

REFLECTION OF THE TRADITION OF HESYCHIA IN THE IMAGES OF SAINTS ANTHONY AND THEODOSIUS OF THE CAVES IN THE LAVRA ICONOGRAPHY

Olga Ryzhova

DOI: 10.17846/CL.2023.16.2.68-81

Abstract: RYZHOVA Olga. *Reflection of the Tradition of Hesychia in the Images of Saints Anthony and Theodosius of the Caves in the Lavra Iconography.* The reflection of the spiritual tradition of hesychia in the pieces of Lavra iconography with the image of Sts. Anthony and Theodosius of the Caves is considered in this article.

It is known that the life of Saint Anthony († 1073) and his spiritual successor, Saint Theodosius († 1074) was full of hesychia, learned and transferred to the Kyivan hills by St. Anthony through the blessing and ascetic experience of the Holy Mountain. The manifestations of hesychia in the lives of the Venerable Fathers of the Caves are reflected in hagiographic literature. The traditions of hesychia in the fine arts of the Kyiv Cave Monastery are reflected in almost all the images depicting the Holy Fathers of the Caves Anthony and Theodosius – “as a certainty of mystical experience, as a visible aspect of the God, energies in which God communicates and reveals Himself to those who have purified their hearts” (V. N. Losskii).

In the course of the study, several of the most stable iconographic types of the image of the Venerable Fathers Anthony and Theodosius of the Caves were identified, in which the spiritual traditions of hesychia are visibly reflected.

First, these are “Cathedral Compositions”, where all Venerable Fathers of the Caves are depicted. The Venerable Fathers Anthony and Theodosius in these multi-figured compositions, complex in content and expanded in meaning, appear, *already changed by the uncreated light* (as evidenced by the schema – “angelic rank” and halos) and in the prayer of the Holy Trinity or the Blessed Virgin Mary. Secondly, these are the compositions “Our Lady of Pechersk with the Appearing Saints Anthony and Theodosius of Pechersk” which is a kind of a brief summary of the previous compositions. But, here the composition defines another theme, which is connected with the text of the Kyivan Cave Paterikon. Highlighting the visual vertical of the image – in the upper part of the icon of the Mother of God on the throne with the Infant Jesus on her lap and the Great Assumption of the Caves Church, in the lower part – reveal the theme of the arrangement of the Caves monastery; and the *uncreated light pours from the Holy Virgin with the Infant Christ* to the Church. Thirdly – “Life Compositions”, the iconography of which is based on hagiographic literature. And if the hagiography is a verbal image of the saint, which tells about his path to sainthood, and the type of his feat, presents his spiritual portrait, the hagiographic icons show *the earthly path of the saints to the transformation by the uncreated light* visually. Thus, to a greater or lesser extent, in each image one can see glimpses of hesychia. But, most fully, ἡσυχία (*isychasmós*) as “calmness” and “silence” is reflected in the single images of the Saints. Mono-images. A characteristic detail of the iconography of the Saints is the presence of a rosary – a symbol of the monastic prayer feat and the prayer of Jesus, the use of an array of golden background or the descent of a stream of light on the Saints’ faces. Thus, the Saints appear in the radiance of the divine uncreated light, at *the moment of transformation*, when God creates “An earthly angel and a heavenly man”.

All the above images are united by the circumstance that they were created in the *categories of Palamite Hesychasm* with its ideal of the transformation of the flesh, with the doctrine of the divine aspiration of human nature, the inseparability of earth and heaven.

Keywords: *Hesychia, Anthony of Caves, Theodosius of Caves, Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, iconography*

One of the meanings of the “hesychasm” concept is the contemplative lives of Christian monks; Protopresbyter John (Meyendorff) calls this definition “the most ancient and initially the only meaning of this term” (Meyendorf 1974, 292). Outwardly, hesychasm implies seclusion, withdrawal from the world into a desert or cell (Dunayev 2011, 240-254). Undoubtedly and obviously, the life of St. Anthony († 1073) and his spiritual successor, St. Theodosius († 1074) was full of hesychia, learned and transferred to the Kyivan hills by St. Anthony through the blessing and ascetic experience of the Holy Mountain (Zozulak 2021a, 1226-1240; Zozulak 2021b, 1-13).

The manifestations of hesychia in the lives of the Venerable Fathers of the Caves are reflected in hagiographic literature (Likhachev 1997–1999). The traditions of hesychia in the fine arts of the Kyiv Cave Monastery are reflected in almost all images of the Holy Fathers of the Caves Anthony and Theodosius – “as a certainty of mystical experience, as a visible aspect of the God, energies in which God communicates and reveals Himself to those who have purified their hearts” (Losskii 1968b, 53).

The purpose of the study is to highlight some of the most stable iconographic types of the image of the Saints Anthony and Theodosius of the Caves¹ in the images of Lavra iconography, which reflect the traditions of hesychia.

Firstly, these are “Cathedral Compositions”, which depict all Venerable Fathers of the Caves. The composition of “cathedral” icons shows the Monks – those who worked in the Near (Anthony’s) Caves and whose relics rest there, and those who worked in the Far (Theodosius’s) Caves. Saints Anthony and Theodosius are depicted at the forefront, surrounded by the first saints of the Russian land. Then, in the center, the figures of the Holy Equal-to-the-Apostles Prince Vladimir or St. John the Merciful are placed. There is the image of the Mother of God on the throne or the New Testament Trinity at the top of the icon.

Image “Cathedral of All the Venerable Fathers of the Kyiv Caves”² (1729, I305, NAMU) (fig. 1) of the iconostasis of the Assumption Cathedral is the earliest monument of the Kyiv-Lavra “Cathedral” tradition.³ Artistic structure of icons from the iconostasis (1767) of the Holy Cross Church of the Kyiv Cave Monastery “Cathedral of the Saints of the Near Caves and the First Hierarchs of the Russian Land” (fig. 3) and “Cathedral of the Kyiv Cave Saints”⁴ (fig. 2) by the frontal-tiered construction of the composition is similar to the image from the Assumption Cathedral, which demonstrates the stability of the iconographic type over the centuries. Sts. Anthony and

¹ See the main works on the iconography of the Saints Anthony and Theodosius of Caves: (Lopukhina 1999, 83; Chernomaz 2001, 604-606), for more on this subject, see: (Lopukhina 1999, 83; Chernomaz 2001, 604-606; Khodak 2005, 570-579; Alekhina – Bashlykova – Chernomaz 2006; Deluga 2013, 17-45; Deluga 2019).

² Bielykova 2007, 69-79.

³ As one of the first “prayer appeals ... in printed word” to the Council of the Pechersk Saints V. A. Diatlov calls “The Rule of Prayer to Our Venerable Father of Pechersk and all the Saints who shone in Little Russia, sung whenever and wherever anyone wishes” (1643), which mentioned “the saints buried in caves and the saints mentioned in the Paterikon, but not buried in the Pechersk Monastery” (Diatlov 2001, 103); The researcher believes that “For the first time, the painting solution of the theme is found on the icon of Cornelius Ulanov of 1724 from the Church of the Risen Savior in Suzdal...” (Bielykova 2007, 73).

⁴ The author gives the name of the icon as “Cathedral of the Monks of Caves” (Lopukhina 2007, 74).

Theodosius in these multi-figure, complex in content and expanded in meaning compositions, appear *already changed by the uncreated light* (as evidenced by the schema – “angelic rank” and halos) (Losskii 1968a, 76-77; Losskii 1968b, 49-64) and in the prayer of the Holy Trinity or the Blessed Virgin Mary. The light poured out on the holy ascetics from the Virgin and Child or the Holy Trinity is the divine Light, the vision of which with bodily eyes is available to the partakers of this Light; that is, one must be transformed by this Light to a certain extent (Losskii 1968a, 76-77; Losskii 1968b, 49-64).

Secondly, these are the compositions “Our Lady of Pechersk with the Appearing Saints Anthony and Theodosius of Pechersk” (icon of 1767, NP “KPL”, KPL-Zh-138 (fig. 4) and the icon of the second half of the nineteenth century, NP “KPL”, KPL-Zh-338 (fig. 5)⁵) is a kind of a brief summary of the previous compositions.

But, here the construction of the composition defines another topic associated with the text of Paterikon. The highlighting of the visual vertical of the image – in the upper part of the icon of the Mother of God on the throne with the Infant Jesus on her lap and the Great Assumption Cave Church, in the lower part – reveal the topic of the arrangement of the Cave monastery; and *the uncreated light pours from the Holy Virgin with the Infant Christ on the church*. Here the Energy is the outpouring of the nature of God Himself; Gregory Palamas compares the Essence with the solar disk, and the energy with the rays (Losskii 1968a, 76-77; Losskii 1968b, 49-64).

Thirdly – “Life compositions”, the iconography of which is based on hagiographic literature. And if the hagiography is a verbal image of the saint, which tells about his path to sainthood, the type of his feat, his spiritual portrait, *the earthly path of the saints to the transformation by the uncreated light* is reflected visually in the hagiographic icons.

In the engravings of the Kyivan Cave Paterikon 1661, the story is preceded by an engraving of the saint with hagiographic plots and explanatory inscriptions attached. The images are built on the principle of hagiographic icons: in the center there is a monumental image of the saint, on the right and left and in the lower part there are scenes from his life. The key moments in the life of the monk are chosen to illustrate the monk’s path to God and the transformation of a human being in the flesh into an “earthly angel”. On the engraving, which precedes the Life of St. Anthony, the plots are arranged in the following order: the tonsure of St. Anthony on Mount Athos, his arrival in Kyiv, the prayerful deeds of the saint in the cave, the appointment of St. Theodosius as a hegumen, the repose of St. Anthony of the Caves (fig. 6). But, only in the central image with the figure of St. Anthony in the skeleton, with a halo and in the stigmata of the tonsure of St. Anthony on Mount Athos and the repose of St. Anthony we see the Divine light in the form of radiance and streams of rays. On the engraving of the Life of St. Theodosius, the stamps show: the prayerful deeds of the Saint in the cave, the widow asks St. Theodosius to relieve her of the oppression of an unjust judge, St. Theodosius on the eve of the presentation, the presentation of St. Theodosius of the Caves, the transfer of the relics of the saint from the cave to the Church of the Assumption (fig. 7). The light, which has its source in God, also in the form of radiance and streams of rays will illuminate the Monk at the moment of his standing before God (central image), on the eve of death and at the very moment of his presentation (death).

Thus, to a greater or lesser extent, in each image one can see glimpses of hesychia. But, most fully, ἡσυχία (*isychasmós*) as “calmness” and “silence” is reflected in the single images (mono-images) of the Monks. As the original meaning of isychasmos is monasticism, the essence of monasticism is “[...] the communion to the «incarnate Word» through the Jesus Prayer”. Thus, a constant

⁵ National Preserve “Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra” (abbreviated to NP “KPL”), collections of the main fund “Painting” (KPL-Zh).

appeal – in various verbal combinations – to Jesus Christ, whose name should, according to John Climacus (VII century), “stick to the breath” (Meyendorf 1974, 293).

This state of “[...] *communicating with the «incarnate Word»* through the Jesus Prayer” is reflected in the engravings of Ukrainian old prints of the 17th century (Anthologion, Akathist (fig. 8, 9)), where single figures of Sts. Anthony and Theodosius of the Caves are presented in height; in addition, the figures of the Monks are quite monumental, filling the entire space in height allotted for the image.

Thus, the faces and lips of the saints are on the same level with the face of Christ, whose figure is depicted in the heavenly segment, in the upper corner of the engraving. St. Anthony is listening to the Saviour, St. Theodosius is talking to Him. As a testimony to the fact that the life of the Monks is divided between solitary prayer (in cells, in caves) and the spiritual benefits of common life, when the liturgical prayer and meal unite the brethren on Sunday, the engravings depict cells surrounded by “hills” (this conventional image of highlands) and “the Church of the Blessed Virgin” (in the engraving with the image of St. Theodosius), where St. Theodosius was ordained a priest (Zhitie Feodosiia Pecherskogo; Zhitie Feodosiia 1997). The essence of these engraved images can be expressed in words dedicated to hesychia from the *Systematic Collection of Apophthegmata patrum* (chapter “On the need to strive for silence with all diligence”): “[...] Oh, hesychia of the monks’ success! [...] Oh, hesychia that cares only for its own, and communicating with Christ [...]” (cited after: Dunayev 2011, 242).

The images on the icons from the iconostases of 1700 of the Church of the Holy Cross and the iconostasis of 1735 of the Trinity Gate Church continue this visual series.

On the icons “Saint Anthony of the Caves” (NP “KPL”, KPL-Zh-1678) (fig. 10), “Saint Theodosius of Pechersk” (NP “KPL”, KPL-Zh-1677) (fig. 11) from the old iconostasis of 1700 of the Church of the Exaltation of the Cross in the Near Caves, the figures of the Monks are shown in monastic vestments, in a schema: a mantle, a cockle with a cross covers the head (St. Anthony) or lies on the shoulders (St. Theodosius); crosses, Golgotha, instruments of the Passion are depicted on the altar, rosaries are in the left hand clasped to the chest; an open scroll is in the right hand. Caves are depicted to the right of the saints, the waters and banks of the Dnieper are to the left. The images are placed on a solid gold background.

The general compositional scheme of the images is borrowed from the engravings of old prints, but there is a characteristic detail of the iconography of the saints – the presence of a rosary – a symbol of the monastic prayer feat and the prayer of Jesus, as well as a look directed at the viewer (the one who prays).

The figures of “Saint Anthony of the Caves” (fig. 12) and “Saint Theodosius of the Caves” (fig. 13) on the icons of the iconostasis of 1735 of the Trinity Gate Church are depicted purely frontally, also on a golden ornamental background, which attracts significantly due to its relief.

The use of an array of golden background is symbolic of “the beauty of gold, as the beauty of light, “simple” and “the same”, which does not know division into parts and levels” (this is the beauty that St. Basil the Great sees in the stars and in gold); as gold is an “absolute metaphor” of light; thus light is an “absolute metaphor” of God (Averintsev 2004, 404-425; Metropolitan Hilarion 2010). That is, the Saints appear in the radiance of divine uncreated light, at the moment of transfiguration, when God creates “an earthly angel and a heavenly man” (Zhitie Feodosiia Pecherskogo; Zhitie Feodosiia 1997). Views of caves and Kyiv hills at the bottom of the composition occupy a very small volume of the image, as if belittling everything earthly. And the images of thin, lonely trees, almost leafless and slightly bent by the wind, and the desert, transcendent landscape, are designed to emphasize the state of hermitage more.

On the icons “St. Theodosius of the Caves” (NP “KPL”, KPL-Zh-2482) (fig. 14) and “St. Anthony of the Caves” (NP “KPL”, KPL-Zh-2481) (fig. 15) at the altar of St. John the Theological chapel

of the Assumption Cathedral, “St. Anthony”, 1849 – 1874, which was a personal pilgrimage relic of Count Muravyov O. M. (1806 – 1874) (NP “KPL”, KPL-Zh-922)⁶ (fig. 16) – the saints are represented in a strict prayer, the background is picturesque, and the boundary between the visible and invisible worlds (the world below and the world above) is shown through the “opening of the heavens” and the descent of the stream of light on the Saints’ faces.

This “Divine light, according to Gregory Palamas, is *the energy of God, which changes and transforms human*. Beholding the Divine light, man sees God Himself; at the same time God continues to remain invisible [...]” (cited after: Metropolitan Hilarion 2010).

It should be noted that the composition, which can be designated as “contemplation by the saints of the Divine light”, was used in Lavra iconography not only to create images of St. Anthony and Theodosius of the Caves, but for images of hermits in general. For example, on the icons “St. Athanasius of Athos” (NP “KPL”, KPL-Zh-1189) (fig. 17) and “The Image of the Monk Confessor Chariton” (NP “KPL”, KPL-Zh-693) (fig. 18), the Saints also stand in a stream of light. Thus, the reflection of the hesychia tradition in the images of the Saints on the Lavra icons is based on the mystical experience. And the iconographer tries to express and reveal the understanding of divine things with the help of artistic means.

In general, an analysis of the ideas, themes, and subjects of Kyiv’s artistic culture allows us to state that monasticism is one of the dominant themes in Kyiv’s fine art, closely related not only to the image of divine light, but also to the concept of Christ Crucified and to the Virgin motifs. The original idea underlying all Christian culture – “the idea of the Crucified” (Alexander Petrovich Golubtsov 2022) - was especially reflected in the art of Kyiv thanks to Metropolitan of Kyiv and Galicia, Archimandrite of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, Peter Mohyla (1596 – 1647), who introduced the liturgical tradition of the Great Lent to perform the Passion - reading the Gospel of the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Akathist to the Passion of Christ⁷. The Mother of God theme also had a wide development - the themes “The Virgin Orans, the Indestructible Wall”, “Sophia the Wisdom of God”, “Assumption of the Blessed Virgin”, “Our Lady of Pechersk with the Appearing Saints Anthony and Theodosius of Pechersk”, “The Annunciation”, “The Joy of All Who Sorrow”, and “Synaxis of All the Venerable Fathers of the Kyiv Caves” received a special Kyiv edition, seeing that Kyiv was conceived as the city chosen by God and reserved for God, and Lavra as a fief of the Mother of God, in other words, as being under Her special protection. At the same time, the materials and narratives of the Paterikon become the basis for the iconography of many of the subjects associated with the image of the Venerable Fathers of the Caves.

We would like to emphasize that thanks to the above-mentioned themes, medieval culture of Kyiv gives birth to its own vibrant intellectual and figurative art, aimed at mystical theology as experienced knowledge of god, which calls for consciousness/cognition in the spiritual life and is inseparably linked to the literary culture, didactics and philosophy. The close relationship and mutual influence of dogmatic theology and images (word and image) translated into extensive texts that were introduced into the compositions of icons and engravings. Programs of monumental pictorial cycles and iconostases illustrate the Holy Scriptures and the history of the Church and amaze with their content and specific doctrinal content. In illustrating verbal sources to the utmost, the masters create innovative, iconographic compositions and a new pictorial canon.

The close relationship and mutual influence of verbal and figurative culture in the formation of iconography is also evident in the images of St. Anthony and St. Theodosius of Pechersk, and in illustrating one of the main spiritual tendencies of monastic life - the practice of hesychia. An

⁶ Ryzhova – Raspopina 2019, 237-240.

⁷ The Council, held in Kyiv in 1629, blessed the Passion for ecclesiastical use (Golubev 1874, 161-165).

indispensable detail of the icons of the Venerable Fathers of the Caves were the unfolded scrolls of texts that the Venerable Fathers of the Caves hold in their hands.

On the most ancient icon “Our Lady of Pechersk with the Appearing Saints Anthony and Theodosius of Pechersk” from the Svensky monastery (1288) (Bruk – Iovleva 1995, 70-72) the scrolls of the Venerable Fathers of the Caves bear the fragments of inscriptions which represent *a prayerful convocation to Christ and teachings and admonitions to the brethren*: “I beseech you, sons, to hold fast to self-control and not be lazy. Let us imagine the Lord Helper in this” (St. Anthony); (“O Lord God Almighty, Creator of all things visible and invisible, through your sight raise up the house of your Most Holy Mother of God for me, your servant Theodosius, and let it stand firm until the day of your Last Judgement to praise and glorify you”) (St. Theodosius) (Bruk – Iovleva 1995, 70-72; Skazanie o chudotvornykh ikonakh 1909/1993, 266; Antonova – Komova 2015, 186).

On a stone polychrome relief triptych depicting “The Virgin Orans, the saints Anthony and Theodosius” (1470) (Ivakin 1982, 94; Zakrevskii 1868, 686-687; Bartosh 2011) St. Theodosius holds a scroll with the words of *his spiritual testament to the brethren*: “Hereby I promise you, brethren and fathers, that even if in body I depart from you, I will always be with you in spirit, and if any of you in this monastery dies or the hegumen is sent to obedience, then if he has committed sins through human frailty, I will answer to God, but if he departs from this place, I have no warrant against him” (O poruchenii 1931/1991, 73); on the scroll of St. Anthony of Pechersk the words of *his vow, given to the brethren* are inscribed: (“as everyone who is laid here will be pardoned, even if he is a sinner”) (Skazanie Simona 1931/1991, 105).

On the icons from the 1734 iconostasis of the Trinity Gate Church of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra of the Holy Assumption hold in their hands unfolded scrolls with a *message to the brethren*: “Whoever in you is obedient and meek and humble will give you the life of old Anthony” (St. Anthony); “The brethren renounced the world and the Fathers who are with them. The life of old Theodosius” (St. Theodosius), and “Brothers who have renounced the world of their fathers and those who exist outside of them” (St. Theodosius).

Quotations that are most frequently placed on icons of the first third of the 18th century, – “O Lord, may this place be blessed by the Holy Mount Athos and my hegumen who tonsured me” (St. Anthony, NP “KPL”, KPL-Zh-1678; NP “KPL”, KPL-Zh-2482) and “O Lord, in the Name of Thy Most Pure Mother this house was established” (St. Theodosius, NP “KPL”, KPL-Zh-1677; NP “KPL”, KPL-Zh-2481) are intended to tell the story of the monastery’s foundation.

All these texts summarize mystical experience and affirm the inseparable connection between monastic life and doctrinal confession, orienting them toward the same ultimate goal as the practice of hesychia - to union with God.

Considering that one of the main, basic functions of an icon is a dogmatic one (and in the Kyiv art this function prevails), each subject is a peculiar pictorial allegory and the inscriptions are called to reveal the teaching (didactic) content of the subject.

The introduction of texts in icons, together with the above-mentioned pictorial manifestations of hesychia, represents a kind of unity of practical and mystical theology (Losskii 2010).

All the above images and their components are united by the circumstance that they were created in the *categories of Palamite Hesychasm* with its ideal of the flesh transformation, with the doctrine of the divine nature of human, the inseparability of earth and heaven (Meyendorf 1974, 301). The visual expression is the streams of Divine Light and the shining of golden halos and background, which are poured out on the ascetics of faith and surround them and which testify of the possibility to “see with bodily eyes” the immeasurable light, to feel the Divine energies (Kutkovoy 2021).

REFERENCES

- Abramovych, Dmytro (ed.). 1931/1991. Києво-Печерський патерик: вступ, текст, примітки [Kyiv-Pechersk paterik: introduction, text, notes]. Reprint from 1931 edition. Kyiv.*
- Alekhina, L. I. – Bashlykova, Marina – Chernomaz, I. B. (eds.). 2006. Києво-Печерський Патерик. У истоков русского монашества [Kyiv-Pechersk Paterikon. At the Origin of Russian Monasticism]. Moscow.*
- Alexander Petrovich. 2022. Александр Петрович Голубцов. Из истории изображений креста [Alexander Petrovich Golubtsov. From the history of images]. Retrieved September 26, 2022. <https://blagogon.ru/biblio/203/> (quote from the Internet 21 January 2022).*
- Antonova, Maria – Kotova, Marianna. 2015. Проблемы текстологии “Сказания о зачатии Свенского монастыря” [Challenges of textology of “The legend of the conception of the Svensk monastery”]. In Вестник Брянского государственного университета [The Bryansk State University Herald] 26/3, 185-187. <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/problemy-tekstologii-skazaniya-o-zachatii-svenskogo-monastyrya/viewer> (quote from the Internet 20 July 2021).*
- Averintsev, Sergei. 2004. Золото в системе символов ранневизантийской культуры [Gold in the System of Symbols of Early Byzantine Culture]. In Averintsev, Sergei. Поэтика ранневизантийской литературы [Poetics of Early Byzantine Literature]. St. Petersburg, 404-425.*
- Bartosh, A. E. 2011. Триптих Лаврской колокольни – уникальный памятник XV века [Triptych of the Lavra bell tower – a unique monument of the 15th century]. Retrieved August 16, 2011. <https://lavra.ua/triptih-lavrskoj-kolokolni-unikalnyj-pamyatnik-hv-veka>*
- Bielykova, Halyna. 2007. Икона “Собор преподобных Печерских” [Icon “Cathedral of the Venerable Caves”]. In Пам’ятки України: історія та культура [Sights of Ukraine: history and culture] 154/1, 69-79.*
- Bruk, Iakov – Iovleva, Lidiia (eds.). 1995. Государственная Третьяковская галерея [The State Tretyakov Gallery]. Vol. 1: Древнерусское искусство X – начала XV века [Old Russian art of the 10th – early 15th centuries]. Moscow. Cat. 16, 70-72.*
- Chernomaz, I. B. 2001. Антоний. Иконография [Antony. Iconography]. In Holy Patriarch of Moscow and all Rus’ Alexii II (ed.). Православная энциклопедия [Orthodox Encyclopedia]. Vol. 2: Алексий, человек Божий – Анфим Анхиальский [Alexios the Man of God – Anthim of Ankhiales]. Moscow, 604-606.*
- Deluga, Waldemar. 2013. The Ukrainian prints from the Lavra Pecherska Monastery in Kyiv (17th and 18th centuries). In Apulum 50, 17-45.*
- Deluga, Waldemar. 2019. Ukrainian Painting between Byzantine and Latin Tradition. Ostrava – Warsaw.*
- Diatlov, Vladyslav Anatoliiovych. 2001. До питання про структуру собору Києво-Печерських святих [On the Structure of the Cathedral of the Kyiv-Pechersk Saints]. In Kolpakova, Valentyna (ed.). Могилянські читання 2000 [Mohyla Readings 2000]. Kyiv, 100105.*
- Dunayev, Aleksei Georgievich. 2011. Исихазм [Hesychasm]. In His Holiness Patriarch of Moscow and all Rus’ Kirill (ed.). Православная энциклопедия [Orthodox Encyclopedia]. Vol. 27: Исаак Сирин – Исторические книги [Isaac Sirin – Historical books]. Moscow, 240-254.*
- Golubev, Stepan Timofeevich. 1874. Когда и кем введены в южнорусскую обрядность пассии? [When and by whom were passions introduced into South Russian ritualism?]. In Киевские епархиальные ведомости [Kyiv Diocesan Gazette] 7 (department 2), 161-165.*
- Ivakin, Gleb. 1982. Киев в XIII–XV вв. [Kyiv in the 13th – 15th centuries] Kyiv, 94.*
- Khodak, I. O. 2005. До іконографії святих Антонія й Феодосія Печерських: невідомий образ XVII ст. з Київщини [On the iconography of Saints Anthony and Theodosius of Caves:*

- an unknown image of the XVII century from Kyiv region]. In Kolpakova, Valentyna (ed.). Могилянські читання 2004 [Mohyla Readings 2004]. Kyiv, 570-579.
- Kutkovoy, Viktor.* 2021. О мандорле [About Mandorla]. Retrieved February 8, 2021. <https://pravoslavie.ru/282.html>.
- Likhachev, Dmitrii (ed.).* 1997 – 1999. Библиотека литературы Древней Руси [Library of Ancient Rus Literature]. Vols. 1-4. St. Petersburg.
- Lopukhina, Olena.* 1999. Духовні образи преподобних Антонія та Феодосія в Києво-Печерському патерику і традиція їх іконного зображення [Spiritual images of St. Anthony and Theodosius in the Kyiv-Pechersk Paterikon and the tradition of their iconic representation]. In Kolpakova, Valentyna (ed.). Могилянські читання 1998 [Mohyla Readings 1998]. Kyiv, 83.
- Lopukhina, Olena.* 2007. Иконостас Хрестовоздвиженської церкви в контексті історичного і художнього життя Києво-Печерської лаври XVIII – XIX ст. [The Iconostasis of the Church of the Exaltation of the Cross in the context of the historical and artistic life of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra of the XVIII – XIX centuries]. In Лаврський альманах [Lavra Almanac] 17, 73-79.
- Losskii, Vladimir.* 1968a. Богословие света в учении св. Григория Паламы [The Theology of Light in the Teaching of St. Gregory Palamas]. In Журнал Московской Патриархии [Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate] 3, 76-77. <http://www.xpa-spb.ru/libr/Losskij-VN/bogoslovie-sveta-v-uchenii-Grigoriya-Palamy.html>.
- Losskii, Vladimir.* 1968b. Богословие света в учении св. Григория Паламы [The Theology of Light in the Teaching of St. Gregory Palamas]. In Журнал Московской Патриархии [Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate] 4, 49-64. <http://www.xpa-spb.ru/libr/Losskij-VN/bogoslovie-sveta-v-uchenii-Grigoriya-Palamy.html>.
- Losskii, Vladimir.* 2010. Очерк мистического богословия Восточной Церкви. Догматическое богословие [Essay on the mystical theology of the Eastern Church. Dogmatic theology], trans. by Reshchikova, Vera. Sergiev Posad.
- Metropolitan Hilarion (Alphayev).* 2010. Божественный Свет [Divine Light]. In Metropolitan Hilarion (Alphayev). Православие [Orthodoxy]. Vol. 1: История, каноническое устройство и вероучение Православной Церкви [History, canonical structure and dogma of the Orthodox Church]. http://pravoslavie.by/page_book/bozhestvennyj-svet.
- Meyendorff, Ivan.* 1974. О византийском исихазме и его роли в культурном и историческом развитии Восточной Европы в XIV веке [On Byzantine Hesychasm and Its Role in the Cultural and Historical Development of Eastern Europe in the Fourteenth Century]. In Likhachev, Dmitrii (ed.). Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы [Proceedings of the Society for Ancient Russian Literature]. Vol. 33: Древнерусские литературные памятники [Old Russian literary monuments]. Leningrad, 292.
- National Preserve “Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra” (abbreviated to NP “KPL”), collections of the group of storage of the main fund “Painting” (KPL-Zh).
- O poruchenii.* 1931/1991. О поручении и обещании святого къ ученикомъ своим [On the commission and promise of the saint to his disciples]. In Abramovych, Dmytro (ed.). Києво-Печерський патерик: вступ, текст, примітки [Kyiv-Pechersk paterik: introduction, text, notes]. Word 8. Reprint from 1931 edition. Kyiv, 73-74.
- Ryzhova, Olga – Rasropina, Vera.* 2019. Исследование, реставрация и атрибуция иконы «Преподобный Антоний Печерский» из коллекции Национального Киево-Печерского историко-культурного заповедника [Research, Restoration and Attribution of the Icon “Saint Anthony of the Caves” from the National Kyiv-Pechersk Historical and Cultural Preserve]. In Filatov, S. (ed.). Исследования в консервации культурного наследия [Research

- in Conservation of Cultural Heritage]. Vol. 5 : *Материалы Международной научно-методической конференции* [Materials of the International Scientific and Methodological Conference]. Moscow, 237240.
- Skazanie o chudotvornykh ikonakh. 1909/1993.* Сказание о чудотворных иконах Богоматери и ея милостях роду человеческому [The legend of the miraculous icons of the Mother of God and her favors to the human race], preface by Poselianin, Evgenii. Reprint from 1909 edition. [St. Petersburg]/Kolomna.
- Skazanie Simona. 1931/1991.* Сказание Симона, епископа Владимирского и Суздальского, о святых черноризцах печерских, о том, почему должно иметь усердие и любовь к преподобным Антонию и Феодосию, отцам Печерским. Слово 15 [The Tale of Simon, Bishop of Vladimir and Suzdal, about the Holy Chernorites of the Caves, about why one should have zeal and love for the Monks Anthony and Theodosius, the fathers of the Caves. Word 15]. In Abramovych, Dmytro (ed.). *Киево-Печерський патерик: вступ, текст, примітки* [Kyiv-Pechersk paterik: introduction, text, notes]. Reprint from 1931 edition. Kyiv, 104-106.
- Zakrevskii, Nikolai. 1868.* Описание Киева [Description of Kyiv]. Vol. 2, 686-687.
- Zhitie Feodosiia. 1997.* Житие Феодосия Печерского (в переводе и с комментариями О. Творогова) [The Life of Theodosius of the Caves (in translation and with comments by O. Tvorogov)]. In Likhachev, Dmitrii et al. (eds.). *Библиотека литературы Древней Руси* [Library of Ancient Rus Literature]. Vol. 1: XI – XII centuries. St. Petersburg. <http://lib2.pushkinskijdom.ru/tabid-4872>.
- Zozulak, Ján. 2021a.* Ethical Reflections on Self-Sacrifice in Russian Monasticism. In *Quaestio Rossica* 9/4, 1226-1240.
- Zozulak, Ján. 2021b.* The Influence of Greek Spirituality on Russian Culture. In *Religions* 12/7, 1-13.

Ryzhova Olga, Doctor of Art History
Department of Scientific Restoration and Conservation of Moving Monuments of the National Historical and Cultural Preserve “Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra”
Anny Akhmatovoi st. 16H
apt. 29
02055 Kyiv
Ukraine
olgaryzhova2019@gmail.com
ORCID ID: 0000-0003-2270-9419
WOS Researcher ID: AAW-4489-2021

Appendix



Fig. 1. Icon “Cathedral of All the Venerable Fathers of the Kyiv Caves”, 1729, of the iconostasis of the Assumption Cathedral of the Kyiv Cave Monastery. Photo: Mr. Mikhail Andreev.



Fig. 2. Icon “Cathedral of the Kyiv Cave Saints”, 1767, from the iconostasis of the Holy Cross Church of the Kyiv Cave Monastery. Photo: Mr. Vladimir Romanyshyn.



Fig. 3. Icon “Cathedral of the Saints of the Near Caves and the First Hierarchs of the Russian Land”, 1767, from the iconostasis of the Holy Cross Church of the Kyiv Cave Monastery. Photo: Mr. Vladimir Romanyshyn.



Fig. 4. Icon “Our Lady of Pechersk with the Appearing Saints Anthony and Theodosius of Pechersk”, 1767. Photo: Mr. Sergey Polyushko.



Fig. 5. Icon “Our Lady of Pechersk with the Appearing Saints Anthony and Theodosius of Pechersk”, second half of the 19th century. Photo: Mr. Sergej Polyushko.



Fig. 6. “St. Anthony of the Caves”, the engraving of the Kyivan Cave Paterikon, 1661. Photo: Mr. Yaroslav Litvinenko.



Fig. 7. “St. Theodosius of the Caves”, the engraving of the Kyivan Cave Paterikon, 1661. Photo: Mr. Yaroslav Litvinenko.



Fig. 8. “St. Anthony of the Caves”, the engraving of the Anthologion, Akathist, the XVII century. Photo: Mr. Yaroslav Litvinenko.



Fig. 9. “St. Theodosius of the Caves”, the engraving of the Anthologion, Akathist, the XVII century. Photo: Mr. Yaroslav Litvinenko.



Fig. 10. Icon “St. Anthony of the Caves”, 1700, from the iconostasis of the Church of the Exaltation of the Cross in the Near Caves of the Kyiv Cave Monastery. Photo: Mr. Sergey Polyushko.



Fig. 11. Icon “St. Theodosius of the Caves”, 1700, from the iconostasis of the Church of the Exaltation of the Cross in the Near Caves of the Kyiv Cave Monastery. Photo: Mr. Sergey Polyushko.



Fig. 12. Icon “St. Anthony of the Caves”, 1735, from the iconostasis of the Trinity Gate Church of the Kyiv Cave Monastery. Photo: Mr. Ivan Krzhenstovskiy.



Fig. 13. Icon “St. Theodosius of the Caves”, 1735, from the iconostasis of the Trinity Gate Church of the Kyiv Cave Monastery. Photo: Mr. Ivan Krzhenstovsky.



Fig. 14. Icon “St. Anthony of the Caves”, 1750, at the altar of St. John the Theological chapel of the Assumption Cathedral Kyiv Cave Monastery. Photo: Hieromonk Simon (Novikov).



Fig. 15. Icon “St. Theodosius of the Caves”, 1750, at the altar of St. John the Theological chapel of the Assumption Cathedral Kyiv Cave Monastery. Photo: Hieromonk Simon (Novikov).



Fig. 16. Icon “St. Anthony”, 1849 – 1874, which was a personal pilgrimage relic of Count Muravyov O. M. (1806 – 1874). Mr. Sergey Polyushko.



Fig. 17. Icon “St. Athanasius of Athos”, mid-19th century. Mr. Sergey Polyushko.



Fig. 18. Icon “The Image of the Monk Confessor Chariton”, mid-19th century. Mr. Sergey Polyushko.