

Narrating Mary's Miracles and the Politics of Location in Late 17th-Century East Slavic Orthodoxy

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The subject of this paper is miracles, specifically Marian miracle tales that, between the mid-1660s and the early 18th century, emanated from the pens of Ukrainian monks in such profusion that they, along with several other new works of Mariology produced over a somewhat longer period, constituted an imposing body of literature, in some senses unprecedented within East Slavic Orthodoxy.¹ The monks in question, Ioanykii Haliatovs'kyi, Lazar' Baranovych, and Dimitrii Tuptalo (Saint Dimitrii Rostovskii) were astoundingly prolific, and several of their works gained extensive visibility throughout the East Slavic world, including some of the Marian texts. Accounts of the miraculous suffused the sacral narratives of Byzantine and Roman Christianity, of course, and they comprised much of the corpus of Rus' Orthodoxy. But the appearance and circulation of so many new compilations and even completely original texts of Marian miracles over such a short time should pique our interest. Emerging from one small corner of Orthodox Christendom, these books radiated in several directions, some

¹ The basic texts included in this discussion are Ioanykii Haliatovs'kyi, *Nebo novoe, s novymi zvezdami sotvorennoe t.e. Prebлагoslovennaia Deva Mariia Bogoroditsa z chudami svoimi* (L'viv: Mikhail Sliezka, 1665); Haliatovs'kyi, *Skarbnitsa* (Novhorod Sivirs'k: n.p., 1676); Lazar' Baranovych, *Chuda Presviatoi i prebлazhennoi Devi Marii deiuchiisia ot obrazei chudotvornogo v Monastyr u Sviatago slavnago proroka Ilii Chernigovskom* (Novhorod Sivirs'k: n.p., 1677); and Dimitrii Tuptalo, *Runo oroshennoe, Prechistaia i Prebлагoslovennaia Deva Mariia, ili chudesna obraza Presviatyia Bogoroditsy byushiia v monastyre Il'inskom chernigovskom, s besedami i nrauvocheniiami Bogovdokhnovenymi* (Chernihiv: n.p., 1683). Subsequent editions appeared in both the Hetmanate and in Moscow in 1689, 1691, 1696, 1697, 1702. Embraced by the Synodal church as a basic text of Russian Orthodoxy, it was broadly circulated thereafter (and remains so today). I also refer to Tuptalo, *O chudakh Prechistoi i Prebлazhennoi Devi Marii, deiuchikhsia v monastyre sviatago proroka Ilii Chernigovskom ot obraza ei chudotvornogo* (Novhorod Sivirs'k: n.p., 1677).

very widely, others less so. For the East Slavic world in particular, this was exceptional. The obvious question is why, or perhaps why then?

One should never lose sight of faith itself: the conviction that actual miracles had taken place, that Mary in Heaven had reached down to touch the lives of real people, and that these intercessions deserved public confirmation and celebration. Their significance as palpable evidence of grace and protection to communities and individual believers alike was axiomatic to the authors, and from that perspective spatially transcendent, like Mary. All these aspects are important, but this essay focuses explicitly on the politics of religion of that time and place, rather than deep exegesis or theology per se.

Although far from unknown, the titles in question have attracted little scholarly scrutiny and, as a collective opus, none at all. As I read them, however, these tales provide a valuable lens onto the outlooks and anxieties of leading clergy concerning political tensions affecting East Slavic Orthodoxy at a particularly fraught period. Before their eyes the long-standing institutional boundaries of the faith across the Muscovite–Ukrainian divide were being reconfigured, and at a time when the political character of Muscovy itself stood at the threshold of what would become Petrine modernity and formal empire. The Hetmanate and its church were in considerable disorder, and leading clergy struggled to find a unique voice with which to have an influence on those lay and religious authorities, some quite far away, who would have the final say. Miracle tales, I would suggest, provided that privileged voice.

Quite a few of the miracles had a highly localized provenance, in particular the sacred spaces of 17th-century Chernihiv (a theme to which we shall return). This immediacy gave them a special poignancy for those who transcribed and explained them. Others did not have local connections, but as we shall see, they too directed the readers' eyes in a particular geoconfessional direction. As such, the collections constituted bold interventions into big-power politics through a medium over which clerical hierarchs claimed a privileged authority, Marian intercession and local scenarios of grace. In this context, the narratives are best understood neither as uniquely Ukrainian nor as part of a single (or "reunified") Russian Orthodoxy, two common alternative paradigms. Instead, they are better situated within East Slavic Orthodoxy writ large, an extensive and destabilized geography with interested parties radiating out from the Hetmanate as far as Rome and Constantinople, as well as Warsaw, Cracow, and Moscow.² Through their words and actions the

² Much has been written over the years about the Ukrainian influx into the Muscovite church during the late 17th and first half of the 18th century, the standard bearer being Konstantin Kharlampovich's massive *Malorossiiskoe vliianie na velikoruskuiu tserkovnuiu zhizn'* (Kazan: Izdatel'stvo knizhnago magazina M. A. Golubeva, 1914). Kharlampovich's primary concern

authors endeavored not just to respond to the fluid contours of confessional and political spaces but to reshape them as well. These accounts had the added potency of writing not just the authors but local sites and the faithful into miraculous narratives and, by extension, into the annals of Christendom.

As leading clerical hierarchs and as trusted interlocutors with Moscow, Baranovych and Haliatovs'kyi stood at the crossroads of a cultural reformulation taking place in the latter 17th century that brought Moscow increasingly into the consciousness of Ukrainian Orthodox clergy, and that, conversely, brought these clergy and their conceptions into the religious and political cosmology of Moscow. A generation younger, Tuptalo gained visibility as the author of sermons, meditations, and above all his *Chet'i minei*, the four-volume edition of saints' lives that remains to this day the standard Russian Orthodox compilation. After a mostly cloistered career, Tuptalo himself became archbishop of the Great Russian diocese of Rostov, as part of a much wider migration of Kyivan monastics into Great Russian church institutions. Their move resituated them spatially at the political center of the

was to chart the extensive influx of Ukrainians rather than to interpret their writings. A large body of biographical and exegetical writing has investigated these individuals, and within Ukrainian or Ukraine-focused scholarship, much of this has focused on their attitudes toward nationhood. Giovanna Brogi has produced and continues to produce important works on the Hetmanate's religious leaders during the 17th century within the overarching framework of a distinctive Ukrainian Baroque. In recent English-language scholarship, Paul Bushkovitch, whose important book on Muscovite religion and society is cited elsewhere in this essay, has provided considerable insight. Although his subject was Muscovy, Bushkovitch gave attention to some of these figures. He provided a valuable corrective to the traditional and highly overdetermined counterpoints (especially Latinists vs. Grecophiles) that once were standard. Subsequently, Max Okenfuss, Barbara Skinner, and Serhii Plokhly have examined the world in which these authors lived to make larger points about early modern Russian and Cossack religion or about political and confessional conflict in the region. Okenfuss's study of libraries and book culture discusses a selection of churchmen, in particular Simeon Polotskii, to paint a stark dichotomy of a fully European Ukrainian Humanism making precious little headway in what he has termed "the resilience of Muscovy," i.e., the resistance of the decidedly non-Europeanist Muscovite church and its bookmen to Latin and Latinist ways of thinking and reasoning. Plokhly has traced the evolving religious outlooks of the Ukrainian Cossacks and their eventual willingness to consider living under an Orthodox monarch. Less focused on theology or churchmen per se, he nevertheless demonstrates the growing importance of religious categories in the Cossacks' articulation of political identity. Skinner deals with a somewhat later period, but she very effectively interweaves ethnic and confessional politics in the region. I have relied on all these works, even if at times I have parted company with their conclusions. See Max Okenfuss, *The Rise and Fall of Latin Humanism in Early Modern Russia: Pagan Authors, Ukrainians, and the Resilience of Muscovy* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), esp. chap. 3: "Ukrainian Humanism's Challenge to Muscovite Culture," 45–60; Barbara Skinner, *The Western Front of the Eastern Church: Uniate and Orthodox Conflict in Eighteenth-Century Poland, Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2009); and Serhii Plokhly, *The Cossacks and Religion in Early Modern Ukraine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), esp. chap. 7, "Hetmans and Metropolitans," 236–70.

East Slavic Orthodox world, and with that they gained exposure to a vastly larger, or at least very different, locus from the familiar Ukrainian monasteries and academies that had nurtured them.

Untethered Boundaries

The territory of Ukraine, however one defines it, was in a state of almost constant and often violent flux during much of the 17th century. The political history is well known, but it merits a brief review here if only as background. Khmel'nyts'kyi's revolt against Poland, and Moscow's ensuing intervention on his behalf, produced several wars and seemingly ceaseless bloodshed. Over three decades three separate treaties between Muscovy and the Commonwealth (Pereiaslavl', 1654; Andrusovo, 1666; and the so-called Eternal Peace, 1686) attempted to resolve the issues, often with minimal success. The first two famously left the ultimate boundary line between the states in limbo, specifically regarding Kyiv and the right-bank lands on the Dnieper. Transferred temporarily to Muscovite sovereignty in 1654, its final fate was left unclear until the pact of 1686 incorporated it permanently into Muscovite suzerainty. But the years of uncertainty preoccupied both clerical and lay elites within the hetmanates (Zaporizhie and Crown) for several years. Moreover, any boundary, no matter where it was fixed, was going to have as one unavoidable consequence the political division of the Ukrainian Orthodox population between those remaining under the Polish crown and those under the tsar.

An equally daunting indeterminacy confronted the metropolia. Centered in Kyiv, it was subordinate to the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople but in reality remained largely autonomous. For years the metropolitan's seat lay officially vacant, with Baranovych as *locum tenens*. Its future disposition, though, was cloudier still. If, as expected, Kyiv remained with Muscovy, should the metropolitan seat remain in Kyiv, or should it shift further west so as to serve the Orthodox who would inevitably stay under the Polish crown? Conversely, if Kyiv were returned to the Commonwealth should the seat move eastward to a site within Muscovy, whose crowned head was at least a co-religionist? In this context the miracles in Chernihiv, a town discussed as a potential alternative site to Kyiv for the metropolitan seat, took on special significance. Regardless of the answers, would the future relationship with the Moscow patriarchate maintain the cherished autonomy of the metropolia?

Just as worrisome was the rivalry with the Uniates, former Orthodox who had accepted the authority of the pope in the Union of Lublin in 1596. Kyivan Orthodoxy had faced repeated challenges to its control of church property within the Polish Commonwealth and its voice as the legitimate

representative of the people of Rus'. At their boldest, these claims demanded a Uniate/Catholic diocese in Kyiv itself and Uniate control over most of the sacred sites of the metropolia. They pursued an argument that the line of spiritual descent from St. Vladimir ran not through Orthodoxy but through the Uniates. This assertion at times challenged the designation of Rus' (*Rzecz russowska*) as specifically Orthodox and thereby entitled to Orthodox representation within the Sejm (negotiated through the hallowed formula of "ancient rights and privileges" of the Rus'). In a multiconfessional and multiethnic constitutional arrangement such as Poland's, religion and politics proved inseparable. Simply put, religious legitimacy translated into political representation. Any challenge to that legitimacy threatened the status of Ukrainian–Polish Rus' as an Orthodox political community, no small matter to the people involved.³

So here lay a minefield. From 1654 onward, Moscow's patriarchate was now a more significant presence, involving the patriarchate directly in overseeing the metropolia's publications, exercising final authority over the consecration of hierarchs, and the like. This offended the sensibilities of Kyiv's hierarchs, and it implicitly challenged the relative autonomy that Kyiv's religious institutions had enjoyed under Constantinople. But the situation in the Commonwealth remained fragile and perilous. In their eyes, the Uniates had the vigorous support of both Warsaw and Rome.⁴

Serhii Plokhly has recently described the dilemmas of the Zaporizhian Hetmanate in detail from the perspective of the secular elites, the Cossacks. He has compellingly argued that the situation led to what he terms a "confessionalization" of Cossack identities over the course of the 17th century, an embrace of Orthodoxy as a primary element of who they were. Here the pivotal figure was Khmel'nyts'kyi, the leader of the rebellion against Poland during the late 1640s and 1650s, explicitly in the name of Orthodoxy. This articulation, in turn, strengthened ties to the church and greatly expanded bonds of patronage leading from lay elites (most of all, the hetman) and the leading religious institutions. Ultimately, Plokhly suggests, it led both parties,

³ The clearest and most succinct exposition of this set of issues, including the counterpoint between Orthodox and Catholic polemicists over Kyiv's miracles, remains Stepan Golubev, *Kievskii Mitropolit Petr Mogila i ego spodvizhniki (opyt istoricheskogo izsledovaniia)* (Kyiv: Korchak-Novitskyi, 1883), 1:453–535.

⁴ There is also a very large literature on the *ruina*, most of it highly impassioned and partisan. For an excellent, refreshingly empirical, and even-handed summary of the dynamics of the violence, see the recent biography of Mazepa: T. G. Tairova-Iakovleva, *Ivan Mazepa i Rossiiskaia imperiia: Istoriia "predatel'stva"* (Moscow: Tsentrpoligraf; Russkaia troika SPb, 2011), chaps. 3, 5, and 6—reviewed in this issue of *Kritika*.

lay and religious, to go “in search of an Orthodox monarch,” albeit without a clear understanding of what this might ultimately entail.⁵

Caught in the midst of forces over which they exercised little influence, leading clergy also engaged in identity politics, but with the somewhat different aim of articulating to all potential interlocutors an irreducible presence for Kyivan Orthodoxy, a special and undeniable holiness both for all of Christendom and for Orthodoxy. Whatever the outcome, they were determined to sustain their own standing and that of their consecrated sites as incontrovertibly Orthodox and particularly blessed landmarks. This is where the miracles provided political clout: affording Heaven’s grace, the cloak of the Mother of God and her miracle-working interventions, in pursuit of this-worldly ends. Mary’s miracles defended the church, monastery, or town unconditionally, while leaving open-ended the ultimate political configuration that best served those ends. These anxieties set the political backdrop for the miracle tales, sentiments that repeatedly rose to the surface on the printed page.

Proclaiming the Miraculous

Scholars have long pointed to Orthodoxy’s understanding of the church as divinely consecrated space, a realm situated between heaven and earth, which emerged in some of the earliest texts of Rus’. On returning from Byzantium, Prince Vladimir’s envoys exclaimed, “the Greeks led us to the edifices where they worship their God, and we knew not whether we were in heaven or on earth.... We only know that God dwells there among men.”⁶ Icons did not merely represent or remind one of divine or saintly images; they were holy in themselves. These elements testified to the existential power of the wondrous, a mostly unarticulated certainty (a cornerstone of the vaunted “silences of old Russian culture”) and manifestation of awe at divine intervention, outside the bounds of nature and human reason, into the affairs of humanity.

Miracles—direct temporal interventions from Heaven via sacred images, relics, or saintly intercessors into the lives of individuals or momentous events—stood out prominently in this cosmology. They tied a specific locus and moment in time not just to God but to a continuum of miracles extending back to Scripture. They also constituted experience, the physical presence of living human beings when the unnatural took place. They invariably engaged the senses, most commonly sight (bearing witness to the light that was God).

⁵ Plokhly, *The Cossacks and Religion*, 274–332.

⁶ Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, eds. and trans., *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1954), 111.

In all these aspects miracles were liminal, bringing people into a realm at once earthly and heavenly, in a way that the mysteries of faith, which lay beyond human reason or bodily experience, could not. In the words of Caroline Bynum, "human beings cannot wonder at what is not there."⁷

Bearing witness entailed narration, so as to convey to others what had taken place. A number of Western medievalists have argued that the juncture from act to word to text was critical in bringing miracles to life, transforming miracle-working relics, or things, into enduring articles of faith and memory.⁸ As Julia Smith has observed for Brittany, oral tradition deeply influenced the written text of miracles, and conversely, writing allowed the narratives of oral tradition to endure.⁹ Testimony also allowed the claim of miracles to be interrogated by church authorities, validated or rejected, a vital matter to the institutional church, West and East. Narration further enabled the wondrous moments to become enshrined in the collective history of the community of faithful, first as the spoken word and then as carefully structured written text. Mary Jane Kelley, writing about Spain, has suggested that texts such as these united the compiler and reader as beneficiaries of Mary's grace, common participants in a sense in the miracles being described.¹⁰ Without narration, miracles lay beyond the consciousness and imaginations of those who were not there.

If *we* recognize the imperative of narration, our authors surely did as well. The decision to put pen to paper was a conscious act infused with many layers of meanings, often emphasizing a special link between a particular shrine or site, and the saint. The layering was unquestionably intentional, a rhetoric of the sublime that they had absorbed in their courses on Rhetoric, meant to reveal separate messages to different strata of readers or listeners, from the most learned and informed clergy to unlettered laity, who, they imagined, could grasp surface meanings and nothing more. Miracles, of course, pervaded Orthodox writing, in the form of exempla, which appeared in saints' lives, chronicles, and other texts in which the church saw decisive heavenly intervention into earthly experiences. Local miracle cults had become sufficiently widespread that the Council of a Hundred Chapters (*Stoglav*) of 1550 famously sought to regulate and control them. In the

⁷ Caroline Walker Bynum, "Wonder," *American Historical Review* 102, 1 (1997): 3.

⁸ Julia M. H. Smith, "Oral and Written: Saints, Miracles, and Relics in Brittany, c. 850–1250," *Speculum* 65, 2 (1990): 309–43. See also Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record, and Event 1000–1215* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982).

⁹ Smith, "Oral and Written," 310–12.

¹⁰ Mary Jane Kelley, "Spinning Virgin Yarns: Narrative, Miracles, and Salvation in Gonzalo de Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Senora*," *Hispania* 74, 4 (1991): 814–16.

decades after the Time of Troubles (1598–1613), a period that Bushkovitch has aptly termed “the era of miracles,” local miracles mushroomed once again. Ultimately, Nikon used the full power of the patriarchate to impose stricter controls, greatly reduce the number of Russian miracle-working saints on the official calendar, and ultimately dampen Muscovy’s enthusiasm for the newly miraculous.¹¹

In the corpus of Orthodox wonderworks, Mary, the Mother of God and Queen of Heaven, occupied a place of special reverence. Her miraculous interventions expressed a sense of privileged holiness, Mary’s special link with a specific event, place, shrine, or church. These most frequently involved specific icons or visions of the Mother of God. Some, such as the Kazan Mother of God, quickly entered into widespread religious sensibilities and became towering iconic presences in Russian religion, reproduced widely in churches and in marketplaces where household icons were sold. Such images, and the miracles that they retold, made the hand of the divine manifest to the community of believers, directing their fate and that of the ruling dynasty through the heavenly cloak of Mary’s protection and intercession over the faithful during moments of particular peril. These dotted the liturgical calendar and service books, as well as tales—such as the “Povest’ o iavlennii ikony Bogoroditsy na Sinech’ei gore” (The Tale of the Icon of the Mother of God’s Appearance on Mount Sinai), which recounted the miraculous appearance of Marian icons to a certain Timothy in the 1560s.¹²

So, if miracle texts were already ubiquitous, what was new or noteworthy here? The compilation of numerous Marian tales in a single codex, for one, was unusual in the East Slavic world. Saints’ lives and akathysts made extensive use of exempla, but they typically embedded them in larger rhetorical frameworks, referencing and occasionally explaining the miracles but not making them the primary narrative object. Muscovite clerics largely eschewed such compilations and, if anything, viewed them with growing distaste, especially if the contents were suspected of contamination by the Catholic West. In the Hetmanate as well, Orthodoxy approached such texts with caution. Compendia of miracles started to appear during the late 1630s under the auspices of Petro Mohyla, who employed instruments of the Counter-Reformation to sustain the Orthodox community. Mohyla had commissioned two large volumes, a new *Patericon* by Syl’vestr Kosov,

¹¹ Paul Bushkovitch, *Religion and Society in Russia: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), chap. 5, “The Era of Miracles.”

¹² *Povest’ o iavlennii ikony Bogoroditsy na Sinech’ei gore*, in *Biblioteka literatury drevnei Rusi* 13, ed. D. S. Likhachev (St. Petersburg: Nauka, 2005). A complete digital version of the text is at <http://lib.pushkinskiydom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid+10586>, accessed 17 September 2014.

Mohyla's successor as metropolitan, and the *Teraturgema* by the virtually unknown Afanasii Kal'nofois'kyi. Each described miracles that had been witnessed over time at the holy relics of the Caves Monastery (in the case of *Teraturgema* they were of recent vintage, from the 1590s until 1638), so as to defend their sanctity against Catholic counter-claims.¹³ But their provenance and circulation marked these two works as exceptional, even if the miracles that they recounted were not new in themselves. Both texts were written in Polish, the preferred language of letters in the Commonwealth, and only in manuscript. While well-educated Ukrainians knew Polish, most of the laity and parish clergy did not. Thus there would have been no possibility of reading these works aloud to public audiences.

The closest East Slavic antecedent to the works under consideration was *Velikoe zertsalo* (The Great Mirror), an abbreviated Slavonic translation of *Magnum speculum exemplorum* that Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich had commissioned and that gained some circulation in the latter 17th century. The hundreds of miracles described in *Magnum speculum* had been assembled in various accounts since the 15th century. The version that made its way to Moscow was a Polish translation of a 1605 work by the Jesuit Johannes Maior. Published and manuscript variants circulated more widely in 17th-century Ukraine, primarily in clerical milieux. The tsar intended that the Moscow translation be published, but opposition within the patriarchate precluded it. A second Slavonic translation, again in manuscript, appeared in 1689, this time with some addenda from Muscovite sources, an indication that it had achieved a measure of circulation. Olga Derzhavina, the author of the most exhaustive study of *Velikoe zertsalo*, maintained that this second redaction was less obviously Polish Catholic, and that as a consequence it gained greater circulation in Muscovy.¹⁴ But the community of Muscovite readers remained

¹³ Photo reproductions of these two texts have been published in *Seventeenth-Century Writings on the Kievan Caves Monastery* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 3–328. For a recent discussion of the *Teraturgema*, see Roman Holyk, “The Miracle as Sign and Proof: ‘Miraculous Semiotics’ in the Medieval and Early Modern Ukrainian Mentality,” in *Letters from Heaven: Popular Religion in Russia and Ukraine*, ed. John-Paul Himka and Andriy Zayarnyuk (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 76–87. See also Liudmila Charipova, *Latin Books and the Eastern Orthodox Clerical Elite in Kiev, 1632–1780* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 166. A dissertation by Ievgeniia Sakal at the Central European University in Budapest offers the most up-to-date and in some ways the most searching contextualization of the *Teraturgema* against the backdrop of the Counter-Reformation. See Ievgeniia Sakal, “‘Teraturgema’ by Afanasij Kal’nofofskyi: The Problem of Inter-Confessional Borrowings,” (M.A. thesis, Central European University, Budapest, 2012). Electronic text available at www.etd.ceu.hu/2012/sakal_ievgeniia.pdf, accessed 17 September 2014.

¹⁴ O. A. Derzhavina, “*Velikoe zertsalo*” i ego sud’ba na russkoi pochve (Moscow: Nauka, 1965), esp. 155; see also V. P. Adrianova-Peretts, “*Velikoe zertsalo*,” in *Istoriia russkoi literatury* (Leningrad: Izdatel’stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1948), 2, pt. 2:408–11.

limited almost entirely to monastic communities. Printing even a sanitized version proved impossible for many decades.

Against this backdrop, these five compendia stand out, first, because they *were* printed and sold publicly. Perhaps with this visibility in mind, the authors penned them in *kirillitsa*, mostly in a simplified form of *prosta mova*, the literary language that Ukrainian hierarchs sometimes adopted. Inscribing their own names into the works and adding personal commentary made authorial presence defining, suggestive of a public mission to bring these miracles to wider spheres of Orthodox readers and listeners. If not exactly unprecedented, it was nevertheless remarkable.

When aligned sequentially, the books reveal a certain overlap in that they recount some of the same miracles. But with closer examination their differences grow clear, even decisive. Some valorized the here and now, inspired by the recent Chernihiv miracles. Others took a longer view and situated local miracles within an extended field that embraced all of Christendom. Lengths and formats varied considerably, running from elaborate visual ornamentation to simple threaded binding with minimal imagery, hundreds of pages to a few dozen. Some provided lengthy and explicit biblical referents and moral lessons with each tale so that the reader would have no doubt either about the legitimacy of the miraculous events themselves or of the meanings of the narratives. Others merely narrated the tales in abbreviated form and consigned commentary to the introductions. These editorial variations reflected differences in spiritual message, anticipated readership, and the constantly shifting political terrain. For simplicity's sake, I divide them into two categories: (a) the sprawling pan-Christian terrain of miracles in *Nebo novoe*; and (b) the localized and chronologically circumscribed accounts of miraculous Chernihiv in the others.

The Virgin Mary and The New Heaven

In 1665, Ioanykii Haliatovs'kyi, then the rector of the Kyivan Academy, published *Nebo novoe s novymi zvezdami sotvorennoe* (The New Heaven Adorned with New Stars) in L'viv. Devoted to the life of Mary, this lengthy compendium recounted over 460 miracles, beginning with the foretelling of her life in the Old Testament and pagan myth and concluding in the mid-17th century.¹⁵ Printed in quarto (in an unknown press run) and bound in leather, *Nebo novoe* had the hallmarks of a presentation text for an educated audience, to be preserved as much as it was to be used, revered rather than "read to pieces" as a working handbook would have been.

¹⁵ Haliatovs'kyi, *Nebo novoe*.



Frontispiece of a *Triodon*
L'viv, 1664

In this age of the Baroque, visual imagery mattered quite a lot, particularly in Ukraine. Ruthenian presses luxuriated in ornamentations, a celebration of their worldliness, especially their Europeanness, and cultural pride in the artistry of local engravers. Thus a L'viv *Triodon* of 1664, one rather typical example, filled its frontispiece with images of saints, the lamentation over Christ, and other visual markers that went from top to bottom (and back), nearly overwhelming the eye with its detail. They constituted a separate decorative entity to a Lenten service text that was thoroughly familiar. These could be admired or not as the handiwork of a gifted artisan, but they played no special role in interpreting the words that followed.

Frontispiece of *Nebo novoe*

L'viv, 1665

By contrast, the frontispiece of *Nebo novoe* was visually uncomplicated, and it served a basic instructive function, since the reader could not know in advance precisely what it contained. The clarity constituted a gateway to the words themselves, spiritual and political signifiers, rather than a stand-alone piece of dazzling artistry. The title page presented a full-sized illustration of what it called “views of the New Heaven,” which included just one commanding sacred figure—the Heavenly Mary alone—rather than the multiplicity of figures and visual narratives that were standard. There were several things to look at, but the tableau was symmetrical with only one persona. Just above Mary was an abbreviation of “Apokalipsis” (Revelations), a reference that suggested an element of prophecy in what was to follow. The eye moves directly from the words in the title at the center up to Mary, and then down to the almost anthropomorphic sun to the right, the equally human moon to the left, and then to the five stars.¹⁶ The intended meaning is

¹⁶ Although the sun and its radiating rays is typically associated with God the Father in Orthodox iconography, that symbolism is most definitely not the case here. If it were, the sun

unambiguous, with only one story to tell: Mary presides over the new stars in Heaven, which in turn sing praises unto her. The sun, moon, and stars were arrayed in a circle beneath her, but otherwise the image included no saintly or divine figures—not Christ, the dove (Holy Spirit), or individual saints other than the Theotokos. The viewer, then, would have no doubt that the ensuing text, whatever it may contain, would place Mary in Heaven at the center of its exposition. Left unexplained, however, was the meaning of “the new,” the New Heaven and new stars. For that, one needed to read on.

The only other visual imagery that preceded the narratives was a dedication to “Pana Anna Mohyliantsa Pototska,” the wife of the crown hetman, adorned with the seal of the Mohyla family. Such a dedication had important symbolic value, honoring the sitting hetman and Haliatovs’kyi’s patron while directing greater attention to the legacy of Mohyla himself, the great defender of the Ukrainian church under siege, who was also Anna’s father, a homage made explicit in the dedication’s text. Thus the unity of civil and religious authority, hetman and deceased metropolitan, introduced the text, but unmistakably under the cloak of Mary, the wing of Orthodoxy, and the dignity of the metropolia. Mary and the community of Ukrainian Orthodox faithful were one. Intercession was a collective gift to the church and its flock, and the trained eye discerned this immediately.

Still, it was the words themselves that mattered here, and the volume directed the reader to them expeditiously. It divided the hundreds of miracles into 29 categories, both personal and monumental, organized in the main thematically (miracles from the life of Mary, in warfare, involving sinners, miracle-working icons, miracles in churches, miraculous visions among the keepers of God’s law [*zakonniki*], etc.). The narratives conveyed a tone of authenticity, a dry matter-of-factness, often providing precise dates, places, eyewitnesses, and reigns, typically in just a few sentences: “The brother of Leo the Wise, Patriarch Stephan of Constantinople [Stephen I—GM] had fallen very ill [*khoroval na oblozhnuiu*], and when he came upon an image of the Most Holy Theotokos he was cured.”¹⁷ They were arrayed more or less chronologically in a few general time periods (Old Testament, the time of Jesus and the Holy Family, the medieval world, contemporary Christendom). Here Haliatovs’kyi constructed time as simultaneously secular and divine, in the sense that miraculous events were not organized in strictly chronological order. This familiar form of narration emphasized the point that miracles

would preside from above over the entire image. Here it is situated below Mary, with no rays radiating from Heaven. Sometimes the sun is just the sun.

¹⁷ My thanks to Maksym Yaremenko and Kateryna Dysa for help in translating this brief but arcane passage.

occurred within history, but that celestial agency, Mary in Heaven, was unbounded by the calendar.

Previous scholarship has demonstrated that most of *Nebo novoe's* ensemble derived from earlier compilations, mostly Catholic, some dating back to the 11th century. The influence of *Magnum speculum* on the general tone and organization of *Nebo novoe* is unmistakable.¹⁸ A century ago, the Kyivan scholar, Ilarion Ogienko, identified many of the literary sources from which Haliatovs'kyi drew his accounts, in particular those that insisted on the miraculous foretelling of Mary as Mother of God.¹⁹ Here the Polish influence was decisive, especially the work of Marcin Bielski (1495–1575). Haliatovs'kyi also relied on the classics, referencing Ovid and Virgil as well as the Greek sibyls, all of whom, according to *Nebo novoe*, predicted the virgin birth.²⁰ Beyond these, he extracted material from widely circulating miracle tales involving important historical personages, both secular and clerical. Other miracles had more immediate provenance, however, including some penned by Haliatovs'kyi. The volume's organization and format also were his own—in particular, the complex geographic shape of the text. The volume made no overt claim for its place of origin or for any specific shrine or even for Russian Orthodoxy writ large as privileged sites of the miraculous.²¹ Rather, its scope was pan-Christian, the universal community of believers in salvation through Christ, with Kyiv seemingly nothing more than one locus of those living under the grace of Mary, rather than its narrative or sacral pivot. If one reads the miracles randomly, this is the sense they convey. But a second glance suggests an alternative and more prescriptive rendering of the book's geography.

The narrative pursues a coherent trajectory, and if one follows it from beginning to end, one observes an ever-growing presence of Slavia Orthodoxa, especially the Kyivan metropolia and Muscovy. One section recounts 40 miracles from the Caves Monastery. Still others tell of miracles in Penza, Iversk, Orthodox Galicia, L'viv, various Ukrainian monasteries and churches, Moscow, Pskov, Iaroslavl', Tikhvin, Velikii Ustiug, and Vologda. Without ever saying so explicitly, Haliatovs'kyi was conducting his readers on a textual pilgrimage through Christendom and eventually arriving at the spatial realm of the Orthodox miraculous, which accounted for by far the single largest

¹⁸ S. Shevchenko, "K istorii 'Velikogo zertsala' v Iugo-Zapadnoi Rusi: 'Velikoe zertsalo' i sochineniia Ioanykiia Galiatovskogo," *Russkii filologicheskii vestnik*, nos. 3–4 (1909).

¹⁹ I. I. Ogienko, *Legendarno-apofricheskii element v 'Nebe novom' Ioanykiia Galiatovskogo, iuzhno-russkogo propovednika XVII veka* (Kyiv: T. G. Meinander, 1913).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 7–9, 33.

²¹ Bushkovitch, *Religion and Society*, 126.

proportion of miracles, well over 100 in all.²² This same dynamic elucidates the idea of a New Heaven, expressions that situate temporality, both linear/terrestrial (“new,” the here and now) and eternal/divine (heaven and stars) squarely in the foreground. The only new things in *Nebo novoe* were the miracles of recent vintage, all of which took place on Orthodox soil, hence the new stars. In this rendering the New Heaven was Mary’s reaffirmation of grace in the lived experiences of the narrator. These not so subtle subtexts left no doubt about the abiding place of Orthodoxy—Muscovite and Ukrainian—under Mary’s protective cloak within the larger Christian universe.

Haliatovs’kyi’s preoccupation with protecting the faith against multiple challenges is well documented. He had authored several polemics (mostly in Polish) in defense of local Orthodoxy against other faiths, most notably his response to the works of Piotr Skarga and Michał Boim, early 17th-century Polish Jesuits who sharply criticized Orthodox teachings. He also wrote critical analyses of Islam, Judaism, and pagan practices, all as a way of articulating Orthodoxy’s truths within the geopolitical sphere in which it constantly interacted with other confessions. *Nebo novoe* made the same case within a specifically Christian context, not to prove Catholicism doctrinally wrong but to demonstrate Orthodoxy’s irreducible place in local Christendom. By this time, several parliamentary and royal proclamations had reconfirmed the religious standing and political representation of an Orthodox Rus’ within the Commonwealth. Still, this was a violent and contentious era in which no written assurances or political solutions had any sense of finality. Claims and counter-claims continued to fly across confessional divides and contested territorial boundaries.

This verbal crossing of swords was particularly visible in Mariology. Some Catholic writers had all but rejected Orthodoxy’s access to Marian intercession, and they denied the authenticity of Marian miracles among the Commonwealth’s Orthodox, including the foundation miracles of the Caves Monastery. Several tracts had refuted these assaults, among these the *Teraturgema*. *Nebo novoe*’s 40 miracles of the Caves Monastery included not just the foundation tales but subsequent occurrences as well.²³ Established by Mary’s grace, it implied, the monastery remained as a sacred and heavenly embraced space from then on. Haliatovs’kyi had expressed anxiety about

²² Haliatovs’kyi, *Nebo novoe*, 105 ob., 120, 122–26, 142–50.

²³ This issue remained sufficiently sensitive among the Orthodox hierarchy into the 18th century, leading Feofan Prokopovich, among others, to write a lengthy defense of the miraculous nature of the monastery’s relics. See Feofan Prokopovich, *Razsuzhdenie o netlenii moshchei sviatykh ugodnikov Bozhiikh v kievskikh peshcherakh, netlenno pochivaiushchikh: To est’, chto onyia chestnyia moshchi ne estestvennymi prichinami, i ne chelovecheskimi* (Moscow: Klavdiia, 1786).

political events in the Zaporizhian Hetmanate, the wider Ruthenian lands, and in the still larger world of Poland, in which much of the Ukrainian Orthodox population still resided (L'viv, where it was published, remained within the Polish Commonwealth throughout this time). Baranovych's correspondence during the mid- and late 1660s vividly alluded to Haliatovs'kyi's gloom regarding the course of the ongoing fighting and consequent political disorder among Polish, Orthodox, Turkish, and Tatar forces, warning Baranovych that the worst was yet to come.²⁴ The post-Pereiaslav' indeterminacies led Haliatovs'kyi to look nervously westward to convince audiences in Warsaw and the geopolitical galaxy of the Commonwealth, while simultaneously leaning eastward and the imponderable possible future under Moscow. Like some others, most visibly Baranovych and Gizel', he was growing more inclined to think that the future security of the Orthodox population might be best served by living under an Orthodox sovereign—that is, the tsar. In Baranovych's words, "there cannot be an Orthodox Russia [meaning here Malorossiiia—GM] without an Orthodox sovereign."²⁵

Situating Orthodox Ukraine within Christendom overall was of the utmost importance, then, given the Commonwealth's constitution as a polity composed of confessional communities. Here Mary's grace offered an unassailable response to Counter-Reformation challenges against Orthodoxy's place in that constitutional arrangement. At the same time, by devoting so much space to Moscow's miracles from throughout the vast and distant reaches of Muscovite lands and situating them next to the Ukrainian ones as the text moved west to east, *Nebo novoe* articulated an unmistakable spiritual bond with Muscovy through the shared miraculous interventions of Mary, her protection spreading ever wider over the common faith of Rus'.

With these imperatives in mind, Haliatovs'kyi bound the miracle tales together around the inclusive elements of faith and salvation rather than particularistic doctrines and rituals. Mary's protection and intercession went to those who believed in her—a body that implicitly included all Christians. Her name and her miracle-working image helped save sinners and lead believers to a righteous path, a broad field that, once again, applied across Christendom. A Florentine peasant received sustenance to help feed his family of unmarried adult daughters. King Arthur, Parses, and various Byzantine rulers won victories at battle after the apparition of the Virgin.²⁶

²⁴ *Pis'ma Preosviashchennago Lazaria Baranovicha*, 51, letter to Sitianovich dated late October 1668: "razve, govorit on, na strashnom sude strashnee budet!"

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 70. This statement is also quoted in N. F. Sumtsov, *K istorii iuzhnomorusskoi literatury semnadsatogo stoletia*, 1: *Lazar' Baranovich* (Kharkiv: M. F. Zil'berger, 1885), 103.

²⁶ Haliatovs'kyi, *Nebo novoe*, 22 and ob.

The young Thomas Aquinas cried when his nurse took away a piece of paper from him as he lay in the bath. Later his mother examined the paper and saw that it contained the salutation of the angel to the Virgin, proof of miraculous grace.²⁷ By contrast, those who swore falsely, abused consecrated images or church property, or denied her being were miraculously punished by an avenging Mary.²⁸ The deniers and abusers, of course, were non-Christians, as made clear in his *Messia pravitvnyi* (Judaism), *Bogi poganskije* (paganism), and *Alkoran Magometa* (Islam).²⁹

At one moment in the text Haliatovs'kyi embedded himself in the larger dramas of protecting the lands of the faithful against the forces of the ungodly. Toward the end of the section on the keepers of God's law and just before the miracles of the Caves Monastery, Haliatovs'kyi recounted miracles that had taken place in his own cloister (*v kniazhestvom ruskom v povete galitskom monastyre skitskom*). Here lived a "certain monk Ioanykii" who saw the Heavenly Mother of God in a dream. And this visitation happened twice! Sometime later, that same Ioanykii, now in L'viv, once again had a nighttime visitation from the Bogoroditsa.³⁰ Haliatovs'kyi did not elaborate further, but a contemporary reader would have instantly recognized that the author was referring to himself and to miracles of very recent vintage. This constitutes a personal example of Mary Jane Kelley's point about writing one's self and one's readers into the miraculous.

Once again, the trope, in itself, was not new. Dream-state apparitions abounded in Christian hagiography, as well as in religious diaries, memoirs, and correspondence. A few years later, Tuptalo would note his own nocturnal celestial visions in his *Diariusz*. In this instance, however, Haliatovs'kyi explicitly deemed his visitations miraculous without seeking or offering any official certification or confirmation beyond his own testimony, and he included them in a text meant for the eyes of others.³¹ By situating these accounts where he did, he placed himself amid the law keepers and church fathers, thereby tying together Kyiv's miraculous past and perilous present.

²⁷ Ibid., 17.

²⁸ This observation was first made by Ogienko, *Legendarno-aproficheskii element*, 28–33.

²⁹ Nikolai Kostomarov, not normally thought of as having been particularly sympathetic to these sorts of texts, wrote a clear and straightforward account of Haliatovs'kyi's books on other religions and situated them well in the politics of the day. See N. I. Kostomarov, *Istoriia Rossii v zhizneopisanii glavneishikh deiatelei* (St. Petersburg: M. M. Stasiulevich, 1886), 2:355–84.

³⁰ Haliatovs'kyi, *Nebo novoe*, 155–58.

³¹ On Dimitrii's *Diariusz*, see Marker, "A Saint's Intimate Life: the *Diariusz* of Dimitrii Rostovskii," in *Everyday Life in Russian History: Quotidian Studies in Honor of Daniel Kaiser*, ed. Gary Marker, Joan Neuberger, Marshall Poe, and Susan Rupp (Bloomington, IN: Slavica Publishers, 2010), 127–44.

Mary visited Ioanykii directly without any intervening agency, and he wrote of it without seeking additional verification. He thus situated Mary's protection directly over his own head as one of the faith's visible defenders: he and the church (Orthodox/Ukrainian) were of a piece; the personal and the political were one. This message needed to be told simultaneously to the Hetmanate's Orthodox clergy (as exhortation) and to Polish Catholic authorities (as disputation).

Let us linger a moment over the tricky matter of intended readerships, since audience was essential to Haliatovs'kyi's politics of location. In a time and place for which language was politics, the fact that he chose to write this book in *prosta mova* is noteworthy. Haliatovs'kyi was quite sensitive to the need to employ the most appropriate language, dialect, or mode of expression for a given audience. Some works were in Polish, some in Slavonic, some in Latin, some in *prosta mova*, some in Church Slavonic. Sometimes he revised the language of earlier texts to fit a given audience. When he was in Moscow in 1670, for example, he delivered two orations, both of which came from his collection of sermons, *Kliuch razumeniia* (The Key to Understanding). For these he revised the printed text into something more familiar to a Great Russian ear.³² As Dmitrii Bulanin points out, "the language barrier constituted a serious impediment to the circulation of [Ukrainian books] on the territory of the Muscovite state."³³ One assumes, therefore, that Haliatovs'kyi employed *prosta mova* here with a learned and largely local Orthodox audience in mind, hoping at the very least to convey to Ukraine's own clergy a sense of their importance ecumenically, and perhaps to provide them a faith-based foundation for entertaining a possible future within Muscovy.³⁴

In light of this formidable language barrier, where did Muscovite readers fit in Haliatovs'kyi's way of thinking? Did Haliatovs'kyi seek a Great Russian audience, and if so, whom? One reads in some secondary accounts that *Nebo novoe* was by then already popular with Muscovite reading circles, precisely

³² Vitalii Eingorn, *Rechi, proiznesennia Ioannikiem Galiatovskim v Moskve v 1670 g.* (Moscow: Universitetskaia tipografiia, 1895), iv–v. The speeches themselves are included in this volume.

³³ D. M. Bulanin, "Ioanykii Galiatovskii," in *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti drevnei Rusi* (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2004), 3, pt. 4:442.

³⁴ Until recently, almost all Russian scholars writing about Haliatovs'kyi took it for granted that he supported "reunification" and that all his writings were of a piece in that regard. The view among current-day Ukrainian scholars, not surprisingly, has been rather different, emphasizing his specific Ruthenian sensibilities. In my reading, his attitude was conditional, open to the possibility of fully joining a Moscow-centered polity but, given the indeterminacy of the Treaty of Pereiaslav', without closing the door on the Commonwealth, which, at that moment, constituted the only way of keeping Ukrainian Orthodoxy together under a single metropolia. For the "reunification" view, see O. M. Apanovych, *Rukopisnaia svetskaia kniga XVIII v. na Ukraine: Istoricheskie sborniki* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1983), 80–83.

because it dwelled on Great Russian miracles.³⁵ In short, it spoke to them. If that is so, then including the Moscow miracles takes on a heightened significance. Clearly, to have any influence over the ultimate disposition of the metropolia, Haliatovs'kyi would need credibility in Moscow, especially if he hoped to preserve a privileged place for Kyivan Orthodoxy. He understood this imperative, and he aggressively pursued a visibility, both personal and textual, in Moscow itself for many years. Still, it is far less clear (at least to me) that *Nebo novoe* was widely read there, or that he saw Moscow as a primary audience.

The Storozhevskii Monastery in Zvenigorod somehow acquired a copy, and in 1677, Deacon Feofan produced a manuscript translation into Russian, thereby providing one point of entrée.³⁶ It apparently did circulate to some extent, as evidenced by the appearance of fragments of it in other monastic manuscript compendia.³⁷ But as recent scholarship has shown, monasteries still functioned largely as self-contained reading communities (or as networked communities), with only episodic textual intercourse beyond their walls, and sometimes beyond the individual cells.³⁸ Although several of Haliatovs'kyi's works appear in published inventories of 17th-century monastic libraries, *Nebo novoe* does not.³⁹ Neither does it show up on the multiple lists of books imported to or approved for public sale in Muscovy, even though other works by Haliatovs'kyi, Baranovych, and Gizel' do.⁴⁰ At about the time of its publication Metropolitan Pavel had imposed severe new restrictions on the circulation of Ukrainian imprints (*belorusskie knigi*) throughout the Moscow metropolia.⁴¹ Baranovych, a figure toward whom Moscow was relatively well disposed, had intervened on Haliatovs'kyi's behalf for permission to circulate others of his works in Moscow and had advised him to send presentation copies directly to the tsar as a way of circumventing patriarchal resistance. Nothing of the sort took place with *Nebo novoe*, however—an indication that

³⁵ See, e.g., Bulanin, "Ioanykii Galiatovskii," 440, 444–45.

³⁶ P. P. Pekarskii, *Nauka i literatura v Rossii pri Petre Velikom: Izsledovanie* (St. Petersburg: Obshchestvennaia pol'za, 1862), 2, no. 16:18–19.

³⁷ Bulanin, "Ioanykii Galiatovskii," 443.

³⁸ On this subject, see, esp., the outstanding new study by I. M. Gritsevskaiia, *Chtenie i chet' i sborniki v drevnerusskikh monastyriakh XV–XVII vv.* (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2012), especially chap. 4; and Robert Romanchuk, *Byzantine Hermeneutics and Pedagogy in the Russian North: Monks and Masters at the Kirillo-Belozerskii Monastery, 1397–1501* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 81–127.

³⁹ M. V. Kukushkina, *Monastyrskie biblioteki russkogo severa: Ocherki po istorii knizhnoi kul'tury XVI–XVII vekov* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1977), 152 and 153.

⁴⁰ Vitalii Eingorn, *Knigi kievskei i l'vovskoi pečati v Moskve v tret'ei chetverti XVII veka* (Moscow: I. D. Sytin, 1894), 5–6, 12–13.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 9–12.

getting multiple copies of this particular book to Moscow was not worth the political capital required. All things considered (language, few if any printed copies, etc.), Haliatovs'kyi did not go out of his way to bring this message to Moscow, and his Muscovite readership was almost certainly confined to an educated—if at times prolix—monastic elite.

The Miracles at Chernihiv: *The Treasure Chest and Bedewed Fleece*

The second cache of Marian tales, although penned by the same circle of clergy and including some of the same authors and same tales, was in most ways utterly different in content, format, and circulation. Where *Nebo novoe* situated the East Slavic miraculous within a pan-Christian field, these works were more specifically (Slavia-)Orthodox. They dwelled on one venerable town, Chernihiv, and two of its monasteries, Elets and Il'ins'kyi, both of which housed miracle-working icons of Mary. Relatively short, cheaply produced, and less ornamental, they bore the physical traits of working texts intended to be regularly consulted, read aloud, and distributed. Extant copies are littered with inscriptions and marginalia, some dating from the 17th century, all of which marks them as having been intensively used.

Haliatovs'kyi and Baranovych had participated actively in the discussions about the fate of the Kyivan metropolia during the many years when the metropolitan seat lay vacant and after the Treaty of Pereiaslavl' threw it into question. During a rada of 1670, they had endorsed the idea first put forward by Hetman Mnogogreshnyi of moving the metropolitan *kafedra* to Chernihiv, which now fell permanently under the tsar's suzerainty—when and if Kyiv returned to Polish control.⁴² At the time, no one yet knew how this drama would play out, and local miracle tales greatly strengthened Chernihiv's candidacy. Alternatively, Chernihiv might gain its own archbishopric even if the metropolia stayed put.

There was a second element here as well, one directed at secular powers during the hetmanates of Petro Doroshenko (1672–76) and Ivan Samoilovych (1677–87), with whom the clerical authorities were at the moment on somewhat contentious terms. This tussle—partly symbolic, partly institutional—pitted Baranovych and his supporters within the church hierarchy against those elements of the *starshyna* who endeavored to keep clerical figures at arm's length so as to assert Cossack supremacy in matters including revenue from rents and arranging contacts with Muscovite authorities. This was a time when what might be termed the Cossack historical imaginary was being put to paper in the early Cossack

⁴² Sumtsov, *K istorii iuzhnorusskoi literatury*, 1:101.

chronicles. Without denying the sacred, these chronicles emphasized military heroics over miracles, and some went so far as to articulate a martial myth of ethnogenesis that saw Cossackdom itself as ancient and even pre-Christian, descending directly from the Khazars.⁴³ This secular construction of the region's past was at odds with the thrust of church writings, and in that context, the miracle texts constituted a rebuke, or at least a counter-discourse, to demonstrate the inseparability of monastery, town, and laity. Mary, as we are reminded, wept at a monastery—that is, not at the rada.

The Elets Monastery was founded in the 11th century, and its foundation story—at least as told in the 17th century—revolved around the miraculous discovery of an icon of Mary in a spruce tree in 1060. The miracles ascribed to this icon were said to have been celebrated over many generations by locals, who kept the icon hidden from the Tatars for two centuries and then victoriously redisplayed it in the late 15th century. According to legend, it disappeared again in the 16th century—some said to Moscow, others merely wondered. In the mid-17th century, the icon's miracles were transcribed (or invented) by Chernihiv's Bishop Zosima, even though the image itself remained lost. In 1676, the icon was returned. An alternative account suggests that a new icon copied from one housed in the Muscovite Elets Monastery near Tula was brought from Vladimir. Either way, to commemorate the vaunted icon Haliatovs'kyi, then the archimandrite, produced a published account devoted to all the Elets miracles (some of which had been included in *Nebo novoe*) in simultaneous Polish and Cyrillic editions, titled *Skarbnitsa* (The Treasure Chest).⁴⁴

Haliatovs'kyi's shift to the local opened the way for three similar texts, two by Tuptalo and one by Baranovych, all of which celebrated the Il'ins'kyi icon. The story behind its miracles was of more recent vintage and with no ambiguities over provenance. In 1658, an iconographer, the monk Hennadyi Dubens'kyi produced an icon of Mary and the Christ Child. Over the course of several days in 1662, tears were said to have flowed from the image of Mary's eyes in the icon. Subsequently Crimean Tatars plundered and ransacked the

⁴³ Exactly when this bizarre piece of ethnogenesis came into being is not entirely clear. Some scholars suggest that it was actually Haliatovs'kyi who suggested it to counter the Polish myth of a Scythian ethnogenesis. Whoever first proposed it, the Cossacks warmly embraced it as a central element in their collective mythologies. See Plokhly, *The Cossacks and Religion*, 341–42; and my “Constitutio Medievalis: The Politics of Language and the Language of Politics in the 1710 Constitution,” in *Pylyp Orlyk: Zhittia, polityka, teksty*, ed. Natalya Yakovenko (Kyiv: Kyivo-Mohylyans'ka akademiya, 2011), 259–60.

⁴⁴ Haliatovs'kyi, *Skarbnitsa*; Iakym Zapasko and Iaroslav Isayevych, *Pamiatki knizhkovoho mistetstva: Katalog starodrukiv vydanykh na Ukraini* (L'viv: Vysha shkola), vol. 1: 1574–1700, no. 528 (Cyrillic) and 544 (Polish).

monastery, but, legend maintains, the Crimeans could not bring themselves to harm this icon. From this beginning, the Il'ins'kyi Mother of God became an object of veneration and pilgrimage, the site of literally dozens of recorded miracles.

Baranovych, at the time the Il'ins'kyi archimandrite, published the first account of the miracles in 1677, titled *The Miracle of the Most Holy and Blessed Virgin Mary That Took Place from Her Miracle-Working Image at the Monastery of the Prophet Elijah in Chernihiv*, which described 22 miracles and then offered versified prayers of thanksgiving.⁴⁵ In the same year, the young Tuptalo published his own small book with a similar title (*On the Miracles of the Pure and Blessed Virgin Mary That Took Place at the Monastery of the Prophet Elijah in Chernihiv from Her Miracle-Working Image*) and recounting the same events.⁴⁶ Several years after this, Dimitrii wrote an expanded text with commentary around these same miracles, *Runo oroshennoe* (The Bedewed Fleece). Alone among these works, *Runo* gained wide republication both in the Hetmanate and in Muscovy,⁴⁷ and it remains a basic text of the Russian Orthodox literary canon, easily available in print and in electronic redactions from Orthodox webpages.⁴⁸ In 1707, Ioann Maksymovych, then the archbishop of Chernihiv but soon to become the metropolitan of Siberia (and, like Dimitrii, a future saint), published *Bogoroditse devo* (O Virgin Mother of God), a long meditation on the veneration of the Virgin that included a discussion of her miraculous icons.⁴⁹

It does not require much imagination to see in these collections a campaign on behalf of Chernihiv's consecrated spaces and, through them, Ukrainian sacrality in general. A few decades later, the Il'ins'kyi miracles were extolled in the Cossack chronicle of Samuil Velychko, an indication of

⁴⁵ Baranovych, *Chuda Presviatoi i preblazhennoi Devi Marii*. This volume does not appear in Zapasko and Isayevych, *Pamiatki knizhkovoho mistetstva*, but a copy exists in the Vernad's'kyi State Library in Kyiv, where I read it in 2011.

⁴⁶ Tuptalo, *O chudakh Prechistoi i Preblazhennoi Devy Marii*.

⁴⁷ Tuptalo, *Runo oroshennoe*. For a recent sketch of its baroque narrative structure, see Giovanna Brogi, "Old and New Narrative: 'Runo Oroshe'noe' by Dimitrij Tuptalo, Metropolitan of Rostov," in *Starobalgarska literatura*, no. 41–42 (2009): 359–66.

⁴⁸ The reasons behind *Runo's* eventual popularity are straightforward. The first volume of *Chet'i minei*, published in 1689, had made Dimitrii a recognized author in the Muscovite literary canon, even if the patriarch expressed some reservations about it. Dimitrii's move to Moscow, then Rostov, made him a visible presence within the Russian clerical establishment, a status greatly enhanced by his polemics against the Old Belief and his sober reassurances over Peter's decree on beards (he was not pleased, but he saw nothing transgressive in it). Dimitrii's elevation to Russian sainthood in 1757 cemented his place as central to Russian faith. Finally, *Runo's* didacticisms and moral lessons made it more adaptable to instruction than any of the other works.

⁴⁹ Ioann Maksymovych, *Bogoroditse devo* (Chernihiv: Troitse-Il'inskii monastyr', 1707).

the cachet they had developed even among lay figures.⁵⁰ *Skarbnitsa*, the first Chernihiv text, constituted a transition between *Nebo novoe* and the books that followed. About 60 pages long and with two ornamental engravings interspersed, the Slavonic variant opened with a dedication to Samoilovych and an introduction that left little doubt about its message, which was overtly political and militantly Orthodox. Decades earlier, Velychko reminded the reader, Poland had given the monastery to the Uniates, opening the door to desecration by Catholics, Tatars, Turks, and others unfriendly to the faith. Only with the interventions of righteous hetmans, especially Khmel'nyts'kyi, was proper custodianship completely restored, and with it the miracle-working icon renewed.⁵¹ Let us retell these old miracles, Haliatovs'kyi hinted, and new ones as well.

All this repeated the familiar message of a besieged Ukrainian Orthodoxy sheltered under the cloak of Mary, but it did so in simpler and more didactic language. What followed were 30 miracle tales, beginning with the monastery's establishment under Sviatoslav Iaroslavich, the grandson of St. Vladimir. They proceeded in chronological order with the last several coming from the 1660s and 1670s, concluding with the icon's miraculous restoration to its place of origin. Nearly all recounted heroic defenses of faith, monastery, and icon by righteous hetmans and Cossacks, rather than individual healing or revelation. Lest anyone doubt the majesty and divine grace that bound old miracles to modern ones, Haliatovs'kyi offered visual evidence in the form of an elaborate icon that, for all of its detail, presented a clear picture of Mary's protection. The ribbon of divine purpose ran from them to a winged Mary (with the Holy Spirit just above) and then from her to the patriarchs of Rus' Orthodoxy and the Elets Monastery. For the artistically impaired, he followed this iconic representation with a complete chronological listing of the monastery's archimandrites. Not much decoding needed here.

The Polish version, narrating the same miracles, looked very different. It employed separate images, less ornamentation, more arcane literary devices and word play (acrostics, etc.), and fewer organizational markers directing the reader from one miracle to the next. In the place of the two images just described, the Polish version presented a simple, off-the-shelf Christ-centered and distinctly Catholic image of the *Passio*, Mary holding the martyred Christ, superscripted with the letters "IHII" (Jesus of Nazareth King of the Hebrews). The acrostics offered prayers such as to MARIA PANNA MATKA that did not appear in the Slavonic text.

⁵⁰ Samuilo Velychko, *Litopys* (Kyiv: Iosif Val'ner, 1851), 2:23–24.

⁵¹ Haliatovs'kyi, *Skarbnitsa*, 2–10.

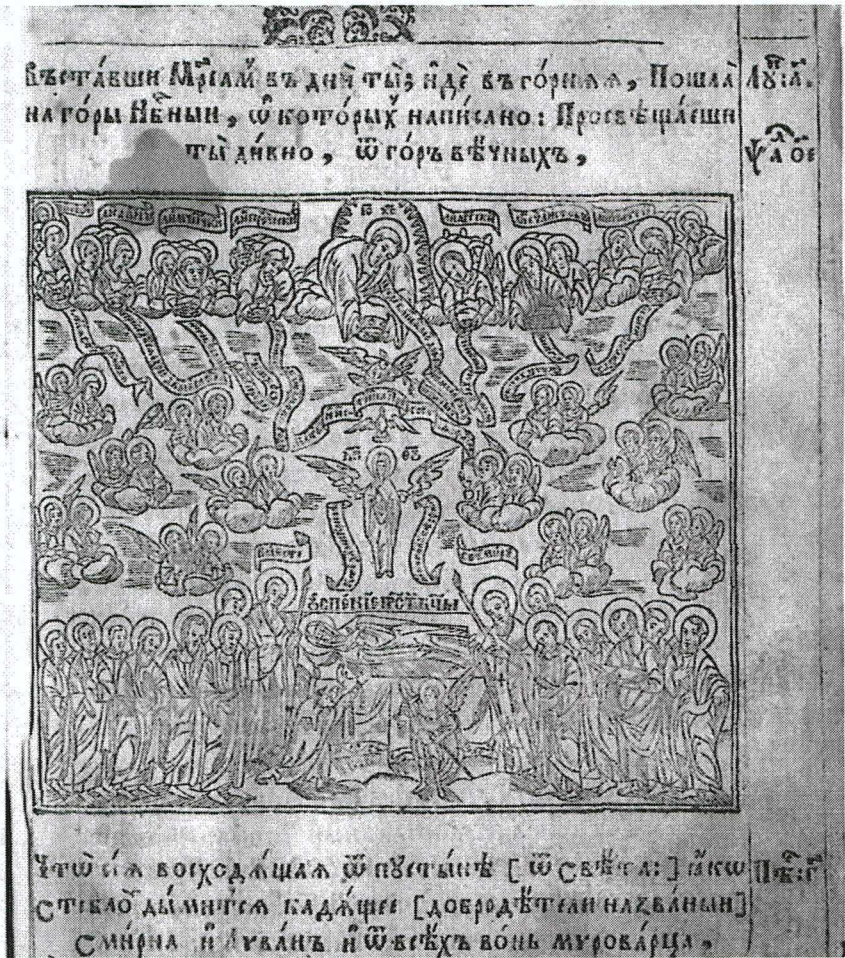


Image of Mary, Orthodox Church Fathers, and the Elders of the Elets Monastery *Skarbnitsa* (Slavonic Edition), Novhorod Sivers'k, 1676

Unquestionably, Haliatovs'kyi framed the two variants to establish separate modes of legibility to two distinct audiences, one Orthodox and Rus', the other Catholic and Polish. The visuals also suggested functional differences between the imprints. The Slavonic was for general use and was designed to appeal and give direction to Orthodox clergy, and through them to be accessible to lay listeners. The latter employed Catholic-friendly Christ-centered imagery directed at Polish Catholic hierarchs with no particular gestures to anyone else. The literary devices that would have meant nothing to parish clergy and common laity were common flourishes among cultivated elites, and educated audiences adored them.⁵² To include them here conveyed

⁵² Almost all the prominent Ukrainian clerics of the era, including those who came to serve in the Muscovite and Petrine court, employed acrostics from time to time, a device they picked up

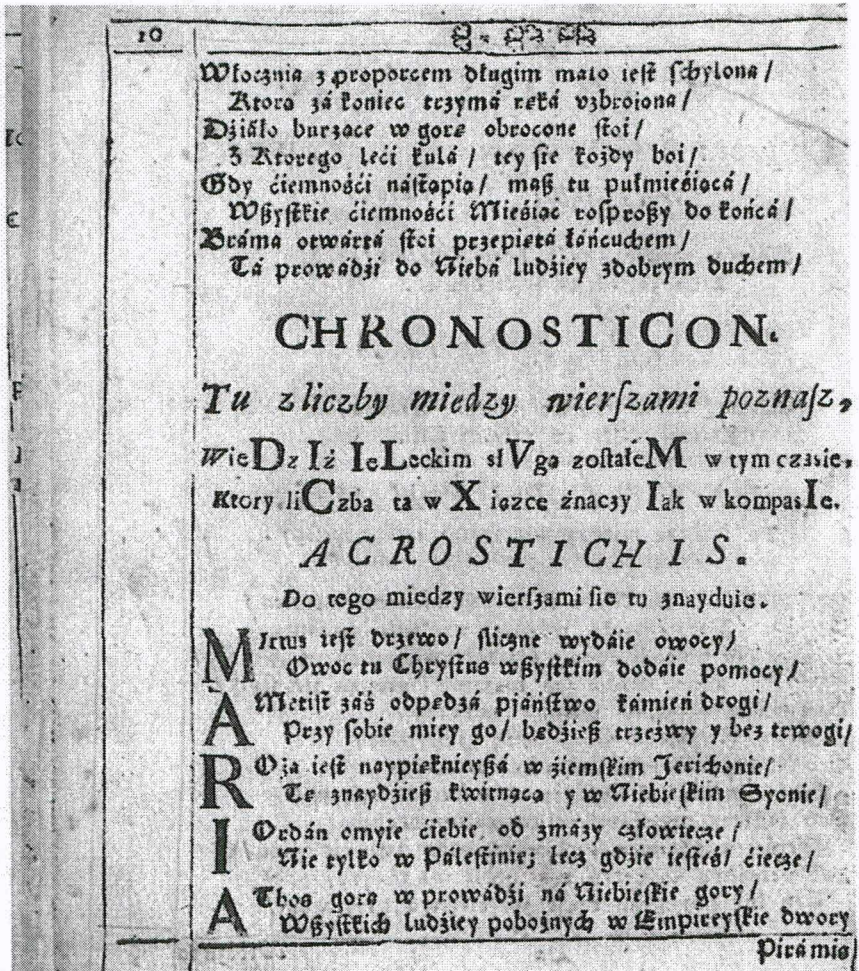


Image of the Passion of Christ from the Polish Edition of *Skarbnitsa Skarb pochwały*, Novhorod Sivirs'k, 1676

to the learned Polish reader a common level of culture and erudition, a brotherhood of letters if you will, across confessional lines. Christian fraternity was the implicit message, rather than the privileged sacrality that the Slavonic variant suggested. A more vivid example of the era's geoconfessional binaries would be difficult to conjure.

The decorative flourishes of *Skarbnitsa* contrasted with the other Chernihiv miracle texts, all of which were largely devoid of iconographic

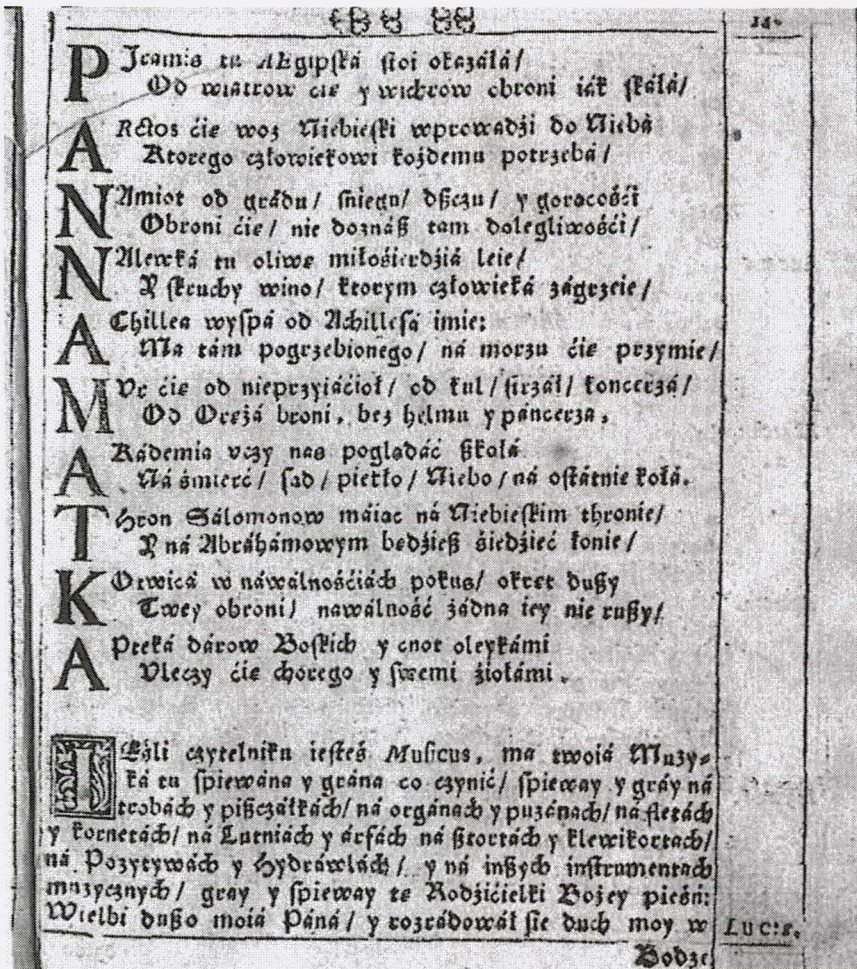
from Polish letters. Stefan Iavorskii was particularly enamored of them. Among Muscovites the monk German, a poet at the New Jerusalem Monastery, employed acrostics to reveal personal details that only fellow educated monks could have decoded. See Claudia R. Jensen, *Musical Cultures in Seventeenth-Century Russia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 70–71.



Versified Prayer with Acrostic
Skarb pochwały, Novhorod Sivirs'k, 1676

ornamentation. The title page of the first printing of *Runo oroshennoe*, for example, contained no sacred images, and the only significant image of Mary in the text displays her with scroll and cloak. Stylistically, they directed their prose to a wide implied audience of listeners, with extensive scriptural references in the margins to assist the clergy who would be the presumptive transmitters. Dimitrii added a single self-referential acrostic in homage to Mary, but it bore no encoded meaning.⁵³

⁵³ “Иже в Руне инОгда прообразованна, Мати сОтворшаго НАс всеХ zde написанна. Душею И Мыслию Ту книжку ПРИИмете, САми ей Внимающе И другим проЧтете.” Most of the examples cited here come from *Runo oroshennoe*, but the miracles themselves are largely the same in all three.



Versified Prayer with Acrostic
Skarb pochwały, Novhorod Sivir's'k, 1676

The commentary began with a verse written by the recently deceased Baranovych, who had been a patron. Dimitrii explained the title, derived from Gideon's celebration of the Virgin, "rejoice, the bedewed fleece, and see above the Virgin" (*raduisia runo oroshennoe, ezhe Gedeon, Devu, prezhde vidi*).⁵⁴ The dew, Dimitrii explained, referred to Mary's tears, the "rose of love" that fell from the eyes of the icon (*ot tebia rosa upala, rosa liubvi*).⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Sviatitel' Dimitrii Rostovskii, *Runo oroshennoe: Besedy i poucheniia sostavlennye Sviatitelem Dimitriem Rostovskim v pokhvale Presviatoi Bogoroditsy iavivshei v XVII veke v Chernigove chudesa istseleniĭ pri obraza svoem l'nskom okreplennom Bozhestvennoio rosou* (St. Petersburg: Mir, 2003), 6. This is a modern and slightly modified Russian translation. Unless otherwise noted, the citations come from here.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

Mary's miraculous tears in Chernihiv were like those of Christ weeping over Lazarus, before he raised him from the dead. "Mary is alive, and she does not wish to see us become [dead] victims, but rather [to be] alive." *Runo* certainly included the obligatory accounts of the icon's miraculous survival and the monastery's heroic feats during recent perils. These played the vital role of making Chernihiv central to the larger sacral history of Rus'. The "rose of protection," for example, situated the icon among the pantheon of hallowed images that had protected the faithful against the onslaught of enemies, once again marauding Tatars ("brought there by God for our sins") who had ransacked the monastery and adjoining church. The monks had hidden away in the cave of St. Antonii and prayed. The "godless" (*bezbozhnye*) threw most of the icons and ornaments onto the floor of the main chapel, but then they came upon the weeping icon and were dumbstruck. "And the faithless ones not only left the icon untouched, but they were not even able to get into the cave where the monks had hidden away."

Both Dimitrii's *Runo* and Baranovych's *Chuda* drew direct biblical analogies between the hiding monks of Chernihiv and David hiding himself ("For in the day of trouble he will keep me safe in his dwelling; he will hide me in the shelter of his tabernacle") and Moses threatening the Israelites with God's wrath lest they not obey the Commandments.⁵⁶ It was God's will, thus, that the icon of Mary was spared. Here Mary's grace penetrated the monastery itself, protecting the brethren just as it would the laity. For contemporary audiences the echo of the Kyiv *Patericon* would have been obvious: a new miracle of caves and hiding, and Mary's protection, as originally told about the founders of the Cave Monastery and equally prominent in the tale of the secreted local relics of St. Barbara, a legend that had recently gained considerable currency. The trope of caves evoked the Hetmanate writ large and ancient Kyiv. This miracle had both biblical and local historical resonances, a symbolic 17th-century renewal of the original covenant between the Mother of God, to whom the Caves Monastery is dedicated, and her monks, at a fount of Holy (*Sviataia*) Rus'.

Such a powerful set of allusions implied an exalted status for Chernihiv co-equal to that of Kyiv, no small claim in Orthodox discourse and one tied to the religious and political upheavals of the day. The very first miracle established this setting and pecking order with clarity and purpose.

In the reign of the radiant Sovereign Ruler Tsar and Grand Prince Aleksei Mikhailovich of All Great, Little, and White Russia, at the site where of the throne of the archdiocese of Chernihiv, the blessed father Lazar'

⁵⁶ On David, see Psalm 26:5 in the Slavonic Bible, 27:5 in the Western Bible.

Baranovych, Orthodox archbishop of Chernihiv, Novhorod, and the whole North, in the year 1662 from the Birth of Christ, in the month of April, at the Il'ins'kyi Monastery, under the Abbot Zosima, from the 16th through the 24th, an image in the church of the Chaste and Most Blessed Virgin Mary wept. All the people of the town of Chernihiv witnessed the miracle with great awe [*velikim uzhasom vzirali*].⁵⁷

This event did not happen anywhere or at any time. It occurred in the present and involved one specific place (the monastery), the reign of just one earthly sovereign (Aleksei Mikhailovich), the spiritual authority of one living archbishop (Baranovych), and a real, existing icon that was visible in plain sight. It was, in short, about the here and now rather than about bygone years, the blessed present rather than the sacred past. Nearly every tale reminded the reader of these defining, localizing facts.

1667. A certain woman named Vera from the Mozyrsk district had been paralyzed for an entire year. She was mute and had a dead arm. Approaching the Il'ins'kyi Monastery on a Saturday on the eve of the Day of the Descent of the Holy Spirit, as the Akathyst was being chanted before the miracle-working icon of the Most Holy Theotokos, this woman received a cure. First her immobile arm began to move, in front of everyone.... Then during the liturgy at the [recitation of] "It Is Worthy" she began to speak, and cried out her gratitude to the Most Blessed Virgin for her sudden recovery.⁵⁸

Where Haliatovs'kyi's *Nebo* located miracles from Orthodox lands within an extended Christian continuum, and one variant of his *Skarbnitsa* tilted toward a Polonized cosmopolitanism, both Baranovych and Dimitrii were writing of and for a specifically Orthodox and Rus' constituency, one that included all their co-religionists. They were gazing simultaneously to Kyiv and further east, and the gesture toward Moscow carried with it a new set of meanings that were less particularistic than those that local audiences might have gleaned. The monastery, Chernihiv, and by extension all the Orthodox *dostopamiatniki* of the Hetmanate, with or without Kyiv, should be recognized by Moscow as inscribed with special status, touched by Heaven in a way that secular rulers were obliged to respect and to which they had to defer lest they too be punished for their sins.

⁵⁷ The above quotation comes from *Runo oroshennoe*. Baranovych's language is slightly different, and he offered his own brief commentary, but the event is the same in both (*Chuda Presviatoi i Preblazhennoi Devy Marii*, 5–8).

⁵⁸ *Runo oroshennoe*, "Rosa utesheniia strannikov," Miracle 3, 6.

The import of this message to Moscow, whose sovereignty in secular affairs was placed in the foreground, revolved around the fate of the metropolia itself, as much as around its seat *per se*. Ultimately, of course, the Moscow patriarchate absorbed the Kyivan church in 1686, after which time its status as a metropolia was ultimately confirmed, but its relative autonomy remained in doubt for quite some time. In that light, articulating Chernihiv's grace constituted a proclamation on behalf of town or monastery but in the name of Kyivan Orthodoxy overall. As such, the tales augmented the perspectives articulated by Gizel', the archimandrite of the Caves Monastery, whose *Sinopsis* (Kyiv, 1674, 1681) had set forth a vision of a common East Slavic heritage for Kyiv and Moscow.⁵⁹ The fact that *Runo* circulated extensively in Russia suggests that Dimitrii's words found their mark.

The collective experience of bearing witness to which the narrative referred ("all the people of the town ... witnessed the miracle") provided evidence that the miracle had occurred, thereby giving validity to all the miracles that followed in the subsequent days and years. This verification by mass eyewitnesses was critical, and the local clergy knew it, since most of the subsequent miracles touched individuals and had been observed by just a select few. The account also bound the population to the monastery through the icon at the gate, the threshold separating consecrated space, a step toward Heaven, from the secular world outside. The lay people needed the monastery as the locus of intercession, and the monastery in turn depended on the lay people to bear witness and experience the miraculous at the point where the two worlds met. Dimitrii emphasized the ongoing nature of this locus of grace by including several miracles that took place at the monastery subsequent to the original wondrous two weeks in 1662. This was not a one-off event, he implied, but a continuing source of renewal, and even resurrection, for the present and possibly the future. Although he did not say so explicitly, Dimitrii was describing a site deserving of pilgrimage (which it became and remains to this day).

⁵⁹ For Gizel' the Rus' dynasty was simultaneously Orthodox and East Slavic, a continuum born in Kyiv in the tenth century and now in Moscow. Gizel' emphasized the sacred beginnings in Kyiv, and his version of history left no doubt of the city's enduring importance within a Moscow-centered world. Widely republished in the 17th century, *Sinopsis* was embraced in Great Russia as a founding text of "the reunification of the Rus'," even though it is not clear that this was Gizel''s intent. It remains a controversial work, especially within the Ukrainian scholarly community. For a collection of articles assessing Gizel' and his ideas, see Innokentii Gizel', *Vibrani tvory*, ed. Larisa Dovha, 3 vols. (Kyiv: VIPOL, 2010), vol. 3. The most even-handed analysis of *Sinopsis* remains Hans Rothe's introduction to the facsimile edition of the 1681 printing (*Sinopsis, Kiev 1681* [Cologne: Böhlau, 1983]).

In the end, however, miracle tales were about the conviction that actual miracles had taken place, timeless events that touched the lives of flesh-and-blood people, without which these texts could not have been written. Dimitrii made the transition between the localized narrations of miracles and the universal meanings attendant on them by adding his own glosses throughout. Each specific tale, often just a few sentences long, was supplemented by a *beseda* in which Dimitrii offered the scriptural prophecy that explained it. He then offered a *nrvouchenie*, a lesson derived from specific biblical text, which usually ran to several paragraphs and explicitly linked the lives of the living witnesses to miracles with biblical recipients of the miraculous. He concluded with a *prilog*, a brief parable giving this-worldly meaning to all that had preceded it, one that ended with a reassertion of the power of faith.⁶⁰

This strategy of narrator-as-explicator differed from Haliatovs'kyi's, and it afforded him broad latitude to categorize, explain, and offer analogies—that is, literary license rather than miraculous pretensions. It, too, relied on a template that had come to Kyivan Orthodoxy via Polish Counter-Reformation precedents. But among the authors of Slavonic texts Dimitrii was noteworthy for his sense of tutelage that seemed to have lay listeners in mind, rather than educated clergy alone, as recipients especially via the *nrvouchenie* that explained in relatively clear terms the heavenly ribbon that united scriptural history, local miracles, and the salvation of individual believers under a single cloak. All this was spelled out for the clerical reader-orators, along with some scriptural marginalia, so that they, too, would get the message and then be armed to pass it along or rephrase it in still more prosaic speech.

It is in this context that the personal element shone brightly. Dimitrii's emotive and bodily language (endless tears, love, pain, rejoicing, etc.) enabled Dimitrii's rendering to resonate among audiences removed from the time and locale of their origin. Readers in far-off dioceses or from later generations may not have been attuned to the subtle politics of the Kyiv metropolia. But they would have wanted to know what the Chernihiv miracles meant to their own lives, and that is what *Runo* offered.

Dimitrii was particularly sensitive to lay reception (we see this in his other writings as well).⁶¹ Far more than the other authors, he located

⁶⁰ Dimitrii's first version, *O chudakh*, followed a similar format, but with far less explanation or commentary.

⁶¹ The most obvious example of Dimitrii's sensitivity to lay audiences was *Chet' i minei*, in which the lives of saints were meant to be exemplary to parishioners. But it also comes through in several sermons, his catechism, and even his tract against the Old Belief, *Rozysk o raskol' nicheskoï brynskoï vere*, which included supposed conversations with lay interlocutors about faith and ritual. Further evidence comes from his correspondence with other clergy in which he openly speculated—one might say obsessed—about lay reception. See, inter alia,

his relatively few (26) miracles in the quotidian, placing recognizable individual experiences at the center of his accounts. Each tale fit a specific theme or miracle genre, recounted briefly under the heading “rose,” the metaphor for the Virgin. For example, there was the rose of love, rose of comfort to wanderers, rose of exorcising demons (*nispadenie besov*), rose of healing the sick, and so on. Most, then, were presented as stories of personal salvation at Elijah’s gates, the way to Christ through Mary, rather than as overt celebrations of the monastery. They applied equally and directly to all believers—rich and poor, famous and humble, male and female, young and old, lay and clerical. Those touched by Mary included people from all stations in life, and Dimitrii identified them as such: monks and nuns; a noblewoman Anna; a wife Vera from the Mozyrsk district; a certain Lavrentyi from Chernihiv; a man from near Chernihiv named Ermol; a lame beggar named Stefan; an orphan named Mariia; a five-year-old named Fedor; a blind six-year old girl named Tat’iana, the daughter of the mayor, and so forth. This sense of equality, without an intervening earthly authority, under Mary’s cloak within the community of all believers is palpable, made even more explicit in the accompanying commentaries, which mostly pointed to scriptural precedent, prayer, spiritual guidance, and moral meaning rather than discipline or institutional obedience.

The largest proportion of tales involved bodily healing. The lame Stefan was made to walk; the blind Tat’iana gained her sight; the captain’s daughter regained her health; Vera’s paralysis vanished; Anna was cured of rheumatism; the large boils on Agaf’ia’s neck went away. Several other miracles involved mental and spiritual healing. Lavrentyi was cured of madness; Ermol saw his inner furies depart; Mikhail had his impure spirit transformed into one of religious devotion; Dem’ian from Minsk was cured of his cunning and craftiness. One tale even involved a local Catholic, a captain’s daughter, who had grown gravely ill and was brought to the icon at the gate of the monastery by her parents. They prayed and the daughter was healed.⁶²

At a deeper level of intercession, some tales recounted salvation from inner demons, and one, “Rosa voskreseniia,” told of the resurrection of a dead boy. Here we read of a certain Ermol (a different Ermol) from the village of Iarilovichi. On 21 April 1679 his 12-year-old son Timofei suddenly died with no apparent illness. Coincidentally Ieromonakh Varfolomei from the Il’ins’kyi Monastery happened to be in the village, and he told Timofei’s

my “Catechizing in the Provinces: Dimitrii Rostovskii’s ‘Questions and Answers,’” *Russian Literature* 75, 1–4 (2014): 391–414.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 82–91.

parents of the miracle-working icon at the monastery. He advised Ermol to pray to Mary in the name of the icon so that she might resurrect the boy. They did as they were told, and the boy awoke, spoke, and stood up in full health, bringing awe to all who witnessed the miracle. The father then sent Timofei to the monastery to worship at the icon.

Conclusion

These individual tales valorized Chernihiv as a specific site of heavenly intervention—more subtly than the monumental miracles of Elets, emphasizing its contemporary sacrality for individual salvation rather than its heritage of grace. The difference between the approaches seems unlikely to reflect ideological or institutional rivalries, since Baranovych and Haliatovs'kyi had lived through the same experiences, had parallel careers, and had consulted each other frequently, and Dimitrii was following Baranovych's lead. They provided complementary narratives celebrating the miraculous local past and present of Elets and Il'ins'kyi. This message surely conveyed a specific vision of Chernihiv as a worthy heir to Kyiv if it came to that. When situated beside *Nebo novoe's* more sweeping panorama, these texts constituted the most potent case available to the clerical establishment on behalf of Ukrainian Orthodoxy's enduring meaning within Christendom and Slavia Orthodoxa alike. In the short run, as we have seen, the main concern was the multiconfessional Commonwealth. In the long run, however, this determination to assert the irreducible importance of Ukrainian Orthodoxy took on a more powerful and enduring resonance in Petrine Russia. The bearers of this message and their immediate successors, Ukrainian educated clergy serving in Peter's church, presided over the articulation of a formal empire that defined subject peoples largely in confessional terms. Via that construction, Ukraine's sacred sites (and, by association its protecting clergy) became imperial landmarks, defining monuments for the entire realm of the Orthodox emperor even as the region's secular powers, hetman and *starshyna*, saw their authority largely undermined.

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