

'Visual Culture, Piety and Propaganda: Transfer and Reception of Russian Religious Art in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean (16th-early 20th c.)

ANNOTATED BASIC BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unlike the reverse movement of Byzantine and post-Byzantine icons towards Russia, the transfer of Russian icons to the Orthodox East has never been systematically studied. On the one hand, historians of art, have mostly studied individual Russian icons of high quality preserved in the Balkan states, neglecting altogether the lower quality objects transferred massively to the region of Southeastern Europe – and the larger scale of people with which they interacted. On the other hand, historians have made only general reference to these icons in the context of Russian policy as regards the Orthodox East. They neglected the reception of these objects by the host society, assuming a one-way interaction. In this context, agency is limited to Russia as the place of production of these icons.

Despite the fact that the Russian icons preserved in South-eastern Europe have not yet been the object of systematic research and synthetic works on them are still lacking, the transfer of Russian icons to the Balkans and the Mediterranean - through donations, offer of alms or trade - is a phenomenon that has not passed unnoticed in scientific literature, both Russian and Southeast-European. Relevant references can be found in the framework of two disciplinary traditions, i.e. *Early Modern & Modern History* and *Art History*, traditions rarely, if at all, communicating with each other.

Scholars of the first disciplinary tradition, *Early Modern & Modern History*, have referred to the phenomenon in the framework of works dealing with the relations of the Russian Empire and Church with the Balkans and the Orthodox East from the Fall of Constantinople until the beginning of the 20th century. More specifically were studied questions related with the policy of patronage Russia adopted towards the Orthodox population of the Ottoman Empire. In particular, the donation or trade of icons, liturgical utensils, books and cloths for the Orthodox churches and monasteries in the Balkans assumes an important place in the study of Russian church history as early as the mid-19th century. From then until nowadays, this body of historiographical production has produced an adequate picture of the historical contexts, in which this transfer developed, and amassed important evidence on the objectives and mechanisms of this transfer, especially as the period before the 19th century is concerned and with a focus on the official donations directed from Russia to the Balkans and the Mediterranean.

Scholars of the second disciplinary tradition, i.e. *historians of art*, have studied Russian icons preserved in the Balkans and the Orthodox East focusing predominantly on high quality works, masterpieces of Russian religious painting. In most of the cases, however, the

inquiry does not transcend the iconographic and stylistic analysis of concrete examples and there is a lack of theoretical framework and interpretative attempts of the phenomenon as a whole. Extremely valuable for the perspective of cultural transfer are a series of older and more recent publications of historians of art focusing on the influence exerted by Russian icon painting to local painting schools in several Balkan countries (the Danubian Principalities, Bulgaria and Serbia).

The Russian icons in the Greek lands world, are still at the periphery of scientific interest and remain largely unknown. A minor exception to this neglect are the references one finds in more general studies devoted to Russian or Mount Athos painting and many dispersed publications of Russian icons in catalogs of museum and private collections. Several recent important works and research initiatives mark the revival of interest on the Russian icons in Greece. It is here important to note that these authors unanimously stress the significant influence the influx of Russian icons had on local artistic traditions and tastes, a fact which explains the existence of a special chapter entitled “How to paint icons the Muscovite way” in Dionysios of Fournas’ (1701-1733) Manual of Iconography and Painting. Despite their achievements, art historical inquiries on the Russian icons in the Balkans and the Mediterranean have not, so far led to any synthetic work or monograph in the various national spaces of reference, needless to say, neither in the region as a whole.

We should finally note that there have been remarkable exceptions to the general rule of poor communication between the problematic of history and history of art in the case under study. Works, such as those of the art historian Oleg Tarasov, have shown how the increasing needs of religious propaganda inside and outside Russia fostered the emergence in the region of Vladimir & Suzdal of an impressive proto-industrial production system, which involved many villages of the district and produced yearly thousands of cheap icons for export. By studying the sui generis guild of Russian icon merchants, bearing the name *ofenja* merchants, people who followed inland itineraries in Russia and the Balkans offering icons produced according to particular local tastes, Tarassov transcended the traditional neglect of Russian art history for these lower quality icons and highlighted the significance of trade as an important mechanism and path of “icon transfer”.

I. STUDIES ON HISTORY OF THE POLICY OF PATRONAGE RUSSIA TOWARDS THE ORTHODOX POPULATION OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE ORTHODOX EAST

- 1. Δημητρακόπουλος Φ., *Αρσένιος Ελασσόνας (1550-1626). Βίος, έργο, απομνημονεύματα: Συμβολή στη μελέτη των μεταβυζαντινών λογίων της Ανατολής, Αθήνα (2007)***

The monograph of Ph. Dimitrakopoulos describes and analyses the life and career of Arsenios of Elasson (1549-1626) in Russia. In the book Ph. Dimitrakopoulos includes a complete list of donations (icons, liturgical vestments and church utensils) made by Arsenios of Elasson in Greek monasteries.

- 2. Fonkich B., “Rosisja i Hristijanskij Vostok v XVI-pervoj chetverti XVIII veka. (Nekotorye rezul'taty izuchenija. Istochniki. Perspektivy issledovanija”, *XVIII International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Major Papers, Moskva (1991) 52 - 82***

This article presents the current state of the research on Russia's relations to the Orthodox East from the 16th until the 18th c. and suggests a general periodization of the evolution of Russian – Greek relations. B. Fonkich also proposes several „guidelines“ for future research on Russian- Greek relations.

- 3. Kapterev N., *Kharakter otnoshenij Rossii k pravoslavnomu vostoku v XVI i XVII stoletijah, Sergiev Posad (1914)***

The monograph "The character of Russia's relationship with the orthodox East in the 16th and 17th century" examines the historical development of the relations between Russia and the Orthodox East. The donation or trade of icons, liturgical utensils, books and cloths for the Orthodox churches and monasteries in the Balkans assumes an important place in the study of Russian church history as early as the mid-19th century.

- 4. Π. Κοντογιάννη, *Οι Έλληνες κατά τον πρώτον επί Αικατερίνης Β' ρωσοσοτουρκικόν πόλεμον. (1768-1774), Αθήνα (1903) 90***

The book of P. Kontoyannis depicts the practice of donation of icons and church utensils by the Russian navy in the Peloponnese during The Archipelago Expedition of Catherine the Great.

- 5. Muraviev A., *Snoshenija Rossii s Vostokom po delam tserkovnim, vol. I, Saint Petersburg 1858, vol. II, Saint Petersburg (1860)***

The book of A. Muraviev demonstrates the evolution of the Russian policy of “spiritual protectionism” and the formation of a state-regulated, strictly hierarchical system for the distribution of alms to the Greeks, Serbs, Moldavians, Wallachians or Bulgarians who were reaching Moscow to petition for help. According to this system, the rank of both the petitioner and the donor determined not only the magnitude of the donations in money,

expensive furs or jewelry, but also the quality of the church utensils, icons and liturgical books and the number of holy relics offered.

6. Smiljanskaja I., M. Velizhev, E. Smeljanskaja *Russia in Mediterranean. The Archipelago Expedition of Catherine the Great, Moscow (2011)*

The Russian presence in the Mediterranean began with the Archipelago expedition in conjunction with the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-1774, specifically with the arrival and military actions of the Russian fleet under the command of Count A. Orlov. Russia widely asserted that it was intervening in Eastern Mediterranean in order to aid the Orthodox Greeks, but the Russian Empress also had goals that were more ambitious. The book consists of 10 chapters accompanied by primary source documents and additional essays. *Chapter 5* examines Russia's presence in the Greek Archipelago from 1770-1775. In early 1771, the chief of the Russian fleet claimed a Russian archipelago principality on more than twenty Aegean islands, with its capital in Naussa settlement on the isle of Paros, where deputies proclaimed themselves subjects of the Russian Empress. Archival materials show that the Russian Admiral of the Fleet, G. Spiridov, tried to create a New Greek state in the form of a republic or duchy in order to bring the Greek islands closer towards independence under Russian protection. This chapter also describes the day-to-day life of the military base on the Isle of Paros, state-church relations, and the complicated relations inside the multi-national military forces of Russia in the Archipelago. Additionally, a special section of the chapter describes the first Russian experiences of collecting monuments of ancient Greece.

7. Stoljarova L., "Obmen darami meĝdu russkim pravitel'stvom i Afonom v XVI veke". - στο: *1o Ellhonorwosikó fóroum «Ellhonorwosikés kratikés, ekkhlesiastikés kai politistikés schéseis sthn pagkósmia istoría», Moscow (2008), 79-90.*

Church utensils or icons were sent to the Balkans, first and foremost to Mount Athos "for health" and "eternal rest", as donations of Russian rulers. This transfer was especially intense in periods of resolution of dynastic or political conflicts. For example, the number of donated Russian icons and utensils to Mount Athos rose sharply during the year 1560, when Ivan IV was expecting the recognition of his royal title by the Patriarch of Constantinople; likewise, the same ruler made massive donations in memory of the tragic death of his son Ivan Ivanovich.

8. Chesnokova N., *Khristianskij Vostok i Rossija: politicheskoe i kul'turnoe vzaimodejstvie seredine 17 veka, Moskva (2011)*

9. Chesnokova N. "Galovannie grammoti russkih tcarej receskomu duhovenstvu i kupcam (16-18 vek)", *2-j Rossijsko-Grecheskij Forum Rossijsko-grecheskie gosudarstvennie, cerkovnie I kul'turnie svjazi v mirovoj istorii, Moskva (2010) 50-57*

N. Chesnokova reveals in her book "The Christian East and Russia" and in a number other publications the evolution in the relations between the Russian state and the Christian East in the middle of the XVII century. The book "The Christian East and Russia" contains significant body of unpublished archival documents. These studies contribute to the

illumination of various aspects of the political and cultural interaction between the Russian government and the Orthodox peoples of the Ottoman Empire.

10. Chesnokova N. « Les icônes russes, comme l'objet d'économie en Méditerranée au XVII^e siècle », *Economia e arte secc. XIII - XVIII*. Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica "F. Daini" Prato, Firenze, (2002), 407 - 410

The article of N. Chesnokova presents historical evidence on the use of Russian icons as an object of commercial exchange in 17th c. Europe.

11. Tchentsova V. *Ikona Iverskoi Bogomateri (Ocherki istorii otnoshenij Grecheskoi tserkvi s Rossiei v seredine XVII v. Po dokumentam RGADA)*. Moskva (2010)

The monograph of V. Tchentsova is a new stage in the study of the body of Greek documents, related to the history of contacts between Russia and the orthodox East in XVII c. The core of the composition of the book is the story of the order, veneration of Mother of God Iverskaja, in which intertwined Russian, Greek, and Georgian interests became a symbolic reflection of the geopolitical intentions of the government of Tsar Alexej Mikhailovich in the middle of the XVII century. Studying the paleography of many documents, Tchentsova concluded that many of "Athos" letters were created in Metohija of Mount Athos monasteries in Moldavia and Wallachia.

12. Tchentsova V. "Le fonds des documents grecs (f.52. « Relations de la Russie avec la Grèce ») de la collection des Archives Nationales des Actes anciens de la Russie et leur valeur pour l'histoire de l'Empire Ottoman, *Turcica*, 30 (1998), p. 383-396.

The article of V. Tchentsova analyzed the collection of Greek archive documents XVI-XIX century in the Russian State Archives. The author reveals the importance of these documents for the History of the Ottoman Empire.

13. Tchentsova V., "Ktitorstvo i tcarskii titul: Rossiia i Hilendarskiii monastyr' v XVI veke", *Slavianovedenie* N 2 (2014), 15-24.

Ivan IV the Terrible after his solemn coronation in 1547 adopted the title «tsar» of Russia. At the same moment the Muscovite court established privileged relations with the Chilandar monastery on Mount Athos, the tsar becoming a new «founder» or donator of the monastery. This patronage on Chilandar, disputed between Russia and the princes of Walachia, as well as rich gifts to the monastic community were intended to determine the recognition of the new title abroad.

14. Κρ. Χρυσοχοϊδης, «Ιερά αποδημία. Το Προσκυνηματικό ταξίδι στους Αγίους Τόπους στα μεταβυζαντινά χρόνια», *Το ταξίδι από τους αρχαίους ως τους νεότερους χρόνους*, Αθήνα (2003), 99-11.

The study of prof. Kr. Hrisoidis describes the general characteristics of the pilgrimage in the Holy Lands in the post-byzantine period. Very important are the data concerning the pilgrimages on Mount Athos.

II. STUDIES ON ART HISTORY, FOCUSED ON HIGH QUALITY WORKS, MASTERPIECES OF RUSSIAN RELIGIOUS PAINTING PRESERVED IN THE BALKANS AND THE ORTHODOX EAST.

- 15. Baltoyanni Chr. “Το καθολικό της Ι. Μονής Θεολόγου της Πάτμου. Σκέψεις και παρατηρήσεις με την ευκαιρία των εργασιών συντήρησης “, «...Μετ Ευλαβείας και έρωτος απλέτου», Ι. Μονή Θεολόγου, Πάτμος (1995), 4-19.**

This paper describes the process of restoration of the three big 18th Russian icons of the iconostasis of the main church of monastery of St. John the Theologian. Chr. Baltoyanni reveals with details the results of icon cleaning and reproduces the content of donor inscriptions, clarifying the dating of the icons.

- 16. Igoshev V. «Proizvedenija russkoj tserkovnjoj utvari XVII-XVIII vekov v hramah grecheskogo ostorva Santorini», *Antikvariat. Predmety iskusstva i kolleksionirovanija*, 9 (79), (2010) 4-28**

The articles of V. Igoshev describes with details the numerous liturgical utensils donated by Greek merchants in churches and monasteries in Santorini island.

- 17. Igoshev V. “Proizvedenia russkogo tserkovnogo iskusstva XVIII-nacahala XX veka na grecheskih ostrovah”, *Istoria I kul'tura Rostovsskoi zemli, Rostov* (2013) 211-227**

- 18. Igoshev V. Dragocennaia tserkovnaja utvar' ikony i veschi lichnogo blagochestia russkoj raboty XVI-XVII vekov v Gretcii”, *Iskusstvoznanie Vyp. 1, 2 Moskva* (2013) 38-6**

- 19. Igoshev V., Smilianskaia E., “Rossijskie pamiatniki Gretcii I istoricheskaja pamiat' o rossijsko-grcheskom vzaimodejstvii v XVIII-XIX vv.” *Vestnik RGNF, Vyp. 2* (27). Moskva, (2013) 73-84**

These three articles analyze the results of a Russian historical and cultural expedition to Greece in 2012. During the research mission in the southern part of the Peloponnese and the islands of Amorgos, Naxos, Paros, Mykonos, Tinos, and Andros, certain monuments of XVIII century stone building constructed with the support of Russian troops during the First Russian expedition in Archipelago (1771-1774) were identified. The group collected also evidence and photographed Russian icons, liturgical books and vestments in churches and monasteries in the region.

20. Graikos N. *Ακαδημαϊκές τάσεις της εκκλησιαστικής ζωγραφικής στην Ελλάδα κατά τον 19ο αιώνα: πολιτισμικά και εικονογραφικά ζητήματα*. Διδακτορική διατριβή. Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης (ΑΠΘ). Σχολή Φιλοσοφική. Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας. Τομέας Ιστορίας της Τέχνης και Αρχαιολογίας (2011) <http://phdtheses.ekt.gr/eadd/handle/10442/23019> , 512-533 (10.05.2014)

The PhD dissertation of Graikos describes many Russian icons from churches from different parts of Greece. The research reveals the phenomenon of Western artistic models transfer to the Balkans through academic style westernized Russian icons painting.

21. Komashko N., Saenkova E. “O nekotoryh russkikh ikonah XVI- nachala XVIII vekov v tserkovnih sobranijah Gretcii”, *Obraz Vizantii. Sbornik statej v chest O.S. Popovoj*, Moskva (2008) 239-250.

22. Komashko N., Saenkova E., “Russkie ikony XVI-XVIII vekov v riznitse monastyrja Vissarion Dussik», *Lazarevskie chteniia. Iskuustvo Vizantii, Drevnei Rusi, Zapadnoi Evropy. Materialy nauchnoi konferencii*, Moskva (2008) 191-204.

The two papers of N. Komashko and E. Saenkova, publish the results of their research mission in Greece in 2006-2007. The papers analyzed the 16th – 18th c. Russian icons from monasteries in Thessaly, Meteora and in Kastoria. The main object of the study are the donations of archbishop Arsenius of Ellassona. The authors examine in detail their iconography.

23. Komashko N. (Ed.) *Russian icons of Mount Sinai. Charters. Icons and decorative and applied arts of the 16th-20th c. from Russian in the St. Catherine’s monastery, Mount Sinai, Egypt*. Moskva (2015).

The richly illustrated book of N. Komashko, E. Saenkova, N. Chesnokova, I. Igoshev and collective, is the first and complete publication of all Russian donations of documents, icons and church objects, to the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. The book contains rich comparative material for the study of Russian icons in Greece and in the Orthodox East in general.

24. Tarasov O., “Nekotorye aspekty izuchenija religioznoj narodnoj zhivopisi Rossii, Dunajskikh knjagestv i Transil’vanii 17-19 vekov”, *Sovetskoe slavjanovedenie*, 2 (1989) 47-63.

25. Tarasov O., “Russkie ikony 18- nachala 20 vekov na Balkanakh”, *Sovetskoe slavjanovedenie*, 3 (1990) 49-70.

These two studies of O. Tarasov are one of the few publications studying the phenomenon of dissemination of Russian icons in the Balkans. The Tarasov research based on examples from Romania, Bulgaria and Serbia, pays particular attention to the question of itinerant trade with Russian icons in the Balkans.

26. P. Vocotopoulos, «Encore deux icônes envoyées de Russie par Arsène d'Elassone», *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής και αρχαιολογικής εταιρίας*. Τ. 16 (1991-1992), 167-170.

The paper of P. Vocotopoulos presents two icons donated by Arsenius of Ellassona. The first one - in the Lavra of Saint Saba and the second - at the Monastery of Dionysiou in Mont Athos.

27. Charchare E., *Russian cultural property in the Hellenic Institute of Venice, Beni culturali russi nell'Istituto Ellenico di Venezia, Ρωσικά πολιτιστικά αγαθά στο Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο Βενετίας*, (2006)

28. Ελένη Θ. Χαρχαρέ, Ο πίνακας με παράσταση των Αγίου Σεργίου και Νίκωνος και η συλλογή ρωσικών εικόνων του Ελληνικού Ινστιτούτου Βενετίας, *Θησαυρίσματα* 36 (2006) 479-528.

These two studies of E. Charchare present the development of Russian presence in the Greek community of Venice, through donations of icons and liturgical objects. The author presented the full list of Russian icons donations, based on the institute archives.

29. *Russia and the Mediterranean: Proceedings of the First International Conference* : Ηλίας Κ. Πετρόπουλος, Vladimir Tolstikov, Valentina V. Krapivina, Leonid V. Marchenko, Galina M. Nikolaenko, Sergei B. Lantsov, Alexander I. Aibabin, Alexander G. Gertsen, Μαρία Γερολυμάτου, Nikolai F. Kotliar, Ευάγγελος Χρυσός, Alexey Kryukov, Κωνσταντίνος Μέντζου - Μειμάρη, Sergei P. Karpon, Sandra Origone, Lyudmila S. Moiseyenko, Κρίτων Χρυσοχοΐδης, Νικόλας Πίσσης, Igor Medvedev, Nadezhda Chesnokova, Boris L. Fonkich, Dzhamilja Ramazanova, Ελένη Θ. Χαρχαρέ, Βασίλης Κρεμμυδάς, Τζελίνα Χαρλαύτη, Χρήστος Λούκος, Κωνσταντίνος Κ. Παπουλίδης, κ.ά. · επιμέλεια Όλγα Κατσιαρδή - Hering, Αθηνά Κόλια - Δερμιτζάκη, Κατερίνα Γαρδίκια. - 1η έκδ. - Αθήνα : Ηρόδοτος, Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών (2011)

The volume *Russia and the Mediterranean* contains many papers related to the history of relations between Greece and Russia in general. Papers related to the topic of icons transfer are:

-Χρυσοχοΐδης Κρ., «Αθως και Ρωσία 15ος-18ος αι. Ιδεολογήματα και πραγματικότητες (μια προσέγγιση)», Τόμος Α', 267-282.

- Pissis N. «Η ανατολική εκκλησία και η Ρωσία στα μέσα του 17^{ου} αι.: πολιτικές πρωτοβουλίες και τα όρια τους, Τ. Α', 283-302.

- Χαρχαρέ Ε., "Η ρωσική παρουσία στην ελληνική κοινότητα Βενετίας μέσα από τα έργα τέχνης". Τόμος Α', p. 341-360.

- Διάλλα Α., «Η Χριστιανική Ανατολή και η ρωσική διπλωματία: λόγοι και πρακτικές», Τόμος Α', 381-396.

- Νυσταζοπούλου -Πελεκίδου Μ., «Πάτμος και Ρωσία (1770-1805). Η μαρτυρία των πατριακών εγγράφων. Τ. Β', 45-56.

30. Τρούλης Μ. επιμ. *Η Ρωσική παρουσία στο Ρέθυμνο 1897-1909, Πρακτικά συνεδρίου, Ρέθυμνο 19-21 Οκτωβρίου 2007, Ρέθυμνο (2011)*

The volume devoted to the Russian Temporary Administration in Crete (Rethymno district, 1897-1909) contains 3 papers tackling the issue of the politics of cultural influence of the Russian Church in Crete during this period and studied certain Russian liturgical utensils and icons preserved in the region. Papers related to the topic of icons transfer are:

- **Αρχιμανδρίτης Άνθιμος Μαντζουράνης, «Ρωσικά κειμήλια στην Μητρόπολη Ρεθύμνης και Αυλοπόταμου», 455-470**
- **Παπαδάκης Κ., «Λειτουργικά σκεύη ρωσικής τέχνης σε εκκλησίες της επαρχίας Μυλοποτάμου» 471-482**
- **Βολανάκης Ι. «Εκκλησιαστικά κειμήλια ρωσικής προέλευσης από την ενορία Αποδούλου Αμαρίου Ρεθύμνης Κρήτης», 483-494**
- **Γιαπιτσόγλου Κ., «Ο ναός του Αγ. Θεοδώρου του Τριχινά στο φρούριο Φορτέτζα Ρεθύμνου», 495-501**
- **Σταματάκης Γ., «Ιερός ναός Αγίας Ζώνης Ρουμελί Μυλοποτάμου Τα δώρα του αυτοκράτορα», 503-509.**

III. *STUDIES ON LATE RUSSIAN ICON PAINTING HISTORY*

30. Grabar A., «L'expansion de la peinture russe aux XVI et XVII siècles», *Annales de l'institut Kondakov*, 11 (1940), 65-92. (L'Art de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age, Paris (1968) II, 939-940)

The article of A. Grabar presents the main trends in late Russian icon painting and its expansion in the different regions of the Balkans. Very important for our research topic.

31. Kondakov N., "Sovremennoe pologenie russkoj narodoj ikonopisi", *Pamjatniki drevnerusskoj pis'mennosti I iskusstva, Sanct-Peterbourg (1901)*

The extensive study of N. Kondakov is an overview of the organization of icon paintings atelier and schools in Russian province, based on his impressions after the visit in the villages Holoui, Mstera specialized on icon painting production, in the region of Vladimir and Souzdal. Very important for the research relating the proto-industrial organization of the icon production.

32. Tarasov O., *Icon and Devotion Sacred Spaces in Imperial Russia*, London (2002)

The book deals with the changing place and meaning of the Russian icon from the late seventeenth to the early twentieth century, so called, Imperial period. O. Tarasov demonstrates 1) the place of icons in popular culture; 2) focuses on the religious schism of the seventeenth century, which became a watershed in Russian religious history; 3) depicts three groups of icons of the period: the 'Frankish' or painted icons; the post-schism Old Believer iconography; the cheap mass-produced icons from Suzdal'.

IV. THE PENETRATION OF RUSSIAN ICONS IN THE OTTOMAN BALKANS AND THE INFLUENCE THEY EXERTED IN LOCAL PAINTING SCHOOLS (DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES [ROMANIA], BULGARIA AND SERBIA)

33. Mavrodinov N. *Vruzkite meĝdu ruskoto i bulgarskoto izkustvo*, Sofia, (1955)

The monograph of N. Mavrodinov is an overview on the influences of Russian art on the Bulgarian art from the Antiquity since 20th century. The book is strongly influenced by the ideological propaganda of the period.

Nevertheless one can find there very interesting historical evidence and pictures of Russian icons and prints from churches and museums in Bulgaria.

34. Radojčić, S. "Veze izmedju srpske i ruske umetnosti u srednjem veku", *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta*, I (1948) 253-260.

The article of S. Radojčić examined one of the characteristics of the early modern Serbian church culture - its close connection with the Russian Orthodox Church and the Russian empire. The beginnings of a Serbo-Russian ecclesiastical collaboration and the first artistic and cultural interchange can be traced all the way back to the middle Ages. In Professor Svetozar Radojčić's opinion, Russian icons do not appear in great numbers in Serbian churches before the eighteenth century

35. Rogov A., "Svjazi Rusi s balkanskimi stranami v oblasti izobrazitel'nogo iskusstva v XVI-XVII vekakh", *Sovetskoe slavjanovedenie*, 3 (1976) 47-63.

The paper of A. Rogov reveals the historical frame of art exchanges between Russia and the orthodox communities in the Ottoman Empire.

36. M. Sabados, « Icônes des peintres russes Kirill et Vassili Oulanov dans la région de Suceava », *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art*, Tome XLVIII (2011) 139-148

The article presents two groups of royal icons from Suceava province. This icons, painted by Russian artists from the Armory Palace of the Moscow Kremlin dated at the beginning of the 18th century. Four royal icons of the former iconostasis in St. Nicholas church in R d u i (painted by Kirill Ulanov, Alexei Kvashnin and a certain Peter, in Moscow, in 1707); three royal icons of the iconostasis (second half of the 18th century) in St. Elias church near Suceava (painted by Kirill Oulanov and his brother Vassili, in 1708 in Moscow).

V. THE RUSSIAN ICONS ON MOUNT ATHOS' PAINTING.

37. Kyriakoudis E. Papadopoulos, S. *The Holy Xenophontos Monastery - The Icons, Mount Athos (1999).*

In Xenofontos Monastery in Mount Athos two Russian icons "Ag. Mandylion "and" Axion Esti "of the late 16th century are preserved.

38. Papadopoulos S., Aimilianos S., *Simonopetra, Mount Athos (1991)*

The book includes the publication of three Russian icons dating to the late 16th century in Simonopetra Monastery

39. Simonopetrskii ieromonah A. "Sviazi monastyria Simonopetra s Rossiei", *Rossia – Afon: tysiacheletie duhovnogo edinstva*" Red. Episkop Troitskik Pnakratii etc. Moskva (2006) 240-245; http://www.sobor.by/rossiya_afon_1000_let_edinstva.htm, /last visited 20.06.2015/.

The paper describes the history of relations between Russia and Simonopetra monastery and indicates the existence of many Russian icons at the monastery.

40. Siomkos N., "Ruskie ikoni obiteli Vatoped", *Rossia – Afon : tysiacheletie duhovnogo edinstva*" Red. Episkop Troitskik Pnakratii etc. Moskva (2006) 355-360. http://www.sobor.by/rossiya_afon_1000_let_edinstva.htm, /last visited 20.06.2015/.

The paper of N. Siomkos is an overview of the iconographic themes of the best conserved and oldest Russian icons in Vatopedi monastery on Mount Athos. N. Siomkos publishes data about the existence of more than 2 5000 Russian icons in Vatopedi monastery.

41. Merdzimekis N. «Sviazi afonskogo monastyria Zografu s tsarskoi Rossiei», *Rossia – Afon: tysiacheletie duhovnogo edinstva*" Red. Episkop Troitskik Pnakratii etc. Moskva (2006) 250-256; http://www.sobor.by/rossiya_afon_1000_let_edinstva.htm, /last visited 20.06.2015/.

The paper of N. Merdzimekis observed the contacts between Zografou monastery on Mount Athos and Russia in 19th c.

42. Μαντζαρίδης Γ, Ε. Τσιγαρίδας, *Οι θαυματουργές εικόνες στο Περιβόλι της Παναγιάς. Σύγχρονοι Ορίζοντες (2013).*

In the richly illustrated book 14 Russian icons and icon revetments on different monasteries of Mount Athos are published.

VI. MUSEUM CATALOGUES, ALBUMS ETC.

43. Baltoyanni Chr., *Demetrios Economopoulos Collection, Icons, Athens - London (1985)*

The catalogue of D. Economopoulos Collection contains 16 Russian icons 16th-19thc. (cat. 68-72; cat. 216; cat. 236-247)

44. Hadzidaki N., *Velimezis Collection, Benaki Museum, Thessaloniki (1997)*

The catalogue of Velimezis Collection contains one Russian icon Virgin of Vladimir 18th c. (cat. 66).

45. Κομίνης Α., *Patmos. Treasures of the Monastery, Αθήνα (1988)*

The volume includes nine chapters analyzing the history, the architecture and the different categories of art objects (masterpieces of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine tradition) preserved in the Monastery of St. John the Evangelist on Patmos. I. Oikonomaki-Papadopoulou analyzing the church silver from the monastery Treasury depicts some Russian objects and icons and reveals many details on the development of relations between the Monastery and Russia (p.221-277). On p. 222, fig. 38 – the icon Virgin of Kazan (17th c.). The chapter on the monastery archive (Foreign language documents) refers mostly to Russian documents (p. 339)

46. Προβατάκης Θ., Γ. Μυλωνάκου-Σαϊτάκη, *Θησαυροί και κειμήλια μουσείου εκκλησιαστικής τέχνης ιεράς μητροπόλεως Μονεμβασίας και Σπάρτης, Σπάρτη (1986)*

In the chapter on icon painting six Russian icons are described (19th century).

47. Γκερέκος Ι., *Εικόνες της Τήνου, Πανελλήνιον Ιερόν Ευαγγελίστριας Τήνου, Τήνος (2008)*

The Metropolitan Cathedral of Archangels at Tinos City preserves a big Russian icon of St. Theodore Stratelates 18th c. with donor inscription. (p.114-116)

48. Μοσχόπουλος Γ., *Η Κεφαλονιά ένα μεγάλο μουσείο, Cephalonia - Ecclesiastical Art Κεφαλονιά (1994)*

The richly illustrated book of G. Moshopoulos presented the history of all the churches and monasteries in Cephalonia. The book contains information and reproduction of many Russian icons preserved in the island.

49. «Τα ρωσικά εκκλησιαστικά υλικά από την Ελλάδα το 18^{ου}-19^{ου} αιώνα. Η περίπτωση της Σαντορίνης». Βλ. <http://www.kerie.org/news.php>.

In 2008 the Center of Greek-Russian Historical Research (CE.HI.R.) initiated a research project on “Ecclesiastical vessels and other donated treasures of Russian origin in the

Churches of Santorini”, the first results of which are expected to be communicated in a scientific meeting on the 29th of November 2010 (“Ρωσικό εκκλησιαστικό υλικό στην Ελλάδα τον 18ο – 19ο αιώνα. Το υλικό της Σαντορίνης”).

50. Χαλκιά Ε., Ν. Κωνσταντίος, Αυτοκρατορικά δώρα. Αφιέρωματα της Μεγάλης Αικατερίνης στην Ελληνική εκκλησία του Λιβόρνο. Κατάλογος έκθεσης, Αθήνα (2000)

The exhibition catalogue presents two gold bible covers and a set of gold liturgical utensils donated by Catherine the Great to the Greek Church in Livorno.

VII. HISTORICAL SOURCES [examples]

A) Travelogues

1. Grigorovich-Barskij V., *Stranstvovanija po svijatim mestam Vostoka s 1723 po 1747 goda*, St. Peterbourg (1886)

In the travelogue of Grigorovich-Barskij we found the first mention (1721) that the royal icons in the iconostasis of the main church in Patmos monastery was from Moscow.

2. Dmitrievskij A., *Patmosskie ocherki. Iz poezdki na ostrov Patmos letom 1891 goda*, Kiev (1894)

Alexej A. Dmitrievskij visited Patmos monastery in 1891 and described with details all the icons in the treasury, paying special attention to the Russian icons and to the documents relating the communication between Patmos monastery and Russia. In the travelogue of A. Dmitrievskij we found for the first time contestation of the opinion that the 3 Russian icons from the central iconostasis of the monastery church were donated by Catherine the Great. Dmitrievskij maintains that Patmiot monks brought these icons to the monastery from Moscow as donation of Peter the Great.

B) Periodicals

3. *Εστία*, τ. 11, αρ. 275, έτος Στ', 5 Απρ. 1881, 221.

«Έν Τρόϊτσα, έν Μόσχα, έν Τούλντα έν τῷ κέντρῳ αὐτῷ τῆς Ῥωσσίας, ὀλόκληρα χωρία κατοικοῦνται ὑπὸ ζωγράφων ἢ μᾶλλον τεχνιτῶν, οἱ ὁποῖοι πατροπαραδότως ἔργον ἔχουσι να κατασκευάζωσιν εἰκόνας τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῆς Παναγίας, τῶν διαφόρων ἁγίων κατὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀρχῆς τεθειμένα ὑποδείγματα. Πάντες οἱ κάτοικοι, ἄνδρες, γυναῖκες καὶ παιδιά, καταγίνονται εἰς τὴν βιομηχανίαν ταύτην. Ἐκαστος αὐτῶν ἔχει ἰδιαιτέραν ἔργασίαν, εἰς ἣν καὶ ἀποκλειστικῶς ἀσχολεῖται. Οὕτω λ.χ. εἷς ζωγραφεῖ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, ἕτερος τὸ στόμα, ἄλλος διακόπτει τὰς ἀκτῖνας, αἵτινες περιβάλλουσι τὸ πρόσωπον. Ἐπὶ τέλους δὲ ὁ ἀρχιεργάτης ἐπεξεργάζεται τὸ σύνολον τῆς εἰκόνας [...] Ἡ βιομηχανία αὕτη παρέχει δαψίλειαν θρησκευτικῶν εἰκόνων καθ' ἅπασαν τὴν Ῥωσσικὴν Ἐπικράτειαν, καὶ εἰς ὅλας τὰς τάξεις τῆς κοινωνίας, τὰ προϊόντα δὲ ταῦτα διασπείρονται εἰς ὅλας τὰς χώρας τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ δόγματος»

Παρατίθεται στο: Ν. Γραικός, *Ακαδημαϊκές τάσεις της εκκλησιαστικής ζωγραφικής στην Ελλάδα*, 505.

(Description of proto-industrial organization of icon painting atelier in central Russia)

4. Πανόπη 18.4.1885

«Πολλοί Ρῶσοι δῆθεν πωληταί ἁγίων εἰκόνων καλῶς ἐνδεδυμένοι, εἰδικῶς δέ φέροντες ὑποδήματα ὅμοια πρὸς τὰ τῶν κοζάκων, ὁμιλοῦντες πολλὰς γλώσσας, ἐν αἷς καὶ τὴν βουλγαρικὴν, διέρχονται κατ' αὐτάς τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, σπεύδοντες νὰ διασπαρῶσιν ἕκαστος εἰς διάφορα μέρη, καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἀποφεύγοντες οἰανδήποτε ἔρευναν».

(Description of Russian icon traders coming to Istanbul in 19th c.)

C) OTHERS:

5. Σ.Δ.Ε.Γ., Φάκελος Ε7/485, Προξενεῖο Θεσσαλονίκης 1869-1874, ἀρ. πρωτ. 304, 356 (962-963, 964-965).

In a correspondence between the consul of Greece in Thessaloniki Vatikioti and the Association for the Dissemination of Greek Letters (April-May 1871) discussed the arrival in Macedonia Russians with strange costumes that resemble monks, who carry large numbers of icons for trade.

6. «Arhiv na NajdenGerov», Μέρος II. (1871-1876). Dokumenti za bulgarskata istorija, τ. II, Σόφια 1932.

The archive of N. Gerov, consul of Russia in Plovdiv, contains information about the arrest in the town Eski-Zara (town in Bulgaria, now - Stara Zagora) of four Russian from the province of Vladimir were trading icons, lithographs and Russian popular prints "Lubbock". N. Gerov notes that the same traders had come in previous years, many times in the region.