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HISTORY AND MODERNITY

THE 17TH–18TH CENTURY HANDWRITTEN LEGACY OF THE GREAT SKETE: THE SKETE PATERICON AND SYNODYK

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Abstract. The paper presents the results of the first extensive national research into the handwritten legacy of the Great Skete (Maniava Skete); it deals with historical and archeological aspects of Патерик Скитський (the Skete Patericon) and Синодик (the Synodyk, or memorial book); the latter manuscript was discovered by the author of this paper in the Romanian Academy Library. The Skete Patericon comprises 'Житіє Іова' ('The Life of Job'), 'Завіт Духовний' ('Spiritual Testament') and 'Регула' ('Regula'). The paper highlights a unique role of the Skete in the life of the Orthodox Church, in the religious life of the 17th–18th century Ukraine, in reviving and preserving national spiritual traditions.

Keywords: the Great Skete, the Skete Patericon, 'The Life of Job', 'Spiritual Testament', 'Regula', the Synodyk.

The history of Maniava Skete (cell men monastery) remains the subject of both scholarly and popular debate in Ukraine and abroad. Special attention given to the issue can be explained by the fact that the Monastery, known in Southeastern Europe as the Great Skete, played a significant role in the history of the 17th century Ukraine and Orthodox Christianity; the history of the Skete is closely related to the national and cultural revival, the national revolution, and the rivalry between the Churches, which raised consciousness of all social strata.

The priory, a unique phenomenon in Ukrainian religious tradition, was founded by Sts. Job (Jov) and Theodosius; it had a special church and legal status of the stavropegial monastery, granted to the Skete by the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Jerusalem. Like Sts. Anthony and Theodosius of Pechersk, the monks of the Skete were the preservers and renovators of the early Christian and national traditions of hermitage, and managed to revive the national idea of monastic asceticism. The Skete monastic self-sacrifice involved two forms of asceticism – communal (cenobitic) and solitary (anchoritic) life, the system being modelled upon ancient Christian spiritual practices, moral and ethical principles of the mystical knowledge of God.

The rules and norms of monastic life worked out in the Great Skete served as a model for many 17th century Ukrainian monasteries. The monastic reform suggested by Job of the Skete aimed at reviving ancient traditions of self-sacrifice; it was implemented in Kyiv-Pechersk, Univ, Derman and other monasteries. The Ukrainian Vatoped in the Carpathians, a new spiritual academy, provided a solid basis for the education of a new generation of religious and public leaders, whose activity enhanced the process of spiritual revival in the region. The status of the prot monastery and the fact that the Great Skete had supremacy over hundreds of monasteries in Ruthenian and Belz Voivodeships were

There is another copy of the Skete Patericon in the collection of the Lviv National Vasyl Stefanyk Scientific Library of Ukraine; the manuscript dates back to the 17th century; its author is unknown. It comprises all the three relics, 'The Life of Job', 'Spiritual Testament' and 'Regula'. In the late 19th century the collection was divided into two books; one of them under the title 'The Collection of the Lives of Saints and Rules' contains 'The Life of Job' and 'Regula'; the other, 'Spiritual Testament'. The copy is written in semi-uncial script.

This copy was preserved in the library of the Pidhoretskyi (Plisnensk–Pidhirtsi) Monastery, which had close contacts with the Great Skete. Illia Hostyslavskyi, Hegumen of the Pidhoretskyi Monastery, had been raised in the Skete. In his monastery he established the Skete Rule. It is said in the 1699 Synopsis of the Pidhoretskyi Monastery, 'Let **monastic meal code** be like that prescribed by the Rule and the Canon of the holy Skete Monastery as it is written in a special Patericon by Job and Theodosius, the spiritual elders and heads of the Skete' [12].

As to the Skete Patericon, it should be noted that the 17th century book titles might differ from those used nowadays because handwritten manuscripts typically had no title leaf. Therefore in the library inventories of the Pidhoretskyi Monastery, the books were registered under the titles given by the monks. Mariia Kolbukh, a research worker of the Lviv National Vasyl Stefanyk Scientific Library of Ukraine, used the 17th–18th century inventories in order to analyze the handwritten legacy of the Pidhoretskyi monastery. It turned out that in the 1699, 1705, 1714, 1730, 1731 inventories, the Skete collection was registered as 'The Skete Patericon'.

It was a typical feature of the then monastic writings to include edifying injunctions in patericons, as it was the case with 'Spiritual Testament' and 'Regula', two parts of the Skete Patericon. In the Manuscripts Department, the Lviv National Vasyl Stefanyk Scientific Library of Ukraine one of the copies of the 17th century 'Otechnyk', or the Skete Patericon divided into chapters, is preserved. This spiritual and religious work comprises 'sermons' and 'chronicles' of an edifying and ascetic nature. It consists mainly of disciplinary injunctions, which are parts of the rule group, sermons 'On Fasting', 'On Sitting in a Cell and on Crafts', 'How One Should Pray', 'On the Holy Vow of Obedience' and others.

The Pidhoretskyi copy of the Skete Patericon was discovered in the 1850s by Antonii Petrushevych, a distinguished historian and archeographer; he was the first to publish 'The Life of Job' (1860), and 'Spiritual Testament' and 'Regula' (1868). A. Petrushevych published the three handwritten relics in Old Church Slavonic; the editor's short introduction was written in the so called Iazychie. Being a Greek Catholic priest, Petrushevych removed the term 'Uniate' from the text of 'The Life of Job'; he used dots instead to smooth over some 'anti-Uniate' feelings.

The manuscripts of the Skete collection discovered in the Pidhoretskyi Monastery were studied by Sister Sofiia Senyk; she translated 'The Life of Job', 'Spiritual Testament' and 'Regula' into English and in 2001 published her monograph 'Manjava Skete. Ukrainian Monastic Writings of the Seventeenth Century' [9]. The same year, she published an Italian translation of all the three relics [4]. Having studied S. Senyk's work, Ioan Ike, a Romanian priest, published his book 'Îsihasm și viață monahală la Schitul Mare Maniava din Pocuția în secolul XVII. Viața Cuviosului Iov. Testamentul lui Teodosie. Regula Schitulețului' ('Hesychasm and the Stories of the Monks of the Great Skete of Maniava, Pokuttia in the 17th century. The Life of Saint Job. The Testament of Theodosius. The Regula of the Skytyk') (2004) [5]. The book contains a Romanian translation of 'Spiritual Testament', 'The Life of Job' and 'Regula'. As to the Pidhoretskyi copy of the manuscript, according to the decision of the Council of Krystynopil (1909), it was given for safekeeping, among other valuable books and papers of Basilian monasteries, to Lviv Central Basilian Order Archive and Library.

In December 2010, I have found two other copies of the Skete collection in Putna Monastery, Romania. In Romanian historiography, they have been an object of research for more than a century. Back in 1905 Dmirty Dan, a Romanian priest, discovered a Slavic manuscript containing 'Spiritual Testament' by Theodosius and 'The Life of Job' by Ihnatii of Liubariv in the Library of Putna Monastery. In his book dedicated to the Monastery and the village of Putna, D. Dan suggested that the manuscript referred to Putna Monastery [2]. In 1962, two unsigned copies of the manuscript marked as

Putna 60 and Putna 74 were discovered by Father Paulin Popescu in the Library of Putna Monastery. Both manuscripts contained 'Spiritual Testament' and 'The Life of Job'. There was no 'Regula' for the Skytyk though.

There are a number of abridgments of sentences and citations in Putna 60. On the first leaf, there is a holy picture of Job and Theodosius of the Skete, the Monastery church in the background. The first pictures of Job and Theodosius with halos around their heads appeared in the 17th–18th century works. At the end of the manuscript, there is a sign in a different ink, 'August 26, 1785 the destruction of the Great Skete'. A sign on leaf 109 indicates that till 1818 the manuscript had been kept in the Library of Archimandrite Isai Baloşescu and Archimandrite Ghenadii Platenka [3, p. 205, 212-213]. In the text of the other manuscript the date 1678 is written in cinnabar, which may indicate the year of making the copy. Notes on leaf 2 testify that for a while the manuscript was the property of Hieromonk Isai Zapaidovici and Archimandrite Ghenadii Zaharovici [3].

Father P. Popescu believed that both manuscripts had been written in Putna Monastery, that they told the story of its monks, one of the documents being original at that.

In 1966 Professor Victor Brătulescu published his research 'The Miniatures and Manuscripts of Putna Monastery'; unlike the previous authors, he stated that the manuscript in question referred to the Great Skete in Galicia, Pokuttia founded by Job and Theodosius [1].

In 1988, Professor Claudiu Paradis published an extensive research 'The Romanian Spiritual Treasures of Putna'. He disagreed with V. Brătulescu's conclusions regarding the Great Skete in Pokuttia and its two manuscripts [8] and supported P. Popescu's mistaken idea. According to C. Paradis, the manuscripts were written in the Monastery of Putna, Theodosius being its Hegumen in the early 18th century.

C. Paradis's concept underpinned the following researches on the history of Putna Monastery, 'The Spiritual Elders of Putna Monastery' (1997) and a collective monograph 'The Holy Monastery of Putna' (2006).

A modern historiographer Hieromonk Dosoftei Dijmirescul has made a comparative analysis of 'The Life of Job', 'Spiritual Testament' and 'Regula' of the Pidhoretskyi Monastery and the texts mentioned above and revealed their close similarity. In her introduction to the English edition of the Skete manuscripts, S. Senyk provides convincing evidence of the fact that they are copies of the Great Skete relics and refer to the monastery at the foot of the Carpathians in Galicia and to its founders, Job and Theodosius. Evidently, the manuscripts were brought to Bukovyna by the Skete monks, then they found their way to Putna Monastery.

The date – MDCLXXVIII (1678) – at the end of Putna 74 manuscript gives D. Dijmirescul grounds for a hypothesis that Ihnatii was not the author, but one of the copyists of the 'The Life of Job'. I would question this statement; in my opinion, the date at the end of the manuscript indicates not a period in Ihnatii's life, but the time when the copy was made by an anonymous writer. It is clearly stated at the end of Putna 74 and in the Pidhoretskyi copy that 'This Life is written by sinful Hieromonk Ihnatii of Liubariv, who at that time was staying at the Skete Priory'. The fact that Ihnatii was Job's contemporary follows from the context of 'The Life'.

The research history of the Putna copies of 'Spiritual Testament' and 'The Life of Job' speaks of the great popularity of the Skete manuscripts in the 17th–18th century monastic world and of a high value placed on them by Ukrainian, Romanian, Austrian, Polish and Russian scholars of the 19th–21st centuries.

Researching into the Slavic relics in the Romanian Academy Library in March 2013, I found another copy of the Skete 'Spiritual Testament' and 'The Life of Job'. The manuscript dates back to the 18th century. It was written in the Skete by an anonymous writer, who used paper and red and black paints and adorned the manuscript with colour vignettes. It was intended for Voronets Monastery in southern Bukovyna. On the last leaf, there is a sign, 'The Great Skete, had lasted for two hundred years, devastated by the Germans in 1784'; it is also written there that the Skete functioned for 172 years, was founded in 1612 and went into liquidation in 1784.

In 1908, the Orthodox Church administration presented this relic to the Romanian Academy Library. In the Library catalogue of Slavic manuscripts edited and published by a Romanian researcher P. Panaitescu in 2003 [6], it is mentioned that the manuscripts were translated into German and published in 1890. The copies of the Skete collection were also kept in other Romanian monasteries. They might be preserved in Sucevitsa, Moldovitsa, Dragomirna, Neamts and other monasteries. The 18th century Russian copy of 'The Life of Job' is mentioned in publications. It is somewhat different from the Pidhoretskyi copy [15, p. 9].

In the 17th–18th centuries, the copies of the Skete Patericon were evidently kept in many Galician and in some Volynian monasteries, in those which had followed the Rule of the Great Skete in the first place, for instance in the Pidhoretskyi Monastery. According to the archive documents, in the 17th century the Skete Rule was established in Dubno, Krasnopushcha, Lavriv, Spas, Besidy, Patsykyiv, Hrabiv monasteries; and in 1707, in the Cathedral of the Assumption of Virgin Mary, the Order of Saint Basil the Great (OSBG) in Krylos. Further investigation may reveal the existence of other copies of the Skete collection.

'The Life of Job' is a part of all hitherto known copies of the Skete Patericon. Its author, Hieromonk Ihnatii of Liubariv, knew Job in person; at that time Ihnatii lived in the Skete and had plenty of opportunity to communicate with the elder. Judging by 'The Life of Job', Ihnatii was a highly educated person with considerable expertise in monastic writing. The title of the work, its style and genre features indicate that the author was familiar with the hagiographies of the founders of Christian monasticism, for instance, 'The Life and Story of Our Reverend Father Anthony the Great described by Saint Athanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria' and the hagiographies of Anthony and Theodosius of Pechersk nine times mentioned in Ihnatii's manuscript. The author compared Job and Theodosius's spiritual deeds to those of the ascetics of Pechersk.

The underlying didactic aim of 'The Life of Job' was to ensure 'that others, having seen this good righteous man with their own eyes or having read about him, could successfully follow suit'. Job actively participated in the spiritual, religious and cultural life of his time; he belonged to the circle of the outstanding people of the first quarter of the 17th century. Ihnatii divided the story of Job-Ivan Kniahynytskyi's life into two main periods – the development of personality and the Carpathian period dedicated to spiritual deeds, the noble mission of his life.

According to the author, Kniahynytskyi was born into a noble family in the town of Tysmenytsia, though Ihnatii did not mention the date of his birth. Kniahynytskyi died at the age of 70, so the researchers calculated the year of Ivan Kniahynytskyi's birth to be 1550. Judging by Job's memorial book, the family upheld the Orthodox monastic tradition. The boy received elementary education in the local parish school, then his parents sent him to Univ Monastery to continue his studies.

A great role in the education of young Ivan Kniahynytskyi was played by the newly founded Ostroh Academy. There he met outstanding political, church and civic leaders of his time – Vasyl-Kostiantyn Ostrozkyi, Job Boretskyi, Meletii Smotrytskyi, Kyrylo Lukaris.

Ivan Kniahynytskyi enjoyed the reputation of an experience and responsible person, a man of high moral standards; that is why Prince Vasyl Ostrozkyi sent him to Athos, his mission was to hand in donations to the Holy Fathers. Kniahynytskyi's stay at the Holy Mountain was described in detail. Having returned to Ostroh, he reported back to the Prince, gave away his property to the poor and returned to Athos.

Kniahynytskyi spent eighteen months as a novice in the priory of Isydor, an ascetic hieromonk of Athos; before his death, Isydor sent him to the famous Monastery of Vatoped where he was 'likened unto angels' and given a new name, Iezekiel.

Twelve years spent in Vatoped, a spiritual and intellectual centre of the Orthodox world, were a very important period in Iezekiel's life. Studying church rites, the works of the Holy Fathers, familiarizing himself with hesychasm, a contemplative form of asceticism, Kniahynytskyi got confirmed in his inclination to hermitage.

In about 1598 Iezekiel, who spoke Greek and Russian, was sent to Moscow to assist a group of the Holy Mountain elders in collecting alms. The mission was a success. Having returned to Athos,

Kniahynytskyi sought solitude in a priory and later, in a cave. Another attempt to visit Moscow in 1600-1601 failed because of a social turmoil. Kniahynytskyi was blessed by the elders to return to Galicia.

While the advocates and opponents of the union with the Church of Rome kept arguing, Iezekiel started reforming the local monasteries; his goal was to enhance the prestige of the Orthodox Church, to strengthen the organizational basis of monasticism. In Univ Monastery he 'imposed the rite and order of the community life as it was the custom of the Holy Mountain'. There he took monastic vows to the Great Schema and received the name of Job. Some time later Kniahynytskyi was invited to Derman Monastery in order to improve its day-to-day management and to assist with the printing of 'Octoechos'.

The reformation of some Galician and Volynian monasteries was one of Job's first achievements. Having refused from promotion, Kniahynytskyi founded a monastery in Uhornyky, the prototype of the Great Skete, which became famous all over Ukraine for its strict rules of the monastic community life.

In the summer of 1605, Job Vyshenskyi of Athos came to Uhornyky. He shared Kniahynytskyi's constant concern for the fate of the Orthodox Church and supported Kniahynytskyi in his ambition to found another spiritual institution. That summer Job and his followers moved to Markova Pustyn in the Carpathians; the life of a newly founded community was regulated by strict ascetic rules. It was only in 1611 that Kniahynytskyi started building a 'new Vatoped' in accordance with the national monastic tradition.

At the foot of Voznesinka mountain, first a cell and then the Church of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross were built; the church was sanctified on September 13, 1612. Next year, Theodosius was ordained as priest and received Job's blessing to become first Hegumen of the Skete.

Having declined the administrative position, the elder continued his activity as a reformer in Volyn; in 1617, Archimandrite Yelysei Pletenetskyi invited him to Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery 'to manage the life of the community'.

Hieromonk Ihnatii, the author of 'The Life', pointed out that Hegumen Theodosius followed elder Job's instructions concerning building and governing the Skete Monastery. In summer 1619, a great church was erected, modelled on the church of Mezhyhiria Monastery. In 1620, Patriarch Timothy of Constantinople and Patriarch Cyril of Alexandria granted Job and Theodosius's request to give the Skete stavropegia, the peculiar status of the patriarchal monastery. When Job Kniahynytskyi died on December 29, 1621, his body was buried in the crypt of the Great Skete Church.

Hieromonk Ihnatii praised Job's spiritual deed comparing it to that of ancient Prophets, Apostles and Saints, 'He rose even higher than those of the ancient times, for the ancient had many mentors and by angels they were edified. But at present, as it has been predicted by the Prophet, we see the destitution of goodness, for there is no one to work for the good of others, not a man, as everyone seeks advantage for themselves and ignores their neighbors' needs.'

The author of 'The Life' emphasized Job and Theodosius's concern for the future of the national Orthodox Church; he presented the Skete ascetics as renovators of the ancient monastic traditions of Kyiv and Galicia, of Sts. Anthony and Theodosius of Pechersk. In his work, Ihnatii called Job and Theodosius of the Skete the cave ascetics of 'the present time'. The biographer also touched upon some mystic aspects of Job's activity. In one episode, he cited a prophet who told Job, 'your work will not be in vain, for here many people will be able to follow the example of your life and custom, and to serve our Lord selflessly and faithfully. And here a great monastery will be built to the glory of Christ our Lord'. According to Ihnatii, the elder himself had the gift of prophecy. The author presented several episodes as evidence of this ability (Job's first encounter with Theodosius before the foundation of the monastery and others). The whole activity of the Skete elder was described as the realization of God's plan.

Perfect knowledge of the conventions of hagiographic writings and literary talent enabled Hieromonk Ihnatii to create an outstanding piece, which generated great interest in the monastic and

secular circles in the 17th–18th centuries, a gem of the Skete Patericon, a valuable historical document of the time of great upheavals.

In modern scientific literature, the 17th century Great Skete is presented as the centre of hesychasm in Ukraine. The term denotes a mystical religious movement in Orthodox Christianity which involves solitary contemplative asceticism and severe conditions of life and labour. In scientific publications, hesychasm is often identified with saying a meditative psychosomatic prayer – the unceasing mind-and-heart Jesus prayer by Gregory Palamas, a 14th-century Byzantium theologian, an ascetic of Athos. In the Great Skete manuscript, the term hesychasm is not used; nevertheless in 'The Life of Job', 'Spiritual Testament' and 'Regula' much is written about asceticism of Job and the monks of the Little Skytyk, which involved Jesus prayer, solitude, silence and a strict monastic meal code – the features of the early national monasticism of the 12th–13th centuries and of the Middle East asceticism of the 4th–5th centuries.

All the known copies of the Skete Patericon begin with 'Spiritual Testament'. Both this work and 'Regula' were written by Hieromonk Theodosius, first Hegumen of the Great Skete. The main sources of the information about his life and work are 'The Life of Job', 'Spiritual Testament' and 'Regula', the Synodyk of the Great Skete, and his epistolary legacy. According to Theodosius's memorial entry, he was evidently born into a family of a priest. He might get primary education in Pitrych Monastery. To broaden his experience, he went to Putna where he became a monk and was ordained as Deacon.

According to a Bulgarian researcher Olena Toncheva, in Putna Monastery Theodosius mastered the local musical tradition of the Divine Service closely related to Bulgarian singing. Bulgarian church singing might come to Ukraine and Moldavia through Bukovynian and Galician monasteries, Putna and the Great Skete in particular. O. Toncheva suggests that one of the agents of this transition was Theodosius (Feodosii) Zotic, future Hegumen of the Great Skete, a composer, who started the Bulgarian singing tradition, the author of three famous church melodies, one of them being kontakion 'Vzbrannoï Voevode'. The three musical manuscripts found by O. Toncheva in the Romanian Academy Library and the National Library turned out to be the 17th–18th century Skete notated hirmologions. A document contained in one of the hirmologions refers to Hegumen Theodosius of the Skete, the founder of the church singing school – the first school of Bulgarian octoechos chant [16, p. 689].

In various 17th century documents Theodosius was presented as an outstanding person – a talented musician, an experienced manager and mentor; he had considerable knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, the Holy Fathers's works and Christian philosophy, and was a good writer himself. The position of the Hegumen gave him a chance to demonstrate his talents and knowledge.

In 1611, Theodosius joined Job's community in building a 'new Vatoped' in the Carpathians; he took part in the construction of the Church of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. For Job, it was the continuity of the ancient Galician monastic tradition. He said to Theodosius, 'Your place is here, as you are a Galician, and this place is in the Galician land governed by the viit*, the patron is a Galician too, and it will be a Galician monastery, like Pitrych, but be patient and determined'.

In 1613, granting Job's request, Joseph, the Metropolitan of Monemvasia, ordained Deacon Theodosius as priest. The same year, the spiritual elder blessed Theodosius as Hegumen of the new priory.

Hegumen Theodosius did his best to build and develop the Skete. The construction of another big church (modelled on a new Mezhyhiria Monastery church in Kyiv) in 1619 was one of his many deeds. Ihnatii, the author of 'The Life of Job', compared his activity to that of Theodosius of Pechersk, whose life and deeds served as a model for Theodosius of the Skete.

In 1620, Patriarch Timothy of Constantinople and Patriarch Cyril of Alexandria grunted the Great Skete stavropegia, i.e. the status of the patriarchal monastery. In 1625 thanks to Theodosius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem confirmed the special status of the Skete by his edict [13; 10, p. 234].

*viit – the head of the municipal/rural government (self-government) department in the 15th–18th century Ukraine

The new legal status given by the three patriarchs made the Skete independent of the local church authorities. It raised the prestige of the priory and singled it out from among hundreds of other Ukrainian and Eastern European monasteries.

Theodosius's great achievement was writing 'The Life of Job' and 'Regula'; taken together, they present a system of evangelical and apostolic commandments, edifications and monastic rules. According to Theodosius, his sources were 'the testaments of Our Lord's Gospel, the Apostles and the Holy Fathers, for they are the basis for the building and improvement of our spiritual monastic life'. In his works, he made 57 references to evangelical and apostolic commandments, the works by the Holy Fathers (Basil the Great, Ephrem the Syrian, John Climacus, Abba Dorotheus), edifications by Job of the Skete. Though the citations from the biblical texts are not always accurate; obviously, the texts were quoted from memory. The same is true of the Holy Fathers's works [9, p. 63].

Theodosius said that his Skete writings were intended not only for spiritual leaders, but for 'all my fathers and brothers in Christ – from the first to the last', so that they could get ready for spiritual deeds, for sacrificing themselves for their friends. Theodosius's idea of Christian eschatology, the declining standards of public morality were other reasons for writing 'Spiritual Testament' and 'Regula', 'purity is despised; love is emptied and exhausted; goodness has become poor. This is evidence of the coming of the last time, the Kingdom of Antichrist is spreading quickly, and soon it will come; as the Apostle has predicted, it is already here'.

Theodosius believed that only those of great spirit, monks, ascetics raised in 'love and fear of God', those guided by evangelistic and apostolic commandments, and edifications of the Holy Fathers could resist moral degradation of the world. To them he addressed his spiritual message, 'the mission is accomplished, and I can have a rest, having a brother who can be entrusted with the task of taking care of the monastery and developing it'. For Theodosius, the monastic community and the holy priory was a pledge of salvation from the world's spiritual depravity 'in this time of troubles and sorrow, as goodness grows weaker and is oppressed, and the traditions of monastic cenobitic life are ruined, for many are guided by their weakness and passion for material things'.

In the Foreword, the Hegumen conveys the essence of his spiritual testament. He advises, 'to deviate neither right nor left, but to follow proudly the tsar course', to be 'steadfast and invincible in battles or when persecuted by an enemy; patience is your weapon to defeat your enemy, with endless patience follow a narrow path of martyrdom which leads to eternal life'.

The underlying principles presented in the Foreword predetermine the structure of 'Spiritual Testament', which consists of 20 chapters and 19 closing injunctions. The elder advises to pay attention to the four commandments, which are the basis of monastic life: 1) love and harmony; 2) resignation and obedience; 3) chastity and purity; 4) avoiding temptations, enduring sadness, and patience.

Like Saint Augustine (354–430), an influential early Christian theologian and philosopher, Theodosius' puts his trust in love, faith and grace rather than in mind. In Chapter 1, 'On Love', he states that nothing is higher than love – neither peace nor food nor even one's soul. 'Mind will fail, because not everything we understand,' says the author. 'But we have faith, hope, love, and of the three, love is the greatest because from among spiritual fruits, the first one is the fruit of love'.

Theodosius raises the problem of correlation between faith and mind in learning the truth, God's wisdom (one of the key issues in the 17th century argument between the Orthodox and the Catholic Churches).

The theme of brotherly love is further discussed in the Chapter 'On Life without Wrath and Malice'. Theodosius reveals an evil, ruinous nature of human pride, malice, wrath; he advises to strive for 'life without anger', for 'purity of heart and perfect love, because they are the crown of all virtues'. The order of life in the Skete is described in the Chapter 'On Wisdom in Silence'; it presupposes keeping the vows of resignation, obedience, patience, chastity, fasting, work and prayer. Theodosius believes that spiritual unity and feeling of brotherhood in the monastic community can be achieved through encouraging modesty, humbleness, obedience and patience.

Apart from refusal of worldly life, possessions and wealth, being a monk involved hard personal work. Elder Job, the founder of the Skete, kept preaching poverty, fasting and labour. Hegumen

Theodosius believed personal physical work of monks to be the basic organizational principle of the monastic community and an effective method of teaching monks how to fight the sin of pride, to be humble and obedient. 'The Life of Job' and 'Regula' set a strict monastery timetable and the time for manual work.

The central issue of Theodosius's writings is preaching everyday prayer practice, turning to Christ and the Apostles, glorifying the Holy Trinity and Virgin Mary. In Chapter 5 of 'Spiritual Testament' he advises to keep uttering or silently sending up Jesus Prayer, 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me a sinner'. The Skytyk 'Regula' prescribes that monks should say Jesus prayer around the circle of beads six times per day and six times per night.

Regulated community life as the most appropriate organizational form of monasticism is the core concept of 'Spiritual Testament' and 'Regula'. Nevertheless Theodosius advises not to avoid wilderness, solitude, fasting and silence (the Chapters 'On Wisdom in Silence' and 'On Silence after the Evening Service'). We know that both Job and Theodosius had inclination towards solitude in wilderness; both preached evangelical and apostolic testament. From the very beginning, there were two forms of monastic asceticism in the Skete – living in a great cenobitic community and seeking ascetic seclusion in two small priories at the mountains of Skete and Voznesinka. The mode of life in small priories was strictly regulated by Theodosius's 'Regula'. The two forms of spiritual asceticism, a unique Skete phenomenon, were practised in the Monastery up to its closing.

The Great Skete meal code (Chapters 8-14 of 'Spiritual Testament; 'Regula') was an object of particular interest in the contemporary monastic tradition. The mode of life in the Skete presupposed following a strict meal code. Theodosius fixed Job's tradition of life 'without butter, cheese and wine' (the Chapter 'On Moderation and Limiting Food and Beverages'). In the Skete, they ate vegetarian food; 'food containing butter and cheese' was allowed only on Christmas and Easter. During fasting, the monks had one meal per day.

Hermit monks, who lived in the small priories, had one oil-free meal per day; they ate twice per day only on Saturday, Sunday and on great holidays ('Regula').

The strict meal code contributed to the revival of Ukrainian ascetic ideal promoted by Sts. Anthony and Theodosius of Pechersk and became a model to follow in the Christian ascetic world.

In accordance with an ancient tradition, the Hegumen was appointed by his predecessor. 'Spiritual Testament' set up a new monastic legal system under which the Hegumen was elected every year. The Council of the elders, 'twelve in number', had special prerogatives; from among themselves, they chose the Hegumen and announced their decision at a general meeting 'for everybody to give his approval in order to avoid split and discord'. Then the seal and staff were passed to a newly elected Hegumen; the brothers had to show their respect for him, to bow, to give him a brotherly kiss. Making a decision, the Hegumen had to consult his Deputy and the Council of the elders. The Deputy Hegumen, the caretaker and the keyholder were elected for one year too. The election system set up in the Skete was in operation in the Galician and Volynian monasteries in the 17th–the early 18th centuries. In his letter missive of December 10, 1663 Hedeon, the Bishop of Lutsk and Ostroh, Administrator of the Metropolitan of Kyiv, suggested that the Volynian monasteries should adopt the community-life and meal codes, and the election procedure like those of the Great Skete. Similar recommendations were made by the Bishops of Lviv and Peremyshl [14].

In the Chapter 'On Other Servants and Their Service', Theodosius asks the Hegumen and the Council of the twelve elders to bear in mind and follow his injunctions, 'for everything written in my testament to be faithfully observed'. The elder realizes that 'writing, as a wise man has said, is a dumb philosopher who knows a lot but cannot share his wisdom with people'. On his successors Theodosius imposes an obligation to observe the monastery rules and traditions, and to give a spoken account of it to God, to him and to the monastic community.

Theodosius of the Skete, like Theodosius of Pechersk, made mystical prophecies about the destiny of the holy Monastery after his death. He foresaw hard times, the closing of the Monastery, banishment of the monks and called the community to 'patiently and faithfully' serve the priory, to follow the order

of Christ. He believed that the mission of the community was ‘to work and keep faith and hope, to permanently and firmly remain in this holy priory till death or heretical banishment’.

The writings of Theodosius of the Skete were greatly influenced by the injunctions of Theodosius of Pechersk such as ‘On Patience and Love’, ‘On Patience and Meekness’, ‘On Going to Church and Prayer’ and others; some chapters of ‘Spiritual Testament’ are similar to them in titles and contents. Similar were also the spiritual missions of the two church leaders at the turning points in Ukrainian history. Their writings were popular far beyond the contemporary monasteries; they popularized the idea of Christian valour and virtue not only among the members of monastic communities, but in society as a whole. As a religious piece, the Skete Patericon enjoyed a great popularity in Ukraine and abroad.

Apart from the Patericon, the monks of the Great Skete wrote the Synodyk (memorial book). In December 2012, I found this 17th–18th century manuscript in the Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest. In the 19th century, it was believed to be lost. In 1905, O. Yatsymirskiy, a famous researcher of Slavic manuscripts, found the Skete Synodyk in the Romanian Academy Library and gave its brief description [17, p. 114-116]. In 1959, the description of the Synodyk was made by P. Panaitescu, a Romanian scholar; the document was registered in the catalogue of Slavic manuscripts, the Romanian Academy Library [7, p. 103-104]. Since that time, it has not been studied. Only in 2000, a Ukrainian historian Ihor Mytsko used some data from the Skete Synodyk in his paper ‘On the Great Skete Monastery’ [15].

There is a certain conceptual ambiguity which created a difficulty for the researchers of the document. Yu. Tselevych, O. Yatsymirskiy, B. Barvinskyi, P. Panaitescu and others referred to the manuscript as the Pomennyk, or the Synodyk (*memoriae mortuorum*). For all the surface-level similarity, these concepts are not completely identical. Pomennyks were comprised of lists of the names of the dead to be mentioned during a memorial service. The word ‘synodyk’ had a wider meaning; alongside pomennyks proper, synodyks contained literary historical texts of a general nature. They might include the biographies of the dead or any important facts of political and social history.

The Skete manuscript is actually a combination of the pomennyk and synodyk. The records on leaves 1 to 95 are a memorial list of the Skete monks and their family members; the text on leaves 96 to 137 is different in terms of content and structure; there are no titles, no names of family members. It contains short biographical entries, information on important historical events in the region and on relations between the monasteries. The combination of two different types of memorial texts predetermined the choice of the umbrella title – Synodyk. Originally, there might be two different memorial manuscripts, the compilation being a later product.

The first part of the Synodyk (leaves 1 to 95) is a regular pomennyk, both in form and content; it contains 640 memorial entries for the Skete monks and their families, and the monks of other monasteries. The total number of the names is 10,958.

The list of names on leaves 1 to 23 (the reverse side of the leaf) is compiled according to the principle of monastic hierarchy, which indicates that this part of the Pomennyk was started in the 1650s, i.e. after Hegumen Dorotheus’s death on May 7, 1650 since his name is registered there. On leaves 47 (the reverse side of the leaf) to 70 (the reverse side of the leaf), i.e. between 1713 and 1784, the names are recorded in systematic and chronological order.

A horizontal line divides each page of the Synodyk in two – the first part, for names, is wider than the second one. In the second part, additional data – a monk’s family name, his place of birth, the year of his ordination or death – are provided.

The Synodyk begins with Litany for the Departed, which is followed by memorial entries for Job Kniahynyskyi, the founder of the Skete, and his family; Theodosius, first Hegumen of the Monastery; and Dorotheus, his successor. Then follow the entries for the hieroschemonks, hieromonks, hierodeakons, schemonks, and monks.

On leaves 24 to 71, the memorial entries are arranged not in hierarchical, but in chronological order.

On leaves 72 to 82 (the reverse side of the leaf) there are memorial entries for the metropolitans, bishops, hegumens, hieromonks, which clearly indicates that the Great Skete maintained relations with outstanding people of the time.

On leaf 80, there is the memorial entry for 'a servant of God, faithful Hieromonk Father Yov Kondzelevych, a monk of Bilostok Monastery, a painter, the master of the Great Altar (the Skete Church of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross – M. K.), May 1705'; the entry is adorned with a colour vignette. At the end of the Synodyk, names of monks and nuns of other monasteries are registered.

The pomennyk part of the manuscript also provides information about a monk's place of birth, his ties with other monasteries in Ukraine and Eastern Europe. In the Skete there were representatives from almost all parts of Ukraine. The majority of the monks came from Galicia. Throughout the 17th–the 18th centuries, there were 259 Galician monks in the Skete – from Halych, Stanislav, Rohatyn, Kolomyia, Nadvirna, Zhydachiv, Stryi, Lviv, Sambir, Drohobych, Pidhaitsi, Buchach, Ternopil and other counties of the region. In 1700, Lviv diocese entered into communion with the Pope of Rome and the flow of monks from Lviv county slowed down dramatically. In the Skete, there were monks from Volhynia, Chelm Land, Polesia, Podlachia, Transcarpathian Ruthenia, Bukovyna; from Podillia, Left-bank Ukraine, Zaporizhia; and also from ten foreign countries – Belarus, Moldova, Lithuania, Russia, Poland, Serbia, Bulgaria, Česko (the Czech Lands), Macedonia, Greece.

As it has been mentioned above, leaf 96 is the beginning of the Synodyk proper; the form and content of the memorial entries are changed. Each entry is numbered; their total number is 695. The first 18 entries are lost. Evidently, entry 18 concerned Job of the Skete, who died on December 29, 1621, as entry 19, with which the Synodyk begins, contains the final part of the memorial entry for monk Illarion, the elder's pupil, who died in the night of December 30 the same year.

Entry 44 provides information about the death of Theodosius, first Hegumen of the Skete Monastery, who died on September 24, 1630; before his death he 'advised the brothers and pleaded with them never to leave the holy priory'. Theodosius's funeral is pictured on leaf 97.

Entry 99 of the Synodyk is a memorial record of Petro Liakhovych (99), a famous patron of the Great Skete. Later in life, he joined the monastic community and received the name of Pimen; he died on October 12, 1649.

Memorial entry 103 informs of the death of Dorotheus, the Hegumen who took over from Theodosius, on May 7, 1650; he headed the Monastery for 16 years and was a regular clergy for 34 years.

The Synodyk also contains information about the terrible consequences of the 'pestilent epidemic', which struck in the Skete on July 21, 1652 and took the lives of 48 monks (entry 113).

Special attention is paid to the spiritual deeds of the monks, ascetic hermits who lived in the small sketes. For instance, Shcemonk Sava was a monk for 49 years, 30 of which he spent in the Skete of Job. Entry 275 informs about the destruction of the Skete by the Turks and the Tatars on September 6, 1676 and lists 23 names of the monks killed by the invaders.

One of the entries highlights the history of the Turkuls, the descendants of an ancient Moldavian princely family. Some of the Turkuls had to seek political refuge in Poland. One of them, Pahomii Turkul, was 'a benefactor and protector of our holy priory'. Later he became a monk; he and the members of his family were buried in the vault of the Church narthex.

In all, the Synodyk part of the manuscript provides information about 704 Skete monks; 465 of them lived in Maniava (the Great Skete and the Little Skytyk of Job) till their death; 233 moved to other monasteries. In Sucevitsa Monastery alone, 78 Skete monks died in the 17th–18th centuries. After the final destruction of the Skete, dozens of them found shelter in Zberoaia, Koshulia, Dragomirna, Cotnari, Horodyshche and other monasteries.

The Synodyk gives valuable information about quite a number of people who were educated in the Great Skete and later became outstanding religious and public figures – Theophilact Havalevych, a famous Orthodox theologian; Varlaam Kahailovych, Hegumen of Terebovlia and other monasteries, the proofreader of the printing house of Pochaiv Monastery; Illia Hostyslavskyyi, Hegumen of the

Pidhoretskyi Monastery; Hieromonk Methodius, Hegumen of ancient Uhol Monastery in Transcarpathia; Hieromonk Andrian, who stood by Saint Joan of Suceava, and others.

The memorial entries give us additional information about the occupations of the monks, who performed a variety of functions. Choirmasters are mentioned quite often, which is evidence of a well-established church singing tradition. The monks performed the duties of the treasurer, baker, cook, keyholder, candlemaker, gatekeeper, shepherd, herder, horseman, groom, vegetable grower, beekeeper, miller, salt seller. Some monks worked as tailors, blacksmiths, coopers, harness makers, turners, carpenters. There were also painters in the Skete.

The Skete Synodyk is a valuable source for national and world biographical studies, genealogy and necropolis studies, for researchers in the field of Ukrainian monasticism and Church history, of political, social and cultural aspects of our past. In terms of informativeness and historical value, the manuscript can be compared to the Pomennyks of Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery, St. Michael's Golden-Domed Monastery and Mezhyhiria Monastery, St. Sophia's Cathedral in Kyiv, Univ and Lavriv Monasteries.

It should be mentioned that there are no memorial entries for patrons, benefactors, or any lay persons because for this category of people there was a special memorial book, which I discovered in the Romanian Academy Library in December 2012. The manuscript is entitled '*Поменник загальний благочестивих ктиторів обителі цієї та інших православних християн, що сюди прийшли і вписалися до нього*' ('The General Pomennyk for the Pious Patrons of This Priory and for Other Orthodox Christians Who Have Come Here and Got Their Names Registered in It'); it has 355 leaves and provides information about 38.667 people from Ukraine and Eastern Europe.

The research on the 17th–18th century Great Skete monastic writings has already been edited and will be published in the first part of the three-volume book '*Великий Скит у Карпатах*' ('The Great Skete of the Carpathians'). It deals with a significant period in the history of the region, contemporary literature, monastic world view and priorities, comprehension of the Divine; it highlights the unique role of the Great Skete in the religious and church life of the 17th–18th century Ukraine, in revival and preserving the national spiritual traditions.

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Кугутяк Микола. Рукописна спадщина Великого Скиту XVII–XVIII століть: Патерик Скитський, Синодик. *Журнал Прикарпатського університету імені Василя Стефаника*, 1 (4) (2014), 46–59.

У статті вперше у вітчизняній науковій літературі комплексно розкрито історичний і археографічний аспекти рукописної спадщини Великого Скиту (Манява). Проаналізовано духовні твори великоскитських монахів – “Житіє Іова”, “Завіт Духовний” і “Регулу”, які складають Патерик Скитський. Предметом аналізу став монастирський Синодик, виявлений автором у Бібліотеці Румунської академії. З’ясовано унікальну роль Скиту в церковно-релігійному житті України XVII–XVIII ст., його заслуги у відродженні та збереженні національних духовних традицій.

Ключові слова: Великий Скит, Патерик Скитський, “Житіє Іова”, “Завіт Духовний”, “Регула”, Синодик.