

UDC 94(477-25):2
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.8.143354

Antonina KIZLOVA,
orcid.org/0000-0002-2056-3834
Ph D (History), associate professor of History Department, National Technical University
of Ukraine «Igor Sikorsky Kyiv Polytechnic Institute»
(Ukraine, Kyiv) ant_kiz@ukr.net

ACCOMPANIMENT OF THE VISITORS IN THE CAVES OF KYIV DORMITION CAVES LAVRA (LATE 18th – EARLY 20th cent.)

Visiting of the caves of the Kyiv Caves Monastery (alias The Kyiv Cave Lavra), the important pilgrimage centre, presupposed the presence of a guide. The study of this sort of service will amplify the lore about spirituality and communicative activity of the new-time monks. The article's purpose is to define key features of the organisation of guiding of visitors in both Near and Far caves. As has been established, the ability to lead the whole group of visitors out from the caves without any delays was the main skill that the administration expected from the guides (although, the decent behaviour was also important).

Key words: Near caves, Far caves, Kyiv Dormition Caves lavra, guide, visitor, late 18th – early 20th cent.

Антоніна КІЗЛОВА,
кандидат історичних наук, доцент кафедри історії
Національного технічного університету України
«Київський політехнічний інститут імені Ігоря Сікорського»
(Україна, Київ) ant_kiz@ukr.net

СУПРОВІД ВІДВІДУВАЧІВ ПО ПЕЧЕРАХ У КИЄВО-ПЕЧЕРСЬКІЙ УСПЕНСЬКІЙ ЛАВРІ (КІНЕЦЬ ХVІІІ – ПОЧАТОК ХХ СТ.)

В статті розглядаються комунікативні особливості насельників Києво-Печерської Успенської лаври в соціальних взаємодіях, пов'язаних з шанованими чудотворними іконами та моцями святих. У кінці ХVІІІ ст. Лавра була дуже важливим православним центром. Вона є яскравим прикладом соціальної системи святого місця, яку відвідували не лише богомольці, а й туристи з різних країн. Близьні та Дальні печери слід було відвідувати з провідником. Монахи, що вказують шлях у підземеллі, стали персонажами гравюр і творів художньої літератури. Втім, хоча дослідження супроводу по печерах може розширити знання про духовність і комунікативну активність монахів нового часу, проблему майже не досліджено. Мета статті – на мікроісторичному рівні визначити ключові особливості організації супроводу відвідувачів по печерах. З використанням внутрішньомонастирських документів (протоколів та інструкцій Духовного собору, резолюцій настоятеля Лаври – митрополита Київського, особистих справ, формулярних і послужних списків братії, службових рапортів), а також подорожніх записок та мемуарів дорослих відвідувачів обителі (з різних країн та різних віросповідань) і Н. В. Лінки (екскурсовода «Всеукраїнського музейного городка») було встановлено, що головним очікуванням адміністрації Лаври (соборних старців та настоятеля) від провідників була їхня здатність без затримок вивести всю групу з печер (пристойна поведінка при цьому теж багато важила), бажано, не допускаючи, щоб хтось порушував порядок. Утім, підхід до тих, хто не міг цього забезпечити, залежав від їх стану здоров'я. Блюстителі як Близьких, так і Дальніх печер намагалися хоча б трохи полегшити умови, в яких провідники виконували послух, та він залишався виснажливим. У такому разі призначення фізично немічних провідників видається радше вимушеним. На формальний рівень освіти увагу звертали менше, ніж на комунікативні навички. Припустимий для Лаври рівень нетверезості та неохайності хранителів святих потребує подальшого дослідження.

Ключові слова: Близьні печери, Дальні печери, Києво-Печерська Успенська лавра, провідник, відвідувач, кінець ХVІІІ – початок ХХ ст.

The statement of the problem. Kyiv Caves lavra, particularly in the late 18th – early 20th cent., attracted numerous pilgrims and tourists, so it serves as a vivid example of the social system where the keepers of relics cooperated with visitors (Shchepanskaya, 1995: 117–119). The keepers of its worshipped icons and relics had an opportunity to accumulate very rich communicative experience.

Pilgrims came to Near and Far Caves to worship 123 sacred relics, 61 myrrh-emanating skulls, and the icon of the Blessed Virgin (see, for example: Kratkoe, 1795: 80–82; L(ebed-intsev), 1894: 36–37, 64; M(aksimovich), 1849: 14–16). It was necessary to visit Near and Far caves with a guide from Lavra, especially in «fixed time» (see more in detail: Kizlova, 2016: C?). The monks, pointing the way in underground corridors, are the characters of some pictures (Kartiny, 1839: 278; Sviatyie, 1859: 79; Funds of NKPHCP. Collection of Graphics. 2284: 1) and belles-lettres works (Dmitrieva, 1902: 35; Nechui-Levytskyi, 1966: 389; Podyachev, 1927: 291–292). Therefore, the study of the essence of this sort of service (in fact, obedience) can help to amplify the lore about the spirituality and religiousness, as well as about the communicative activity of monks in modern period.

The analysis of sources and recent researches. Historians have not paid attention to ordinary cave guides. There is a brief mention of the subject in M. Petrenko's work, which informs that guide monks had asked certain payment from cave visitors for their guided tour through the caves. Finally, the Spiritual Council forbade it, because its members were afraid the pilgrims could alienate support of the holy place. Overall, M. Petrenko used this situation as an example of an ignominious behaviour of the cult attendants towards the believers (Petrenko, 1959: 2). A. Kizlova analysed the variants of the interactions of the guides with their groups directly in the caves and their response to the attempts to touch holy relics (Kizlova, 2018: 164–169; Kizlova, 2016: 16–19). Hence, the conditions in which the Kyiv Cave Monastery guides communicated with their management and the cave visitors are scantily explored.

The publication's purpose. The article's purpose is to solve the following unresolved part of the problem: of the organizational prerequisites of walking in Near and Far caves of Kyiv Caves lavra with a guide.

The statement of the basic material. Dealing with the money earned for the guiding service to cave visitors (to leave it to the guides, to share it among the fellow-monks, etc.) was considered in Lavra within the period from 1808 to 1810. In general context of this theme a mention about the inadmissibility of accepting money for guiding visitors through the caves is very important because the money reception could scare the pilgrims away from the Caves as well as bring the monastery to «great shame» (in Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 C. 1236. S. 16). A special file of proceedings about the guides and holy water sprinklers pocketing money given them by pilgrims was opened in 1829. Probably, mentioned money were voluntary donations, because the case passed off without specifications against any extortions (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 C. 1719. S. 1–4 reverse). In the oath text for the cave monks the following statement is specified: «The money given me by anybody for my work I shall certainly give for the common good into the donation box» (In Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 C. 1719. S. 5). Probably, M. Petrenko considered the first of these discussions, without dating it and with no mention of Lavra administration's appeal to public shame (Petrenko, 1959: 21), because the monastery have determined the fate of its own money in 1829.

In July of 1823, chief caretaker of the Near caves (Spiritual Council member, hieromonk Philaret) asked the Spiritual Council to appoint someone capable for guiding of the believers

through the caves (there were no worthy applicant among the members of the Near caves department concerning at that time). Father Philaret, by the way, referred to the necessity of urgent solution of the problem, lest the crowds of pilgrims might «become extremely indignant» (In Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1. C. 780. S. 2).

The honour of both monastery and donators appears in the instruction of the Spiritual Council for the chiefs of the monastery's departments alongside with the satisfaction of interests of visitors. This instruction issued in 1842 was repeatedly copied and activated during 1880 – 1905 (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1. C. 482. S. 14). Therefore, in the cases of cave visiting the attention was paid not only to the facilitation for visitors, but also to maintaining of proper reputation of Lavra in general and of its separate representatives in particular. Thus, the desire to meet the need of cave visitors to be supplied with a guiding service of proper quality fits this context well.

The cave guides were to stick to the order of 1800, which stated that in the caves «all the clergy, monks, and novices should not behave roughly with the visiting pilgrims» (in Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1. C. 1085. S. 1–3). The regulation by the Vice Superior was published in early 20th cent. All brethren of Lavra had always treat pilgrims of any public status with politeness, calmness, and obligingness according to this instruction (Funds of NKPHCP. Collection Archive, 1251. S. 1). It is possible, that it was only a written fixation of the previous unwritten tradition.

Against the background of a general control over the brethren's behaviour monk Gedeon made an exception and was relieved of guiding duties according to Metropolitan's resolution (October 20th, 1802) «for his rough and obstinate behaviour towards cave visitors» (in Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 KDS. C. 234. S. 57). On June 13th, 1847, the Spiritual Council decided to transfer robe-bearer monk Hesychius (secular name – Ivan Lomasiev), whose participation in cave guarding cannot be excluded, from Near caves to the economic department «for his rough and immodest behaviour with pilgrims» (in Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 KDS. C. 370. S. 147). Therefore, it is possible to notice that the threshold of tolerance to the misconduct of cave guides really existed. However, the background of the requirements of kind behaviour, as well as the limits of ideal and maximum permissible in such requirements, still demand an independent study.

The strangers estimated the attitude either to the pilgrims, tourists, and holy shrines (here the author refers to the evidence of the adults who visited the caves). E. Henderson (who had visited the caves during his travel in 1821 – 1822) underlined how the guide had politely shown his propensity to satisfy the inquisitiveness of the cave visitors (Henderson, 1826: 181). P. Belyaev (in 1908) specified, how «politely» the guide monk lit up the pilgrims' tapers, asked pilgrims to go slowly and carefully, and calmed those who worried whether they got lost or not, as well as patiently waited until the lady, who had lost consciousness due to feeling bad, returned to her senses (Belyaev, 1909: 43).

K. Novikova described how the old monk calmed her near an exit from the caves, whereto she had come to meet her sister. He invited her to come into the cave (through the exit) and to breathe in the cave's pleasant smell, to see the light of the icon lamps. Then he addressed a younger monk with such words: «Bartholomew, take a candle in your hand and go ahead, so that we can follow you» (Novikova, 1911: 475). However, less favourable responses held out as well. In the middle of the 19th cent. M. Mamaev described the situation, when the attendant monk had been fund asleep and, after being woken up, believed in the importance of M. Mamaev's adjutant uniform and obligingly distributed candles to M. Mamaev and his

companions. Then he led his group into the caves (Mamaev, 1901: 788–789). In the underground passages, he loudly opened the coffins lids and indifferently pronounced the Saints' names as «a merchant showing his goods to the buyer and naming the kind of fabric it was made of» (in Russian, Mamaev, 1901: 789). In addition, the monk showed the visitors many lateral passages with the nailed down wooden planks. He said that all the structures had fallen down behind these barriers, and such comments hardly made the visitors calm. In 1880 priest V. Gurev wrote about his visit to Near caves that he cannot convey the tone of sellers of candles in their treatment for the buyers, and of «the guides for the gathered pilgrims» (in Russian, Gurev, 1880: 752). He also added that the guides «really shows, but the question is how he does it» (in Russian, Gurev, 1880: 752). Therefore, even taking into account that the mentioned travellers might be more sensitive to the emotional microclimate around the sacred objects than the majority of other pilgrims, it is possible to notice that the guides' behaviour did not always entirely correspond to the expectations of the outliers and, possibly, administration.

O. Kysilevska described her visiting of the caves in 1910. She mentioned that she heard a loud dispute between the monk and a woman with her little son who got frightened at the entrance into the underground: «If you have already entered, you are to go further. – Do you want to withhold us forcefully? It's inappropriate!» (in Ukrainian, Kysilevska, 1955: 54). In addition, the traveller mentioned a reference to the gossip about «various unfair cases with young feminine pilgrims in the caves» (in Ukrainian, Kysilevska, 1955: 53) in her recollections. O. Kysilevska did not specify who (the monastery dwellers or visitors) exactly hurt the girls. In 1911, K. Novikova described her experience of her visiting of the caves. She also met a guide at the entrance. When she stopped in a fright, he began softly convince her to overcome a sinful fear. However, he only made the woman cry (he ordered her to repent this weeping), because «his eyes were burning with a feverish glint, his voice lost softness and turned sharp» (in Russian, Novikova, 1911, 474). It is not feasible to exclude that both women-travellers wrote about the same monk. If they described different guides, it is possible to conclude, that a general tendency of such a persistence to make all who approached by the caves entrance to descend underground existed in early 20th cent. Anyway, the administration could not know nothing about that line of behaviour of one or several guides. For that matter, nobody eradicated it, so it was particularly acceptable for Lavra.

O. Levshin specified that numerous visitors drew their names on the sooty walls of [Near] caves. O. Levshin also left his name «on the wall, having twice scratched it with his knife (in Russian, Pisma, 1816: 110). This mention points out that guides had not enough time to supervise every cave visitor.

Monk Theodoret was appointed as a guide to Far caves on February 13th, 1870. On January 11th, 1873 archimandrite Nicholas, manager of the Lavra apiary, issued the complaint about that monk. In the complaint, archimandrite Nicholas asserted that Theodoret was sent to the apiary of Holosievo «to work because of his uneasy character» (in Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 2 chern. C. 837. S. 29). It is possible to assume that the Theodoret's uneasy character had affected his dialogues with pilgrims, because of the remoteness of his new place of obedience.

In 1834 guide monk Vukol (Near caves) received the characteristic of «being good in obedience and of proper behaviour» (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 123. S. 38, 46 reverse – 47). Guide monk of Far caves Gregorius (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 120. S. 39 reverse) was characterised in 1835 as one who «worked assiduously

enough, lived morally and piously» (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 127. S. 333), and in 1836 – 1837 as «faithful, honest, and heartfelt in his attitude to shrines» (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 82. S. 565 reverse – 566). In 1842 the chief caretaker of Near caves recommended the guide monk Irenaeus for a post of a sacristan. Irenaeus was known as «faithful, with good behaviour, and heartfulness towards obedience» (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 KDS. C. 352. S. 99 reverse). Monk Manasseh became a sacristan of Far caves in 1848, right after he had fulfilled the obedience of a guide there (since 1842) (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 158. № 44). It can also testify to a good reputation, which he had received. There is a reference to the behaviour of St. Alexius Pecherskyi (i. e., Alexius of the Caves, 1840 – 1917) as a cave guide in his hagiography. He was always hospitable and mild, and substantially told about the saints. The characteristic of St. Alexius is valuable because it contains a mention of metropolitan Plato who entrusted Father Alexius with guiding of honourable visitors in the caves (Zhitie, 1993: 80). After all, such messages, even in hagiographic text, as well as the «career» growth of monks Irenaeus and Manasseh are evident enough to testify to the highly appreciated model behaviour of the guides.

In May (the month when the number of pilgrims increased (CSHAK Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 C. 1894. S. 142)) of 1804 the official report of chief caretaker of Near caves about frequent drunkenness of guide monk Metrophanes was considered. This report had an appendix with a request to replace the drunkard with someone honest and decent (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 KDS. C. 238. S. 36 reverse). Metropolitan Serapion ordered to send Metrophanes to some outlying monastery or hermitage until he would mend his ways (through the agency of Kyiv spiritual dicastery) (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 KDS. C. 238. S. 46–46 rev.). Hiero-deacon Theoktistos (appointed to divine services and guiding of pilgrims in 1833) was characterized as very inclined to alcohol consumption and voluntary roaming beyond the territory of Lavra in 1839. That is why the Spiritual Council issued a resolution «he can not perform regular Divine services» (in Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 82. S. 543 reverse – 544). However, no separate discussion whether Theoktistos could remain a cave guide was conducted. Monk Proclus guided pilgrims through the caves until June 14th, 1837. During the performance of his obedience he received an estimation as «capable, but apt to drunkenness» (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 127. S. 69 reverse – 61; C. 128. S. 32 reverse – 33, 81 reverse, 82). However he was punished by a penance with the removal of his cassock and kamelaukion for drunkenness only in 1841 (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 136. S. 81 reverse – 82). Therefore, the researcher happened to find out only one case of the monastery dweller's dismissal from guiding of pilgrims through the caves because of alcohol abuse in the available sources.

The detailed records about guide monk in Lavra documents are not traced since the middle of 19th cent. As to the mentions in visitors' notes, M. Mamaev's and his casual companions' guide, in general was a polite one. On the other hand he appeared to be tipsy and had a smell of alcohol (Mamaev, 1901: 789). T. Clark has noticed in 1889, that his guide was unsteady on his feet all along of drinking too much vodka (Clark, 1889: 364). Hence, it was not possible to achieve the complete refusal of the cave guides from alcohol.

In 1821 chief caretaker of Near caves explained that the monk John could be a guide no longer «because of extreme weakness» (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 zah.-chern. C. 773. S. 1). Hiero-deacon Laurentius, who thitherto had guided pilgrims over six years, was characterised in 1838 as «hardly able for church service because of insufficient literacy» (in Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 130. S. 27). Such mentions generate

a question about physical and intellectual abilities of guides in visions of the administration and in reality.

First, it is necessary to outline the conditions of their labour. In 1839, hiero-monk Dositheus, chief caretaker of Far caves, explained to the Spiritual Council that from May to September multiple pilgrims would visit the caves from 4 a. m. to 1 or 2 p. m. It would be too hard for priests, readers, singers, and guides performing Divine services for visitors to work 9–10 hours a day in the charcoal fumes from numerous candles. Therefore, additional persons would be necessary in order to carry out the mentioned duties in shifts. In addition, Dositheus specified that up to 500 visitors pass through the caves every day, so for their proper support and supervision, one monk should go ahead and a few others were necessary to spread around the underground passages so nobody would steal money or relics (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 C. 1894. S. 141 reverse – 142). F. Račky described the stuffiness in the caves caused by their narrowness, crowds of visitors, and the smoke of candles and icon-lamps in 1886 (Račky, 1886: 238). Obviously, Father Dositheus did not exaggerate the facts.

In 1842, at the approach of summer when many visitors were to come, the chief caretaker of Far caves asked the Spiritual Council to allow two monks «to take up the post of guides» (in Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 KDS. C. 352. S. 102 reverse). As a result, the rural dean appointed only one monk to the obedience (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 KDS. C. 352. S. 102 reverse). Different sources inform on different number of pilgrims within usual groups, the average figure being from 10 to 30 people (Belyaev, 1909: 42–43; Kusmartsev, 1904. S. 8; Kijów, 1901: 273; Todd, 1916: 19). There are also various mentions that a monk had to watch that nobody would remain behind, get lost, or put a hand into a coffin (Nikodimov; Skitalets, 1908: 108–109; Shchepanskaya, 1995: 42); that monks and novices who guided pilgrims in the caves should be several (CSHAK of Ukraine followed each group. F. 128. D. 1. C. 1348. S. 6). There were no indications of how those brothers distributed their duties. Therefore, the workload of guides, mainly in spring and summer, looks considerable.

In 1839, the chief caretaker of Far caves asked the Spiritual Council for two persons to guide the pilgrims and «to watch over at night time» (in Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 KDS. C. 344. S. 148–148 reverse). In general, according to the materials of early 1870, guiding of pilgrims could combine with recording of donations, psalm-reading, fulfilling of the chief caretaker's orders, assisting the sacristan and even replacement of his post (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 zah.-chern. C. 773. S. 1; D. 1 KDS. C. 234. S. 57; C. 252. S. 23; C. 256. S. 15; C. 329. S. 33 reverse; D. 1. C. 82. S. 21 reverse, 33 reverse – 34; C. 112. S. 30 reverse – 31, 121 reverse – 122; C. 240. S. 70 reverse; D. 2 chern. C. 837. S. 27). Since early 19th cent. until the mid-1830's cave hiero-deacons and hieromonks, who took part in conducting of the Divine services in turn, guided pilgrims in the caves as well (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 zah.-chern. C. 773. S. 1; D. 1 chern. C. 112. S. 35 reverse – 36; C. 127. S. 225 reverse – 226, 242 reverse – 243, 274 reverse – 275, 374 reverse – 375), although there is no such specification for two guide hiero-deacons (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 127. S. 368 reverse – 369, 584 reverse – 585). Therefore, the mentioned combination of duties was not obligatory even for the monks after ordination. It is impossible to find out clear, if it was desirable or reluctant for the administration, according to the available sources.

K. Kazanskiy (1900) displayed just moderate empathy for Lavra inhabitants: «The monks performing regular services in the caves get tired physically and intellectually, constantly telling the same. I mean, they are also people and their feelings, like our own, can become blunt»

(in Russian, Na yuge, 1900: 53). Against such a background the guiding obedience sometimes was allocated to somebody for a long time. 60-year-old monk Celsus read psalms in the caves and guided visitors in Far caves for 26 years in 1805 (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 82. S. 69 reverse – 70). Monk, hiero-deacon, and later hieromonk Irenarch was a guide for 20 years since 1802 and, at the same time, took part in Divine services (after his ordination) (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 112. S. 35 reverse – 36). Probably, these two monks were the most suitable for the corresponding obedience or/and found support from the administration.

Monk Gregorius started to guide pilgrims when he was 67 and did that until he became 87 (in 1835/6), in spite of being «weak and sick» (in Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 127. S. 333) and «not enough able due to his old age» (in Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 82. S. 565 reverse – 566). In the summer of 1828 (or 1829?) hieromonk Anatolius has failed to pacify 10 drunk officers in underground passage owing to his old age, infirmity, and extreme feebleness. The administration recognised such explanation as satisfactory (Kizlova, 2018: 166–167). At the same time, in 1847 the Spiritual Council decided to appoint monk Theofilus a guide of Far caves with respect to his request not to make him a caretaker of Lavra refectory and allow him to remain a seller of candles «because of the weakening of his health» (in Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 zah.-chern. C. 607. S. 2–2 reverse). Therefore, Father Anatolius described his conditions quite objectively and, besides, he was not the only old and feeble guide.

K. Sheridan also paid attention to the old age of her guide monk (Sheridan, 1925: 95). In November of 1929, N. Linka was appointed a museum guide for the excursionists in Near caves «in the company of 6 old monks» (in Russian, Vospominaniya). However, both authors did not specify the health status of those monks.

Travellers also mentioned young guides (monks and novices) (Gurev, 1880: 752; In the Catacombs, 1886: 445). However, we do not know what age they considered young. The first four monks, chosen at random, were 31, 29, 48, and 54 years old when they became guides (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 82. S. 21 reverse; 51, 38 reverse; 56, 81 reverse; CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 2 chern. C. 837. S. 2 reverse, 18, 27). Therefore, there was no appreciable regularity for the cave caretakers in the selection of guides.

In 1810, the chief caretaker of Far caves informed that monk Timotheus was ill and could not guide pilgrims (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 KDS. C. 256. S. 15), although he did not specify whether temporarily or forever. In 1833, the guard novices have been guiding visitors of Near caves instead of the ill monk Sozont over a month (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 zah.-chern. C. 909. 11–11 reverse, 17–17 reverse). Thus, it was impossible to find the substitutes for ill guides immediately.

In 1833 monk Vukol, discharged of book selling due to his poor eyesight, substituted for mentioned monk Sozont (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 zah.-chern. C. 909. S. 11–11 reverse, 17-17 reverse). When monk Vukol had applied for the fulfilment of constant obedience in Lavra (under the name Vasyliy Solovyanov), he had presented his dismissal from the military community. That document explained that he had been unable to be engaged in agriculture due to «the weakness of his health and a chronic disease» (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 2 chern. C. 319. S. 1 a reverse). Fedor Yelin, later known as monk Theodoret, was admitted to the Monastery in 1849 after he had given a vow to the Blessed Virgin during his long illness. According to his passport, he was completely deaf in his right ear (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 2 chern. C. 837. S. 2 reverse, 18, 27). Thus, neither sight nor hearing disabilities, per se, were not considered as a barrier to the guiding obedience.

As to the «poles» of the guides' educational status (the majority of them were able to read and write), at least one guide (monk Habakkuk in 1836) was illiterate (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 127. S. 443 reverse – 444), in contrast, hieromonk Melito (according to the official list of 1805) studied Latin and rhetoric «in the academy» (in Russian, CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 1 chern. C. 82. S. 21 reverse). Fedor Yelin (later – monk Theodoret) «could read and write well» (CSHAK of Ukraine. F. 128. D. 2 chern. C. 837. S. 18) according to his characteristic of 1852. However, the extraneous comments about a level of knowledge and prudence of the cave monks drew more researcher's attention.

In 1810, I. Dolgorukiy commended the monks' abilities to search out the way in dark caves and help the visitors to exit (Dolgorukiy, 1870: 270). In 1875, the archpriest I. Yershov wondered that some visitors did not believe in holy relics. The guide answered «Oh, Father, somebody does not believe in God, although they call themselves Christians; probably, their time has not arrived yet» (Yershov 1875: 756).

K. Kazanskiy have been to Lavra in 1900. He regretfully ascertained that there were some poor educated and not skilled in spiritual life monks (although the guide of his group was knowledgeable) (Na yuge, 1900: 53). In 1891, the sceptical companion told I. Morris that once a guide monk had heard about the Roman catacombs from one lady. He had told her very scornfully that in Rome only embalmed bodies are available, whereas in Lavra the imperishable earthly remains of the saints were kept, because these saints were awarded with immortality for their piety (Morris, 1891: 52–53). V. Geiman (1914) considered typical the monk who, telling about saints, «tried to adjust to my way of thinking as he himself pictured it» (in Russian, Geiman, 1914: 98–99). In 1926, a guide of the group of C. Sheridan told with sincere conviction that the saints got repeatedly undressed before pilgrims and communists; the soul of some of them appeared before the monk and begged to leave his body in peace, because somebody tried to touch it (Sheridan, 1925: 95). This mention corresponds to V. Nekrasov's reminiscence of the episode of a discussion between the atheistic visitors and «garrulous monks» (in Russian, Nekrasov, 2003: 78). It should be noted, that there were indications to many guides, capable not to become confused even in non-standard situations, even in the works of enough educated and exacting visitors.

In 1915, R. Pierce described a guide in a dirty habit, with dandruff on his shoulders and a bad smell of his body (Pierce, 1918: 19). This is a sole mention of a guides «neatness» which the researcher has managed to find.

The conclusions. The administrative monks of Lavra awaited cave guides to be able to lead a group out of the caves without any delay. Respectable guides' behaviour was also very important for them. A slant on the guides, unable to prevent violation of discipline in the catacombs depended on the health conditions of these brothers. The chief caretakers of the caves tried to alleviate the conditions, under which the cave guides carried out their duty, even by a negligible margin. However, the obedience of guides has remained exhausting. The appointment of feeble and (or) old guides in such a case seems to be a forced step. The level of guides – formal education was less important than their communicative abilities for the administrative monks. The author sees a prospect in more detailed study of a tolerable for Lavra level of alcohol consumption and disregard for personal hygiene of the sacred objects attendants. The Monastery's admissibility level of drunkenness and untidiness of the guides demands a further research.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Фонды НКПЗ – Фонды Национального Киево-Печерского историко-культурного заповедника.
ЦДАК України – Центральний державний архів України в м. Києві.
Беляев, 1909. – Беляев П. У великих святыхъ. Саратов, 1909. 138 с.
Воспоминания – Воспоминания Н. В. Линки «Всеукраинский музейный городок» [1970-е гг.]. URL: <https://tinyurl.com/19qq6sr>
Гейман, 1914 – Гейман В. По градам и весям родной земли. СПб., [1914]. 126 с.
Гурьев, 1880 – Гурьев В. Письма священника // Русский вестник. Журнал литературный и политический. Т. 150. № 12. 1880. С. 726–793.
Дмитриева, 1902 – Дмитриева В. На скале // Русское богатство. 1902. Вып. 9. С. 5–48.
Долгорукий, 1870 – Долгорукий И. Славны бубны за горами или Путешествие мое кое-куда в 1810 г. М., 1870. 355 с.
Ершов, 1875 – Ершов И. Три дня в Киево-Печерской лавре и Киеве // Саратовские епархиальные ведомости. 1875. № 23. С. 756.
Житие, 1993 – Житие иже во святых Преподобного и Богоносного отца нашего Алексия Голосеевского, старца и подвижника Киево-Печерской Лавры. Память 11-го марта (1840 – 1917) // Русский Паломник. Журнал Валаамского Общества Америки. № 8. 1993. С. 75–93.
Картины, 1839 – Картины России и быт разноплеменных ее народов. Из путешествий П. П. Свиньина, 1. СПб., 1839. 436 с.
Кизлова, 2018 – Кизлова А. Реакция проводников по пещерам Киево-Печерской Успенской лавры на прикосновения к мощам (XIX – начало XX вв.) // «Știință, educație, cultură», conferință științifico-practică internațională (2; 2018; Chișinău). Conferința științifico-practică internațională: [ed. a 2-a: în 2 vol.]. Т. 2. Комрат, 2018. С. 164–169.
Кисилевська, 1955 – Кисилевська О. По рідному краю. Торонто, 1955. С. 50–56.
Кизлова, 2016 – Кизлова А. Взаємодія братії з богомольцями у Києво-Печерській Успенській лаврі (кінець XVIII – початок XX ст.) // Наукові записки Тернопільського національного педагогічного університету імені Володимира Гнатюка. Серія: історія. 2016. Вип. 2. Ч. 2. С. 114–122.
Кизлова, 2015 – Кизлова А. Практичні заходи навколо мощей святих у печерах Києво-Печерської лаври, спрямовані на комунікацію з богомольцями (кінець XVIII – перші десятиліття XX ст.) // Сторінки історії. Збірник наукових праць. Вип. 40. 2015. С. 14–24.
Краткое, 1795 – Краткое историческое описание Киево-Печерской лавры. К., 1795. 271 с.
Кусмарцев, 1904 – Кусмарцев П. В землю завета вечного. Саратов, 1904. 249 с.
Л(ебединцев) П., 1894 – Л(ебединцев) П. Киево-Печерская лавра в ее прошедшем и нынешнем состоянии. К., 1894. 111 с.
М(аксимович), 1849 – М(аксимович) И. Паломник киевский. К., 1849. 68 с.
Мамаев, 1901 – Мамаев Н. Записки: [Лавра и пещеры в 1850-х гг.] // Исторический вестник. 1901. № 9. С. 787–790.
На Юге, 1900 – На юге / Под ред. препод. К. Казанского. Самара, 1900. 228 с.
Некрасов, 2003 – Некрасов В. Записки зеваки. М., 2003. 602 с.
Нечуй-Левицький, 1966 – Нечуй-Левицький І. Київські Прохачі // Зібрання творів у 10 т. К., 1965 – 1968. Т. 7. 1966. С. 359–447.
Никодимов – Никодимов И. Воспоминание о Киево-Печерской Лавре (1918 – 1943). URL: <https://tinyurl.com/ybyhfrpj>
Новикова, 1911 – Новикова Е. Из поездки в Киев. Воспоминания паломницы. Продолжение // Русский паломник. № 30. 1911. С. 474–476.
Петренко, 1959 – Петренко М. Правда про печери і моці Києво-Печерської лаври. К., 1959. 36 с.
Письма, 1816 – Письма из Малороссии, Писанные Алексеем Левшиным. Харьков, 1816. 206 с.
Подъячев, 1927 – Подъячев С. Помолодел // Полное собрание сочинений. М., 1927. С. 289–312.
Святые, 1859 – Святые пещеры Киево-Печерской лавры // Русский художественный листок / Изд. В. Тимм. 1859. № 25. С. 79.
Скиталец, 1908 – Скиталец. Этапы // Сборник товарищества «Знание». 1908. Т. 25. С. 1–174.

- Щепанская, 1995 – Щепанская Т. Кризисная сеть (традиции духовного освоения пространства) // Русский Север. К проблеме локальных групп. СПб., 1995. С. 110–176.
- Clark, 1889 – Clark T. G. Christianity East and West Pilgrimage. London, 1889. 685 p.
- Henderson, 1826 – Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia. London, 1826. Henderson E. 577 p.
- In the Catacombs, 1886 – In the Catacombs at Kiev. From St. Jame's Gazette // Littell's Living Age. 1886. Vol. 168. № 2173 (February 13). P. 444–445.
- Kijów, 1901 – Kijów i jego pamiątki / W. Ciecchowsky. K., 1901. 352 s.
- Morris, 1891 – Morris I. A Summer in Kieff: or, Sunny Days in Southern Russia. London, 1891. P. 52–53.
- Pierce, 1918 – Pierce R. Trapped in «Black Russia»: Letters June – November 1915. Boston & New York, 1918. 162 p.
- R(ačky), 1886 – R(ačky) F. Putne uspomene o Rusiji // Vienac. 1886. Br. 15. S. 234–238.
- Sheridan, 1925 – Sheridan C. Across Europe with Satanella. New York, 1925. 216 p.
- Todd, 1916 – Todd M. The Cult of Kiev // Vassar Quarterly. 1916. Vol. 12. P. 13–20.

REFERENCES

- Funds of NKPHCP – Funds of National Kyiv-Pechersk Reserve of History and Culture.
- CSHAK of Ukraine – Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, Kyiv.
- Belyaev, 1909 – Belyaev P. U velikikh svyatykh [Near the Great Sacred Objects]. Saratov, 1909. 138 s. [in Russian]
- Vospominaniya – Vospominaniya N. V. Linki «Vseukrainskiy muzeynyy gorodok» [1970-e gg.] [Memoirs of N. Linka «Ukrainian City of Museums» [1970-e gg.]]. URL: <https://tinyurl.com/l9qq6sr> [in Russian]
- Geyman, 1914 – Geyman V. Po gradam i vesyam rodnoy zemli [Across Cities and Countryside of Motherland]. SPb., [1914]. 126 s. [in Russian]
- Gurev, 1880 – Gurev V. Pisma svyashchennika [Priest's Letters] // Russkiy vestnik. Zhurnal literaturnyy i politicheskiy. T. 150. № 12. 1880. S. 726–793. [in Russian]
- Dmitrieva, 1902 – Dmitrieva V. Na skale [On the Rock] // Russkoe bogatstvo. 1902. Vyp. 9. S. 5–48. [in Russian]
- Dolgorukiy, 1870 – Dolgorukiy I. Slavnoy bubny za gorami ili Puteshestvie moe koe-kuda v 1810 g. [Unknown Always Seems to be Good or My Journey Somewhere in 1810]. M., 1870. 355 s. [in Russian]
- Yershov, 1875 – Yershov I. Tri dnya v Kievo-Pecherskoy lavre i Kieve [Three Days in Kyiv Caves Lavra and Kyiv] // Saratovskie eparkhialnye vedomosti. 1875. № 23. S. 756. [in Russian]
- Zhitie, 1993 – Zhitie izhe vo svyatykh Prepodobnogo i Bogonosnogo ottsa nashego Aleksiya Goloseevskogo, startsa i podvizhnika Kievo-Pecherskoy Lavry. Pamyat 11-go marta (1840 – 1917) [Hagiography of Our Saint Venerable and God-bearing Father Aleksiy from Holosievo, Elder and of Kyiv Caves Lavra, Memory Day on the 11th of March (1840 – 1917)] // Russkiy Palomnik. Zhurnal Valaamskogo Obshchestva Ameriki. № 8. 1993. S. 75–93. [in Russian]
- Kartiny, 1839 – Kartiny Rossii i byt raznoplemennyykh ee narodov. Iz puteshestviy P. P. Svinina [Pictures of the Russia and Everyday Life of its Nations. From the Journeys of P. Svinin], 1. SPb., 1839. 436 s. [in Russian]
- Kizlova, 2018 – Kizlova A. Reaktsiya provodnikov po peshcheram Kievo-Pecherskoy Uspenskoj lavry na prikosnoveniya k moshcham (XIX – nachalo XX vv.) [Cave Guides' Attitude to the Attempts to Touch Holy Relics (19th – Early 20th Cent.)] // «Știință, educație, cultură», conferință științifico-practică internațională (2; 2018; Chișinău). Conferința științifico-practică internațională: [ed. a 2-a: în 2 vol.]. T. 2. Komrat: KGU, 2018. – S. 164–169. [in Russian]
- Kysilevska, 1955 – Kysilevska O. Po ridnomu kraiu [Across the Native Region]. Toronto, 1955. S. 50–56. [in Ukrainian]
- Kizlova, 2016 – Kizlova A. Vzaimodiia bratii z bohomołtsiamy u Kyievo-Pecherskii Uspenskii lavri (kinets XVIII – pochatok XX st.) [Interactions between Brethren and Prayers in Kyiv Dormition Caves Lavra (Late 18th – Early 20th Cent.)] // Naukovi zapysky Ternopilskoho natsionalnoho pedahohichnoho universytetu imeni Volodymyra Hnatiuka. Seriya: istoriia. 2016. Vyp. 2. Ch. 2. S. 114–122. [in Ukrainian]
- Kizlova, 2015 – Kizlova A. Praktychni zakhody navkolo moshchei sviatykh u pecherakh Kyievo-Pecherskoi lavry, spriamovani na komunikatsiiu z bohomołtsiamy (kinets XVIII – pershi desiatylyttia

- XX st.) [Practices Near Holy Relics in the Caves of Kyiv Caves Lavra, Related to Communication with Prayers (Late 18th – First Decades of 20th Cent.) // *Storinky istorii. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats. Vyp. 40.* 2015. S. 14–24.
- Kratkoe, 1795 – Kratkoe istoricheskoe opisanie Kievo-Pecherskoy lavry [Short Historical Description of Kyiv Caves Lavra]. K., 1795. 271 s. [in Russian]
- Kusmartsev, 1904 – Kusmartsev P. V zemlyu zaveta vechnogo [To the Terrain of Eternal Testament]. Saratov, 1904. 249 s. [in Russian]
- L(ebedintsev), 1894 – L(ebedintsev) P. Kievo-Pecherskaya lavra v ee proshedshe i nyneshnem sostoyanii [Kyiv Caves Lavra in Its Past and Contemporary Conditions]. K., 1894. 111 s. [in Russian]
- M(aksimovich), 1849 – M(aksimovich) I. Palomnik kievskiy [Kyivan Pilgrim]. Kyiv, 1849. 68 s. [in Russian]
- Mamaev, 1901 – Mamaev N. Zapiski: [Lavra i peshchery v 1850-kh gg.] [Notes [Lavra and the Caves in 1850's]] // *Istoricheskiy vestnik.* 1901. № 9. S. 787–790. [in Russian]
- Na yuge, 1900 – Na yuge [At the South] / Pod red. prepod. K. Kazanskogo. Samara, 1900. 228 s. [in Russian]
- Nekrasov, 2003 – Nekrasov V. Zapiski zevaki [Wantonly Notes]. M., 2003. 602 s. [in Russian]
- Nechui-Levytskyi, 1966 – Nechui-Levytskyi I. Kyivski Prokhachi [Kyivan Beggars] // *Zibrannia tvoriv u 10 t. K., 1965 – 1968. T. 7.* 1966. S. 359–447. [in Ukrainian].
- Nikodimov – Nikodimov I. Vospominanie o Kievo-Pecherskoy Lavre (1918 – 1943) [Memoirs about Kyiv Caves Lavra (1918 – 1943)]. URL: <https://tinyurl.com/ybyhfrpj> [in Russian]
- Novikova, 1911 – Novikova Ye. Iz poezdki v Kiev. Vospominaniya palomnitsy. Prodolzhenie [From the Journey to Kyiv. Pilgrim's Memoirs. Continuation] // *Russkiy palomnik.* № 30. 1911. S. 474–476. [in Russian]
- Petrenko, 1959 – Petrenko M. Pravda pro pechery i moshchi Kyievo-Pecherskoi lavry [True about the Caves and Relics of Kyiv Caves Lavra]. Kyiv, 1959. 36 s. [in Ukrainian]
- Pisma – Pisma iz Malorossii, Pisannye Alekseem Levshinyim [Letters from Little Russia, Written by Alexey Levshin]. Kharkov, 1816. 206 s. [in Russian]
- Podyachev, 1927 – Podyachev S. Pomolodel [He Became Younger] // *Polnoe sobranie sochineniy. M., 1927. S. 289–312.* [in Russian]
- Svyatye, 1859 – Svyatye peshchery Kievo-Pecherskoy lavry [The Saint Caves of Kyiv Caves Lavra] // *Russkiy khudozhestvennyy listok / Izd. V. Timm.* 1859. № 25. S. 79. [in Russian]
- Skitalets, 1908 – Skitalets. Etapy [Stages] // *Sbornik tovarishchestva «Znanie».* 1908. T. 25. S. 1–174. [in Russian]
- Shchepanskaya, 1995 – Shchepanskaya T. Krizisnaya set (traditsii dukhovnogo osvoiniya prostranstva) [Crisis Network (Traditions in Spiritual Domestication of Space)] // *Russkiy Sever. K probleme lokalnykh grupp.* SPb., 1995. S. 110–176. [in Russian]
- Clark, 1889 – Clark T. G. Christianity East and West Pilgrimage. London, 1889. 685 p. [in Polish]
- Henderson, 1826 – Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia. London, 1826. Henderson E 577 p. [in Polish]
- In the Catacombs, 1886 – In the Catacombs at Kiev. From St. Jame's Gazette // *Littell's Living Age.* 1886. Vol. 168. № 2173 (February 13). P. 444–445. [in Polish].
- Kijów, 1901 – Kijów i jego pamiątki [Kyiv and Its Places of Interest] / W. Ciechowsky. K., 1901. 352 s. [in Polish]
- Morris, 1891 – Morris I. A Summer in Kieff: or, Sunny Days in Southern Russia. London, 1891. P. 52–53. [in Polish]
- Pierce, 1918 – Pierce R. Trapped in «Black Russia»: Letters June – November 1915. Boston & New York, 1918. 162 p. [in Polish]
- R(ačky), 1886 – R(ačky) F. Putne uspomene o Rusiji // *Vienac.* 1886. Br. 15. S. 234–238. [in Polish]
- Sheridan, 1925 – Sheridan C. Across Europe with Satanella. New York, 1925. 216 p. [in Polish]
- Todd, 1916 – Todd M. The Cult of Kiev // *Vassar Quarterly.* 1916. Vol. 12. P. 13–20. [in Polish]
- Стаття надійшла до редакції 02.07.2018 р.
Стаття рекомендована до друку 16.08.2018 р.*