformity of the body, which is a manifestation of the deformity of the soul. Under the influence of Humanism, the concept of the relationship between the soul and the body, and hence the attitude towards people with disabilities changed, as it was reflected in the codes of town law of the 16th century. Disabled people in towns have ceased to be publicly alienated.

6. Adultery was interpreted in the town law in accordance with the Bible. Family is blessed by God, so everything that is against the family is sinful. Thus, adultery under the norms of both canonical and secular law deserved a cruel punishment. That’s how it was in the town law. Both women and men were sentenced to death for adultery, although in practice the punishment for men was often milder.
Biblical influences are felt in the ordinances related to moderate life. They were reflected in the so-called sumptuary laws, issued as the Willküren or Sejm constitutions (1613). In the Middle Ages, wealth was condemned as hindering the comprehension of God. In the town law of the 16th century, there were notions of a “good man” who was to be neither poor nor rich. It was noticeable departure from the medieval ideas that were shaped by the Bible.

Yuriy Zazulyak (ІУ/УКУ, Lviv), Religious aspects of the judicial oath in the Galician Rus 15th–16th centuries (according to the acts of the boundary proceedings)

The system of legal proofs and procedures adopted in the supreme proceedings of the Polish Crown, which included Galician Rus (Galicia) in the 15th–16th centuries, was strongly dependent on the using of the oath. The oath was a key and at the same time the most dramatic episode of the passage of estate boundaries and the marginal justice. The decision to allow one of the parties of cross of the border to the oath, or to avoid its drawing, determined the time rhythm and the possible choice of the procedure in the delimitation.

In the report there is highlighted how the oath, even a voluntary, was surrounded by an atmosphere of uncertainty and even a fear. Oath, as the religious ritual, meant the turning to God for the support for demonstrating and confirming of the truth of a testimony or a claim. The call for the help of the divine supernatural forces during the oath transformed it into a kind of God's court. The slightest doubt as to the truthfulness of an oath of allegiance, or mistakes made during its proclamation, caused suspicion of perjury and meant the threat of God's revenge. All this determined an extremely cautious attitude to the oath in that time proceedings. The report shows how the judges, the parties and the participants of the supreme processes tried not to bring the trial to the oath, but to resolve the conflict through other procedures. We can say that exactly in the trials and conflicts around the property boundaries the oath was regarded as the particularly uncertain and burdensome. The report also highlights the connection between separate rituals of marginal justice, just as the making of the oath and the blessing of the corncrackers, and the formation of ideas about the sacred nature of boundaries and property boundaries.

Section X

Palina Skurko (БДУ/ЦНБ НАНБ, Minsk), „See what they say”: readers notes in cyrillic printed books of the 16th century

The first cyrillic books published in Venice, Prague, Vilnius, Moscow, Lviv and Ostrog at 15th–16th centuries have been researched deeply and amply. However, most researchers pay attention to the so-called „perfect copy” (a copy which is preserved its original form) and pay just little attention to the exemplars as independent source. But since these books circulated among the Eastern European audience, every preserved book bears the imprint of the thoughts and intentions of the Eastern European reader of the 16th century.

All cyrillic printed books that were read at the lands of Eastern Europe in the early modern times are books of religious content. These are books of Sacred Scripture, liturgical publications, church fathers’ texts, polemical religious books. The very fact of the existence of readers’ notes is very distinctive. It gives opportunity to see the religiosity of that time from a new perspective. Respect for the Sacred Scripture does not prevent leaving notes in the book, even such as pen tests. Numerous examples show that such an intervention of profanity into the sacral sphere didn’t confront with religious beliefs.

Records allow us to see the balance of sacred and profane language in the Orthodox priesthood environment in the 16th century. Marginalia in „simple” language are appeared. So characteristic „зрі” (Church Slavonic version of nota bene – „behold”) becomes „зы”. We
can add a pen test „чарнила чы добрэ“. There are also some translations, made by the priest, in the Zabludava didactic Gospel.

At the same time donation records in the books show that the book was perceived as a channel of communication with God. The link between a donator and God was established through the priest, who was the subject of communication (by taking donated book) and the mean of communication between investor and God. For the society with the religious consciousness book donation can be seen as an example of the gift exchange. This complex social phenomenon was described by the anthropologist Marcel Moss. M. Moss found that the act of giving always provides the connection of three responsibilities: to give, to accept the gift and to answer with a bigger one. Book donations obliged the priest to mention all the donators. The book was a gift to the house of God which is the Church. This interpretation raises the question about the book as a tool for sacralization of space.

Another aspect of the religious consciousness of the 16th century which opens through the readers’ notes is the power of believing in a curse. Every donation record is accompanied by a supplementary curse against those who may take book and carry it away. However, the notes of next readers show the cases of transfer of the books from temple to temple, and even the fact of stealing despite the threat of a meeting at the Last Judgment. So, what was the curse for a person? Notes in the books can help answer this question. Another problem that can be solved by the research of the records is a problem of the transformation of religious consciousness after the appearance of printing. The process of changing could be followed in the light of the practices of reading and using of book.

**Marcin A. Klemenski (UJ, Krakow), Medieval saints of Ruthenia in modern surroundings. Cults of saintly people associated with medieval Russia in the light of contemporary hagiographers**

In recent years, interest in the history of medieval saints cults has increased. I would like to present the cults of people associated with Medieval Russia. As well as the phenomena associated with Sarmatian hagiography, when the Orthodox saints associated with Russia entered the catalogs of Polish saints. There were also completely fictional saints. Certainly the cults were cults of Jan Strep, John of Dukla, Constance of Halicz. In turn, quite hypothetical or quite fantastic are the references to modern Sarmatian hagiographers of more than 20 people or groups of martyrs associated with medieval Russia and doubtfully surrounded by veneration. The paper is intended to be a presentation of these phenomena and an attempt to answer why was that?

**Lukáš Rybár (UK, Bratislava), The image of religion in Rus' in the work of the Persian ambassador Oruj bey Bayat**

At the end of 16th century, after Abbas the Great seized the Persian throne the diplomatic relations with European countries (including Moscovian Rus') intensified. In the years 1599–1603, Persian mission to Europe took place. It was led by the ambassador Hossein Ali bey Bayat and the English Member of Parliament Anthony Shirley (who was at his way from Persian court back to England at that time). Hossein Ali’s mission (1599–1603) aim was to raise contacts with the Spanish king Phillip III. (eventually, with other European rulers) and to conclude alliance targeted against their common enemy, the Ottoman sultan. Hossein’s brother Oruj bey Bayat who was a fellow to this mission conducted a memoir on this trip. The diplomatic mission routed through the territory of Moscovian Rus’. The ambassadors travelled from the Caspian sea, against the current of Volga river (Oka, Moskva) to the North and eventually to Moscow where they arrived in 1599 to visit the court of Russian (Moscovian) tsar Boris Godunov. This respective route is documented in details by Oruj bey. In his book of travels he depicted the multitude of aspects of then Russian tsardom including
its religious life (ceremonials, buildings, habits etc.). The aim of this paper is to present and analyse the image of religion in Rus, as it was captured by Oruj bey Bayat. The fact that the author of the book of travels was originally Shia Muslim who eventually converted to the Catholic creed.