

СОЦІАЛЬНО-ФІЛОСОФСЬКИЙ АНАЛІЗ КУЛЬТУРНО-ДУХОВНИХ ПРАКТИК

УДК 7.04 : 398.1

ETHNOGRAPHICAL PECULIARITY OF HOME ICONS IN LUHANSK REGION

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Анотація:

The article reveals the fact that Luhansk home icon is a peculiar and inimitable phenomenon of the Ukrainian culture in general and Sloboda Ukraine icon painting in particular. Its uniqueness has been stipulated by both ethnopsychological peculiarities of Luhansk population, in particular by the permanent anxiety, which came from steppe, and the peculiarities of historical development of the region as the result of which it is considered a syncretistic phenomenon where there are combined the aesthetic ideals with tastes of Cossack Baroque period and elements of professional church icon-painting. Alongside with that, the opinion has been substantiated that at the beginning of the XX century Luhansk region was formed as a socially homogeneous and open for external communication cultural space, the elements of which provided the basis for the Ukrainian ethnic culture.

Богомолець Ольга. Етнографічна своєрідність домашніх ікон Луганщини.

Показано, що луганська домашня ікона – це своєрідний і неповторний феномен української культури загалом і слобожанського іконопису зокрема. Її унікальність зумовлена як етнопсихологічними особливостями луганського населення й зокрема перманентною тривогою, що йшла зі степу, так і особливостями історичного розвитку регіону. Саме тому вона розглядається як синкретичний феномен, у якому поєднані естетичні ідеали й смаки періоду козацького бароко з елементами професійного церковного іконопису. Поряд з іншими, обґрунтовується думка про те, що Луганщина на початку XX ст. була сформованим соціально гомогенним і відкритим до зовнішнього спілкування культурним простором, елементи якого лягли в основу української етнічної культури.

Богомолец Ольга. Этнографическое своеобразие домашних икон Луганского края.

Показано, что луганская домашняя икона – это своеобразный и неповторимый феномен украинской культуры в целом и слобожанской иконописи в частности. Ее уникальность обусловлена как этнопсихологическими особенностями луганского населения и непосредственно перманентной тревогой, исходящей от степи, так и особенностями исторического развития региона. Именно поэтому домашняя икона луганского края рассматривается как синкретический феномен, в котором объединены эстетические идеалы и вкусы периода казацкого барокко с элементами профессиональной церковной иконописи. Среди прочих, обосновывается мысль о том, что луганский край в начале XX в. представлял собой сложившееся социально гомогенное и открытое к внешнему общению культурное пространство, элементы которого легли в основу украинской этнической культуры.

Ключові слова:

home icon, church icon painting, national icon painting, casing, Baroque.

домашня ікона, церковний іконопис, народний іконопис, оклад, бароко.

домашняя икона, церковная иконопись, народная иконопись, оклад, барокко.

The revival of the national heritage of the Ukrainian nation is an inseparable part of work connected with the formation of Ukrainian ethnic identity and the revival of territorial integrity of Ukraine as a state. An important part in this process is played by the studies focused on the discovery of historical, cultural and worldview peculiarity of Ukrainians from different ethnographic regions. The urgent character of this activity is stipulated by the fact that the national self-identity takes place most often against the cultural uniqueness. That is why all the "old nations" (H. Seton-Watson) pay so much attention to the development of their own cultural originality, forming national ideals and values corresponding to time and circumstances. Because just around them the society is being united forming the constructive program of the future.

When it comes to Ukraine, it is worth determining that in spite of the military crisis closely connected with the crisis of identity, the investigations focused on the revival of the national heritage as the cultural background of the Ukrainian

society's national consolidation have not received their proper place yet. If to distance from ethnographic exploratory surveys of the XIX – the beginning of XX century, in particular, the works of V. Hnatiuk, M. Kostomarov, I. Sreznevskiy, O. Afanasieva, I. Nechui-Levytskyi, I. Ohienko, Khv. Vovk et al., today there are actually no investigations dedicated to the study of ethnic peculiarities of Ukrainians and factors that stipulate the change of the ethnographic map of Ukraine, forming the bases for separatism in the place where one hundred years ago, the population was distinguished by high level of cultural homogeneity. It is quite obvious that the above-indicated problem is an extremely underlying problem, and being stipulated by multiple worldview, historical, political and cultural factors cannot be solved within the framework of one investigation. At the same time, its setting may actualize a variety of investigations aimed at ascertaining the peculiarity of cultural heritage of different ethnic regions, without fear or favour and unbiasedly show the collisions of

historical development of the population, detect the reasons for present-day worldview controversy etc., and form a regional program of the political and cultural development.

The above-mentioned problems are important and up-to-date for all the Ukrainian regions, but the acutest and most controversial it becomes to the Eastern Ukraine, as long as right here there is observed the highest level of unshadowing of the population which leads to the appearance of the separatist movement, which is accompanied by the commitment to the foreign countries. This makes the investigations dedicated to the revealing of the ethnic peculiarity of the population of the region actual as well as the showing of the factors, which favour its de-ethnotization, which became our research objective.

It is obvious that it is extremely difficult to talk about ethnic peculiarity of Ukrainians, the reason is that the most often it arises because of psychological factors, which are hard to reproduce under modern conditions. However, in the cases when we address to the visual display of the world outlook, the situation acquires the substantially new look. That is why, while talking about ethnic peculiarity of the Eastern regions of Ukraine, in particular, the Luhansk region, it is quite reasonable to address to that syncretistic part of the historic heritage, which at the same time represents the material and spiritual component of the national culture. It should be mentioned that the icons the most fully visually express the spirituality of Luhansk region. They not only remind of the prototype, "spiritual outlook" (P. Florenskyi), but are primarily the "non-verbal chronicle" of the community that reflects collisions of its historic development, evolution of faith and inner attitude to God. Especially expressively, this peculiarity is displayed in Ukrainian icons, which as there was shown by V. Otkovych, P. Zholtovskiy, D. Stepovyk, L. Milyayeva, O. Osadcha et al., in comparison with sacred images of other orthodox churches is characterized by expressive intention on the person, his/her values, the lifestyle, and expectations.

Even more acute this special feature is expressed in home icon, because it has been the main object of worship, an adviser and a silent witness of those life collisions, which accompanied a person during his/her life, that is why they were painted in accordance with their own understanding of God, in their own image, the way the human being was created. That is why, home icons have mostly been painted the way people looked themselves, the way they imagined themselves and the world around them.

Taking into consideration the above-mentioned information, the objective of our research is the revealing of the ethnographic peculiarity of home icons in Luhansk region as one of those elements

based on which there is being formed an ethnic and national identity.

Before talking about the peculiarities of home icons in Luhansk region, there should be paid attention to the geographical originality of the region, as long as, as it was proved by Ch. Montesquieu, this is the fact that determines the psychological features of the population, who unlike most of the Ukrainian regions, scarcely could be proud of millennial traditions of their development. So, not entering into the detailed analysis of historic collision of area development, it is difficult to pretermite a millennial history of people living there, being rooted in Cimmerian culture, which is famous for the periods of long-lasting pauses in the development of historical and cultural tradition on this territory. In particular, the constant staying of nomadic tribes (the Cimmerians, Scythians, Sarmatians, Huns, Polovtsians, Pechenegs and migration of Hungarians etc.) in the steppe zone of Luhansk region, does not give enough opportunities to talk about the hereditary nature of the local culture. This statement causes even more doubt if to remember the destructive Mongolo-Tatar invasion and its consequences for the Luhansk area.

When distancing from displaying the historical collisions of human development on the territory of modern Luhansk region, it is considered reasonable to agree with immanently present unique in the modern Ukraine "History of Luhansk region" opinion that the latest settlement of the region and consolidation of its cultural tradition there is no point to start before the XVII – XVIII centuries, because "until the beginning of XVII century it was mainly inhabited by Crimean and Azov Tatars, Bid and Little Nogai Hordes" [4]. Strictly speaking, this circumstance and made the authorities of Moscow empire and later on of Russian empire take strong measures for the defense of the eastern part of their own country, having formed the extremely favourable conditions for this aria settlement. It caused the activation of migration processes, which not only finished the process of Lugansk lands settlement but formed the background for creation on this territory the unique cultural space, which being included into the general paradigm field of Ukrainian national culture, though was expressed by the range of independent features which became the refectation of mental structure of the population inhabiting the territory of Luhansk region.

An important part in the process of formation of the peculiarities of the national culture of Luhansk region played the fact of organic combination of various ethnic roots – Ukrainian, Russian, Tatar. It should be mentioned that the culture forming meaning of those elements was significantly different, which is perfectly well proved by the results of work of Kharkiv Archeological Committee.

In particular, during the expedition in 1900 it was found that the population of Luhansk region in the XIX century consisted only of Great and Little Russians. However the author of the report Ye. Radakova mentions: "The inhabitants were mainly grain growers but for one jeweller, one icon painter and several people weaving baskets of straw and wicker..." [3, p. 5].

There attracts attention the description made by the archeological committee of that time women's clothes (the information on men's clothes was not saved). A headwear – as it was emphasized by the investigator – consisted of a headband made of motley woolen kerchief. Women were wearing big earrings in the ears and a pendant with silver coins. A favorite necklace was a chain of huge amber. Over the skirt and white wide sleeves shirt a motley woolen apron was worn. Very often, the women were wearing silk sleeveless jackets – wide and with no tucks. In the lonely and remote villages, the women were wearing woolen pinafore dresses with a belt; as well as with small red hat on their head embroidered with gold – "barkhatnyk/velvet hat". Over the "barkhatnyk" there was tied small bright silk kerchief. However, before that the women were wearing red satin clothes on their head, instead of pinafore dresses were wearing "derhas" consisting of a piece of woolen clothes putting on a belt.

Alongside with the clothes there were analyzed in details the crafts of the population living in Luhansk region, in particular, the peculiarities of pottery, glass manufacture, carving, as well as the peculiarities of art handicrafts. A special attention attract the embroidered ritual cloth known as "rushnyk". They are distinguished not only by dominance of red, but also by a great number of different symbols – anthropomorphic (Berehynia (a female spirit in Slavic mythology) with hands down) and zoomorphic (cocks and two-headed eagle) symbols, which are organically combined with the floral ornaments. Besides, there are frequently met the letters, among which a special attention attract the letters "HB" in wreath the two-headed eagle is coronated with [3, p. 32–33]. Today it is very hard to state for sure what those letters symbolized and what idea was encoded in those ritual clothes by the master. Based on various historical data we can just hypothetically guess that the two-headed eagle (one of the old symbols of Orthodox Christianity, the Dukes of Kyiv and Cossacks), depicted above the cocks, which were the symbols of fire – was the symbol of Cossacks inspiration and victory over the enemy for the sake of glory of God and Orthodox Christianity, which should be consolidate on the territory of Ukraine forever and ever ("HB"), because this is what really protects the soul of Ukrainian nation. Our supposition concerning the double meaning in symbolism of Luhansk embroidered

"rushnyks" is based on the statement of S. Kytova that a double symmetrical pattern of "rushnyk" has already had the idea of "double" [5, p. 23].

Cultural self-identity of Luhansk region was manifested in not only the originality of everyday life, peculiarities of clothes or crafts but also in singularity of the spiritual culture, which has been preserved until our time in the form of the original icon painting, which reflected the spirit and mental peculiarity of population inhabiting Luhansk region. As long as it was mentioned by L. Borshchenko, the icon painters of the region, "were not just copying the icons, they introduced changes even in the compositions, emphasizing by this in their compositions the features of local origin" [2, p. 7].

While emphasizing the peculiarities of Luhansk national icon painting, there should not be ignored the fact that most monuments that have survived to the present day belong to XIX – the beginning of XX century, that is the time, when it was possible to talk about the original cultural space formed within several centuries under the influence of different ethnic roots. It is worth taking into consideration that as distinguished from the cultural space of Polissia or Hutsulshchyna, where there have been a lot of remote settlements the cultural tradition of whose was distinguished by high level of heredity and carried the elements and symbols of pre-modern culture of the early patriarchal period, the repeated settlement of Luhansk region for a number of historical reasons and primarily Mongolo-Tatar invasion, took place relatively late. It in its turn gives an opportunity to suppose that the dominant role in the formation of sacral space of a family and home there played not old heathen customs and traditions which usually preserved, being peculiar to the migrants from Right-Bank Ukraine, and Zaporozhean and Kuban Cossacks who for a long time made the majority of the local population, as the universal trends of the orthodox church, around which there was formed the co-existence of the local population consisting of the representatives of various ethnic groups. As a result, the home traditions, culture, and correspondingly, home icons of Luhansk region were closely connected with church tradition, as distinct from many other regions of Ukraine. In favour of our supposition were the remarks of L. Borshchenko about the fact that the blossom of icon painting in Luhansk region and the formation of original icon painting tradition took place at the turn of XIX–XX centuries, that is to say within the period of intense industrial development in the area, which was accompanied by the blossom of public life, residential and temple buildings, forming the demand for a great amount of icon painters, sculptors of monuments and interior designers [2, p. 7–8].

The development of industry and correspondingly the cities led to the destruction of

the conservative by its nature cultural space of the village, promoting by this not only the consolidation of the universal trends of the orthodox church, the development of its customs and traditions as a result of which the cultural development of the area was primarily the formation of beauty standards took place not based on the traditional beliefs of Ukrainian rural population but were determined by the standards formed in a city. It should be mentioned that this peculiarity refers both the church and home icons, which according to L. Borshchenko were different, basically, in size. The icons created for the domestic divine service in comparison with the church icons differed by their small size [2, p. 8], and were, as it is certified by those available in Radomysl Castle–Museum, as big as elbow, that is three spans [1, p. 44]. If to talk about the icon production centers, according to L. Borshchenko, most of Luhansk icons were produced in conventual workshops and icon painting artels of Luhansk, Sviate, Starobilsk and Horodyshe [2, p. 8]. In such a case the icons most often were different by the artistic mastery of the icon painter, but not the originality of its decoration or the variety of the plots.

In particular, the samples of Luhansk icons available in Radomysl Castle–Museum today, were characterized by singularity of plot, domination of light blue or blue background, high accuracy level in depicting small details – each hair in Jesus beard or eye-around wrinkles in the God's Mother face were painted separately. Alongside with that there attract attention big eyes and round pupils of the eyes of saints depicted in the icons, which in combination with inner concentration of saints are always looking straight at the observer, the saints are turned to a person, but their look is lost at infinite. This icon painting feature, from our point of view, became the result of ethnopsychological peculiarities of Luhansk population. In particular, the dominance of steppe zone, formed of the feeling or unlimited movement into infinity, which was always accompanied by immanently present the feeling of imperfection and incompleteness of existence [8]. In other words, the saints who are looking at the person with the glance focused on the internal or external infinity, were the reflection of the internal feeling of local population, the Cossack, adventurous spirit of which on the one hand is full of enthusiasm in searching and struggle for the immense ideal and on the other hand has already understood the sense of fatality which borders with apathy [8]. Looking it another way, the community of Saints in Luhansk icons reflect a general worldview mood of the local population, as if emphasizing the uselessness of looking for happiness in mortal life, calling the person to concentrate on him/herself, search for God inside and kingdom of heaven.

The emphasized by us idea is correlates perfectly well with peculiarity of Lunansk icons

decoration, which are often called «dressed», because of casings, which were specially produces for them. This peculiarity is rather expressively displayed in painters of Starobilsk conventual workshop – the images of saints, in the casing are always full-faced, finely painted with tempore faces, in casing of yellow and red gold foil [2, p. 8]. "The saints's clothes was embroidered, the dressing was decorated with semi-precious stones and glass. There have been found icons, –emphasizes L. Borshchenko, –where the saints' clothes was sewn embroidered with hemstitch. There was widely spread bead clothes. There was very popular dressing embroidered with beads, pearls and gold thread" [2, p. 8]. This observation of the researcher affords ground to suppose the icons that are available in Radomysl Castle–Museum today, were manufactured just in this workshop. As long as most of these icons are full faced with finely embroidered faces of saints. The peculiarity of these icons is its decoration, in particular, the casings, dressing most often made of velvet or other fabric, densely decorated with thickly decorated and beaded. Some icons are decorated with engraved gold nimbus made of foil. At the same time the casing as the external decoration of the icon were always nailed to it with small nails.

It should be mentioned that the tradition to "case" the icons – dates back to the time of Byzantine Empire and Ancient Rus where there was a tradition to decorate the icons with precious stones. At that time the icons were not cased, but were decorated with gold, precious stones and sacrificial donations brought by believers. Alongside with decoration of icons there existed in Ancient Rus a tradition to apply «forging» to the whole icon, which was called "kurta". And only in XVI century there appeared the word "casing" and a tradition to case icons in less labour-consuming in comparison with "forging", engraving made on the foil. With the assumption that the most valuable were icons engraved from one piece of gold, silver or copper. Such incredibly precious icons, notices T. Yeliseeva, were more commonly ordered by nobility, rich petty bourgeoisie, Cossacks foremen, churches and monasteries [6]. As for the spreading of icons with cases among the common people, to our point of view, it is stipulated by worldview closeness of local population, the significant amount of which consisted of enslaved in XVIII century Cossacks, together with Cossacks foremen and church life, the traditions of which they adapted.

Revealing the peculiarities of "dressed" Luhansk icons, there couldn't be neglected the issue of their authorship, especially taking into consideration the fact that traditionally it was considered that nobody but the men could be the icon painters. If to talk about Luhansk icons, the peculiarity of their cases, affords ground to affirm that in the workshops and

icon painting ateliers there were women who were together with men. More often their work was limited with the production of casing. They were embroidering the clothes of saints (most often made of velvet) and were decorating it with embroidering with gold, embroidery with beads, myrica beads, colourful stones and incised patterns on foil, though there were probably the cases when icons were painted by women. In such cases the saints' faces differed by special tenderness and femininity.

Alongside with other there attracts attention the fact the especially honorable among Luhansk population was the God's Mother, Jesus Christ, St. Niche the Wonderworker, Sabaoth, sometimes the images of apostles and gossellers, New Testament Trinity, as well as images of St. Vladimir and Olha are met. If to talk about widely honored saints in most regions of Ukraine there are the following: St. Saint George, Panteleimon, Barbara, Paraskevas, Zinaida etc., it means those saints who were taking care of economic activity, they were not found among Luhansk icons. It in its turn gives an opportunity to suppose that the religiosity of Luhansk population was determined mostly by church, around which there was concentrated most of settlement.

Alongside with the above mentioned, an important part in the formation of worldview intention of people inhabiting Luhansk region on the Orthodox Christianity played the industrial development and correspondingly the development of the cities. It favored the destruction of the traditional patriarchal life style of the conservative peasantry and formation of common for all the local population culture, which was the best way manifested through Luhansk home icons. The last, as distinct from more conservative regions, was not distinguished by the high level of primitivism of images any more, because a close relation to the city and its culture stipulated the formation of a new artistic taste, which was expressed by the original organic combination of the artistic elements of Baroque with the innovative artistic spirit of the times. In favour of our supposition there were found not only a great amount of Baroque icons, in particular, the icons "Christ the Vine", "Christ in the Chalice", "The God's Mother" with the features of local population and dressed like people living in that area, but also the popularity, among urban population, which have the icons painted by young I. Repin. In this regard, he wrote: "In Syrotyne I was successful with my icons. Of course I followed the necessary recommendations and canons according to which there are painted all saints or the whole scene (every painter had a box full of icons), and was encouraged by confidence and interest of the whole living and even his contractor" [6]. Besides, I. Repin with great pleasure was painting icons for the peasant. Besides, he delivered them to all the orphan

asylums and after that continued his day off routes. In the neighboring Syrotyne villages Illia was also met with enthusiasm as long as he was painting the iconostases of the church, which was attended by local population [6].

A special attention, in this context attracts I. Repin's mentioning of the fact that while painting one of the iconostasis he improved the work of one of the senior masters, as long as "he did not like the featureless faces, dull colours and absence of any internal force in the painting" [6]. This mentioning is crucially important, because on the one hand gives an opportunity to talk about changes in Luhansk icon painting tradition which took place on the cusp of XIX–XX centuries and manifested in the peculiar transitioning from the traditional for Russian icon painting dead, kept aloof from human faces saints painted with dark colours, which probably, if even not dominating though were popular in Luhansk region because of close interaction with Great Russian culture, and on the other hand – concerning the consolidation and dominance of Ukrainian identity and its corresponding culture in the country. Alongside with the above-mentioned it should not be neglected the fact that on the territory of the region as it was witnessed by I. Repin there existed a great amount of national icon painters who were dealing with both monumental painting of the churches and iconostases and creation of icons for personal at-home use.

Our conclusions are very in harmony with the remarks dropped by L. Borshchenko, who mentions the high level of influence of the national icon painting over the formation of Luhansk icon painting tradition in whole [2, p. 9]. The last most fully, to our opinion, was expressed in the peculiar approximation of saints' faces to the features of local population which is the most expressively manifested in the outside appearance, and primarily in dressing – enveloping robe of the God's Mother was often depicted bright red (scarlet), similar to kerchief and wimples worn by women in Luhansk region. Sometimes, the dressing of the God's Mother and Christ were more somber, which completely corresponded to the color gamut of the casual clothes of local population at the same time approximating the saints to local people and their everyday life.

In general, as it has been mentioned by L. Borshchenko, a significant amount of "preserved icons were painted in the manner peculiar to Sloboda school of icon painting, which overlapped with the local background – careful drawing of faces, the volume of figures of saints, transparency of paints" [2, p. 10], forming the original synthesis of the local icon painting tradition with the expressly represented inclusion of West-European arts, which was repeatedly stressed by Ye. Redin. This peculiarity, to our opinion, was formed under the

influence of icon painting tradition of Ukrainian Baroque, which was primarily spread due to the migration of Ukrainian Cossacks, and then due to close dialogue of rural and urban culture, which not always had a possibility to rise to the level of wider ethnic discourse by force of external or internal circumstances among which the leading part was played by gradual enslaving of Cossacks. However, even this complicated page in the life of local population did not lead to the total breaking off the Cossacks' aesthetic tastes. As long as actually until the complete destruction of the Ukrainian identity on this territory, Luhansk icons preserved not only the aesthetic ideals or plots but also the manner of their production and size of icons. In particular, while preserving the icon painting tradition of Cossacks ark icons, Luhansk icons most often were small icons, elbow-size, that is to say three spans, which significantly differed from the church icons. In such a way, we have all reasons to affirm that Luhansk home icons were the peculiar synthesis of the worldview concepts and aesthetic tastes of Cossacks and church icon painting tradition.

It should be mentioned that that the widespreadness of the church practice among Luhansk population did not stipulate here the spread of ascetic icons peculiar to Russian icon painting school, to the contrary the Ukrainian spirit was broadcasted by Cossacks as the most active part of that time rural population, as the result of which, in Luhansk icon painting tradition there appeared the inclusion of West-European arts. This peculiarity, to our opinion, was formed under the influence of icon painting tradition of Ukrainian Baroque, which was primarily spread due to migration of Ukrainian Cossacks and later on due to the close dialogue of rural and urban culture, which not always had a possibility to rise to the level of wider ethnic discourse by force of external or internal circumstances, among which an important part played the gradual consolidation of Cossacks.

Cossacks as the most active rural population of that time, for a long time remained the broadcaster of the main cultural values to the public and the bearer of the artistic taste. That is why after the complete enslaving in the days of Catherine the Great, there began to be formed relatively closed cultural media, which though being included into the previously formed cultural space, had their own peculiarities, which was convincingly demonstrated in detachment of Luhansk icon painting as a separate branch of

Sloboda icon painting tradition. In particular, unlike popular national icons in most parts of Sloboda Ukraine "based on contrast tone correlation between the colour of background and colour of the saint's figure (against dark background – light figure of the saint, against light background – dark figure of saint)" [7], in Luhansk region the contrast of colours though preserved but was very subdued due to rich decoration of casing. As a result, most often a cool background of icons was not so important, because being the nonessential component, served as a kind of background, which gave an opportunity to focus attention exclusively on the image of the saint. As the result, in Luhansk icons the saints were painted in such a way that they seemed to descend to people from heaven. In its turn, the figures of the saints in icons painted within the paradigm field of Sloboda icon painting were included to the general compositional structure of the whole icon painting plot.

In general, a significant amount of the "preserved icons were painted in the manner peculiar to Sloboda school of icon painting, which overlapped with the local background – careful drawing of faces, the volume of figures of saints, transparency of paints" [3, P. 10]. Taking into consideration the fact that the шрифти of saints were always painted in Ukrainian icons in the own image and likeness there are grounds for believing that the local population of Luhansk region had an expressive Ukrainian identity before the beginning of the XX century and only parlous tragic times caused deethnitization of the population.

In such a way, there may be made a conclusion that Luhansk home icon is peculiar and inimitable phenomenon of the Ukrainian culture in general and Sloboda icon painting in particular. Its uniqueness was stipulated not only by its ethno psychological peculiarities of Luhansk population but in particular the permanent anxiety coming from steppe but also the peculiarities of the historical development of the region. As long as, as it has already been shown, there were visualized in Luhansk icon the hope and anxiety of local population which were organically combined with the aesthetic ideals and tastes of the period of Cossacks Baroque and elements of the professional church icon painting. Summing it up, we can say that the weight of evidence suggests that at the beginning of the XX century Luhansk region was formed as socially homogenous and open to external communication cultural space the elements of which provided the basis for the Ukrainian ethnic culture.

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doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7905/vers.v0i7.1363>

Надійшла до редакції: 19.05.2016 р.

Прийнята до друку: 24.05.2016 р.

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doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7905/vers.v0i7.1363>

Received at the editorial office: 19.05.2016.

Accepted for publishing: 24.05.2016.