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Comparative studies of medical specialization in Orthodox and Catholic monasteries. Preliminary remarks

Abstract

Comparative studies of medical specialization in Orthodox and Catholic monasteries. Preliminary remarks. The article is dedicated to the problem of the genesis of hospitals and specialization of some Catholic and Orthodox monasteries in the provision of medical care and other charitable activities. The relevance of the topic is dictated by the difficulty in explaining the phenomenon of the Orthodox Trinity Hospital Monastery in Kyiv outside the context of the history of Rus as a part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Orthodox monasteries are not characterized by the reflection in their name of the monastery's implied charitable function. The problems of historiography relating to the monastery as a medical institution are discussed in the article. It focuses how the imperial concept of historical development prevails in post-Soviet countries, also either West European connections or regional features is taken little into account. Despite the meager available source base, posing the question makes it possible to identify promising areas of research, such as a comparison of the charters of Orthodox and Catholic monasteries with regard to the care of patients, dependence of specialized church institutions on public health policy, dynamics of the evolution of hospitals in Catholic and Orthodox monasteries, an architectural and spatial structure of medical units there, monastic view of disease and medical practice, which highlight the issues of the monasteries' social role and their functioning during epidemics.

Keywords

Hospital, history of medicine, Catholic and Orthodox monasteries, monks, Kyiv Pechersk monastery, Rus, Ukraine, Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Tsardom of Moscow.

In the Middle Ages, the Latin concept of *hospital* in Rus¹ corresponded to the words *strannopriimnitsa* and *bogadelnya*. *Strannye* refers to a place where travelers and pilgrims could stay in such places for a night, and where the poor and disabled received necessary help. Such care in monasteries was considered the work of God or work that pleased God. But currently there is no persuasive evidence showing that medical care was provided in these shelters, so there is no reason to call them *hospitals*² in the modern sense of the word. Scarcity of information coming from medieval sources led to the emergence of numerous historiographical fictions about the *medicine of Ancient Kyivan Rus*. They relied mainly on the pattern of the history of the Kyiv Pechersk Monastery developed in the 19th and 20th centuries which was one of the main Christian centers of Ukraine. That was the foundation of current popular misconceptions.

The question of transformation of monastery hostels into hospitals, as we think of them now, can be considered from the administrative, historical, and topographical viewpoints, as well as in terms of the care provided. Quite unexpected results emerge from an in-depth analysis of the problem in the case of Ukraine, where Christianity was adopted by the population before the Church Schism of 1054. The Kyiv Metropolis stayed under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople but, at the same time, the Orthodox with Roman Catholics communicated with each other due to the geopolitical

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- 1 The author rarely uses in her work the popular designation of the medieval state in the territory of modern Ukraine as *Kyivan Rus*. This is a modernized form dating to the 19th century – like the name *Byzantium* adopted for the Eastern Roman Empire. In historical and geographical sources, the state that arose in the Middle Dnieper region as a result of the unification of Slavic tribes is indicated by a single word – *Rus* or the *Russian land* (the phrase from the annals “the *polyane* [tribe] are now called Rus” was used as the basis for the theory of state development in the territory of modern Ukraine). Accordingly, the people who inhabited these lands began to be called *Russians*, *Rus*, or *ros*. Due to geopolitical transformations, the descendants of the autochthonous population of Rus adopted the self-definition *Ukrainians*, and their historical name was appropriated by the ideologists of the Tsardom of Moscow, which expanded its possessions based on imperial principles. The ancient Russian language of written sources that originated in the Dnieper region, modern Ukrainian scholars propose to call “Old Ukrainian literary language.” Both forms are acceptable for the author, since they objectively reflect the genesis of the language of the inhabitants of Ukraine. See: O. P. Motsya, *Pivdenna “Ruska zemlia,”* Kyiv 2007; V. V. Nimchuk, *Literaturni movy Kyivskoi Rusi*, <http://litopys.org.ua/istkult/ikult02.htm> (27.08.2019); V. V. Nimchuk, *Leksyka davnoruskogo pobutu*, <http://kulturamovy.univ.kiev.ua/KM/pdfs/Magazine25-14.pdf> (27.08.2019). L. Ghnatenko, *Paleohrafichno-orfohrafichna atributsia ukrayinskoj kyrylychnoi rukopysnoi knyhy: ustavni ta pivustavni kodeksy kintsya XIII – pochatku XVII st.: monohrafia, vidp. red. L. A. Dubrovina*, Kyiv 2016, p. 109.
 - 2 T. M. Mozharovska, *Medytsyna Davnoi Rusi (za materialamy Kyvevo-Pecherskoi lavry)*, in: *Lavrskyi almanakh: zb. nauk. pr., vidp. red. V.M. Kolpakova*, v. 11, Kyiv 2003, p. 75.

context. It resulted not only in religious tolerance of the local population (it is particularly seen in cases of marriages between representatives of the two religions), but also in a peculiar exchange of practices between monasteries. It is most noticeable in the educational, commercial, and economic activities of Catholic and Orthodox monasteries. These aspects are well represented in written sources (in contrast to the evidence of medical practice); for this reason no comparisons between charitable and medical units in Catholic and Orthodox monasteries have been made so far. However, one should bear in mind the fragmentary nature of the archives of Ukrainian monasteries, which under the Soviet regime were concentrated in state repositories; available monastic regulations of Catholic hospitals and work of some Polish researchers (based directly on the documents preserved in the monasteries³), provide the material for a comprehensive study of this intriguing topic.

The study of the initial foundation of the Trinity Hospital (*Bolnitsky*) monastery at the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra drew my attention to the topic. After the secularization reform of 1786 by Catherine II, it received the name of *Nikolskaya Bolnitsa*,⁴ also known as the *Nikolsky Hospital Monastery in Kyiv*; now it is a part of the state historical and cultural complex. The medical specialization of the monastic community is reflected in its name, and it makes it possible to single it out among other Orthodox monasteries of Ukraine as a distinct phenomenon. It shows features which resemble Catholic orders, whose foundation charters determined the main activities of the monks from the start.⁵ Monks' social function became especially visible in Europe from the 16th century. The first written information concerning the specialization of the Trinity Monastery in the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra in Ukraine (Rus) dates back to the same time: *Privilej Starzom Bolnickim Swętoie Trojcy monastyra Peczerskiego 1567*.⁶ We should acknowledge that such a function was not the only characteristic of Orthodox monasteries, and it deserves a close study and evaluation; just like the first hospitals in Western Europe, the premises for patients of the Hospital monastery (*infirmaria* or *bolnitsa*) were connected to the

3 M. Borkowska, *Życie codzienne polskich klasztorów żeńskich w XVII–XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1996, p. 270–277; A. Szylar, *Troska o zdrowie kobiet w klasztorach w XVIII wieku w świetle zachowanych źródeł zakonnych* (Concern for the Health of women in Convents in the eighteenth century in the light of extant monastic sources), "Nowiny Lekarskie" 2 (2010), p. 110–118.

4 Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kyiv (CSHAUK), fonds 128, op. 1 com., no. 7, fo. 210; no. 692, fos. 1–1v; no. 754, fo. 3.

5 V. Klimov, *Khrystyjanske chernetsvo Ukrainy*, "Ukrayinske relihiieznavstvo" 46 (2008), p. 281–302.

6 CSHAUK, fonds KMF-32, op. 2, no. 1698, fos. 1–4.

altar. For the first time, the hospital connected to a church is presented on the plan of the monastery which is displayed in the book “ТЕРАТОУРГІМА lubo Cuda, które byly tak w samym święto cudotwornym Monastyru Pieczarskim Kiyowskim...”⁷ At the entrance to the courtyard of the Hospital monastery there was an image of St. Lazarus;⁸ the image reminds us of the Catholic Order of the same name which was founded in the 12th century, and whose members had courage to look after leprosy patients, the main disease that prevailed among the inhabitants of Western Europe in the Middle Ages was also known in Rus. As a rule, sick poor people turned to traditional healers, the rich ones to famous secular doctors. People, whose health did not improve, turned their hopes to churches and monasteries. The Kyiv-Pechersk Paterik (the 13–15th century source) tells about the appeal of Prince Vladimir Vsevolodovich Monomakh to the famous monk Agapit. It also mentions how the rich man who suffered from leprosy, and whom no one could help in Kyiv, finally was healed by the icon painter and monk Alypy. Here one should draw attention to the cautionary note in the story that demonstrates the helplessness of doctors of a different faith and God’s wonderful gift of Christian ascetics.⁹

Thus, the subject of the comparative study can be outlined as follows: the statutes of Catholic and Orthodox monasteries regarding the function of taking care of the sick, elderly, and the disabled (first of all, the charters of St. Basil the Great (the 4th century), Benedict of Nursia (the 6th century), Fedor Studit (the 9th century); an architectural and spatial location of medical units inside monasteries; most common diseases among monks and parishioners in a given period; methods of rehabilitation of patients in Catholic and Orthodox monasteries. Also the influence of monastic environment: the performance of the Sacraments and contact with miracle-working relics is taken into account.

The monasteries of Rus, especially its capital city of Kyiv, became a blueprint for many monasteries of northeastern lands of Moscovy. However, they did not escape the influence that was going the other way, especially

7 See: KPL-GR-1551: *Plan Kiyeva iz knigi Afanasiya Kalnofoyskogo “Teraturgima” s izobrazheniyem zastroyki Bolnichnogo monastyrya na sever ot Troitskoy nadvratnoy tserkvi*, 1638 (20,8×15,6 sm); *The Teraturgema of Afanasij Kal’nofojs’kyj*, in: *Harvard library of early Ukrainian literature. Texts*, intro by P. Lewin, vol. 4, Cambridge 1987, p. 148, № 17.

8 *Puteshestviye Antiokhiyskogo patriarkha Makariya v Ukrainu v seredine XVII veka. opisanoye ego synom arkhidiakonom Pavlom Aleppskim*, Moskva 2005, p. 153.

9 D. I. Abramovych, *Kyievo-Pecherskyi pateryk. Repryntne vydannia*, Kyiv 1991, p. 130–132, 174–175.

after the subordination of the Kyiv Metropolis to the Moscow Patriarchate (1686). Nevertheless, retrospective comparative studies of the Orthodox monasteries of Ukraine and Russia can show significant differences in life of monastic communities even within the same religion, depending on the region. This is due to ethnic and social characteristics and the significant influence of historical environment. Nevertheless, the development of medicine in Ukraine is still often considered without paying attention to regional identity, in the shadow of the history of the Russian Empire in its evolution after 1721. One result of this is the emergence of a recent fairly convincing argument about the influence of warfare on the construction of medical facilities and the formation of a community of military doctors in Ukraine.¹⁰ The lower chronological boundary of such studies rarely extends beyond the 18th century, and it has little to do with the emergence of specialized medical institutions in monasteries; their authors are, as a rule, medical professionals, rather than historians. As a result, primary evidence is meticulously processed and analyzed from the perspective of modern medical practice (an example of this is the consideration of biblical subjects by the doctor of medicine J. Shparik¹¹). However, the genesis of hospitals and shelters for the disabled and orphans, which is closely related to the issue of Christianization of the Slav lands, is presented very schematically.¹² Deepening our knowledge in this area requires methods of historical research, including an uncompromising critique of the sources and historiography. Due to the above reasons, the literature on the history of medicine in *Kyivan Rus* is largely mythologized, and there is little direct references, or even sometimes fails to provide references of any kind. A characteristic feature of such studies in the post-Soviet space is the mechanical transfer of examples of medieval medical practice in Muscovite territories to Ukraine. In general, regarding issues of the functioning

10 *Medytsyna v Ukraini. Vydanni likari. Vypusk 1*. Kinets XVII – persha polovyna XIX st., Kyiv 1997; *Medytsyna v Ukraini*. XVIII – persha polovyna XIX st. *Biobibliohrafichnyi slovnyk. Dodatkovyi vypusk*, Kyiv 2002; *Medytsyna v Ukrayini*. XVIII – persha polovyna XIX st. *Biobibliohrafichnyi slovnyk. Dodatkovyi vypusk 1*, Kyiv 2002; M. P. Boychak, *Istoriya Kiyevskogo voyennogo gospatialya: kiyevskiy gospatial – uchebnaya i nauchnaya baza meditsinskogo fakulteta Universiteta Sv. Vladimira i Kiyevskogo meditsinskogo universiteta*, Kyiv 2005; M. P. Boychak, *Istoriya Kiyevskogo voyennogo gospatialya (v 6 tomakh)*, t. 1: *Kiyevskiy voyenny gospatial v XVIII–XIX vekakh. Stanovleniye i razvitiye voyennoy meditsiny v Ukraine*, Kyiv 2006; M. P. Boychak, R. N. Lyakina, *Ikh put v meditsinu nachinalsya s Kiyevskoy Dukhovnoy seminarii pervoy poloviny XIX veka*, Kyiv 2007; R. N. Lyakina, *Ikh put v meditsinu nachinalsya s Kiyevo-Mogilyanskoy akademii*, Kyiv 2011.

11 Ya. V. Shparyk, *Medytsyna u Sviatomu Pysmi*, Lviv 2018.

12 M. P. Boychak, R. N. Lyakina, *Gospatiali starodavnego Kiyeva i ikh lechebniki*, Kyiv 2013.

of charitable and medical institutions in Rus, both Ukrainian and foreign authors mostly rely on Russian imperial and Soviet historiography, what can be easily observed by tracing their references. At the same time, the contemporary Russian researcher of medicine in Rus, A. N. Medved¹³ warns against this tendency. The principal monographs on the subject, which form the bulk of the available historiography on *ancient Russian doctors*, treatment methods in medieval Rus, etc., are analysed in his work. He points out the didactic nature of the hagiographic texts, they apply in search of specific healing recipes. At the same time, the lives of the saints, above all, testify to a healing process containing a strong element of faith in God and the futility of medical treatment. Medieval sources of monastic origin claim that “a person seeking to go to heaven should never avoid a serious illness.” The stories coming from ancient Rus pateriks never talk about attempts to treat seriously ill monks. On the contrary, the disease is presented as one of the forms of martyrdom and trial, which should be experienced and not avoided. This clearly fits into the framework of the Orthodox Christian paradigm where suffering is perceived as a blessing, and where the treatment of the disease is almost out of the question. The deliverance from suffering sent by God only occurs if the Orthodox rite is observed.¹⁴

Popular historical and medical studies practically refuse to take into account the fact that Rus with its center in Kyiv was for a long time part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Even in ancient times, the Rus state that had preserved its independence until the 13th century, maintained closer ties with the Latin world than it is visible in the historiography. The incorporation of the *Russian land* by neighbouring states affects the evaluation of the source base. Therefore, even the works whose authors directly investigate the topic of medical activity of Poles in the Ukrainian lands in the modern and contemporary periods, rely on the body of historiography that contains few or no references to archival sources.¹⁵ Doing research on special charitable centers and monastery hospitals in the Ukrainian lands requires a comparative approach that would take into account the Latin tradition and intercultural relations. Attempts to probe the topic by checking the possibility

13 A. N. Medved, *Vrachevaniye v drevney i srednevekovoy Rusi i ego izucheniye v sovremennoy istoriografii*, “Vestnik RGGU”. Seriya: Istoriya. Filologiya. Kulturologiya. Vostokovedeniye 10 (2013), p. 167–183.

14 A. N. Medved, *Vrachevaniye v drevney i srednevekovoy Rusi...*, p. 172, 181.

15 E. Kolesnikova, J. Kowalski, L. Radwan, O. Fediv, G. Stupnytska, *Ukrainian physicians with polish origin*, “Aktualni pytannia suspilnykh nauk ta istorii medytsyny” 2 (2014) № 2, p. 90–98.

of relying on existing sources and designating promising areas for research are presented in the paper.

The starting point for posing the problem are the turbulent events in Ukraine in the first half of the 17th century. In that period, the dilemma of the further path of historical Rus – whether it would stay in the family of European countries or shift in the eastward Asian direction – had not yet achieved its culmination. It would be reached in the bloody confrontation between the Commonwealth and the Tsardom of Moscow that took advantage of the internal Cossack-gentry conflict.

In contemporary Kyiv, the phrase *monastery hospital* is associated mainly with the Orthodox Women's Intercession Monastery. The monastery was founded in 1889 by a member of the royal family, Grand Duchess Alexandra – the wife of the brother of the Russian Emperor Alexander II. Her mother had founded the first Holy Trinity Community of the Sisters of Mercy in Russia. Due to her upbringing, Alexandra felt sympathy for the sick since childhood. Her unhappy marriage connected with a disability resulting from the fall from a horse, led her to take the decision to settle in Kyiv and become a nun.¹⁶ However, the long-standing secularization policy of the Russian emperors caused that in this center of Orthodox pilgrimage only one female Florovsky monastery (known since the 16th century) remained in the 19th century. It was located in a very uncomfortable damp place at the foot of a hill and had its own small hospital for the nuns.¹⁷ The duchess developed the plan to build an extensive complex with a well-equipped hospital, shelters for orphans and the disabled, and providing other social services. To carry out the project, she bought a large plot of land close to the city center. The opening of the hospital became a festive affair, and even a special brochure was published on this event. N. Blokhina considers the question in the context of the history of the healthcare system in the Russian Empire.¹⁸ With regard to the history of medicine in Ukraine, a great deal of work was certainly done by M. Boychak and R. Lyakina. However, the main focus of their research is the military hospital.

16 V. Dyatlov, *Monastyri Ukrainy. Spravochnik*, Kiev 2013, p. 194–196.

17 O. O. Krainia, *Kyievo-Pecherskyi zhinochyi monastyr XVI – pochatku XVIII st. i dolia yoho pamiatok*, Kyiv 2012, p. 5, 118–119; O. O. Krainia, *Florivskyi (Voznesenskyi) monastyr u Kyevi yak pamiatka istorii ta arkhitektury XVI – poch. XX st.* Dysertatsia k.i.n. Tsentr pamiatkoznavstva NANU i UTOPIK, Kyiv 2012, p. 144, 153, 163, 179, 185.

18 N. N. Blokhina, *Besplatnaya bolnitsa i lechebnitsa dlya prikhodyashchikh bolnykh imperatora Nikolaya II pri Kiyevskom Pokrovskom zhenskom monastyre v kontse XIX i nachale XX v.* “Kazanskiy meditsinskiy zhurnal” 96 (2015) № 4, p. 697–702.

Discussion of monastic medicine prior to the 18th century is compromised by insufficiently critical assessment of a few sources available.¹⁹

Studies of the Ukrainian Orthodox monasteries' history confront us with the problem of its politically motivated interpretations in the historiography. It must be admitted that the *political correctness* noted by L. Belyaev²⁰ in the study of Christian legacy of the Tsardom of Moscow, provided the foundation for a one-sided scheme of the genesis of monasticism in the Ukrainian lands that had been part of the Russian Empire since the 17th century. At the same time, the geopolitical position of Rus, which territory is the historical core of modern Ukraine, was objectively reflected in the anthropological characteristics of its population and natural ties with the religious centers of the Commonwealth. Possession of Polish, Latin, Russian (or Old Ukrainian), and often Greek writing, was quite common among the Orthodox clergy of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Historical documents of the Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery, which are kept in the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, Kyiv (CSHAUK), testify that in the 17–18th centuries, there were quite a lot of ethnic Poles among monks of the Greek Orthodox religion. The missions of representatives of the Kyiv Metropolitanate, with the Polish regions budget construction, kept not only close economic but also spiritual and sociocultural relations. These relations existed after the division of the lands of Rus-Ukraine under the Andrusovo Peace Treaty (1667) between the Tsardom of Moscow and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

The similarity of certain aspects of the activity of monasteries existing under Roman and Greek jurisdictions has practically not been studied. Ecclesiastical and secular historiography reflected the conflict of interests between the Polish Kingdom and Moscow, both of them controlled the lands of Rus-Ukraine in turns. Political antagonisms led to an exaggerated contrast between the Christians of the Latin and the Greek traditions concerning their spirituality, morality, level of education, and culture. Critically few original sources dating to the 14–17th centuries have survived in Ukraine. On the one hand, it opened up opportunities for manipulation in favour of imperial interests, on the other, it led to the emergence of many other kinds of unconvincing pseudo-historical constructions. At the same time, there are aspects in the life

19 M. P. Boychak, R. N. Lyakina, *Monastyrskaya meditsina v Kiyevskoy Rusi*, "Therapia. Ukrainskyi medychnyi visnyk" 2 (2015), p. 62–64; M. P. Boychak, R. N. Lyakina, *Gospitali starodavnego Kiyeva i ikh lechebniki...*

20 L. Belyaev, *Khristianskiye drevnosti: Vvedeniye v sravnitelnoye izucheniye*, Moskva 1998, p. 447.

of Orthodox monasteries, which objective historical analysis is impossible without an examination of the practices of Catholic orders. The present attempt to propose a comparative study of Orthodox and Catholic monasteries is dictated by the need to explain the phenomenon of the Hospital Monastery existence at the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra. Its appearance in the early 12th century is shrouded in myths that are not supported by primary evidence. A popular story about the son of the Grand Duke of Chernihiv, Svyatoslav Davydovich (his monastic name was Nicola Svyatosha), who allegedly built the Trinity Gate Church and established a monastery in which the first hospital in Rus was palced, is not backed by the early sources in the history of the Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery. This version of events became entrenched only in the 17th century, during the time of St. Peter Mohyla (†1646). The present study does not aim to explain the reasons for this new version of Nikola Svyatosha's biography,²¹ as N. Sinkevich extensively examined this question in her study of the text of the early printed book *Paterikon, albo żywoty ss. Ojców Pieczerskich*.²²

With regard to the founding of the Hospital Monastery, recent broad-ranging published research,²³ gave rise to an alternative hypothesis about the transfer of the hospital (*strannoprимnitsa*) that had existed from the second half of the 11th century near to the Lavra's caves. The hospital meant to provide help for the poor, the blind, the lame and the sick, as is stated in the Kyiv-Pechersk Paterik, in accordance with the monastic charter adopted by the abbot Theodosius on the model of the charter of Greek Studion Monastery. A tenth of the monastic income was allocated for charitable purposes. A church was built there in the name of the first martyr Stephen (it was not preserved, obviously it was wooden)²⁴ – the saint saint of the deputy abbot and his chief associate, monk Stephen (†1094). The latter was entrusted with the supervision of this prototype of the Lavra hospital, which in written sources is called *Stephen's Court*. After Father Theodosius' death (1074), Stephen continued the stone construction began by the founders of the monastery, as its abbot.²⁵

21 *The Teraturgema of Afanasij Kal'nofojs'kyj...*, p. 144.

22 N. Sinkevych, "Paterykon" Silvestra Kosova: pereklad ta doslidzhennia pamiatky, Kyiv 2014, p. 84, 86, 99, 105, 155, 164, 545.

23 O. O. Krainia, *Pamiatkoznavche doslidzhennia Bolnytskoho monastyria Kyevo-Pecherskoi lavry*, UkrIENETEI: № derzhreestratsiyi 0113U007602, Kyiv 2014.

24 D. I. Abramovych, *Kyevo-Pecherskyi pateryk...*, p. 19–20, 57.

25 *Litopys ruskyi*, Perekl. z davnorus. L. Ye. Makhnovtsya; red. O. V. Myshanych, Kyiv 1989, p. 114, 116, 118, 120.

His name, however, is not on the list of the Kyiv-Pechersk saints. It is known that, due to the conflict with the monastic community, Stefan had to leave the monastery. This probably explains both why his name as the founder of the Hospital Monastery was dropped, and why the construction of a stone church gate that was begun by him, now known as Trinity, fell into oblivion despite the fact that Abbot Stefan strengthened the monastery order established by Saint Theodosius of Pechersk. The majority of Ukrainian and Muscovite monasteries were later built on this model. In addition, he founded a new monastery with a hospital near the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra.

The main church of the Hospital Monastery, in the name of the Holy Trinity (the construction of which is usually credited to Prince Nikola Svyatosha), is not mentioned in any early source – neither in the chronicles, nor in the hagiography of the saints of Kyiv. This is surprising, because the stone construction was a very significant event for Rus in those days. It is possible that the church was re-consecrated during the Polish-Lithuanian rule in Kyiv. In the 15–16th centuries more attention began to be paid to improvement of hospitals in Catholic monasteries. It is logical to assume that a similar process took place in the Hospital Monastery at the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra. In any case, in the chronicle of Rus known as the *Tale of Bygone Years*, compiled by the monk of the Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery Nestor, nothing is said either about the construction of the monastery's main stone gates or about the erection of a wonderful Trinity Church above them, which survived to this day. Such a consecration of the temple is not recorded by the chroniclers of Rus until the 1230s (in connection with the foundation of the city of Kholm by Duke Danil Galitsky and the foundation of the church of St. Trinity there²⁶).

It is likely that St. Peter Mohyla was resolved to emphasize the antiquity of the Hospital Monastery in Kyiv in polemic with representatives of the Catholic Church or could be inspired to do so by the inspection of such institutions during his trips to Western Europe. Prof. Lopachinsky in a general review of the hospitals' genesis in Poland draws attention to the appearance of the first charitable institution of St. John of Jerusalem (Maltansky) in Poznan, in 1170 (Xenodochies – for travelers). Hospitallers built one of the first stone churches in Poland in honor of their patron at the end of the 12th century in the place of an old wooden church.²⁷ As it can be seen, the foundation

²⁶ *Litopys ruskyi*, p. 418.

²⁷ H. Łopaciński, *Szpitala w Polsce*, w: *Encyklopedia Kościelna*, t. 28, Warszawa 1905, p. 6; Parafia pw. Św. Jana Jerozolimskiego za Murami w Poznaniu. Archidiecezja Poznańska. Historia, <https://www.janjerolimski.archpoznan.pl/historia/> (30.08.2019).

of the hospital, which was mentioned in the editions of the Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery coming from time of Peter Mohyla, was attributed to an earlier time, the beginning of the 12th century. On the plan included on the *Teraturgima* of 1638, it was designated as *Nosocomia* – hospital for the sick. Thus, the first hospital monasteries of Poland and Rus-Ukraine, as well as the main churches that have survived to this day, in the name of St. John of Jerusalem and St. Trinity date to about the same period. Generously endowed by the patrons, the Trinity Hospital Monastery entered its heyday in the 17th century. In addition to care for the elderly and sick monks, they also took upon themselves the care of the poor and disabled laypeople. In the 18th century there were about 30 men and women cared for in the hospital under the auspices of the monastery.²⁸ In the 19th century, when a new pharmacy and hospital were built in the monastery, monastic healing practices were growing increasingly inferior to the military medicine. Church hierarchs who fell ill preferred to be seen by military doctors. There is evidence showing that junior medical staff of the monastery being trained by a military doctor S. P. Baranovich.²⁹

Thus, a comparative analysis of the genesis of hospitals in Catholic and Orthodox monasteries, as well as monastic communities specializing in the care of the sick, shows a close similarity of the process with some chronological and regional differences as follows:

- as Prof. Vratislav Vanicek observed in the report at the conference *Cosmas, Gall Anonymous and Nestor in a Transcultural Perspective* (December 7–8, 2018), the compilers of medieval Slavic chronicles drew no contrast between the Western and the Eastern Churches. In general, until the middle of the 17th century in the territory of the Commonwealth, constructive contacts between representatives of different faiths can be traced, which contributed, among other things, to the development of medical and charitable institutions. The Kyiv-Pechersky Monastery and its medical facilities provide an example of the process

- the analysis of the historiography shows that so far the imperial concept has prevailed in presenting the history of medicine in post-Soviet countries. It takes little account of Western European connections, the ethno-cultural aspect in relation to illnesses, healing methods, and everything related to the development of hospital complexes at monasteries. In general, the method of historical hermeneutics tends to be ignored, and differences

²⁸ CSHAUK, fonds 128, op. 1 com., no. 670, fos. 10v.-11.

²⁹ CSHAUK, fonds 128, op. 1 monas., no. 113, fos. 1-3.

in understanding the etiology of the disease between monks and secular doctors are not taken into account. Rational approaches to monastic healing are sometimes vulgarized. On the one hand, this encourages the popularization of the view of the problem, which is insufficiently supported by evidence, and on the other, it helps to multiply myths and misconceptions regarding the monastic vision of their mission of care.

One promising area of the topic is the comparative study of how monasteries functioned during epidemics, which number increased significantly during periods of warfare.³⁰ However, the problem requires a comprehensive approach that would trace the dynamics of the hospitals' operation in both Catholic and Orthodox monasteries. A careful selection of examples supported by a source base adequate for conducting such a comparative study is essential.

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³⁰ O. O. Krainia, *Vplyv militaryzatsii suspilstva na zhyttia Tserkvy v Ukraini (analiz dokumentiv z istorii Kyievo-Pecherskoi lavry 2-i polovyny XVII–XVIII st.*, in: *Materialy Piatnadsiatoi Mizhnarodnoi naukovoï konferentsii. Tserkva – nauka – suspilstvo: pytannia vzayemodii*, Kyiv 2017, p. 16–25.

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