



NATIONAL RESEARCH UNIVERSITY  
HIGHER SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

*Lev Maciel*

**UKRAINIAN ARCHITECTURE in  
18th CENTURY RUSSIA:  
HOW and WHY**

BASIC RESEARCH PROGRAM

WORKING PAPERS

SERIES: HUMANITIES  
WP BRP 125/HUM/2016

*Lev Maciel<sup>1</sup>*

## **UKRAINIAN ARCHITECTURE in 18<sup>th</sup> CENTURY RUSSIA: HOW and WHY?**

Many buildings with Ukrainian architectural features were built in 18<sup>th</sup> century Russia in the milieu of intense cultural exchange between Russia and Ukraine. The research aims to discuss how exactly and why Ukrainian elements were used in Russian architecture. Volume organization and decoration of Russian buildings having Ukrainian features are analyzed and compared. The results reveal a clear distinction between the buildings which intentionally copy Ukrainian models or singular elements and those unintentionally using some Ukrainian features as elements of architectural fashion. The detailed analysis of such cases is invaluable for the understanding of Russian architectural transformation in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

**Key words:** Russian Architecture, Ukraine, Naryshkin Style, Mannerism, Baroque, Siberia, renovation, transformation, Orthodox church

**JEL code:** Z

---

<sup>1</sup> Associate Prof., PhD , Faculty of Humanities, National Research University 'Higher School of Economics'; [maciel@hse.ru](mailto:maciel@hse.ru)

## Introduction

The Ukrainian influence in 18<sup>th</sup> century Russia was neither oddity, nor incident. Buildings with Ukrainian features were built virtually everywhere and for a long time, from late 17<sup>th</sup> till late 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. They played an important role in the revolutionary transformation, which Russian architecture experienced in this period (Cracraft 1990). It was in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the wish for new architectural ideas draw attention of Russian elite to different traditions. Ukraine was the first and obvious choice, being the nearest and culturally close country. Left-bank Ukraine became a protectorate of Russian tsardom in 1654 (Plokyh 2001), and Ukrainian church found itself under jurisdiction of patriarch of Moscow in 1686 (Magosci 2010). Nevertheless, Ukrainian architecture preserved its own tradition and even flourished under hetmanate of Ivan Mazepa, 1687–1708 (Pavlenko 2005). Russian ktitors' interest in Ukrainian architectural features was productive, since they ordered some important churches, but short-lived. Around 1685 they turned to the Dutch Mannerist decoration, and then the Naryshkin style appeared (Viper 1978, Lindsey 1977, Aronova 1999); by the way, it absorbed many Ukrainian elements. The First Baroque buildings in Russia appeared after the Grand Embassy of Peter the Great to Europe, 1697–1698 (Sedov 2001); nevertheless, the use of Baroque features remained in the beginning very limited, the Naryshkin being the prevailing style of the Russian architecture. The situation changed in 1714, when Emperor forbade any kind of building in stone outside the new capital, St. Petersburg. This city turned into the focus of the whole Russian architecture and the Baroque became leading Russian style (Shvidkovsky 2007).

Ukrainian elements did not play any important role in this new Baroque language. However, they did not disappear in Russia, still being used in many regional churches. They should be considered as part of Ukrainian influence that embraced in this time all aspects of the ecclesiastical life. From the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century onwards many Ukrainian clergymen came to Russia (Magosci 2010). They were well educated and therefore entrusted with highest posts in the Church hierarchy. They were very welcomed by Peter the Great (1689–1725), and the peak of their influence was reached under Elisabeth (1741–1761). The Empress herself had an Ukrainian husband, Alexey Razumovsky. At some moment of her reign, all but one bishop in Russia were Ukrainians (Plokyh 2010). These hierarchs were very important cultural protagonists, being outstanding orators (like Theophan Prokopovich), poets (Stefan Yavorsky), writers (Dimitry Tuptalo), even playwrights (Filothey Leszczyński). Many Ukrainian icon painters (Komashko 2006), church musicians (Keldysh 1978) and, sometimes, builders (Kirillov 1984) came to Russia with them. In that way, the Ukrainian presence in Russian architecture survived and continued.

Ukrainian cultural activity dramatically decreased under Catherine II the Great (1762–1796). In 1764, the Empress issued a Manifesto secularizing Church lands, which deprived Russian hierarchs of economical power (Burbee 1994) and, consequently, decisive influence in the church building. In the same year, Catherine abolished the hetmanate and then gradually eliminated Ukrainian autonomy (Kohut

1988); Ukrainian buildings also progressively lost its identity and blended in the Russian architecture by the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Few studies addresses to Ukrainian features in Russian architecture as special topic: they analyze important edifices (Maciel 2003) or regional groups of buildings (Maciel 2011). Some publications about Naryshkin style and Baroque describes the most important Ukrainian features and lists related buildings (Sedov 2004, Chekmarev 2011, Yakovlev 2012, Chekmarev 2014). At the same time, the mentions of Ukrainian elements in Russian buildings are very common (Hughes 1977, Cracraft 1990, Aronova 1999, Brumfield 2004, Istoriya 1984). You might expect several areas covered in the research about the topic. How long did Ukrainian influence last in Russian architecture? Which parts of Russia were affected by this influence? Which forms and elements of Ukrainian buildings were introduced to Russian milieu? How were they introduced and why did it happen? Did the edifices with Ukrainian features form an considerable group among Russian buildings?

This study will concentrate on the problems about modes and purposes of use of Ukrainian elements in Russian architecture. The questions of chronology, geography and statistics will be only touched on here since they deserve particular research. The complete catalogues of Russian architectural heritage exist not yet; nevertheless, internet databases and regional catalogues give enough data for statistically credible results. This study analyzes the volumes and decoration of many buildings and argues about the purposes of their use.

The results of the analysis allow to classify Russian buildings with Ukrainian forms within two groups. The first, smaller one, is formed by buildings, which intentionally copy Ukrainian compositions and decoration to achieve a recognizable similarity with their models. The second group is much more extensive and consists of the buildings which adopt Ukrainian elements rather unintentionally, following some kind of architectural fashion.

Although this study is build up according to problematic approach, I choose the geographical structure for the text as the most appropriate. Starting with the analysis of the buildings in Moscow and surroundings, which represent early and influential cases, I proceed with churches from cultural frontier, directly addressing to Ukrainian imagery, and conclude the study with buildings from Siberia, which are numerous and late examples.

## **Literature review**

The Ukrainian features were spread in Russia in the period of the late 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, which corresponds to two different phases of Russian architecture (Istoriya 1984, Ikonnikov 1990, Brumfield 2004, Shvidkovsky 2007).

The late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries coincided with the rules of tsarevna Sophia (1682–1689) and tsar, then emperor Peter the Great (1689–1725). The architecture of this time is considered the last phase of medieval Russian, sometimes called ‘Old Russian’, architecture, being part of post-Byzantine culture. The previous

phase of 1630<sup>th</sup> – 1680<sup>th</sup>, pre-Petrine, has been seen for long as most pure Russian style (Rappoport 1993); some latest studies reveals meanwhile the adoption of some European features (Tarabarina 1999, Sedov 2002). The late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries witnessed much more active phase of westernization of Russian tradition, embodied in Naryshkin style. Previously called ‘Moscow Baroque’, it was influenced by Dutch Mannerist decoration as it is shown by many scholars (Hughes 1977, Viper 1978, Buseva 1985, Aronova 1999, Sedov 2004, Chekmarev 2011).

The next phase, between the beginning of 18<sup>th</sup> century and up to 1760<sup>th</sup>, marks the transition of Russia from post-Byzantine to West European world. Researches considered the architecture of this period under the umbrella term of the Baroque, as an integral part of European architectural tradition. The distinction between the Petrine (Cracraft 1990) and Elisabethan Baroque (Skodock 2006) is commonly accepted (Il’yna, Stanyukovich-Denisova 2014). From 1760<sup>th</sup> onwards, the Baroque was gradually replaced by the Neoclassical style, first in St. Petersburg, then in Moscow, later in the rest of the country. Baroque completely disappeared in Russia in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century only, as did the last Ukrainian features (Istoriya 2011).

As far as I know, only two articles had been exclusively dedicated to the topic. The first argues, the Holy Trinity monastery in Tiumen’ has been conceived as replica of Kiev Pechersk Lavra (Maciel 2003). The second analyzes Ukrainian architectural elements in Siberia, indicating it as probably the only region, where the *ukrainisms* were so widely used till the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century, especially in wooden churches (Maciel 2011). Siberia seems to be also the only Russian region where Ukrainian bricklayers worked and Ukrainian architectural decoration was widely used. Occasional use of Ukrainian features in the buildings of Urals is closely related to Siberian case (Kaptikov 1990), western Urals being part of Tobol’sk ecclesiastic province.

Some publications about Naryshkin style and Baroque define important Ukrainian features in the Russian church architecture (Sedov 2004, Chekmarev 2011, Yakovlev 2012). These are tripartite and quadripartite volume arrangements, cruciform placing of the domes along cardinal directions (not X-shaped, as in Russia), pear form of the dome. The prevalent volume arrangement of 18<sup>th</sup> century Russian architecture, the octagon on the cube, may also have Ukrainian roots, but it is up to discussion (Sedov 2004).

As has been shown, the publications give a fragmented map of Ukrainian features in Russia, metaphorically and literally. For the purposes of this research, it is necessary to try to fill this gap, to some extent at least; therefore, some kind of list of *ukrainizing* Russian buildings should be formed. No catalogue of 18<sup>th</sup> century Russian architecture exists, the list of 1700<sup>th</sup>– 1720<sup>th</sup> churches by Pluzhnikov (1974) being the only approach. The only option for data collecting are regional architectural catalogues. The Code of Monuments of Russian is edited from 1998, but six regions only had been covered. The catalogues of the historical buildings of Moscow (edited 1982–2004) and Moscow region (from 1999), churches in Petersburg (Schultz 1994) and Irkutsk (Kalinina 2000) are sources of useful information. The online catalogues of Russian churches ([www.temples.ru](http://www.temples.ru),

[www.sobory.ru](http://www.sobory.ru)) are invaluable visual resources, but the data are sometimes incomplete and unverified. The least accessible data are about disappeared monuments, and especially wooden ones.

Without underestimation of existing achievements, it can be said, still more should be done for the study of Ukrainian features in Russian architecture. This study is seen by the author as modest but important step in this laborious enterprise.

## **Methodology**

This work analyzes Ukrainian elements of composition and decoration of Russian churches and poses the question, whether these elements were used intentionally, following the decision of the ktitor, or unintentionally, by the masons, both Russians or Ukrainians. The intention of the use is deduced from the architecture itself only, because the written evidence on this topic is almost nonexistent.

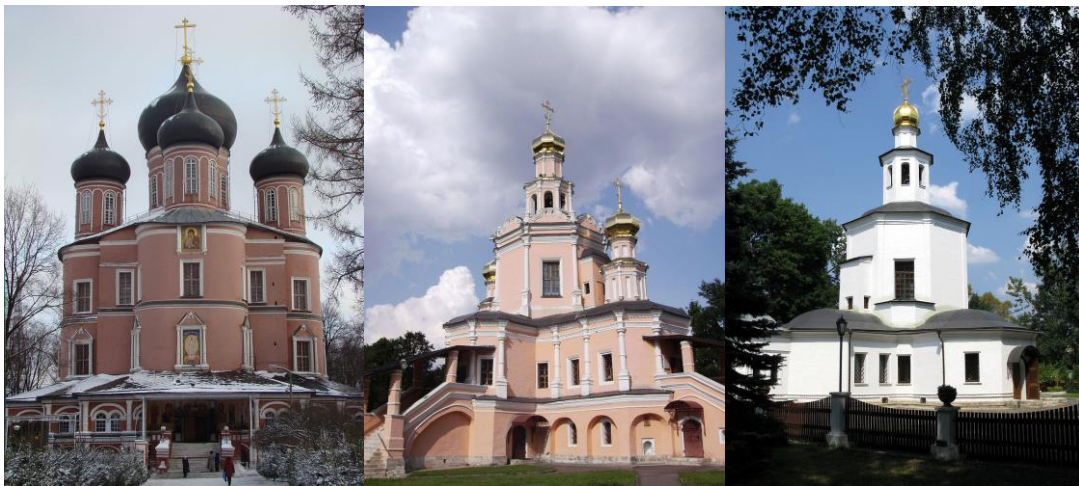
The Russian buildings surveyed here belong to the late Medieval tradition, where the architect as the sole creator of the building did not exist. Instead, ktitor, contractor and masons together influenced the design of the church building (Buseva 2008). The main part was played by the ktitor, who chose the model for the future building, sometimes with some advice of the contractor. The model was recognizable, because some its peculiar elements (such as number and form of domes etc.) were reproduced in the copy building. In this case it is possible to assert the intentional use of new elements, e.g. Ukrainian. The unintentional use can be mostly ascribed to the masons. The architectural project as we know it from Renaissance onwards, defining all features of the building from the outline to the minor details did not exist in the Medieval tradition. The masons was relatively free in the treatment of the many elements, especially decorative, and they often repeated some beautiful details from other contemporary buildings without special intention, knowing nothing about their significance or origin. Thus, many Ukrainian forms of later buildings were used unintentionally, as repletion of previous Russian models without remembering early Ukrainian prototypes.

Here I concentrate on analyze of the cases of intentional copying, because only this can be considered true Ukrainian architectural features.

## **Survey of the monuments**

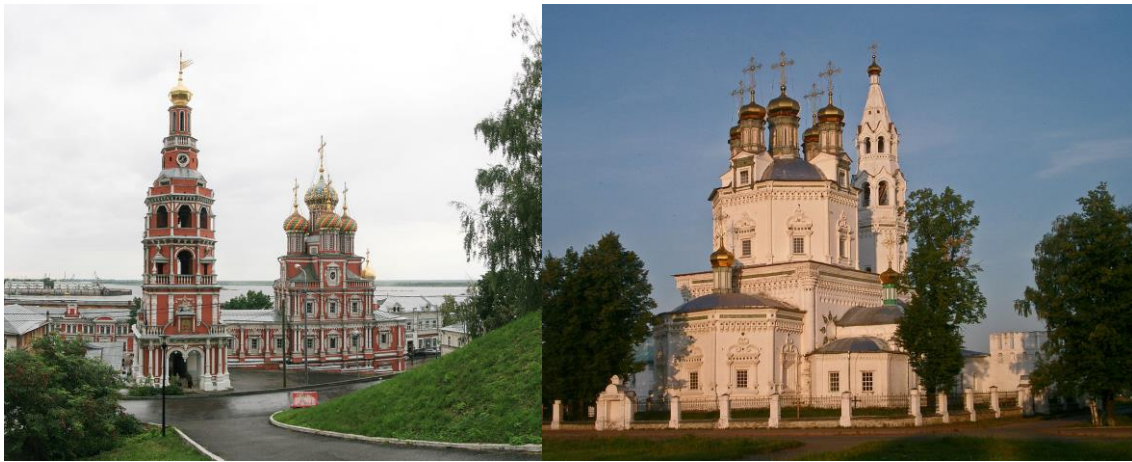
The first examples of Ukrainian forms in Moscow are well known. It seems true, that the first of them was built under the impression of the members of special Russian commission, sent by the tsar Feodor Alexeyevich to Ukraine in 1681. The chief of the commission was famous icon painter Karp Zolotarev, and the main goal of the commission was to bring back the descriptions and copies of architectural projects. Some researchers argue, the church of Resurrection in Presnia near

Moscow was built following this sketches (Buseva 1985); meanwhile, the church was never completed and we know virtually nothing about its features. The first surviving and widely known example of Ukrainian forms in Russia is the new main church of the Donskoy monastery (1683–1694), commissioned by tsarevna Ekaterina Alexeyevna, sister of the young Tsars Ivan and Peter I, and regent tsarevna Sophia. The church followed the quatrefoil Ukrainian plan and typical tetraconch Ukrainian elevation (Tsapenko 1967), but some elements are traditionally pre-Petrine (four supporting columns, bulbous domes). The absence of Ukrainian decorative elements proves, that Ukrainian builders were not taking part in the construction of this church (Kazakevich 2007).



*Churches in Donskoy (left), Ziuzino (center) and Ghireevo (right)*

After 1681 the use of quatrefoil and triform Ukrainian church plans became widespread very quick. The first quatrefoil church after Donskoy seems to be that of Petrovo-Dalneye (Petrovo-Durnevo, 1684–1688), the first triform was that of Kurovo (1683–1687). Early church in Ziuzino (1688–1704), now in Moscow, presents interesting hybrid between both plans. The church in Ghireevo (1714–1718), now in Moscow, gives the simplification of quatrefoil plan, whereas the church in Yudino (1720) presents russianized version, replacing one of the ‘foils’ with bell tower. Other echo of Ukrainian quatrefoil composition is the cardinal points arrangement of the five domes on the non-quatrefoil buildings (contrary to traditionally Russian diagonally disposition). It seems, that for the first time it was used in the splendid church of Mother of God in Nizhny Novgorod (1697–1703) built by the richest men in Russia Grigory Stroganov. Many churches in Volga and Urals regions followed later this Stroganov-introduced arrangement, for example, the cathedral of Verkhoturie (1703–1704) in Urals.

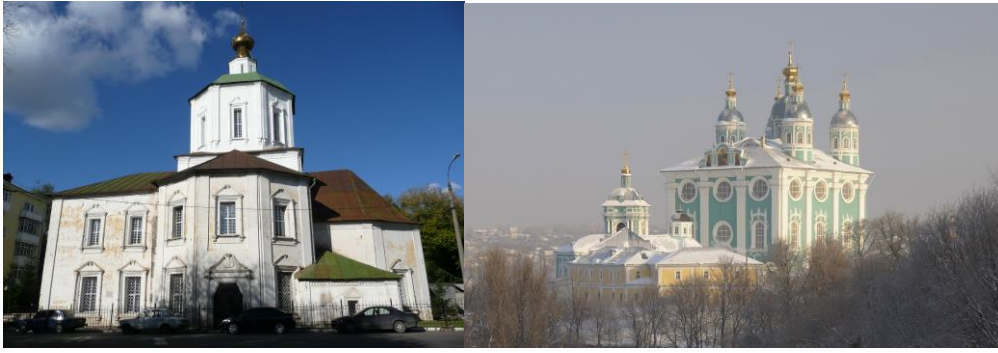


*Churches in Nizhni Novogorod (left) and Verkhoturie (right)*

More examples of the use of Ukrainian plans or features for Russian churches can be added. That justified the conclusion about some kind of Ukrainian fashion's wave in Petrine architecture. In this context, only the combination of different Ukrainian features deserves a consideration as cases of intentional use of Ukrainian models. These are neither numerous, nor well known, indeed.

The new Donskoy church did not become popular as architectural model, perhaps, being too alien to the contemporary Muscovite tradition. Its forms were repeated only twice, and both replicas are insufficiently studied. The first one is the Voronezh cathedral (1718–1735, destroyed in the 1930<sup>th</sup>), commissioned by the metropolitan Pakhomy Shpakovsky. He was a Serb from Wallachia and spent some time in Kharkiv (Ukraine), the fact that can explain his interest towards Ukrainizing forms of Donskoy. The second replica is the parish church in Burtsevo (1730–1733), commissioned by the owner of the village Mikhail Anichkov. In this case the reasons for copying the Donskoy church remain unclear. The church in Uzkoie (1698–1704) near Moscow is a very interesting example of the amalgamation of Russian and Ukrainian forms. The plan and the elevation of the lower part is similar to that of the Donskoy, but the upper one is interpreted as five separate octagons, as usually happened in Naryshkin style. The church was commissioned by boyar Tikhon Streshnev, relative of the Tsar Peter. I think, here it is possible to speak about the first step of acceptance of Ukrainian architectural fashion, because the church has neither evident similarity, no iconographic allusion to Donskoy. The free amalgamation of Ukrainian and Russian elements can also be ascribed to the main church of the monastery of the Elevation of the Holy Cross in Moscow (1701–1726, destroyed in the 1930<sup>th</sup>). The core of the building has been formed by superimposed octagons and surrounded by four low trefoil volumes.



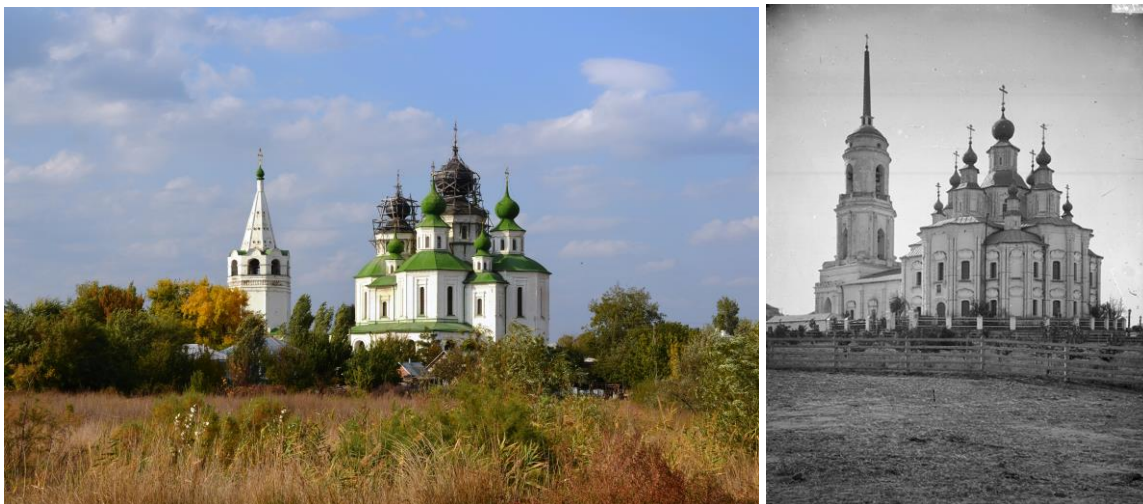


*The church of Otroch monastery in Tver' (left) and cathedral of Smolensk (right)*

The main church of Otroch monastery in Tver' (1722) was also formed by superimposed octagonal volumes. They are surrounded by three relatively high foils and by unusual two-tier *trapeznaya* from the west side. Trapeznaya was a kind of vestibule used sometimes also for church services and was generally much lower than the core of the church. I can suppose, that this composition was created by the ktitor of the church Ukrainian metropolitan Sylwester Chołmski–Wołyniec following the example of Ukrainian basilica churches such as Trinity cathedral in Chernigov (1679–1695). The biggest basilica of this kind in Ukraine was the Dormition church of Kiev Pechersk lavra. In years 1722–1729 the enormous western volume was added to the late 11<sup>th</sup> century building, and six new cupolas were added to the existing one. The influence of this model can be assumed in Dormition cathedral of Smolensk. This construction of this immense building started in 1677, but the church remained unfinished even in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century (Vdovichenko 2009). Only in 1730<sup>th</sup> the Ukrainian metropolitan Gedeon Wiszniewski restarted the building process and consecrated the cathedral in 1740. Some unusual features of this cathedral, first of all the setting of seven domes (only five remain now) can be explained only by the desire to reproduce some iconographical details of the sacred Kievan model.

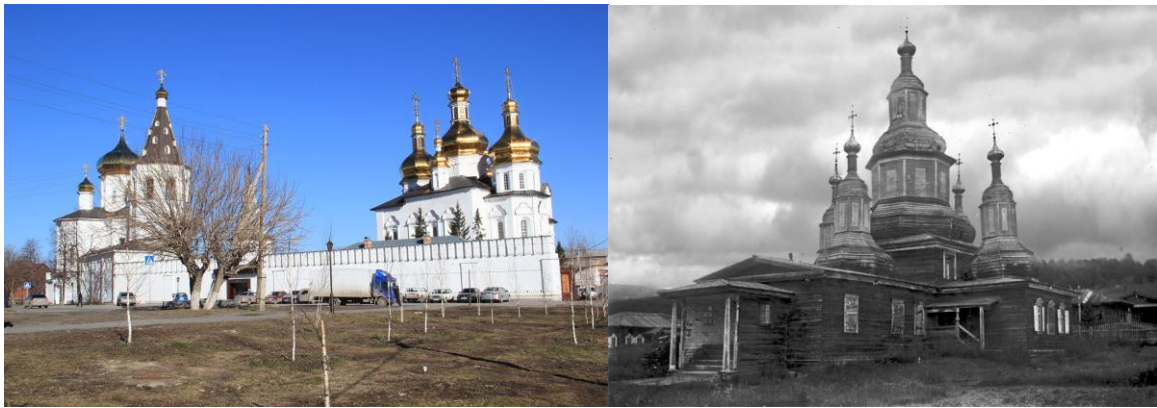
Some of Russian churches has Ukrainian features because they were built in the cultural frontier regions. The cathedral in Starodub is an early example of this buildings (officially 1677, but probably late 17<sup>th</sup> century). Now in Bryansk region, Starodub has been centre of the northernmost *polk* ('regimental district', an administrative division) of the Hetmanate, and the church served as cathedral of Cossack regiment from 1654 till 1782. The building has tripartite Ukrainian plan but exclusively Naryshkin decoration, serving as illustration to Russian influence on Ukrainian architecture. On the contrary, the Resurrection cathedral (1706–1719) in Cherkassk (now Starocherkassk, Rosotov region), the capital of Don Cossacks, has exclusively Ukrainian features. Built outside the Hetmanate, it belongs to Ukrainian architectural tradition, the only Russian feature in the church complex being the 'tent-like' bell-tower, contemporary to the cathedral but set aside. The Ukrainian tradition remained actual in Russian Cossack regions until the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century. Very interesting testimony is the Dormition church (1763–1796, destroyed in the 1930<sup>th</sup>) in Dubovka (now Volgograd region) built as the cathedral of Volga Cossack regiment that existed in 1733–1777. This church follows Ukrainian quatrefoil plan,

and has Ukrainizing decoration. The problem is that such decoration does not correspond to contemporary Ukraine or Central Russia's architectural fashion. I could find such decorative features as engaged triple columns and trefoil window framings only in remote Siberia, in its capital Tobol'sk and surroundings.



*Cossacks' cathedrals in Starocherkassk (left) and Dubovka (right)*

This fact is not as astonishing as it seems, bearing in mind immense distance that separates Siberia from Ukraine. In fact, Siberia was some kind of depository of Ukrainian architectural forms in Russia during the whole 18<sup>th</sup> century. The subject has been already studied (Maciel 2003 and 2011), and I give here only the brief outline. All the metropolitan of Siberia between 1700 and 1768 were Ukrainians. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century only a couple of stone buildings has been built in Siberia, so the region was lacking own architectural tradition. Many bricklayers came in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century from Moscow, Yaroslavl and Urals, carrying out commissions from Moscow government. They were rarely on disposal of clergymen, and Ukrainian metropolitans invited to Siberia their own building teams, which remained here for a long time and worked until 1750<sup>th</sup>. The most important of their buildings, such as Trinity monastery cathedral in Tiumen' (1709–1715), became models for future Siberian churches and promoted survival of Ukrainian architectural features in Siberia until 1790<sup>th</sup> and even in deeply conservative wooden architecture, for example, in the Annunciation church in Verkholsk (1795–1804), now in Irkutsk province.



*Trinity monastery in Tiumen' (left) and Annunciation church in Verkholensk (right)*

In this context and in the situation of absence of building documentation, on the basis of comparative analysis of the decoration I can suppose that the Cossack cathedral in Dubovka was built by some Ukrainian masters or members of their teams invited from Siberia. If so, the new question emerges. How can we consider this construction: as the 'survival' of the Ukrainian tradition in the Cossacks milieu or as its 'revival' in special historic circumstances of symbolical consolidation of the new Cossack regiment?

## **Conclusions**

The results of the analysis allow me to classify Russian buildings with Ukrainian forms within two groups.

The first, smaller group, is formed by buildings, which intentionally copy Ukrainian compositions and decoration to achieve a recognizable similarity with their models. The participation of Ukrainian builders in their construction is rare. Some cases (Siberia, Cherkassk) represents pure Ukrainian 'importation', the rest was fruit of collaboration with Russian bricklayers or decorators. Mostly, these intentional copies of Ukrainian models were created without Ukrainian participation. The intention can be categorized in two groups. Sometimes Russian builders tried to repeat some venerated ecclesiastical model, for example, main Kiev Pechersk lavra church in Tiumen' and Smolensk. But more often they only copied some kind of Ukrainian building, for example, quatrefoil church in Donskoy monastery. Both kinds of 'copies' features a mixture of Russian and Ukrainian architectural elements.

The second group is much more extensive and consists of buildings, which adopt Ukrainian elements rather unintentionally, following some kind of architectural fashion. Sometimes, one of intentionally Ukrainizing constructions became themselves a model and started a new 'line' of replicas. In this case the initial model was treated as only one of Russian buildings, regardless its Ukrainian origins. In many cases only some Ukrainian architectural elements were used: quatrefoil, trefoil and triform plans or cardinal points arrangement of the five domes.

The late 17<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> centuries was the epoch of revolutionary cultural changes, when Russian architecture completely altered its appearance. The dialogue with Ukrainian architecture was one of the key moments of this renovation.

## References

- Aronova 1998: Aronova A. A. Маньеризм – классицизм – барокко в архитектуре петровского времени // Русское искусство эпохи барокко. Новые материалы и исследования. СПб. 1998. С. 70–79*
- Brumfield 2004: Brumfield W. C. A History of Russian Architecture. Seattle, L.: University of Washington Press, [1993] 2004.*
- Brumfield 2000: Brumfield W. C. Photographic Documentation of Architectural Monuments in Siberia: Tiumen Province / Visual Resources, 16 (2000)*
- Burbee 1994: Burbee C. R. The Effect of Catherine II's Policy of Secularization of the Orthodox Church Lands and Property on the Women in the Russian Convents. University of Missouri-Columbia, 1994*
- Buseva 1985: Бусева-Давыдова И. Л. Об истоках композиционного типа «восьмерик на четверике» // Архитектурное наследство. М., 1985. № 33. С. 220–226*
- Buseva 2008: Бусева-Давыдова И. Л. Специфика архитектурной деятельности в Древней Руси и в первой половине XVIII в. // Словарь архитекторов и мастеров строительного дела Москвы XV - середины XVIII века / Отв. ред. И. А. Бондаренко. М., 2008. С. 667–685*
- Chekmarev 2011: Чекмарев А. В. Нарышкинский стиль / arch-heritage.livejournal.com/1099797.html [2011]*
- Chekmarev 2014: Чекмарев А. В. Российско-украинский диалог в церковной архитектуре / arch-heritage.livejournal.com/1809272.html [2014]*
- Cracraft 1990: Cracraft J. The Petrine Revolution in Russian Architecture. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.*
- Flier 2013: Flier M. S. Transporting Jerusalem: The Epiphany Ritual in St. Petersburg // Rites of Place: Public Commemoration in Russia and Eastern Europe. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2013, p. 15–33.*
- Hughes 1982: Hughes L. Moscow Baroque: A Controversial Style // Transactions of the Association of Russian-American Scholars in USA, 15 (1982), p. 69–93.*
- Hughes 2004: Hughes L. Secularization and westernization revisited // Modernizing Muscovy: Reform and Social Change in Seventeenth-Century Russia. L., Routledge, 2004.*
- Ikonnikov 1990: Иконников А. В. Тысяча лет русской архитектуры. М, «Искусство», 1990*
- Пуна, Станюкович-Денисова 2014: Ильина Т. В., Станюкович-Денисова Е. Ю. Русское искусство XVIII в. М., Ю-Райт, 2014*
- Istoriya 1984: Пилевский В. И., Туц А. А., Ушаков Ю. С. История русской архитектуры. Л.: Стройиздат, 1984*

- Istoriya 2011*: История русского искусства. Т. 14. Искусство первой трети XIX века. М.: Северный паломник, 2011
- Kalinina 2000*: Калинина И. В. Православные храмы Иркутской епархии XVII – нач. XX в. М.: Галарт, 2000
- Kaptikov 1990*: Каптиков А. Ю. Каменное зодчество Русского Севера, Вятки и Урала XVIII века. Свердловск, 1990
- Kazakevich 2007*: Казакевич А. Н. Донской иконы БМ московский монастырь // Православная энциклопедия. Т. 15. М., 2007. С. 679-691
- Keldysh 1978*: Келдыш Ю. В. Проблема стилей в русской музыке XVII–XVIII вв. // Очерки и исследования по истории русской музыки. М., 1978. С. 92–112.
- Kirillov 1980*: Кириллов В. В. Тобольск. М.: Искусство, 1984
- Kohut 1988*: Kohut Z. Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy: Imperial Absorption of the Hetmanate, 1760s–1830s. Harvard University Press, 1988
- Komashko 2006*: Комашко Н. И. Русская икона XVIII века: столичная икона, провинциальная икона, народная икона. М.: Agey Tomesh, 2006
- Maciel 2003*: Масиель Санчес Л. К. К вопросу об «украинизмах» архитектуры тюменского Троицкого монастыря // Искусство христианского мира. Вып. 7. М., 2003. С. 234–242
- Maciel 2011*: Масиель Санчес Л. К. Свет Лавры in partibus infidelium: «украинизмы» в архитектуре Сибири XVIII в. // Архитектурное наследство. Вып. 54. М., 2011. С. 144–157
- Magosci 2010*: Magosci P. R. A History of Ukraine: The Land and Its Peoples. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010
- Pavlenko 2005*: Павленко С. Иван Мазепа як будівничий української культури. Київ: Києво-Могилянська академія, 2005
- Pevny 2009*: Pevny O. Z. The Encrypted Narrative of Reconstructed Cossack Baroque Forms // Harvard Ukrainian Studies; 2009-2010, Vol. 31, Issue 1-4.
- Plokhly 2001*: Plokhly S. The Cossacks and Religion in Early Modern Ukraine. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001
- Plokhly 2010*: Plokhly S. Ukraine and Russia: Representations of the Past. University of Toronto Press, 2010
- Pluzhnikov 1974*: Плужников В. И. Соотношение объемных форм в русском культовом зодчестве начала XVIII в. // Русское искусство первой четверти XVIII в. М.: Искусство, 1974. С. 81-108
- Rappoport 1993*: Раппопорт П. А. Древнерусская архитектура. СПб.: Стройиздат. С.-Петербургское отделение, 1993
- Rudnitska 2000*: Рудницька О. П. Українське мистецтво у полікультурному просторі. Київ: "Екс Об", 2000
- Schultz 1994*: Шульц С. С. Храмы Санкт-Петербурга (история и современность). СПб.: Глаголь-СПб, 1994
- Sedov 2001*: Седов Вл. В. Стиль Великого посольства // Проект Классика, 1 (2001). С. 144-151
- Sedov 2004*: Седов Вл. В. Стиль Вечного мира, или Польский ренессанс в Москве // Проект Классика, 12 (2004). С. 140-147

- Sedov 2002: Седов Вл. В.* Маньеризм первых Романовых // «Проект Классика». № IV (2002). С. 137–143
- Shvidkovsky 2007: Shvidkovsky D.* Russian Architecture and the West. Yale University Press, 2007
- Skodock 2006: Skodock C.* Barock in Russland: zum Oeuvre des Hofarchitekten Francesco Bartolomeo Rastrelli. Harrasowitz, 2006.
- Slun'kova 2002: Слюнькова И. Н.* Монастыри восточной и западной традиций. Наследие архитектуры Беларуси. М., 2002
- Tarabarina 1999: Тарабрина Ю. В.* Русская архитектура первой трети XVII в. Канд. дисс., М.: МГУ. 1999
- Tsarenko 1967: Цапенко М. П.* Архитектура Левобережной Украины XVII – XVIII веков. М. 1967
- Ukrain'ske barokko 1991: Українське барокко та європейський контекст.* Київ: Наукова думка, 1991.
- Vdovichenko 2009: Вдовиченко М.В.* Архитектура больших соборов XVII в. М., 2009
- Viper 1978: Виппер Б. Р.* Архитектура русского барокко. М. 1978
- Vygodov 1964: Выгодов В. П.* О развитии ярусных форм в зодчестве конца XVII века // Древнерусское искусство. XVII век. М., 1964. С. 236–252
- Yakovlev 2012: Яковлев А. Н.* Церковь Кира и Иоанна на Солянке и архитектурный тип «четверик со скруглёнными углами» // Архитектурное наследие, 56 (2012). С. 146-167

### **Contact details**

Lev Maciel

Associate Prof., PhD , Faculty of Humanities, National Research University 'Higher School of Economics'; maciel@hse.ru

**Any opinions or claims contained in this Working Paper do not necessarily reflect the views of HSE.**

© Maciel, 2016