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VOTIVE OFFERINGS IN CHURCHES IN UKRAINE: THE SUPPRESSION AND REVIVAL OF THE TRADITION

Abstract

The collective memory of people in the post-Soviet space preserves some stereotypes, and they have a certain influence on the cognitive process. For example, the focus on interfaith conflict, as well as silencing issues of constructive interaction, was a deliberate manipulation. The author set the goal of analysing intercultural contact between different ethnic groups in the religious practice of votive offerings in Ukrainian lands. The attribution of votive offerings preserved in museums in Ukraine shows that the tradition was widespread, but waned during the Soviet era.

KEY WORDS: votive offering, museum, Ukraine, church, tradition, intercultural relations.

Annotation

La mémoire collective des peuples habitant dans les pays post-soviétiques retient de certains stéréotypes. Ces stéréotypes peuvent exercer l'influence sur le processus cognitif. Par exemple, l'accent sur des conflits interconfessionnelles, ainsi que le silence sur les questions d'interaction constructive, était une manipulation délibérée. L'auteur a pour but d'analyser les contacts interculturels des groupes ethniques différents dans les pratiques religieuses des cadeaux votifs en Ukraine. L'attribution des offrandes votives qui ont été préservées dans les musées ukrainiens montre que cette tradition a été largement répandue mais elle a presque disparue à l'époque soviétique.

DES MOTS-CLES: votif, musée, Ukraine, église, tradition, relations interculturelles.

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The museum fund of Ukraine includes collections of votive offerings from the 17th to the early 20th century. In recent decades, interest among Ukrainian researchers in these monuments of art and crafts, sources for studying specific religious practices (usually curative) and everyday problems, has increased significantly.

The paradigm shift forces us to compare the use of museum objects of ecclesiastical origin in the anti-religious propaganda of the Soviet regime with their original meaning as individual gifts. This turns out not to be so easy, due to the loss of the tradition of the votive offering in the Soviet period. Today, it is easier for us to talk about the ideas that the Soviets put into demonstrating votive offerings than to restore the original sacred meaning (Fig. 1). The simplified and generalised presentation of information about votive offerings as ‘a way to deceive working folk’ led to a careless attitude to detail. As a result, during restoration and in the process of stocktaking, the inscriptions of donors were irreversibly erased. Also, old inventory numbers on items that could have been recorded in prewar inventory books disappeared. An old cipher may give information about which monastery or church the votive offering was taken from. And each surviving word from the inscription by the donor or the craftsmen-manufacturer is an important historical source. Epigraphic analysis in the study of votive offerings sometimes helps us understand the emotions of a person who was guided by a tradition that was natural to him. And clothes, hairstyles and attributes sometimes allow us to clarify the dating of the votive offering and the confessional affiliation of the person depicted, and to expand our ideas about life in the past. The multifaceted interest in museum objects and the opportunities for unbiased research that have



Fig. 1. A photograph from the early 1930s (between 1932 and 1934): a detail from the display in the section on Orthodoxy (‘the fabrication of miraculous icons and relics’) at the Museum of the History of Religion of the All-Ukrainian Museum Campus in the Church of the Annunciation of the KPL. Courtesy of A. Yanenko (KPL-N-2906)

opened up have actualised the topic of votive offerings as monuments of the material culture with a sacred significance.

As can be seen from the latest publications, the tradition of making votive offerings in Ukrainian lands was kept up by members of different ethnic groups and social strata (Жолтовський 1973, 56-57; Гармаш, Горбова 1995, 26-30; Лыганова 2011a, 122-129; Лыганова 2011b, 83-99; Лыганова 2012, 389-402; Пуцко 2007-2008, 156-157; Задорожнюк 2000, 31; Романова 2020, 273).

Orthodox, Roman Catholics and Greek Catholics, and members of the Armenian Church, used different terms to refer to such gifts (in Latin 'votive offering', the Cyrillic analogues 'привес' and 'подвес', however, reduced the sacred meaning of the term 'votive offering' to 'vow').

Today, the problem is that the news about the existence of the practice of votive offerings in Ukraine is scattered and not systematised in a general study. At the same time, the historiographical basis is already sufficient to see the whole picture (Горбова 2003; Ковальова Н. 2011, 230-239; Степаненко 2012, 39; Власенко, Парасочка 2019, 430-436; Крайня 2021, 206-220).

This report, of course, is not a complete general study, but I set myself *the goal* to analyse the possibility of studying the intercultural contacts of the population of Ukraine through the religious practice of making votive offerings.

The object of the research is the tradition of individual votive offerings in Ukraine. Examples are selected according to the geographical principle, in such a way that the religious centres of the different regions of Ukraine are represented.

The goal defines *the tasks*:

- to assess the state of the historiographical basis;
- to highlight the collections of votive offerings in Ukrainian museums, which can be a rather informative source for studying the topic;
- to consider the problems associated with votive offerings as church and museum objects;
- to show the prevalence of the Christian tradition of making votive offerings throughout Ukraine, and to outline the chronological boundaries of the waning and the revival of the tradition;
- to show the prospects for studying intercultural relations among the people of Ukraine based on the example of votive offerings.

When studying the tradition of making votive offerings, we need to use methods of historical, art history, cultural and museological research. At the end of the 20th century, the realisation of the need for interdisciplinary analysis led to the formation of a complex new science, monument studies. In the field of museum work, which my research is devoted to, the methodology of monument studies is most appropriate. This makes it possible to obtain the most objective results when

studying specific monuments of arts and crafts and the spiritual culture, such as votive offerings. In the classification of monuments of history and culture, they should be attributed to movable religious monuments; and according to type, to objects with a liturgical purpose (for religious practices). In theoretical studies for cult objects, religious typology is also distinguished (distribution by religion, confession, and the place of the object in the confessional hierarchy) (Сенченко 2012, 207). But we want to pay attention here to the specifics of votive offerings: if the provenance of a museum object is unknown, then sometimes it is difficult to determine from archaic forms what culture and religion it belongs to. Also, it can be difficult to specify which denomination on Ukrainian soil a votive offering should be associated with. More hypothetical are explanations of the hidden meaning of this or that gift if there is no explanatory inscription. I hope the examples below are confirmation of what has been said.

I

Among the published materials that present collections of votive offerings in Ukrainian museums, the work of the Donetsk researchers L.A. Lyganova and L.N. Garmash stands out by its systematic and in-depth historical and ethnographic analysis. The collection came to Donetsk in 1954 from the Mariupol Museum of Local Lore. The museum items are considered to be votive offerings from Greek settlers from Crimea (Горбова 2003, 1-2) (Fig. 2). An inexperienced viewer may well make a mistake in the associative definition of the cultural and religious affiliation of the monuments. However, similar forms can be found in the votive offerings of the modern Greeks. The descendants of

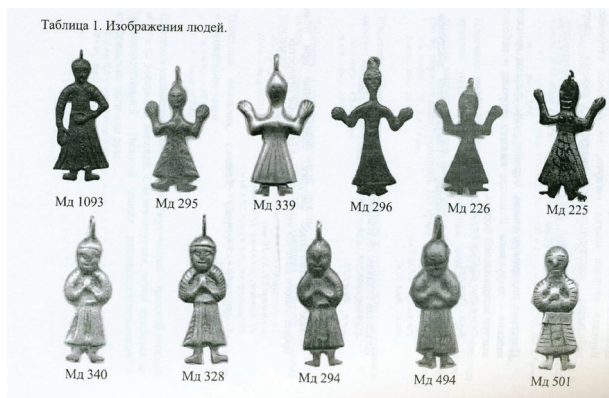


Fig. 2. Votive offerings of Greek settlers from Crimea. The collection of the Donetsk Regional Museum of Local Lore (Горбова 2003, Table 1)

Greeks in Crimea preserve a special rite, which miraculously survived the 1930s, the period of 'militant atheism'. So in the village of Chernopolye in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, they cherish a miraculous icon of Sts Constantine and Helena. It is covered with a cloth, to which metal votive offerings are attached. These votive offerings are very similar to those in the Donetsk Museum (including oval and diamond-shaped plates, hearts, and anthropomorphic figures). On an ethnographic expedition in the early 2000s, Lyganova and Garmash recorded the story of the oldest resident of the Crimean village. It sheds light on features of local traditions: during the *kermis*, the priest removes the cloth with votive offerings attached to it from the icon, dips it in holy water, and sprinkles all the people and sacrificial animals present (Горбова 2003, 3-4; Лыганова 2011b, 90-91). Greeks in the city of Mariupol described a similar rite. After the consecration of votive offerings in water, they were distributed to believers to be worn on the body. This religious tradition could not be preserved in the cities of Ukraine during the period of persecution of believers in the 1920s and 1930s.

Then, as is well known, there was a seizure of Church property. The practice of making votive offerings in the main religious centres of Ukraine was interrupted during the Soviet period. After the geopolitical upheavals of the 20th century, relatively few survived. They are included today in the country's national museum fund.

But an attack on this tradition in Ukrainian lands was noted back in the 18th century, during the period of church reforms of Peter I (Постановление 1872, 18-19; Игошев 2001, 264; Кізлова 2009, 39; Крайня 2021, 206), when measures were taken to unify the cultural and social life of the population in the incorporated lands. An ideological function was largely assigned to the Orthodox Church. There were many works of Christian art in the sacristies of the Kyiv Orthodox churches in the 'Western Catholic' style (Прохоров 1875, 15-16). The main donors to the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra in the 15th and 16th centuries were the Grand Dukes of Lithuania. There were also insert inscriptions in Polish and Latin. It should be remembered that the Ukrainian elite of the 16th and 17th centuries used Latin and Polish in academic works. Orthodox parishioners and clergy, as well as Catholics, often ordered church items from the same craftsmen. According to narrative sources, glorified by Christian shrines, the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra was open to people of different faiths (Пивоваров, Крайня, Курлов 2020, 33-34). Only in 1682 was it forbidden to let Poles on a pilgrimage into the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra (Яременко 2007, 200). Since then, there has been an increase in Moscow's influence over Church life in Ukrainian lands.

Votive offerings were used in large quantities as scrap (Кізлова 2010, 26, 37, 41, 48-50). I did not come across direct confirmation in archival documents

that votive offerings in Orthodox churches were destroyed as a manifestation of Western influence, but for some reason in Soviet times they began to be interpreted as purely Catholic religious monuments. This can be explained by the fact that they have long been on the periphery of scientific research. However, at the first attempt to delve into the topic, we find material about the popularity among Orthodox believers of this form of expressing a request or gratitude.

II

Old inventory books tell us that the collection of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra National Preserve (KPL NP) contains votive offerings from Orthodox churches in Kyiv which were confiscated in the 1920s. (St Sophia, Nikolaevsky, Assumption cathedrals, churches dedicated to Sts Peter and Paul, Theodosius of the Caves, the gate church in the name of All Saints of the Caves (КПЛ-А-НДФ-133, 169, 171, 187rev., 202, 208rev., 284; КПЛ-А-НДФ-135, 744; КПЛ-А-1277, 673rev., КПЛ-А-1278, 214rev.-227, 230rev.-231, КПЛ-А-1279, 1471rev.-1473, 1515rev.-1518, 1550rev., 1576rev.-1588). Basically, votive offerings to Orthodox shrines are interpreted as '*привески*', requests (for good health, for a cure), and '*привески*', gratitude (for help in various circumstances). The practice of using a votive offering (*привесок*) from miraculous icons, from the relics of the Great Martyr Barbara (when they were in the Golden-Domed Monastery of St Michael) was recorded. For example, to treat a headache, Orthodox clergy could give votive items to believers for a while (to be returned to the shrine). By order of the clergy, votive offerings were used like scrap to make a new covering for an icon, or other things needed by the church (Кізлова 2007, 310-311; Кізлова 2009, 39; Романова 2020, 291-307).

Now that the issue of the narrowly confessional affiliation of votive offerings has been removed, a scientific discussion is being held on the issue of the time and forms (Eastern or Western) of the emergence of the tradition of votive offerings in modern Ukraine and Russia.

Until recently, the prevailing view was that the tradition of votive offerings came to the Orthodox believers of Ukraine during the period of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and then spread to the lands of the Principality of Moscow (Жолтовський 1972, 82; Звезда 2016, 135). Now the thesis about the penetration of this custom into the Kyiv Metropolis from Byzantium is increasingly being asserted among modern Russian researchers: the most convincing argument is the legend about the appearance of an additional silver hand on the icon of the Mother of God of Three Hands (Лепяхин 2020; Игошев 2001, 266, 268; Цеханская 1998, 66-67) (on a photographic negative from the 1930s

[see Fig. 1], the first votive of the lower part of the showcase is made in the form of the ‘Three-Handed’ image). In turn, the Ukrainian researcher O. Romanova substantiates doubts about this version. She believes that there was no basis in the culture of the East Slavs for the tradition of thanking a shrine with a votive offering in the form of a body part. Therefore, they immediately began to portray the ‘Three-Handed’ literally with three hands, and not to attach a separately made silver hand to the icon (Романова 2020, 277, 313).

However, in this discussion, I would put the intercultural aspect at the forefront. If we consider the Christian tradition of votive offerings to be borrowed, then its beginning should be attributed to the times of the first Christian state in the territory of modern Ukraine-Rus. Missionaries (both the Latin and Greek churches), representatives of other peoples, had a tradition of making votive offerings in their culture, including in the form of body parts.

In general, regarding the tradition of making votive offerings, the consensus among scholars is that it is a transformed kind of archaic belief. Of course, the autochthonous population of Ukraine also had its own basis for such a transformation. The animal figures which were hung from icons are a direct reference to the archaic. Such votive offerings have been recorded in the Ukrainian lands since the 18th century (Лыганова 2011b, 93), although, of course, they had been made before. Often they were carried to shrines during years of the mass deaths of cattle during epidemics (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3. A photograph of an 18th-century votive offering in the collection of the KPL NP with an inscription requesting that cattle be cared for after the death (KPL-F-8709)

The geopolitical changes in the Ukrainian lands in the 18th and 19th centuries determined the regional features of Church art (Galicia, Transcarpathia and Bukovina became part of the Austrian, later the Austro-Hungarian, Empire; the rest of the Ukrainian lands, including Slobozhanshchina, became part of the Russian Empire). This still affects the assessment of Christian monuments according to the simplified formula 'friend or foe', depending on confessional affiliation, the socio-political views of citizens, and, of course, on the general level of a person's education and culture.

However, it should be emphasised that votive offerings were markers of the multiculturalism of the population in the Ukrainian lands. To confirm this thesis, a visual comparison of museum items that came from churches in different regions of Ukraine before the Second World War with artefacts published in foreign publications is sufficient.

Zigfridas Jankauskas' collection of silverware related to Lithuania presents votive offerings that are very close in technical parameters and artistic technique to some artefacts in the collection of the KPL NP (Šėma 2014, 23; 50; 146; H3 'КПЛ': КПЛ-М-7205; КПЛ-М-7123, КПЛ-М-7200; КПЛ-Н-5228). Both span a period from the 18th century to the first half of the 20th century. The largest part of the Zigfridas Jankauskas collection consists of works by Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipėda masters, and works by goldsmiths from Warsaw and Riga.

In 2021, in order to develop the theme of the manifestation of intercultural and interfaith contacts in the tradition of votive offerings, publications were singled out about the collections of the above-mentioned Donetsk Regional Museum of Local Lore (votive offerings by Greek settlers from Crimea), Dnepropetrovsk National Historical Museum Catalogue (Степаненко 2012), the Poltava Museum of Local Lore, 300 storage units (Власенко, Парасочка 2019, 431), the Museum of Historical Treasures (2021 Treasury of the National Museum of the History of Ukraine), 900 storage units (Ковальова Н. 2011, 230–239), and the KPL NP, about 670 storage units (Крайня 2021, 209–210, 212–220; Крайня, Листопад, Онопрієнко 2021, 36–42). Some of the items of still unknown origin were in museums in other cities before the Second World War. The chaos after repeated movements makes their attribution much more difficult.

For example, in the accounting documents of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra National Preserve from the 1970s and 1980s, we read that a museum item came from the evacuation in 1947, sometimes with the clarification 'from the evacuation through the State Bank'. This is reminiscent of the fact that museum valuables taken from Kyiv in 1941 to Ufa, before being returned, were sent to Moscow, to the State Depository of the State Bank of the USSR. It is impossible today to restore the exact amount of cultural property taken from Ukraine to Russia

during the Second World War. In addition, valuables collected in Ukrainian museums were confiscated and sent to the State Bank even earlier in the 1930s. Some of them were sold abroad, some are kept in museums in Russia (Полюшко 2001; Бобровський 2021).

Only four of the five books of receipts (1920s) have been preserved in the funds of the KPL NP. They do not always indicate when and where the church objects came from. Sometimes, in order to decipher the notes, we need to know the broad context of the development of museum work under the Soviet regime. This topic is now being actively studied, but the formation of modern collections requires a separate study. For example, by the old inventory numbers of votive offerings, you can find the note 'Vladimir Cathedral'. However, this does not mean that the object came from the Kyiv Orthodox Vladimir Church. In the early 1930s, some of the votive offerings were given for display within the walls of the Vladimir Cathedral, where a branch of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town opened. The latter was created on the territory of the Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery, which ceased to function as a religious organisation in 1929 (since 1988, part of the World Heritage Site has been set aside for the resumption of the activity of the monastery, the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra National Preserve has been allocated for the resumption of the monastery's activities. At the present time, the museums are adjacent to the active religious community).

In the summer of 1933, open repressions began against the first museum workers. *Bezvirnik* magazine reported in 1934 on the closure of 'apolitical' exhibitions, which included the so-called 'Vladimir Branch'. The votive offerings, along with other exhibits, were returned to the funds of 'the Lavra Preserve' (Яненко, Олексюк 2021, 377-380). Of course, we are upset by the loss of documents about the origins of the votive offerings received by the museum funds. However, an objective assessment of the situation in Ukraine in the 1920s and 1930s makes us admit that even the anti-religious museum played a role in preserving these original monuments for future generations.

In some cases, the comparison of ciphers in old inventory books with miraculously surviving numbers directly on museum items allows us to restore their history. Thus, it was possible to find out that perhaps the most numerous in the current collection of the KPL NP is the entry to the museum in 1928 from Kamenetz-Podolsk. The surviving old inventory book testifies to 314 votive offerings (published list: Крайня 2021, 212-220) withdrawn by the Soviet authorities from the Armenian Church (it was blown up in the 1930s). The publications of the treasure discovered at the site of the church in 1985 testify to the identity of many items with those stored in the collection of the KPL NP (Задорожнюк 2000, 31; Вірменький храм 2011). There is reason to believe that the integral



Fig. 4. A votive offering from the collection of the KPL NP (KPL-M-716)

groups of votive offerings (that is, from one church) received before the Second World War were sorted again after the evacuation, and the most valuable and well-preserved specimens ended up in the Treasury of the National Historical Museum of Ukraine. More modest items were returned to the funds of the KPL NP. This brings us to the need to prepare catalogues of votive collections, in particular, for the virtual unification of objects of common origin and their complex analysis (Fig. 4).

The city of Zolotonosha in the central part of Ukraine was noted as a centre for the production of votive offerings in the second half of the 19th century. Almost a third of the collection of the D.I. Yavornitsky Dnepropetrovsk National Historical Museum, and a significant part of the collection of votive offerings in the Poltava Vasily Krichevsky Museum of Local Lore (more than 300 items) dating from the 19th and early 20th century, come from there. In different collections we can find items with the Kyiv hallmark (the Archangel Michael). An old inventory book from the 1920s of the Poltava Museum records votive offerings depicting hands, feet, eyes and hearts from the Pinsk district (in modern-day Belarus). They are considered to be lost (Власенко, Парасочка 2019, 431-433). Considering some postwar entries in the inventory books of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra National Preserve, it can be assumed that boxes with these items, after

returning from evacuation, were mistakenly sent to Kyiv. However, this requires clarification. The engraved votive offerings were also made by famous craftsmen from Pereyaslav: Mykhailo Ivanovych, Ivan Rozha, Antin Sadkovsky and Fedor Romanenko (Іваненко 2019, 105).

In general, the database of sources and historiography shows that the practice of making votive offerings was known in all regions of modern Ukraine until the 1930s. However, religious persecution during the Soviet era, and the destruction of churches or their change of use, virtually destroyed the tradition of making votive offerings. Some centres of living tradition have survived in small settlements, such as the Crimean village we mentioned. The tradition began to revive at the end of the 20th century.

III

It is rare today to see votive offerings in operating churches in Ukraine. They are not specially made gifts for shrines, as before, but mainly jewellery, crosses, icons, etc. Such products are votive offerings according to their spiritual purpose. As far as it was possible to find out the current situation with votive offerings in Orthodox monasteries, there is no separate record of such receipts. However, even the old inventory of Church property does not always allow for the detailed reconstruction of the sacred space. For example, an official visit in 1791 to the Armenian Catholic church in Kamenets-Podolsk does not indicate the presence of a huge number of votive offerings there (Цимбал 2019, 308-333). Due to poor security and accounting, votive offerings have always been easy prey for thieves. Rarely have such crimes been solved. It is not surprising that after almost a century of anti-religious propaganda in the post-Soviet space, such cases are being repeated. So in February 2017, there was a robbery at the Church of Sts Peter and Paul of the Holy Dormition Yeletsky Convent in Chernigov. Jewellery left at the shrine by believers was stolen from the icon case. The media called the target of the robbers votive offerings, and the mention of them can be called modest and even dismissive (У Чернігові 2019). The issue of their disappearance was no longer raised in the press (neither photographs of parishioners' gifts nor their inventory have survived). In the Church history of Ukraine, we can find a rational explanation for this attitude of the Orthodox clergy towards individual prayer gifts. The history of the votive gift tradition in Ukraine provides a completely rational explanation for this attitude towards individual prayer gifts.

Persecution and the distortion of the essence of religious activities are a thing of the past. The stages in the displacement of the tradition of votive offerings

are hardly known, except by specialists, and post-traumatic anti-religious propaganda syndrome is making itself felt.

But the facts show that people need a simple and understandable visualisation of communication with God. Votive making is associated with the development of a special direction in decorative and applied art. Of course, this will interest modern Ukrainian craftsmen. International scientific forums provide an opportunity to 'fit' our collections into the context of the common cultural heritage.

* * *

The results of the research show that:

Sources for reconstructing the history of the tradition of votive offerings have been preserved fragmentarily. We do not accordingly have direct evidence of the origins of many of the monuments.

In the case of their complex interdisciplinary study, there is a prospect for clarifying the attribution of such museum items.

The historiography of the attribution of votive offerings in the collections of Ukrainian museums allows us to assess the following: votive offerings were widely distributed in Ukrainian lands in a geographical sense; members of different confessions and ethnic groups (Greek Catholics, Lithuanians, Poles, Ukrainians and Russians) observed the tradition of making votive offerings; the religious practice of making votive offerings contributed to the creation of a common material and spiritual heritage, which means the mutual enrichment of cultures.

The extinction and revival of the votive offering tradition in Ukraine was observed in the 18th and at the end of the 20th century. The attempt to iron out regional features of religious practices during the period when the Ukrainian lands were part of the Russian Empire contributed to the extinction of the tradition. When the country gained its independence, and the value system changed (and so did the paradigm change in post-Soviet countries), the tradition revived, and interest in votive offerings as unique monuments increased.

The collective memory of people in post-Soviet states preserves some stereotypes that are far from the historical reality (such as considering votive offerings to be part of a purely Catholic tradition). They have had a certain influence on the cognitive process. Ideas about the past in religious life have changed significantly. The focus on interfaith conflict, as well as silencing issues of constructive interactions and cooperation, was deliberate manipulation. It will take years of extensive scientific and educational work, including the popularisation of works of art by museum methods, to overcome some ideological clichés.

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OFFRANDES VOTIVES DANS LES ÉGLISES D'UKRAINE: SUPPRESSION ET RENOUVEAU DE LA TRADITION

Resume

L'intérêt multiforme aux objets muséals, ainsi que des opportunités ouvertes pour une recherche impartiale ont actualisé le thème des votifs en tant que des monuments sacrals de la culture matériel.

La tradition des contributions votives en Ukraine a été maintenue par des représentants de différents groupes ethniques et couches sociales. L'histoire de la tradition des dons votifs en Ukraine fournit une explication tout à fait rationnelle de l'attitude négligente envers les dons de prière individuels dans les paroisses modernes.

L'auteur examine les problèmes des offrandes votives en tant que des objets d'église et de musée. Dans les pays post-soviétiques les offrandes votives sont souvent considérées d'être une tradition uniquement Catholique, ce qui n'est pas vrai. Pour analyser la diffusion de la traditions des offrandes votives individuelles, les exemples ont été sélectionnés selon le principe géographique de sorte que les centres religieux de différentes régions ukrainiennes soient représentés à l'intérieur de leur frontières administratives modernes. L'attribution des

offrandes votives qui ont été préservées dans les musées de l'Ukraine se réfère aux traditions artisanales grecques, lituaniennes, biélorusses, polonaises, ukrainiennes, russes et autres. Les guerres, l'occupation du territoire de l'Ukraine et, plus important encore, la persécution pour des raisons politiques et religieuses pendant la période soviétique ont entravé le développement ultérieur de ce type particulier d'art décoratif et appliqué en Ukraine. Néanmoins, la pratique spirituelle d'offrir des cadeaux personnels aux sanctuaires n'a pas disparu, mais elle a pris des formes plus primitives et simples.