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# The Effects of Heritage Protection Policies on Living Vernacular Heritage: The Case of Ukrainian Wooden Churches

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**Abstract:** Specialists in Conservation Science and Heritage Studies generally strive to refine current conservation standards and policies to achieve more efficient preservation of heritage sites worldwide. However, in some situations, the enforcement of conservation standards undermines the existing patterns of ownership and funding, heritage usage, and established management systems leading to worse conservation outcomes.

This paper analyzes the effects of current heritage policies by comparing the community-based maintenance practices in a sample of designated and non-designated wooden churches in Lviv Oblast, Ukraine. Derived from the Soviet-time authoritative top-down paradigm and integrative processes with European conservation practices, current heritage policies in Ukraine feature an extensive protective register with no stratification of conservation standards for different levels of protection. Our findings show that such policies discourage active maintenance practices or provoke hazardous uncertified repairs, which are often conducted hastily and in secrecy. These outcomes call for a revision of heritage policies and further development of theoretical thought towards the inclusion of alternative maintenance practices.

**Keywords:** living heritage, wooden churches, Ukraine, policy analysis, community participation.

## 1. Introduction

Wooden churches, once widespread in the forested regions of Europe, were built with outstanding woodwork and craftsmanship as material expressions of religious piety. The same sentiments led to their mass replacement with masonry buildings, as soon as the new technologies were mastered and became accessible. The remaining historical wooden churches constitute valuable cultural properties and are protected on the highest levels in all European states where they can be found.

Among states, Ukraine stands out for having the impressive number of preserved historical wooden churches - more than 2500 (Slipchenko, Mohytych 2005). Their endurance can be explained by a combination of factors including the availability of timber resources, the slow pursuit of urbanization, and the minority status of ethnic Ukrainians in other countries, which neither favored nor sponsored new religious constructions in their ethnic enclaves.

Ukrainian wooden churches are built with a traditional horizontal log construction technique, which is still shared and widely practiced by the communities for the construction of residential and utility structures. The skills and knowledge necessary for the construction and maintenance of the buildings have evolved and been transmitted among vernacular carpenters through the traditional systems of apprenticeship (Fainyk 2007). These characteristics of Ukrainian wooden churches justify their categorization as built vernacular heritage according to the definitions

given by the Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage (ICOMOS 1999).

Moreover, most of the structures in question can be considered living heritage sites within the theoretical framework developed by ICCROM in the strategic program on “Promoting People-Centered Approaches to Conservation: Living Heritage.” The most important characteristic of the living heritage - continuity of function (Wijesuriya, “Living Heritage: A Summary”) - is evident in Ukrainian wooden churches, as the majority of structures nowadays are currently used for religious worship as they had originally been intended. Most of the historical wooden churches are owned and maintained by local religious communities, which speaks to the continuity of communities’ connections to heritage. Additionally, the continuity of care is manifested in the clerically established system of community-based maintenance of churches (Bogdanova, Uekita 2015), in which most of the work and responsibilities are carried by volunteers as a part of one’s personal religious service or fulfillment of a vow.

Both the ICOMOS Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage and the ICCROM's strategic program emphasize the need for a different approach to the conservation of such heritage sites to acknowledge the “inevitability of change and development”, and “to respect the community's established cultural identity.” (ICOMOS 1999)

Among the best practices for applying a special approach to the conservation of the living vernacular heritage sites are reports from the ICCROM Forum on Living Religious Heritage: Conserving the Sacred (2005). In one of the case studies, Dean Whiting described the approaches taken by the New Zealand government to conserve Maori meeting houses, which involved acknowledging that preservation of the spiritual essence of these places is more important than their physical preservation and ensuring the “spiritual safety” of conservation interventions. Another example is given by Gamini Wijesuriya’s chapter “The past is in the present.” It describes the efforts undertaken by the Sri Lankan government in the 1960s to tackle unapproved community-based restoration of historical Buddhist temples and stupas. Challenged by the resistance of religious communities, the government decided to reserve some sites for scientific conservation and to allow community-based restoration in others.

This paper will explore the development and the present state of the Ukrainian heritage legislation for the protection of vernacular wooden heritage, and link this analysis to the actual practices and circumstances surrounding wooden church conservation in Ukraine.

## 2. Materials and Methods

For the first part of this study, we reviewed the development and current state of heritage policies in Ukraine using secondary sources, documentary data, and expert interviews. Brief historical overview shows how ecclesiastic wooden buildings were managed in the past and how they came under the public protection. Current heritage policies in Ukraine are analyzed from the perspective of historical and international influences, and their ability to address the specific challenges of living vernacular heritage is discussed.

Next, we compared the maintenance practices in the samples of designated and non-designated wooden churches owned by religious communities. This analysis allowed us to test the effects of the current heritage policies and draw conclusions about their effectiveness. Data source for the second stage of the inquiry came from the fieldwork conducted in August 2013 and July 2015, direct inquiries to information-holders, and online imagery search to access the newest evidence on church physical conditions. Unfortunately, no effective monitoring system is in place even for the designated wooden churches, and visiting all of the locations in person was not feasible in the scope of this study. Therefore, we relied on the published secondary source materials (Hromyk 2015, Slobodyan 1998) and data recorded by journalists and civil activists, accessible through public online portals (“Wooden Churches of Ukraine”, Wikimedia).

Presently, our research covers only one region - Lviv Oblast, located in the western part of Ukraine, at its border with Poland. The following considerations determined this territorial focus.

The rationale to limit the scope of this analysis to one region was dictated by the varied capacities of regional heritage authorities to enforce heritage legislation and the different ratio of designated and non-designated wooden churches across the regions of Ukraine. The Lviv Oblast was selected because it has the biggest number and variety of historical wooden churches among the regions of Ukraine, and, due to the active engagement of civil society, could provide the largest data set for our analysis.

### 3. The Evolution of Policies for the Protection of Historical Wooden Churches in Ukraine

#### a) Early preservation practices

Before heritage protection policies were put into place, the construction and maintenance of wooden churches fell under the jurisdiction of the canon law. Inspectors from central church authorities, the Greek Catholic Church, and the Russian Orthodox Church, had a responsibility of visiting each parish church and auditing the physical state of the building and the valuable movable assets stored inside. Those visitation decrees, documented from the 17th century onward and preserved in canonic and governmental archives, serve as important sources of historical evidence related to wooden churches.

Preservation awareness developed from the end of 19th century when the territory of Ukraine was split between different political entities. Accordingly, Ukrainian cultural properties were subject to various pieces of protective legislation, mainly those of the Russian and Austrian Empires. At that time, there was no particular designation for wooden churches, but the parishes were often denied permission to build new churches when their old churches had been evaluated as historical monuments by local governmental agencies. During 1918-1939, several attempts of inventory and designation of sacred wooden architecture were made in the west Ukrainian territories that were under the rule of Poland (Gavryliuk 2012).

#### b) Protection of heritage wooden churches in Soviet period

After 1917, the newly formed Ukrainian Soviet Socialistic Republic (the Ukrainian SSR) became active in the development of cultural heritage legislation. A number of legislative acts addressing different types and aspects of cultural heritage emerged in the 1920s-1930s. (Denisenko 2002) In 1948, the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR merged all the existing legislation into the “Provision for the protection of cultural properties in the territory of the Ukrainian SSR” and issued methodological instructions for their record keeping and maintenance, which became the foundation for the practice of cultural heritage protection for the next several decades.

However, the first heritage protection listings were biased towards the monuments reaffirming Soviet ideology, and the early development of heritage legislation was accompanied by the targeted destruction of monarchic or religious heritage. Many stone and wooden churches were destroyed or confiscated by the government and adapted for other functions. Rural vernacular heritage sites additionally suffered from the re-planning and relocation of whole settlements during the implementation of the planned economy. To counter this process, groups of intellectuals and heritage protection advocates made significant efforts to designate as many wooden churches as possible, emphasizing the historical and cultural values of ecclesiastic structures to safeguard them from inevitable destruction (Nestulya 1995).

The initial protective listing of wooden churches was made in 1956 by the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR Decree N320, “On the approval of the list of architecture monuments of Ukrainian SSR.” Later, the government decided, based on a survey conducted in 1962, that the register was too broad and contained monuments lacking significant historical, artistic, or scientific value. Consequently, the previous register was reviewed in the new Decree of 1963, “On the regulation of listing and protection of the architecture monuments in the Ukrainian SSR”. Removing nearly half of previously listed monuments, the reviewed register incorporated 219

wooden churches. Another 245 were added during the revision of the Decree in 1979. In 1983, ten wooden churches were removed from the list with Decree N445 for losing their integrity and cultural value.

Ecclesiastic buildings recognized as cultural heritage have been adopted for the functions that deliberately demeaned their religious and social values. In villages, they were appropriated mostly as barns, dancing clubs, and storage spaces (for books, machinery, or even fertilizers). In more populated urban areas, they functioned as museums of atheism. In a very limited number of churches, religious services were allowed for the Russian Orthodox congregations.

Even though the Soviet system of heritage protection purposefully disarticulated the functional and social roles of heritage wooden churches, material conservation was organized quite effectively as the churches' physical condition was strictly controlled and monitored by state officials.

#### c) The protection of heritage wooden churches in independent Ukraine

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the formation of independent Ukraine, the Orthodox and Greek Catholic churches started reclaiming their ecclesiastic property and reviving their traditional roles in society. In 1992, Presidential Decree N125 officially returned ecclesiastical properties to the ownership of religious communities after 70 years of the Soviet regime, when most of the churches were closed and appropriated by the government. The historical monuments listed in the National and Local Heritage registers of the Ukrainian SSR were also transferred to or opened to permanent use by religious communities, except for the monuments listed in the 1991 Ministerial Decree "On the historical monuments that cannot be passed into the permanent use by religious communities." This listing featured 50 properties, among them, 4 historical wooden churches.

The Law of Ukraine "On the protection of cultural heritage" did not appear until 2000. As Ukraine is the legal successor to the Ukrainian SSR, all legislative documents of the Ukrainian SSR stay in force until recalled by the legislative acts of Ukraine. Hence, before 2000, heritage protection practice had been regulated by the Soviet-era preservation laws that presumed state ownership of the protected property. Only with a new legislation could such important heritage protection tools as protective agreements with the owners of heritage properties be introduced. Today, substantial administrative resources are still being used for the signing of protective agreements with the owners of already designated properties.

The protective register of Ukraine is still in its developmental stage. It currently contains 891 Monuments of National Importance and 3828 Monuments of Local Importance. In the designation process, specialized governmental agencies review the registers of the Ukrainian SSR and prepare statutory documentation for each element, which includes passportization, technical expertise, a survey of the state of conservation of the monuments, and protective agreements with the owners. Not surprisingly, the compilation of the National Register has gone quite slowly. In 2009, 744 monuments were designated by the Decree of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine N928. No wooden churches were represented among them, because at this stage, the Cabinet of Ministers only reviewed and recalled the Decree of the Ukrainian SSR from 1965, "On the designation of monuments of art, history, and architecture". In 2012, another 147 monuments were added to the register: these included 7 wooden churches, 4 of which were revised properties from the 1963 registry, and 3 were newly introduced. Until the completion of the National Register, the Degree of the Ukrainian SSR from 1963 with later amendments will remain in effect, so that the remaining 450 wooden churches from the previous register are considered to be under the protection of the Ukrainian Government. Table 1 presents the timeline for the institutional protection of wooden churches on the territory of Ukraine.

#### 4. Current State of Heritage Policies and Responsibilities of the Stakeholders

The fundamental law on heritage protection in Ukraine was introduced in 2000 and had a

Table 1. Timeline of institutional protection of wooden churches in the territory of Ukraine

	Document	Event
1956	Council of Ministers of Ukrainian SSR Decree N320 “On the approval of the list of architecture monuments of Ukrainian SSR”	Initial protective listing of Ukrainian wooden churches
1963	Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR Decree N970 “On regulation of listing and protection of the architecture monuments in Ukrainian SSR”	Cancellation and major revision of the previous listing, leaving 219 wooden churches on the register
1978	The Law of the Ukrainian SSR “On the protection and use of the historical and cultural monuments”	
1979	Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR Decree N442, “On amending the protective register of urban planning and architecture monuments of Ukrainian SSR”	245 Ukrainian wooden churches were added to the register
1983	Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR Decree N445, “On exclusion of some monuments from the protective register of urban planning and architecture monuments of Ukrainian SSR”	10 wooden churches were excluded from the register
1992	Presidential Decree N125, “On returning ecclesiastic properties to religious organizations”	Return of ecclesiastical properties to the ownership of religious communities
2000	The Law of Ukraine, “On protection of cultural heritage”	
2012	Decree of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine N929 “On the designation of objects of cultural heritage to the National Register of Immovable Monuments of Ukraine”	7 churches added to the National register of Ukraine (4 of them transferred from the 1963 register)
	Current number of churches under state protection	457 <sup>i</sup>

number of amendments with the latest being in February 2015. It echoes previous legislative acts in the Soviet Union, from its articles on the classification of the monuments to its administrative hierarchies and responsibilities of the agencies, categorical division into monuments of local and national importance, and other minor features. However, it also acknowledges changes in society through its provisions for the various issues related to private ownership and the responsibilities of stakeholders.

The heritage law of the sovereign Ukraine also reflects the norms and standards of European and International practices due to Ukraine's participation in international treaties. Ukraine has been a state party to the 1972 Convention on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage since its ratification on October 12, 1988. Ukraine has also ratified the following

<sup>i</sup> Note: since the Soviet-time protective register is not being reviewed it contains a number of extinct, no longer existent, wooden churches.

international conventions in the sphere of heritage protection: the Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (1988), the European Convention on the Archaeological Heritage (2003), the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003), the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005), the Convention on Architectural Heritage of Europe (2006), and the Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage(2006). Currently, Ukraine has 7 properties on the World Heritage List (6 cultural and 1 natural) and one element on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Moreover, there is a project for an amendment to the law “On protection of cultural heritage” to introduce articles on the protection of World Heritage sites.

For the purpose of our analysis, we will highlight two aspects of the current heritage legislation in Ukraine: the duties and responsibilities of governmental agencies, and the rights and responsibilities of the owners.

State administration of heritage protection is conducted by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the following hierarchy of authorized bodies for heritage protection: the central executive authority (the Department of Heritage Protection in the Ministry of Culture), regional authorities (the heritage protection bodies of Oblast and Regional Administrations), and local authorities (the heritage protection bodies of city and village administrations).

Protected heritage objects are listed in the State Heritage Protection Register under two categories: Heritage of National Importance and Heritage of Local Importance. These two categories have separate listing requirements, responsible authorities and funding sources; however, there is no difference between their conservational standards or the responsibilities of the parties.

Article 38 of the Law of Ukraine on the Protection of Cultural Heritage states that the financing of cultural heritage comes from the general and special funds of the State Budget of Ukraine and local budgets. Other funding sources in the field of cultural heritage can include owners of the monuments or their authorized agencies or persons who have acquired the right to use or manage the monuments; charitable contributions and donations; or other sources not prohibited by the applicable law. No standards on the amount of state funding and/or policies for subsidies have been legally defined. The only financial incentive for the owners of heritage property is presented in the form of tax discounts. However, their rates have likewise not been defined.

According to Article 24, Part 1 of the Law of Ukraine on Protection of Cultural Heritage, owners of monuments or their authorized agencies or persons who have acquired the rights to use or manage monuments must ensure their preservation, maintenance in good condition, conservation, restoration, rehabilitation, museumification and repairs of monuments at their expense unless otherwise provided in the relevant contract or law. Any works on the monuments of national or local importance must be performed by a contractor, certified for the works on cultural properties with the permission of the corresponding governmental agency. More specific guidelines on the restoration, conservation and repair work on historical timber structures can be found in the State Construction Norms of Ukraine (B. 3.2-1-2004).

In 2005, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine developed a Conception of the State program on conservation and use of sacred wooden architectural monuments for 2006-2011. It acknowledged the current conservation problems and proposed such solutions as museification of the monuments of great cultural significance and the enforcement of protective agreements with the owners. However, the Conception was never adopted as a state program, and until today, there has been no official program for the protection of heritage wooden churches on the national level. Instead, strategic programs of this kind were adopted by regional administrations in the oblasts' with big numbers of historical wooden churches.

From the regional program on heritage protection development in Lviv Oblast for 2013-2015, it is evident that the government is dedicated to tackling the problem of church fires, allocating the

biggest share of the planned funds to the installation of automatic fire-extinguishing systems, lightning protection, and anti-burglary systems. It is also apparent that the funding available for the needs of ecclesiastic wooden heritage is not sufficient for the restoration of even one wooden church per year, and the heritage protection system must rely on other sources of funding as well as investments by private owners. Priorities for governmental funding seem to be guided by sound dialogue and cooperation between the government and the church owners, as well as the ability to control the appropriate use of funds, rather than the actual state of conservation.

#### 5. Historical Wooden Churches of Lviv Oblast: Maintenance Practices and Patterns of Use

Having described the legislative environment of heritage wooden church preservation in Ukraine, our next step is to examine real maintenance actions of communities managing the properties. Large numbers of preserved historical wooden churches allow us to observe the patterns of maintenance and use on a large sample, giving opportunity to uncover general tendencies as well as to test the effects of heritage protection policies.

Before running the analysis, we updated the information about the numbers of designated and non-designated historical wooden churches in Lviv Oblast. Unfortunately, not even sites of national importance are being monitored on a regular basis. Every year, some of them burn down or suffer from major rebuilding or demolitions. The latest survey of the current state of 780 wooden churches in Lviv Oblast built before 1970 was made in 2014 by Victor Hromyk and published in his book “Wooden Churches of Lviv Oblast.” This survey with photographic documentation became the basis of our analysis, along with the historical survey of wooden churches in Lviv Oblast conveyed by Slobodyan in 1998 with photographic documentation from 1992. Table 2 shows the latest data on the numbers of existing designated and non-designated wooden churches in the territory of Lviv Oblast. Since the publication of Hromyk's data, one church had changed its status from the non-designated to designated, and two churches had burned down. Another church listed by Hromyk was excluded from our calculations because it only had a wooden roof, but its overall structure was built of concrete.

Since the legal status of the Heritage of Local Importance designated by the former administrative units of the Soviet Union is currently unclear, and legal protection of those monuments is factually inactive (personal communication, Lviv State Administration, summer 2015) the analysis was concentrated on the Monuments of National Importance. Among them, there are 4 wooden churches that are owned and managed by the government and/or serve as museums: 2 wooden churches in the city of Dorohobych, a wooden church in Kutvy village and a wooden church from Kryvky village later transferred to the Lviv Open-Air Museum of Architecture. The remaining 140 designated wooden churches in the sample of this study are owned and managed by local religious communities.

The time limit of the inquiry is set to the moment of the official transfer of ownership of the ecclesiastic properties to their religious communities by the 1922 Presidential Decree N125. Any

Table 2. Preserved Ecclesiastic Wooden Buildings in Lviv Oblast, Ukraine  
(adapted from Hromyk 2014)

Century	Designated		Non-designated
	National Importance	Local Importance	
XVI	5	3	
XVII	35	21	4
XVIII	70	58	23
XIX	29	162	142
XX	5	54	177
Total	144	298	346

structural changes and repairs performed to heritage wooden churches are accounted for from this point in time.

Slipchenko and Mohytych (2005) named the two largest problems of historical wooden church preservation in Ukraine: disrepair, when wooden churches are facing the demolition by neglect, and improper treatments of historical wooden churches by their owners that threaten the integrity and conservation state of the sites. Our analysis consisted of the classification of sampled wooden churches into four groups, according to the observed maintenance practices performed by their owners: disrepair, modernizing repairs, conservative repairs, and passive maintenance. The decision-making process is described by the chart in Fig.1. The survey was based on the visual comparison of the latest images of wooden churches and their photographic documentation from 1992, as well as the descriptions of them available online and through secondary sources.

Considering the architectural properties of Ukrainian wooden churches (Bogdanova, Uekita 2015), regular restorations of roofs and walls cladding, are unavoidable and necessary. Signs of decay are characteristic of the community-based maintenance practices reflecting that communities withhold church repairs when they are urgently needed. They include: crumbled wooden shingles, boards, or other types of cladding indicating that the underlying structure is not hermetic and roofs may be leaking; darkened sheet metal indicating loss of the galvanized coating, making the metal prone to rust; and skewing of the structure, which indicates that some of the timbers have rotted and need replacement (Fig. 2).

When the church is repaired by a local community, the character of the external repairs, specifically, the choice of the cladding material, can either please the general public or lead them complain about the degradation of traditional culture in religious communities. At this point, we purposefully avoid the terms “unauthorized” or “improper” repairs that are commonly used by heritage protection advocates. The term “modernizing repairs” is more objective, it spares us the burden of deciding what is proper for whom, and allows communities’ perspective to be considered. Rather than branding either type of cladding as proper or improper, the evaluation is made of whether it is modern or historical. We mark the divide between the modern and the

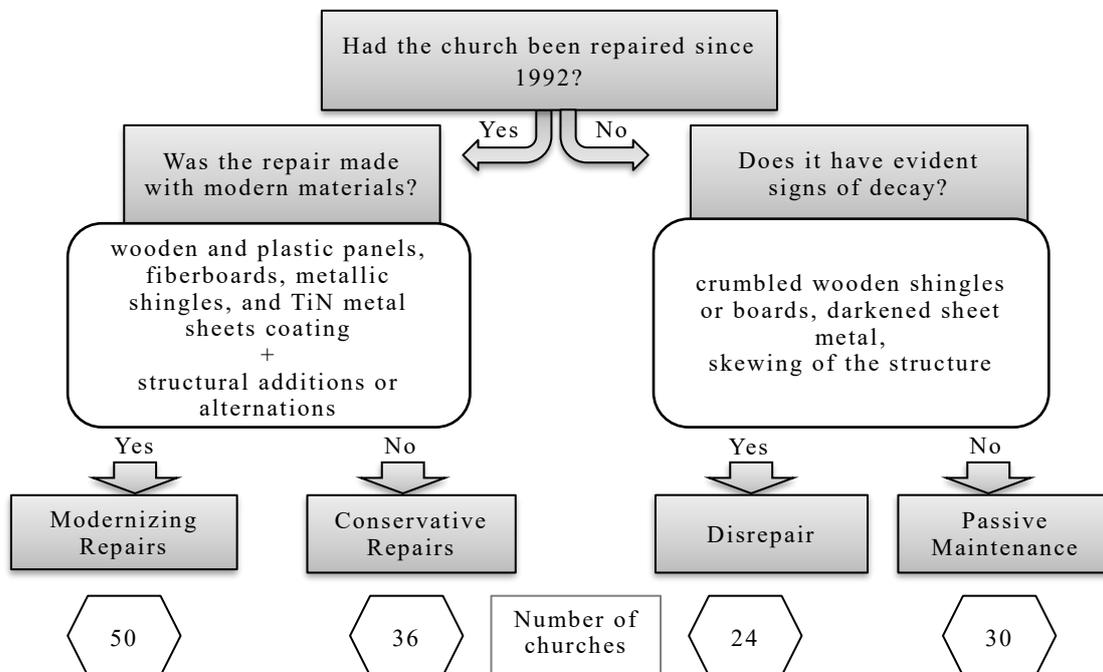


Figure 1. The decision-making chart for the classification of maintenance practices at historical wooden churches



Figure 2. Wooden church of the Blessed Virgin Mary (1724), Loni village (photo by

historical by the interruption in church use during the Soviet era. Therefore, exterior repairs with materials that were used for this purpose before the Soviet era are considered as conservative; while exterior repairs incorporating materials that were not used or even did not exist prior to the Soviet era, are considered modernizing. The list of materials newly adopted for wooden church cladding includes manufactured wooden panels, plastic panels, fiberboards, metallic shingles and metal sheets made with a new technology of titanium nitride coating (TiN). Additionally, any replacement of original elements (doors, windows, or crosses), or structural additions and alternations made to church silhouettes also fall under the category of modernizing repairs (Fig. 3). All these actions are strongly opposed by the heritage protection authorities and the general public, and are forbidden by the historical properties restoration guidelines of the State Construction Norms of Ukraine (B. 3.2-1-2004).

As described above, the restoration of walls or roof cladding with materials that were used for this purpose prior to the Soviet era are considered conservative repairs. These include such materials as wooden shingles, boards, and board-and-batten for the wall cladding, and wooden shingles or galvanized (zinc) sheet metal for the roof cladding (Fig. 4). Unlike modernizing repairs, conservative actions are not always evident from a visual analysis. Galvanized metal roofs or board coating on walls can last a long time and look like new if installed properly and regularly cared for. Since this analysis is limited to the church ownership by religious communities, it is important to know whether the church was repaired by the present community or only maintained in its previous state. Therefore, here we have relied on the textual evidence in



Figure 3. Modernizing repairs on Michael the Archangel church (1724), Smozhe village (photo by A.Bogdanova, July 2015)



Figure 4. Replacement of claddings on the Ascension Church (1660) in Volytsya-Derevlyanska village (photo by A.Bogdanova, July 2015)

the surveys of Hromyk and Slobodyan, supplemented by the direct inquiries to the village councils.

Within the selected sample, 24 wooden churches bear signs of decay. Seven of them are identified as being in an emergency state – not watertight and in eminent risk of collapsing. Fifty of the inspected wooden churches had signs of modernizing repairs, and 36 were conservatively repaired. The remaining 30 wooden churches were maintained in good condition without any visible changes or evident repairs.

We also observed that churches had different modes of use. The majority (97 of them) were the only churches in their parishes and were used as regular venues for religious services. However, in 43 cases, communities had newer churches as their main venues, and heritage churches were used as secondary venues, opening for special holidays or family occasions. The secondary mode of use was strongly associated with a state of decay and disrepair. (Fig. 5)

#### 6. Testing the Effects of Governmental Policies on the State of Conservation of Historical Wooden Churches in Lviv Oblast of Ukraine

Hasty attempts to rescue disappearing wooden churches in the times of Soviet iconoclasm led to rather arbitrary designations that made up an unmanageably large register of heritage at the highest level of protection, while leaving many comparable properties behind. This arrangement allows us to test the current heritage protection policies by comparing the samples of the



Figure 5. Newly built church next to the St. John Church (1777) in Pobuzhany village (photo by A.Bogdanova, July 2015)

designated and non-designated historical wooden churches.

From Table 2, it is apparent that a church’s age was one of the determining factors for designation. All of the churches of the 16th century and most of the churches of 17th centuries are designated as either heritage of national or local importance. Meanwhile, most of the churches built in the 20th century are not under protection.

By excluding 20<sup>th</sup> century churches from the analysis, we obtained comparable samples of 135 designated and 167 non-designated wooden churches (with the exclusion of 2 non-designated, state-owned wooden churches located on the territory of the Lviv Open-Air Museum of Architecture).

Upon surveying the non-designated wooden churches according to the method described in section 5, we ran the crosstabulation analysis for the observed characteristics of the two sets: 167 non-designated and 135 designated wooden churches built before 20<sup>th</sup> century and owned by local religious communities. Crosstabulation is a simple statistical analysis that compares the distribution of categorical data between the variables. In our case, we will be comparing the distribution of the observed maintenance practices between the categories of designated and non-designated wooden churches. Since all of our categories differ in size, it is important to compare the results with the normal (random) distribution of the observations between the categories. Significant differences between the observed counts and those expected under the normal distribution will point to the effects of the tested variables (in our case – the factor of designation).

Table 3 shows the observed and expected counts of designated and non-designated wooden churches by patterns of maintenance behavior: disrepair, modernizing repairs, conservative repairs, and passive maintenance. Although the effects of the designation are significant,  $\chi^2(3, N = 302) = 13.22, p < .01$ , we can see that not all of those effects are positive. Designated wooden churches have smaller numbers of modernizing repairs and slightly increased numbers of conservative repairs compared to the expected counts under the normal distribution. Considering that modernizing repairs are officially illegal for the designated properties, one would expect more pronounced effects of the designation factor. At the same time, the analysis also shows higher rates of disrepair than under normal distribution. Closer observation clearly shows that designated wooden churches not only fall into decay more often, but show more dangerous signs of decay overall, such as skewing and roof openings. This is due to the choice of traditional materials for cladding, which are less durable than modern materials. In contrast, the only signs of decay recorded at the 13 non-designated wooden churches were darkened sheet metal.

The factor of designation also significantly influences the patterns of use (Table 4). More designated wooden churches serve secondary functions and fewer serve primary functions than would be the case under normal distribution ( $\chi^2(1, N = 302) = 16.61, p < .01$ ). This means that

Table 3. Maintenance Pattern \* Government Protection Crosstabulation

		Government Protection		Total	
		Non	Designated		
Maintenance Pattern	Disrepair	Count	13	24	37
		Expected Count	(20.5)	(16.5)	
	Modernizing	Count	78	46	124
	Repairs	Expected Count	(68.6)	(55.4)	
	Conservative	Count	28	35	63
	Repairs	Expected Count	(34.8)	(28.2)	
	Passive	Count	48	30	78
	Maintenance	Expected Count	(43.1)	(34.9)	
Total			167	135	302

Table 4. Mode of Use \* Government Protection Crosstabulation

		Government Protection		Total	
		Non Designated	Designated		
Mode of Use	secondary	Count	21	43	64
		Expected Count	(35.4)	(28.6)	
	main	Count	146	92	238
		Expected Count	(131.6)	(106.4)	
Total			167	135	302

when a church is designated as Heritage of National Importance, religious communities will more often than usual decide to build a new church for their regular ecclesiastic needs, and, as a consequence, withhold care of the old wooden church.

The output of the SPSS logistic regression revealed that designated wooden churches are 2.5 times more likely to fall into decay (predictor is statistically significant:  $p < .05$ ) and 3.1 times more likely to serve secondary roles ( $p < .01$ ). Even though the crosstabulation matrix showed the increased numbers of conservatively repaired churches and a smaller number of modernized churches in the designated group, the Wald Chi-Square coefficient showed that the designation factor is not a significant predictor for conservative or modernizing repairs ( $p > .05$ ).

### 7. Conclusion

In this study, we provided a historical overview of heritage protection policies in Ukraine and analyzed their effect on the example of a large survey data of historical wooden churches in Lviv Oblast.

The current situation with the conservation of historical wooden churches can be characterized by an imperative, obligatory designation of a large number of properties, with no differentiation of conservation standards for the different levels of protection. At the same time, heritage legislative provision in Ukraine has not yet adapted to the changed ownership patterns and the new paradigm of religion-state relationship, hindering effective cooperation between the stakeholders.

The comparative survey of the state of conservation of the samples of designated and non-designated wooden churches in Lviv Oblast of Ukraine showed that while designation had a slight effect on the choice of maintenance actions such as modernizing or conservative repairs, designated wooden churches were more likely to fall into disrepair and be abandoned by their users. Moreover, modernizing repairs, conducted illegally on designated wooden churches, were conducted without critical technical advising and specialist involvement, resulting in much greater damage to the properties. Overall, current heritage protection policies do not appear to be effective for controlling damaging or destructive activities, but instead, discourage active maintenance practices and undermine cooperation between the private sector and the government.

The methodology and approach of the present study were meant to explore general tendencies on a big sample of Ukrainian wooden churches. It should be noted, that a lot of case-to-case variance, contributed to different leadership roles within the communities and their socio-economic environment, could not be captured within the present approach, which calls for the further qualitative and case specific exploration.

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