

“Hands off That Sacred Image!”

The Vladimir Icon and Its Power

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«Страшная история России вся прошла перед Твоим Лицом»

- М. Волошин¹

On December 4th, 1998, a Russian avant-garde artist, Avdei Ter-Ogan'ian, made a performance called *The Young Atheist* (“Юный безбожник”) as a part of the exhibition at Moscow Manege. His performance included three icons, the Vladimir icon, *Spas Nerukotvornyi*, and Pantocrator (*Spas Vsederzhatel'*), and a poster with the following words:

Dear connoisseurs of contemporary art, here you can get a wonderful source for blasphemy. *Spas Nerukotvornyi* - 200 rubles; the Vladimir icon - 150 rubles; *Spas Vsederzhatel'* - 120 rubles. The gallery offers you the following services: Desecration of the icon purchased by young infidels - 50 rubles; You can desecrate the icon personally under the guidance of young atheists - 20 rubles; You can get advice for desecrating icons at home - 10 rubles.²

Nobody volunteered, and the artist began to cut the icons with an axe (fig. 1). After the performance the criminal case was initiated against the artist on charges of inciting religious hatred.³ To avoid punishment Ter-Ogan'ian fled to the Czech Republic, and in 2010 the case was closed due to the expiration of the statute of limitations.

This particular event demonstrates that iconography plays a significant role in Russia today. It is interesting that for his art project Ter-Ogan'ian chose the Vladimir icon, a religious piece of art of the twelfth century. How and why did this medieval Russian icon find its way in today's art world? Why does the icon continue to be viewed

¹ М. Волошин, “Стихотворения. Статьи. Воспоминания современников” вступ. ст. З. Д. Давыдова, В. П. Купченко. (М.: Правда, 1991) 257.

² Запрещенное искусство: «1998. Юный безбожник. Тер –Оганьян» Web. <http://artprotest.org/cgi-bin/news.pl?id=295> Accessed on April 13, 2017.

³ Запрещенное искусство: «1998. Юный безбожник. Тер –Оганьян» Web.

as sacred and holy image that cannot be used in the contemporary art like Ter-Ogan'ian's project? Through the analysis of history and visual images of the Vladimir icon I show how this icon became an object of immense political, religious, and cultural significance that has been used to influence people for centuries. I attempt to answer following questions: what are the factors and reasons that made this icon special? Why and how did this particular icon gain its power and popularity that continues to impact greatly Russian life even today? Why would the contemporary Russian artists continue to use the Vladimir icon in their works?

The first chapter of this work focuses on the icon's symbolism, usage of colors, and meaning. The Vladimir icon has been with the Russian people for hundreds of years, so we cannot imagine what kind of damage the icon had to endure. I examine every restoration that was performed during the last eight centuries that helped to preserve and save one of the most important icons of Russia.

The second chapter is devoted to the icon's history. I trace its path from Constantinople to Moscow and its existence in Russia, from its arrival in Kiev up until today by analyzing primary sources. I focus on its life during the Soviet regime in which it was not only miraculously spared, but also restored and preserved. In addition, I show how for centuries the icon continued to be the most important symbol of Russian nationhood and Orthodoxy.

The last chapter examines the icon's impact on the Russian art world. Again I scan the whole range of Russian history showing the impact that the Vladimir icon produced on art from the medieval to the contemporary period. I show how artists use this holy image in their works, first recreating or coping it, later adding it to their historic

and epic scenes, and then simply using it as part of their art works like the artists of the Sots art movement.

The presentation of this famous icon in the works of Russian writers is largely omitted from my thesis for the following reasons. First, the whole literary Russian medieval period from the twelfth to eighteenth century was devoted solely to Orthodoxy and the Russian ruling class, so the icon was featured in the writings from this period frequently, and I mentioned some of these works in my second chapter. Second, even in the nineteenth century, the iconography continues to play a significant role in literature. For example, only in Pushkin's works I found over one hundred accounts of icons and red corners. There are several works, in which Pushkin mentions the Vladimir icon, the most noteworthy of these being his play *Boris Godunov*, where the author tries to reconstruct the atmosphere of medieval life in Moscow.

We expect that Russian literature of the early twentieth century should be less demonstrably influenced by iconography; however, symbolists and modernists have a tremendous number of works devoted to iconography of Mother of God, where the icon of Vladimir takes the center stage. Surprisingly, even during the Soviet period we can find depictions of the icon in literature. For example in his book, *The White Guard*, Bulgakov includes the Vladimir icon in the scene when Elena Turbina prays to the icon in order to save her brother's life.⁴ Numerous literary representations testify to the icon's powerful symbolism. The focus of this thesis, however, is the Vladimir icon's origins and its visual renditions throughout history.

⁴ Михаил Булгаков, "Белая гвардия" (Москва: Издательство "Наш Дом - L'Age d'Homme," 1998) 216.

Most of my primary sources are old Russian texts that were composed between the eleventh and eighteenth centuries. These materials can hardly be called reliable documents or historical facts, and their fundamental unreliability presents a challenge to scholars. Every chronicle is a collection of materials that were written, edited, shortened, lengthened, and revised. The churchmen and scribes wrote the oldest Russian Chronicles in the monasteries and the only perspective that they promote is a Christian point of view. Later, the texts were composed at the princely courts and their goal was to endorse a certain power or ideology of the current ruler. Some of them contained factual historical entries, while others can be viewed as fictional monuments of literature.

All of them comprise different legends and myths that cannot be verified as truthful thus there are problems with the veracity of sources. However, the Chronicles are the only survived medieval Russian texts that have any early historical accounts of the Vladimir icon. Therefore, I resort to medieval chronicles with an understanding that the line between fact and fiction is often blurred. My focus remains of the representation of the Vladimir icon in the written and pictorial texts; without claiming the accuracy of history that these sources offer, I prioritize the stories that they tell and their influence on the reading audiences throughout centuries.

In addition, the biggest part of my research is based on works written by well-respected authorities of the iconography in Russia, Aleksandr Anisimov and Igor' Grabar', who devoted their lives to the restoration and preservation of Russian medieval art, including the Vladimir icon. However, I also analyze a broadcast of *Rossia-Kul'tura*; it is a Russian television network that specializes in programs on Russian history, science, music, literature, and art. While not a scholarly sources per se, this program

offers a valuable perspective on the matter as, on the one hand, a popular forum, accessible to the broad public, and on the other, a broadcast prepared by the specialists of the Tret'iakov Gallery, the museum which presently houses the Vladimir icon.



Fig. 1. A. Ter-Ogan'ian. *The Young Atheist* ("Юный безбожник"), 1998. Photo.

Chapter 1

The Vladimir Icon and Its Restorations

What is an icon? It seems that “icon” is an overused word in today’s life. We tend to think about icons on our cellphones that we see on our displays; the word evokes anything from the charismatic film star, Ben Affleck, to the artistic masterpiece of Leonardo da Vinci, *Mona Lisa*. The word itself comes from the Greek *eikon*, which means a ‘likeness, image or picture.’⁵ For art critics and specialists icons stand for just a piece of art that is a tempera painting on wood. However, in the Christian world, an icon is “a representation of some sacred personage, in painting, bas-relief, or mosaic, itself regarded as sacred, and honored with a relative worship or adoration.”⁶ Believers saw icons as “a door opening onto the Heavenly Kingdom – through the icon the Christian could enter into contact with the spiritual world where his faith and acts were judged on the basis of the laws of God.”⁷

In this work, I define and refer to icons as paintings on wood panels made for rituals and decoration of the Russian Orthodox Church and for private prayers at home. This means that the icon is a form of art which both promotes and supports Christian faith in both medieval Russia and today, and which communicates the ways in which believers may understand and view their world. Today, there are thousands of icons; however, only a few can be truly considered to be part of the foundation of iconography that greatly influence every sphere of Russian life. One of them, the Theotokos of Vladimir or Our Lady of Vladimir (*Владимирская Икона Божией Матери*), which hereafter I will refer

⁵ Robert Cormack, *Icons* (London: The British Museum Press, 2014) 1.

⁶ Century Association and Boris Mestchersky. *Russian Icons: Loan Exhibition, December 4 to January 4, 1941* (New York, 1940) 7

⁷ Vladimir Ivanov, *Russian Icons* (New York: Rezzolli, 1988) 12.

to as the Vladimir icon, is one of the oldest existing icons in Russia, and is the focus of my thesis (fig. 2).

In this chapter I focus on symbolism of the Vladimir icon, its description, and physical changes that occurred during eight centuries of the icon's life. Because of the long and devastating history of Russia, the icon endured several restorations. The main questions are, what were the usage and functions of the icon originally? What kind of modifications had to be done over several centuries in order to save it? In what condition is the icon today?

I will begin with a simple description of the icon, the meanings of its colors, and its symbolism. The original size of the icon was 78 x 55 cm; later, additional parts were added, expanding the size to 106 x 69 cm. The icon has two sides: on the front side we see the Mother of God with the child (fig. 2) and on the back is depicted the Hetoimasia⁸ and instruments of Christ's Passion (fig. 3). Today the icon can be viewed in the Hall Museum Church of St Nicholas in Moscow.

The Vladimir icon is generally referred to as an "Icon of Loving Tenderness," or *Umilenie*. Loving Tenderness icons are chiefly distinguished by the close, cheek-to-cheek embrace of the mother and son. The icon reminds us of the love that connects Mary and Jesus. We interpret her sorrow as she already sees her son bearing the cross. Her eyes have an inward, contemplative quality, "the Virgin's eyes are not curious, investigating or even understanding, but eyes which reveal to us our true selves."⁹ The child rests on

⁸ The Hetoimasia (Gr. "preparation"), or Throne of Preparation, is one of the most widespread images in iconography, particularly in Orthodox Christianity. The empty throne is a pre-Christian symbol of invisible or absent authority.

⁹ Henri Nouwen, *Behold the Beauty the Beauty of the Lord: Praying with Icons* (Norte Dame, IN: Ave Maria Press, 1987) 36.

her arms and gently embraces her. One of Mary's hands holds Jesus, while the other draws the viewer's attention to him.

The child looks at his mother attentively. The distinguishing detail of this icon is Christ's bare feet, a powerful symbol of his physical reality: "he walked among us, leaving his footprints on the earth."¹⁰ There is an additional detail of love, the arm of Christ around Mary's neck. His garment is gold, the color of the kingdom of God, and it is the main indication of the real identity of Jesus. On Mary's dress we see three golden stars (one is hidden behind Christ's body) that indicate her identity: "her virginity before, during and after her son's birth."¹¹

The face of Mother Mary is painted with a greenish-olive *sankir* (a mixture of ocher and soot) and transparent layers of bright ocher; the colorful layers are fused, and tonal transitions cannot be discerned. On the illuminated parts we can see smears of white, while the shadows and contours are red and brown. The sophisticated features of the face merge together, displaying the Greek type of image together with the timeless spiritual ideal of the Orthodox culture. All of this expresses the language of Byzantine artistic tradition of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The outlines of a thin, aquiline nose transfer into the straight and long eyebrows. On the bridge of the nose, a shadow forms a sorrowful wrinkle under the eyebrows. The dark, almond-shaped eyes are directed towards the viewer. Tightly closed lips are red. The same color strokes mark the corners of Mary's eyes.

The face of the Divine Child is made in a similar technique, but *sankir* here is lighter. A large part of the hand that is placed on the neck of the Mother is modeled in the

¹⁰ Jim Forest, *Praying With Icons* Rev. expanded ed. (Orbis Books, 2008) 78

¹¹ Ibid., 80

same way as well. Initially the head of mother was covered with the cloak, and the outline of the hair of the baby was smaller in size. Judging from the fragments of Christ's clothes, they were painted with dark ocher and gold; on the outstretched right hand, the light transparent sleeve of shirt is visible.¹²

On the back side we see the throne covered with a red cloth with dark borders and gold ornaments. On the throne there is a closed Gospel, four nails of the Crucifixion and a crown of thorns. On the Gospel sits a white dove with a halo, symbolizing the Holy Spirit. Behind the altar are an Orthodox cross, a spear, and a cane with a sponge on its side. At first the researchers noted the semantic relationship between the sorrowful image of the Virgin on the front side and the image of the throne on the back of the icon and believed that it was a common depiction in the iconography of Mother of God.¹³

The color of the back side is light ocher with brown stains and with red letters IC XC ИИ КА that means "Jesus Christ Conquers." The IC and XC are the first and last letters in the Greek words for Jesus and Christ, respectively. ИИ КА is connected to the word for victory, which we know from the Greek "Nike."

A historian and restorer of old Russian paintings and a chief authority on the icon, Aleksandr Anisimov, in his book *The Vladimir Icon of Mother of God*, claims that this image was painted between the late fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century.¹⁴ The icon painter is unknown, however, Anisimov writes that it is possible that Andrei Rublev did the first restoration of the back side.¹⁵ For a long time iconographers

¹² A. Anisimov, *The Vladimir Icon of Mother of God* (Prague: Seminarium Kondakovianum, 1928) 38.

¹³ ЭТИНГОФ, 139.

¹⁴ Anisimov, 38.

¹⁵ Ibid., 39.

and specialists continued to believe that the Hetoimasia and instruments of Christ's Passion was the painting on the back of the icon that dated back to the fourteenth century.



Fig. 2. *Detail*, Unknown artist, *Our Lady of Vladimir*, first third of the 12th century, tempera on wood. Hall Museum Church of St Nicholas, Moscow.



Fig. 3. The Hetoimasia and instruments of Christ's Passion. The back side of the icon, Our Lady of Vladimir, 14th century, tempera on wood. Hall Museum Church of St Nicholas, Moscow.

However, in 2014, under the strictest secrecy, the restorer of the Vladimir icon, Dmitrii Sukhoverkov, explored the icon using radiography. This allowed him to look inside and, more importantly, expand the images on the front and back side of the icon. It was thought that the method would detect traces of an earlier painting with the image of the Throne and instruments of Passion of Christ. However, an X-ray showed something quite different. On the reverse side were found traces of nails, to which an *oklad* would have

been affixed in ancient times. The location of the traces shows the precise contours of a saint's face (fig. 4).¹⁶



Fig. 4. Traces of nails on the back side of the icon. Web: *TVKultura*. 13.03.2014.¹⁷

Now researchers have to answer a more difficult question - whose face is hidden under the layers of paint in the Vladimir Icon? "It seems that this is the image of an omophorion, it is the details of clothes of saints or bishops. And on this basis we have seen some items, and we have made a quite reasonable assumption that it is a picture of the saint," says Sukhoverkov in an interview.¹⁸ There are several versions as to who it could be, but the main one is Nikolas the Wonderworker. Scientists say that it is still just an assumption. Studies have yielded unexpected results, which have yet to be comprehended.¹⁹ Thus, the image of the Hetoimasia and instruments of Christ's Passion

¹⁶ "Что скрывает обратная сторона иконы Владимирской Божьей Матери?" *TVKultura*. 13.03.2014 http://tvkultura.ru/article/show/article_id/109585/ Accessed February 5, 2017.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

on the back side of the icon were painted over another, much older image. The reasons why the Church did allow it are still unclear.

Most of the time the back sides of the icons could be seen only during the religious processions. The Vladimir icon was also originally created with the intent that it could be carried outside of the Cathedral during different events: Easter processions, wars and battles, and special events that required the blessings of the Mother of God.²⁰ The practice of taking icons of Mother of God out of churches also was adopted from Byzantium.²¹ It usually was done every week on Fridays, during religious celebrations, or during any siege of the Byzantine cities.²² In order to take the icon out, each of them would be brought out on special handles. Perhaps, in Kiev and Vladimir the icon had a handle in the form of a three-bladed fork, which was later removed with expansion of the size of the icon for a new *oklad* (fig. 5).



Fig. 5. The miniature, *Blagodarstvennoe molenie pered ikonoi Vladimirskoi*. (Благодарственное моление перед Владимирской иконой после победы над булгарами). XV century. The Radziwiłł Codex (p. 205).

²⁰ “икона выносная”

²¹ Этингоф, 141.

²² Ibid., 141.

The first information about the precious *oklad* of the icon, which was made by Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii's order, dates back to 1155: “[...] И вковал в икону более тридцати гривен золота, не считая серебра, драгоценных камней и жемчуга, и, украсив ее, поставил ее в своей церкви во Владимире.”²³ It is likely that the icon's size was expanded for this massive *oklad*.²⁴ This rich adornment of the icon reflected the value that it had in the Vladimir principality, where it became the main shrine of the new Cathedral of the Assumption in Vladimir. The icon was probably placed in a special icon case (a *kiot*) and was taken out during the processions.²⁵ It demonstrates the importance of the icon and its popularity.

Every part of the *oklad* was stored separately from the icon in the sacristy of the cathedral or the prince's treasury. In 1237 the Tatars took away this precious piece of the icon and it was never recovered. New *oklad* and a renovation of the icon were made by the order of Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodovich. After the miraculous salvation of Moscow, in 1395, it was newly decorated (with the blessing of Metropolitan Kiprian the old *oklad* was updated and supplemented). After that, the icon was brought to Moscow, where Metropolitan Fotii commissioned the production of a new gold *oklad* (fig. 6).²⁶ On the sides of the *oklad* were engraved twelve images of feasts in keeled frame, through which the images are perceived as independent icons. Also, in addition to the *oklad*, in 1657 a

²³ ПСЛР Т. 2. 78.

²⁴ И. А. Стерлигова, “Драгоценный убор древнерус. икон XI–XIV вв.” (Москва, 2000) 224–225

²⁵ Ibid, 224.

²⁶ К. И. Невоструев, “Монограмма Всероссийского митр. Фотия на окладе Владимирской чудотворной иконы Пресв. Богородицы в Моск. Успенском соборе” // Сб. на 1866 г., изд. об-м древнерус. искусства при моск. Публичном музее. М., 1866) 177–181

special *riza* was made for the Vladimir icon (Fig. 7). Now both the *oklad* and the *riza* are currently stored in the Armory of the Kremlin.



Fig. 6. *Oklad* of the Vladimir Icon, XV century, The Museum of Moscow Kremlin.



Fig. 7. *Riza* of the Vladimir Icon, 1657, The Museum of Moscow Kremlin

Renovation (*Ponovlenie*) and Restoration of the Icon

When the Byzantine and ancient Russian icon painters were going to write an icon, they took a cypress or lime board and put chalky soil, called gesso, on it. First, the gesso was ground onto the surface. Sometimes in special cases the icon painters covered it with gold, and then wrote on it with tempera (a paint diluted with egg yolk). They applied fixers on top of the paint layer: boiled linseed oil followed by varnish to protect the painting. After a hundred years, when the protective layer had been darkened by time and dirt, the icon painters updated the icon - added tempera right on top of the previous image, at the same time trying to maintain the old contours, which could only be guessed under age-old dirt. Each new layer was again coated with varnish. This process was repeated over and over for many centuries.

Anisimov explains: “Each [old Russian icon] is not just one but multiple images, one atop the other.”²⁷ We should not forget that for the icon of Vladimir this layering was produced for eight centuries. The icon became a cake with several layers, full of mysteries. What lay under the next layer? How could the historians determine what was the most valuable layer?

In his book, *The Vladimir Icon of Mother of God*, Anisimov writes that the Vladimir icon can no longer be called an art piece that was created by one master, instead “она [икона] является случайнымъ совмещениемъ разновременныхъ добавленийъ къ уцѣлѣвшимъ по-счастью фрагментамъ древняго оригинала и добавленийъ къ этимъ добавлениямъ.”²⁸

²⁷ Jefferson J A Gatrall and Douglas M Greenfield, *Alter Icons: The Russian Icon and Modernity* (Pennsylvania State University Press: University Park, Pennsylvania, 2010) 90.

²⁸ Anisimov, 26.

According to the accounts of the last major restoration work, the Vladimir icon was restored four times before 1919. First, in the first half of the thirteenth century, after the destruction of Batu, Anisimov notices that during one of the Tatars' raids, the icon was brutally stripped of its first *oklad*, which heavily damaged the icon's wooden base.²⁹ Iaroslav II of Vladimir ordered the first renovation (or *ponovlenie*) of the miraculous icon: "И оттоль сій чудотворный Богородичинъ образъ подобно прежнему своего благолепія достойное украшение приємлетъ".³⁰ Therefore, Anisimov assumes that the icon was restored and decorated again and put in its rightful place in the Dormition Cathedral of Vladimir.³¹

Second, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, during the work on the decoration of the Moscow Cathedral of the Assumption, the icon's next restoration occurred.³² By the beginning of the fifteenth century (about 1411), the following parts were subjected to the restoration: the part of the Virgin Mary and Christ's clothes on the bottom left, the baby's hand and shoulder, his feet, his hair and neck, Mary's right hand, her ear, some dark green cap and a gold fringe on the cloak. The deep brown tone of the cloak, combined with the greenish ocher color of baby's himation³³, decorated with gold, forms a characteristic range of warm colors. The artist, who exercised the restoration of the icon, was likely Andrei Rublev.³⁴

²⁹ Anisimov, 17

³⁰ ПСРЛ т. 21, 541.

³¹ Ibid. 17

³² Ibid. 19

³³ Himation - a garment consisting of a rectangular piece of cloth thrown over the left shoulder and wrapped about the body. (<http://www.dictionary.com/browse/himation>).

³⁴ A comparison of colors of the Vladimir icon related to the beginning of the XV century, with its copy made by Andrei Rublev in 1408 brings to this conclusion. И. Грабарь, «Андрей Рублев». «Вопросы реставрации», 1, 1926, 42-43.

The third significant renovation of the Vladimir icon is associated with the paintings of the Moscow Cathedral of the Assumption, executed in 1514. Vasilii III of Russia ordered the *ponovlenie*. At that time, icon painters repainted the largest part of Mary's clothes, her left hand, the majority of Christ's clothes, and wrist of his right hand. Even a special precious icon case was made for the icon. Anisimov states that one of the reasons of this restoration was because the icon “возбуждала опасение за свое дальнейшее существование.”³⁵ He considers this updating to be one of the most important and serious.

It is important to mention some of the minor repairs that were made in 1566 and in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The faces of Mother of God and the son, unlike other parts of icons, were repainted without imposing a new layer of gesso³⁶ directly on top of the old varnish, which contributed to their preservation.

Finally, in the 1890s, the Cathedral of Annunciation in Moscow was under significant reconstruction for the coronation of Nikolas II, and the Vladimir icon was freed from Fotii's *oklad* and given to the famous icon painters and restorers, Osip Chirikov and Mikhail Dikarev, for restoration. The restorers found out that the icon was extremely dark, “Въ настоящее время ее невозможно и рассмотреть хорошо.”³⁷ However, Chirikov and Dikarev did not add anything new, or even try to restore the original image; instead, their main achievement was a temporary preservation of the icon

³⁵ Anisimov, 22.

³⁶ Gesso (левкас) - in the iconography it is a name of soil, which is a chalk, stirred with the animal or fish glue with the addition of linseed oil.

³⁷ Anisimov, 23.

from further destruction. The icon was placed back in the Cathedral of Annunciation in Moscow.³⁸

Later, with the establishment of the Soviet regime, the policy toward iconography and religion changed significantly. The Soviet state had a good reason to fear the power of icons, as it enforced a policy of atheism. The conservation of icons became a powerful tool in the fight against the Church and religion, and the Soviet restorers played a central role in transforming the icon from an object of veneration into secular work of art. After Chirikov and Dikarev's restoration and until 1919 the icon was not touched. Then the Russian commission of the disclosure of ancient Russian art monuments began the last major restoration of the icon, which returned to the icon its original appearance.³⁹

The last restoration began when on December 14th, 1918, a group of twelve people came into the Moscow Kremlin. They were revolutionaries, priests, art specialists, and financiers, who came to examine and evaluate the Vladimir icon.⁴⁰ However, the most valuable piece was the Vladimir icon. Aleksandr Anisimov, Igor' Grabar, and Grigorii Chirikov were Russian major art historians and artists who were among the twelve members of this group. After removing the cover, specialists discovered a nearly unintelligible image on a panel ravaged by mold and wood rot. When they saw the icon they recorded their first impressions:

Икона покрыта густым слоем потемневшей, вскипевшей олифы, на которой появились грибообразные наросты и взпученности, начавшие сдирать живопись и вызывать осыпь краски. На лице Богоматери по щеке

³⁸ Anisimov, 23.

³⁹ G.I. Vzdornov, "Komissiiia po sokhraneniui i raskrytiiu pamiatnikov drevnei zhivopisi v Rossii 1918 - 1924" (*Sovetskoe iskusstvoznanie*, no. 2, 1980) 306.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 306

в вертикальном направлении легко заметно вздутие. По левой стороне доски имеются трещины, когда-то заделанные... Фон весь покрыт мелкими выпадами от гвоздей.⁴¹

The creation of the Commission for the Conservation of Monuments and disclosure of ancient painting in June 1918 coincided with the beginning of the Civil War. The very existence of such commission in a country that was torn by strife and hatred was a miracle, and the work of art historians and restorers was a scientific and human feat. The Bolsheviks saw it as an instrument of attack on the Church, and the Church saw it as means of salvation from the religious sites of revolutionary terror and vandalism.

On December 20, 1918, Chirikov started disclosing the icon. He began with the head of the Child, and passed several layers before he was able to find out that the part of the cheek was fully intact. The fact that in spite of eight centuries of life, the most valuable part of the icon, the face of Christ, survived.⁴² Later, it turned out that not only did the face of the Christ Child survive, but the face of the Virgin Mary did as well, also written by the hand of the Constantinople icon painter.

In his work, Anisimov concludes that the painted surface of the icon retained from its ancient original painting very small pieces, but those pieces are the most significant ones. We see today from the painting of the Byzantine painter the faces of the Mother and the son, the biggest part of his left hand, a part of his right hand, a big part of gold background above Mary's head, and a fraction of the inscription, the letters MP ΘY, which means Mother of God (fig. 8).⁴³ The last restoration was not only expressed in

⁴¹ E. Guseva, *Bogomater' Vladimirskaja: Sbornik materialov* (Moskva: Avangard, 1995) 30.

⁴² Anisimov, 26.

⁴³ Ibid. 28.

updating of the painting but also in filling of the missing parts of the icon with the new gesso.

In March 1919, Chirikov finished, and the Vladimir icon appeared for the first time in the form that is now familiar worldwide. After it, Anisimov said following words:

Перед лицом таких икон, как Владимирская, легче всего понять, почему в истории христианства почитание Богоматери играет такую исключительную роль. [...] Человечество в образе Матери, скорбящей за распятого Сына, видело наиболее полное воплощение той стихии духа, которая зовётся любовью и только любовью и которая не знает ни закона справедливости, ни закона возмездия — никаких законов, кроме закона жалости и сострадания.⁴⁴

Shortly after finishing the restoration of the Vladimir icon, in summer 1919, Anisimov was arrested for the first time due his brief affiliation with the Constitutional Democrats (Kadets) in 1917.⁴⁵ On October 6, 1930 he was arrested for the last time because of his work and research on the Vladimir icon that had been published in Prague. In August, 1937, at the height of the Great Terror Aleksandr Anisimov was sentenced to death on the charges that he was a “glaring monarchist, fascist sympathizer, and slanderer of Soviet literature and art.”⁴⁶ On August 26, he was shot and killed.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ A. Anisimov, “Istoriia Vladimirskoi ikony v svete restavratsii,” *Institut archeologii I iskusstvoznaniia. Trudy seksii iskusstvoznania* 2 (Moskva, 1928) 70

⁴⁵ Gatrall and Greenfield, 96.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 104.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 104.



Fig. 8. Chart of the Icon's restorations and damages. Anisimov, *The Vladimir icon*, 1928.

In conclusion, in 1999 the icon was moved from the State Tret'iakov Gallery to the Church of St. Nicholas in Tolmachi in Moscow (fig. 9). This is the place where the icon can be visited today. Continuing to be a museum piece, now the main icon of Russia is available to all believers. The art critics and servants of the Church were able to find a solution that satisfies both sides. The church is a part of the Tret'iakov Gallery, which can be accessed directly from the halls of the museum. Especially for the icon a special icon case was produced, which provides the necessary temperature and humidity even during worship. Museum staff regularly monitors the conditions of the icon, and at the

same time the temple priest and his parishioners can pray to the miraculous image. From the shadows of the church, as well as eight hundred years ago, the face of the Virgin Mary looks at us, bending over her Child. Today the icon can be viewed as both a museum object and a sacred piece of faith. It is one of a few successful cases when the museum and the church cooperate productively.



Fig. 9. The Vladimir icon in the Church of St. Nicholas in Tolmachi, Moscow. Photo, 2010.

Chapter 2

A Journey of a Single Image through the History of Russia

In this chapter, I argue that the Vladimir icon was used by leaders to manipulate their subjects during many periods of Russian history between the eleventh and twenty-first centuries. I decided to trace the history of this icon through analysis of primary sources that are the only materials that directly relate to the history of the icon in medieval Russia. There are several questions that I raise and try to resolve in this chapter: from where, when, and why was the icon brought to Kievan Rus'? Where and why was the icon moved through the centuries?

The earliest Russian available sources that we have today are chronicles or *letopisi*. In most cases, they consist of annual recordings organized in a chronological order. The initial Russian annals are the *Primary Chronicle*, or the *Tale of Bygone Years* (“Повесть временных лет”) written by the monk, Nestor. Even though the first entries begin around 1040, the source provides a historical account that starts in 6360 (852) and continues through 6885 (1377). Unfortunately, the original text of the *Chronicle* did not reach us, but we do have its copy. Today, the most successful translation of the *Tale of Bygone Years* is made from the *Laurentian Chronicle* (“Лаврентьевская летопись,” 14th century) and the *Hypatian Chronicle* (“Ипатьевская летопись,” 15th century). The *Laurentian Chronicle* includes the oldest extant version of it, and mostly provides accounts of the events in Northern Russia (Vladimir-Suzdal), the region that is the most interesting and important for my research because the name of the icon comes from the city, Vladimir.

The *Hypatian Chronicle* is the second oldest text; it provides information about Kievan Rus' and has several entries that are not mentioned in the *Laurentian Chronicle*. The analysis of both sources helps me to see the history of the icon from different perspectives and allows to conduct a more detailed research. Also, as one of my primary sources I use in the *Book of Royal Degrees* (*Степенная книга*). This document was commissioned by Makarii, Metropolitan of Moscow, and written in 1560 by Andrei, Ivan the Terrible's personal confessor and icon painter. The *Book* was one of the first attempts to codify Russian history by illustrating the political and ideological policy in Russia. Later, Mikhail Lomonosov used it as his main source for his fundamental work on Russian history, *Drevniaia Rossiiskaia Istoriiia*. In addition, the *Book* represents a monumental piece of Russian literature that provides a depiction of the Vladimir icon in the sixteenth century.

The *Tale of Bygone Years* gives us the earliest accounts of the icon. The *Laurentian Chronicle* tells us that the Vladimir icon was indeed brought in the twelfth century from Constantinople (in East and South Slavic languages, including in medieval Russia, Constantinople was referred to as *Tsargrad* (Царьград)): “Того же лета (6663/1155) пошел Андрей от отца своего в Суздаль и принес с собой икону святой Богородицы, которую привезли в одном корабле с Пирогощей из Цесаряграда.”⁴⁸ As we see from the passage, there are several important points to note. First, the icon is simply called “икона святой Богородицы” (an icon of the Mother of God). How do we know that it is the same icon as the Vladimir icon? We are certain that in the 1150s only Andrei Bogoliubskii was the Grand prince of Vladimir-Suzdal. It was Bogoliubskii who

⁴⁸ ПСРЛ т.1. 148.

made Vladimir the new capital. Even the *Hypatian Chronicle* provides for us almost the same entry. Therefore, Andrei Bogoliubskii was a son of Yuri (Georgii) Dolgorukii, who, according to the *Book*, actually ordered the icon of mother Mary to be delivered from Constantinople to Kiev (*Вышеград*) in the same period of time:

Сему убо великому князю Георгию отъ Царяграда принесень бысть въ Киевъ Пирогощею купцемъ чудотворный образъ Пречистыя Богоматери, иже зватися обыче икона Владимирская, его же написа богогласный Лука, списатель Христова Евангелия.⁴⁹

The *Book* retells the same story and provides the name of the icon, “Владимерская.” Thus, these primary sources, the *Book* and the *Laurentian Chronicle*, give us evidence that the two entries describe the same event: the delivery of the Vladimir icon to Kievan Rus’ from Constantinople. Conclusively, we know that the *Laurentian Chronicle* was written much later than the event occurred, thus, we can conclude that the Vladimir icon was already extremely popular and famous, and the author did not need to specify its name in his work because the readers knew exactly that “икона святой Богородицы” (“an icon of the Mother of God”) referred to the Vladimir icon.

It is important to mention that both primary sources bring up the word *Pirogoshchaia* (“Пирогощая”). While the *Laurentian Chronicle* states that there were two icons that were brought from Constantinople, “an icon of the Mother of God” and *Pirogoshchaia*, the *Book* clearly refers to a merchant called *Pirogoshchaia*, who delivered just one icon to the prince. We see here a discrepancy in the sources. Should we consider that there were two icons, or just one, the Vladimir icon? If we follow the

⁴⁹ ПСРЛ т. 21, 429

version of the *Book*, then “an icon of the Mother of God” and *Pirogoshchaia* represent just one icon. In that case we will have a contradiction between primary sources.

The *Tale of Igor’s Campaign* (“Слово о полку Игореве”), written anonymously in the early 12th century shortly after Igor’s failed raid in 1185, also mentions the icon *Pirogoshchaia* and its location near Kiev: “Вьются голосяи чрезу море до Киева. Игорь љдетъ по Боричеву къ святой Богородици Пирогощей.”⁵⁰ However, the author of the *Laurentian Chronicle* clearly states that the Vladimir icon had already been moved to Vladimir in 1155 and stayed there until Dmitrii Donskoi’s campaign of 1380. The icon could not possibly be in two places at the same time. Scholars, including Anisimov, believe that the icon came from Constantinople in the 1130s along with an icon called *Pirogoshchaia*.

In addition, a Russian historian, Dmitrii Alshits, in his work “What does ‘Pirogoshcha’ mean in Russian *letopisi*?” analyzes the primary sources the *Laurentian Chronicle*, the *Hypatian Chronicle*, the *Sofia First Chronicle* (“Софийская первая летопись”), and the *Novgorod First Chronicle* (“Новгородская первая летопись”). He concludes that on the ship from Constantinople were brought two icons, one was the Vladimir icon and the other one was a lost icon called Our Lady of the Burning Bush (“Неополимая Купина”) (fig. 10).⁵¹

As I mentioned before, that the *Book* was written much later, and the author was probably not familiar with the Icon Our Lady of the Burning Bush or *Pirogoshchaia*. In addition, the word “Pirogoshchaia,” is derived from the ancient Greek. “Goshcha” means

⁵⁰ «Слово о полку Игореве» Web: <http://www.vehi.net/oldrussian/opolku.html> Accessed on October, 10, 2016.

⁵¹ Д.Н. Альшиц, “Что означает “Пирогощая” русских летописей и Слова о полку Игореве.” В кн.: Исследования по отеч. источниковедению. М. — Л., 1964. 482.

a guest or merchant, and “pira” means wheat or flour.⁵² That is why the author of the *Book* combines two icons into one and uses the name for a merchant rather than for an icon. That gives us an idea that the icon *Pirogoshchaia* was not popular by the sixteenth century, or the writer did not have any knowledge about it. Alshits proves that the discrepancy could be a result of a loss of the icon, a change of its name, or simply the distortion of the information by the neglect of a scribe. Thus, in this work I consider that there were two completely different icons.

Second, even though the *Chronicles* do not give us an exact date of the delivery of the icon to Kiev, we can assume it happened between 1130 and 1155 because according to the *Laurentian Chronicle*, the construction of the church *Pirogoshchaia* began in 1131: “Въ то же лѣто заложи церковь Мстиславъ святыя Богородица Пирогощюю.”⁵³ It means that both icons arrived shortly before or after the foundation of the monastery. But we can be certain that in 1155 Andrei Bogoliubskii took the Vladimir icon to the city of Vladimir.

Third, from the first entries of the *Chronicle* that describe the icon, we see that the Vladimir icon was well-respected and highly cherished. In medieval Russia the most venerated icons were always heavily decorated with gold, silver, and jewels, called *oklad* or *riza*. Nikodim Kondakov, a major Russian medieval art historian, mentions that the Russians began to cover their icons with the *riza* under Greek influence, and naturally even more decoration was applied to the icons in private hands.⁵⁴

⁵² Ibid. 476

⁵³ ПСРЛ т.1, 132

⁵⁴ Nikodim Kondakov, *Icons* (Parkstone Press: New York, 2008) 48



Fig. 10. One of reproductions of the Icon Our Lady of the Burning Bush. XVI c. Solovetskii Monastery.

Andrei Bogoliubskii considered the Vladimir icon as his defender and protector, and as it was mentioned above he invested the icon with precious metals and stones. It shows that the icon was important and highly venerated, but it also represented extremely precious spiritual and material treasure.

Returning to the history, after arriving in Kiev from Constantinople, the icon was placed in the Devichii Monastery in Vyshgorod, the city ruled by Andrei Bogoliubskii. He did not show any interest in ruling Kiev as Dolgorukii, his father, did. After Dolgorukii's death, Prince Andrei did not take the opportunity to control Kiev; he

disliked Kiev, and he was tired of the struggle for it. Instead, Prince Andrei became the prince of Vladimir, Suzdal, and Rostov. In 1155 Prince Andrei took all the valuable things, including the icon, from Kiev and left for the Vladimir, Suzdal, and Rostov region. By making that decision, Prince Andrei “had abandoned sacred tradition. Never before had the promise of inheritance of the Kievan throne been so unequivocally rejected.”⁵⁵ His new capital was Vladimir, where he laid the foundation for the Dormition Cathedral in 1158 and placed the icon in it. The icon was the first and main icon of the Cathedral and became the first wonderworking *obraz* in the city.

It is important to mention that the *Hypatian Chronicle* claims that Prince Andrei removed the icon illegally, without his father’s permission: “Томъ же лтъ иде Андрей отъ отца своего изъ Вышегорода бѣ Суждаль, безъ отцѣ волю; и взя изъ Вышегорода икону святоѣ Богородици,”⁵⁶ while the *Laurentian Chronicle* omits any impression of Andrei’s improper behavior. This discrepancy can be explained by the fact that Kievan monks, who wrote the *Hypatian Chronicle*, would not have supported Andrei’s plan to transfer political power from Kiev to a new city, Vladimir.

It is possible that in order to justify Andrei’s illegal acts of removing the icon and establishing of a new capital, the *Skazanie o Chudesakh Vladimirskoi Ikony Bozhei Materi* (“Сказание о чудесах Владимирской иконы богородицы”) was written in Bogolyubskii’s lifetime. In his article, “Legends of the Icon of Our Lady of Vladimir,” a Russian historian, David Miller, writes “Bogoliubskii’s aspirations to glorify Vladimir as

⁵⁵ Ellen S. Hurwitz, *Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii: The Man and the Myth* (Firenze: Licosa Editrice, 1980) 12.

⁵⁶ ПСРЛ т.2, 78

a leading center of Russia in place of Kiev gave rise to the first collection of legends.”⁵⁷ In the *Skazanie*, we read of the first miracle, in which “the restless” icon departs from its resting place three times. Prince Andrei saw it as a sign and takes the icon to Vladimir lands, an act clearly part of his ideological-political program.⁵⁸ Another prominent Russian medieval historian, Ellen Hurwitz writes that Bogoliubskii’s plan was to shift the power from already weakening Kiev to Vladimir.⁵⁹ He saw that Kievan Rus’ was becoming irrelevant to the future of the whole state, and the region of Vladimir, Suzdal, and Rostov was assuming a new role as a successor of Kiev. Here, the icon played a major role in his affair.

In this way, the cult of the Vladimir icon manifested in the *Skazanie*, which describes ten miracles directly related to Prince Andrei and the city of Vladimir. For example, one of them tells a story of how the icon saves twelve residents of Vladimir (probably the number twelve stands for twelve apostles) from being crushed under the collapsed gates of the city. Another describes the events of 1164, when Prince Andrei and his guards embarked on a crusade against the Bulgars taking the Vladimir icon for their protection: ”Въ то же лѣто иде князь Андрѣй на Болгары [...]; и поможе имъ Богъ и святая Богородица. [...] Князь Андрѣй воротися с побѣдою, видѣвъ Болгары избиты. Се же бысть чудо новое святое Богородици Володимерское.”⁶⁰ It was believed that the icon helped Prince Andrei to win, and thus one more miracle was added to the list of wonders.

⁵⁷ David B. Miller, “Legends of the Icon of Our Lady of Vladimir: A Study of the Development of Muscovite National Consciousness” *Speculum*, vol. 43, no. 4, 1968, p660. www.jstor.org/stable/2855325.

⁵⁸ J. Pelenski, “The Contest for the ‘Kievan Succession’ (1155-1175): The Religious-Ecclesiastical Dimension” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 12/13, 1988, www.jstor.org/stable/41036344 767.

⁵⁹ Hurwitz, 56.

⁶⁰ ПСРЛ т.1, 150

Bogoliubskii's main target was to make Vladimir a strong and powerful center of Rus'. In order to achieve his plan, Bogoliubskii needed to establish a new Metropolitanate of Vladimir that would be independent of Kiev. The *Chronicle* tells us about the 1169 condemnation and execution of Fedor, who was Andrei's candidate for a new position. A history professor at Colombia University, Jaroslaw Pelenski in his article "Kievan Succession" analyzes primary sources and identifies Prince Andrei's intention to destroy Kiev "as the center of power and sacral symbolism."⁶¹ Byzantine patriarch rejected Andrei's idea, Prince Andrei asked the new Metropolitan of Kiev, Constantine II, to approve his candidate. However, this request was also denied, and unexpectedly, his effort resulted in the execution of Fedor.

To justify his execution, Fedor was presented in the worst possible light. The *Chronicle* states that Fedor locked all churches in Vladimir, including the Dormition Cathedral, with the icon: "И церкви всѣ въ Володимери затворити и ключъ церковныйъ взя: и не бысть ни звоненья, ни пѣнья по всему граду и въ сборный церкви въ ней же чудотворная Мати Божія."⁶² He was punished by "митрополит Константин, [который] повелел ему язык отрезать, как злодею и еретику, и правую руку отрубить, и глаза ему вынуть, ибо хулу наговаривал на святую Богородицу."⁶³

We see that the icon was mentioned in the story twice: first, Fedor closed this particular icon in the Cathedral, which was considered a severe crime; and second, Fedor's exile and punishment, which were viewed as miracles performed by the icon: "изгнали Бог и святая Богородица Владимирская злого и пронырливого и гордого

⁶¹ Pelenski, 762.

⁶² ПСРЛ т.1, 152

⁶³ Ibid. 152

обманщика лживого владыку Феодорца из Владимира.”⁶⁴ The author of the *Chronicle* depicts the Vladimir icon performing a miracle that visits this brutal and inhumane punishment on a person. It is probably the first description of an execution of an ecclesiastical figure in such drastic form in early Russian medieval literature.

We can conclude that the Vladimir icon was the main instrument in Bogoliubskii's political agenda. With the help of the icon, he was able to gain the support and trust of his military men during the Bulgars' campaign, and from his people by creating and spreading the icon's miracles, and building a major church of Vladimir, the Dormition Cathedral, and installing the icon in it. In this way, he developed and constructed a new, powerful principality. Therefore, the icon can be viewed as a symbol of his power and authority.

The next entry of the *Chronicle* that mentions the icon is the story of Bogoliubskii's death. In 6683 (1174) Prince Andrei was killed in his bed by twenty of his disgruntled retainers in Bogoliubovo. The body was brought back to Vladimir, but the clergy was scared to carry out the requiem mass for the prince. The city of Vladimir suffered riots and disorder. *Povest' ob ubienii Andreia Bogoliubskogo* describes it as following: “грабежи начались и в самом Владимире.”⁶⁵ But then the priest Mikula, who had helped Andrei move the Vladimir icon to the city, walked around the city with the icon and a miracle happened – the riots stopped: “пока не стал ходить Микула с образом святой Богородицы в ризах по городу - тогда прекратились грабежи.”⁶⁶ This is the last miracle claimed for the icon in Bogoliubskii reign.

⁶⁴ ПСРЛ т.1, 151

⁶⁵ *Povest' ob ubienii Andreia Bogoliubskogo*. Web: <http://bibliotekar.ru/rus/47.htm> Accessed on November 5, 2016.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

During the Mongol invasion of Rus' there is no claim the icon intervened to save Vladimir from Mongols. Thus, during Khan Batu's invasion of Vladimir in 1237, the icon let the city and the church burn: "[...] и преименитый градъ Владимиръ взя и соборную церковь около ея и внутрь наволочиша лъсу поганіи и пожьгоша."⁶⁷ It did not interfere to prevent Mongols from ruining the city of Vladimir and killing Russian people. However, the icon did survive, and it was believed that it saved the ruling family of Prince Iaroslav.

However, later the *Tale of the Carnage of Mamai* ("Сказание о Мамаевом побоище," 15th century) describes how the icon helped to Prince Dmitrii Donskoi. His famous victory over the Tatars in 1380 on Kulikovo Field is depicted as a result of superpower of the Vladimir icon. According to the "Tale of the Carnage of Mamai," Dmitrii Donskoi took the icon from Vladimir for his campaign and prayed to it before the battle: "И затем приступил к чудотворному образу госпожи богородицы, который Лука евангелист написал."⁶⁸ Scholars date the writing of the tale between 1404 and 1434, almost immediately after the event, and it shows that the icon was moved from Vladimir for the first time. The victory had immense positive consequences on Russian life, thus the icon became even more popular and received a new title - a protector of Russian lands.

The story continues in 1395, the time of Timur's advance on Moscow. He wanted to restore the power and influence of the Mongol Empire and promote Islam by conquering and destroying Russian lands. Timur moved on Moscow first. Prince Vasillii decided to defend his people and the city, and all possible measures were taken to save

⁶⁷ ПСРЛ т.21, 429

⁶⁸ «Повести о Куликовской битве» Web. <http://lib.pushkinskiydom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=4981> Accessed on October 10, 2016.

Moscow; the Vladimir icon was brought to Moscow again. Prince Vasilii and his people prayed to the Mother of God and Russian saints day and night. The *Tale about Timur's Invasion* (“Повесть о Тимур Аксаке”), written between 1402 and 1413, and the *Book of Royal Degrees* tell the story similarly. The *Tale* gives the following account:

В тот самый день, как принесли икону пречистой Богородицы из Владимира в Москву, — в тот же день Темир Аксак-царь испугался, и утрашился, и ужаснулся, и в смятение впал, и нашел на него страх и трепет, вторгся страх в сердце его и ужас в душу его, вошел трепет в кости его, и тотчас он отказался и убоился воевать Русскую землю, и охватило его желание побыстрее отправиться в обратный путь, и скорей устремился в Орду, Руси тылы показав, и повернул с соплеменниками своими восвояси; возвратились без успеха, впади в смятение и заколебались, как будто кто-то их гнал.⁶⁹

The author of the *Book of Royal Degrees* writes that Timur wanted to destroy Christianity completely. Prince Vasilii ordered the delivery of the icon from Vladimir, and when the *obraz* arrived the population of the city was praying. But only in the *Book* is it claimed that in the moment of prayer, Timur saw a terrifying vision of the Virgin leading a limitless heavenly army against him, and he decided to turn his hordes back.⁷⁰ Timur not only changed his mind and left Moscow safely, but also died a horrible death because of his attack on Christianity and the new capital of Orthodoxy. The intolerance of Mongols and Islam reached extreme levels, as depicted in the *Book*. The style and the content of the legends of the icon reflect the concept of Moscow the Third Rome. Again the icon performed a miracle, and Prince Vasilii built a church in its honor.

⁶⁹ “Повесть о Тимур Аксаке” Web: <http://old-ru.ru/05-19.html> Accessed on November 10, 2016.

⁷⁰ ПСРЛ т. 21, 437

While the original was taken to Moscow and placed in its new home, the Dormition Cathedral, between 1395 and 1408 the city Vladimir entrusted Andrei Rublev with the task of reproducing the Vladimir icon for the Dormition Cathedral of Vladimir. It is believed that this was the first reproduction of the icon, and its main purpose was to replace the original (more details on Rublev's reproduction are in chapter 3).

Next, in 1408, Edigei, a Mongol commander of the Nogai Horde, suddenly and unexpectedly approached Moscow. His main goal was to weaken Rus' and restore Mongol influence and domination. At that time the Grand Prince of Moscow, Vasilii I, was in Kostroma. The population of the city was terrified, and the only way they could protect themselves was to pray to God and the Vladimir icon: “и взирая со слезами на животворящую икону пречистой Богоматери.”⁷¹ According to the *Tale of Edigei's Invasion* (“Сказание о нашествии Едигея”), written at the end of the fifteen century, after the prayer Edigei became fearful and left the city immediately:

[...] величавого и гордого агарянина Едигея устранил, навел на измаилтянина трепет перед своей всевышней и карающей десницей. [...] Быстро посылает он к городу, сам прося мира: и как захотели горожане, так и замирился с ними окаянный Едигей и отошел.⁷²

The same story is retold in the *Book*, in which the prayers to the icon saved Moscow again. However, according to the medieval Russian historians, Edigey changed his mind because the Nogai Horde was in turmoil. He took three thousand rubles from Muscovites as a payoff and left.

⁷¹ “Сказание о нашествии Едигея» Web: <http://old-ru.ru/05-20.html> Accessed on November 10, 2016.

⁷² Ibid.

Later, in 1451 a new prince of the Nogai Horde, Mazovsha, reached Moscow. He burned down city's suburbs. During this fire, Metropolitan Ion with people marched in processions on the walls of the city with the icon. The day of the fire was also a special holiday devoted to the icon, *Polozhenie chestnoi Rizy Presviatoi Bogoroditsy* ("Положение честной Ризы Пресвятой Богородицы"). In the morning, Moscow residents saw that their enemies disappeared. Mazovsha and his army fled because the Tatars heard an unusual noise in the distance and imaged that the prince was coming with the great army. In fear Mazovsha turned his horse back, and his soldiers followed: all rushed to escape. We read the story called "The Miracle about Quick Tatarshchine" from the *Book*:

Граждане же ко утру готовляшеся на брань. Милосердный же Бог вложи въ Татарская сердца страхъ и трепеть, яко не токмо на утрѣ не обретошася у града поганіи, но скоро устремишася на бѣгъ, чающе по себѣ великаго воинства, гоними невидимою силою Божіею и моленіемъ Пречистыя Его Матере.⁷³

As we see, there were several documented times when the Vladimir icon saved and protected Moscow and Rus' during the Mongol invasions. One more distinct event, which is mentioned in primary sources, is Mehmed I Girei and his campaign to conquer Moscow in 1521. During this war, the Tatars enslaved numerous men and women, killed children, and destroyed a large number of churches and cathedrals. According to the *Book*, the Vladimir icon kept the city of Moscow untouched. The legend states that while a holy fool, Vasilii, was praying to the icon for protection, suddenly it moved

⁷³ ПСРЛ т. 21, 515

miraculously from its place, and the whole church lit up for a moment. For an instant, the Tatars saw a vision of a huge Russian army standing behind the city. When Mehmed I Girei heard the news, he sent a scout to check the information. The messenger came back with a report that the army was even greater than their first estimation. The Mongols did not dare to attack and left without fighting.⁷⁴

As I mentioned above the *Book of Royal Degrees* was written during Ivan the Terrible's rule, it includes a new myth about the origins of the icon and it was not mentioned before. It states that Apostle Luke drew the icon while looking with his own eyes upon the true Mother of God during her lifetime and painted the miraculous image of the Mother of God.⁷⁵ It is also believed that the icon was made from a piece of wood that was taken from Jesus Christ's table, at which he and his mother used to dine. Additionally, it provides a long story of how the icon traveled from Palestine to Vladimir.

The *Laurentian* and the *Hypatian Chronicles* do not have such an account, and as we know that in time of Ivan the Terrible, Moscow continued consolidating power and dominance, and the ruling elite needed to gain political support. In 1968, David Miller argued that in 1560 scribes headed by Metropolitan Makarii wrote about the icon as the tool of divine patronage of Muscovite princes. It seems that it was a literary circle of Metropolitan, which put together and expanded earlier unconnected stories about the icon into a coherent historical legend.⁷⁶ The *Book* demonstrates how by creating a new myth Russian autocracy continued to retain its power and influence and the icon was a main instrument in this affair.

⁷⁴ ПСРП т. 21, 599

⁷⁵ ПСРП т. 21, 425

⁷⁶ Miller, 663.

During the Time of Troubles the Vladimir icon played a small role as well. During the years of interregnum between the death of the last Russian Tsar, Fedor Ivanovich, in 1598, and the establishment of the Romanov Dynasty in 1613, Russia suffered a famine, many civil uprisings, imposters, and foreign interventions. When the last member of the Rurik Dynasty died without an heir on January 7, 1598, Fedor's wife, Irina (Aleksandra) Godunova, instead of accepting the throne, decided to retire to the Novodevichii Monastery, where she took monastic vows. Her brother, Boris Godunov, was unanimously elected Tsar of Russia. Patriarch Iov, Muscovite powerful boyars, and common people of Moscow gathered together and marched in a procession with the Vladimir icon to the Novodevichii Monastery to ask Irina (Aleksandra) Godunova to give her brother blessings. This account was recorded in the *Tale about Honorable Life of Fedor I of Russia* ("Повесть о честном житии царя Федора Иоанновича") that was written by Patriarch Iov in the 16th century):

И на Сырной недѣль во вторникъ взяша честный крестъ и святыя иконы и образъ пречистые Богородицы Владимирскія, [...] и со всѣмъ множествомъ народа придоша въ Новой монастырь въ Дѣвичей и пѣша молебны и молишася царицъ Александрѣ.⁷⁷

It is important to notice that the icon was used during crucial processions and taken outside of the Cathedral of the Dormition in the Moscow Kremlin even though the icon was already nearly four hundred years old and extremely fragile.

The *Tale about Honorable Life of Feodor I of Russia* has one more account in which the icon is mentioned. During Godunov's rule, the first and most successful

⁷⁷ ПСРЛ т. 14, 50

imposter in Russian history appeared: False Dmitrii I. With the support of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth elite, Dmitrii ascended the throne after Godunov's death in 1605. Patriarch Iov of Moscow was Dmitrii's main obstacle and enemy, thus one of his first orders was to eliminate the Patriarch. The imposter's men found Patriarch Iov in the Cathedral of the Dormition during his liturgy. When villains started tearing off his clothes, the Patriarch took off his *ponagia* (a small image of Our Lady worn by bishops on the chest) and put it next to the Vladimir icon with a prayer: "Онъ же взя съ себя понагью и пришедъ ко образу Пречистые Богородицы, еже написа богогласный Евангилистъ Лука."⁷⁸

In despair the Patriarch turned to the icon for help. The Vladimir icon did not perform any miracle here, and it did not save Patriarch Iov of Moscow from the severe punishment to which he was sentenced. Luckily for him, he survived and even outlived False Dmitrii I. It shows that people continued appealing to the icon in the situations when the country, the city of Moscow, the Orthodoxy, or the autocracy was under threat.

The next era in Russian history is the reign of Petr the Great at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. Based on the Enlightenment Petr led a cultural revolution in Russia. Petr's reforms had an immense impact on the state and many institutions, including religious ones. An art historian with special expertise in the history of Russian icons, Nikodim Kondakov, in his book *The Russian Icon* refers to this period of time as a period of suffering. Suffering from an "excessive admiration of everything western, [...] educated Russians ceased to care for icons, forgot

⁷⁸ ПСРЛ т.14, 65

them, and no longer looked after them.”⁷⁹ Icon painting and production, once centered in Moscow and Novgorod, “hid itself in the depths of Russian countryside.”⁸⁰ The production of the traditional icons was stopped and many icons were destroyed or ripped off their precious *oklads*.

However, even Petr the Great did not dare to remove the Vladimir icon from its place in the Kremlin. In 1698, over 2,000 military men, called *Strel'tsy*, secretly fled to Moscow to establish a contact with Sofia Alekseevna, who wanted to remain on the throne. However, they failed and the uprising was suppressed immediately. Petr was outraged and ordered extremely severe and brutal punishments for all the rebels. Patriarch Adrian appealed to the revolutionary emperor to show mercy to the *Strel'tsy* after their uprising. He came to Petr the Great with the Vladimir icon to ask for a pardon.⁸¹ Petr rejected the Patriarch's plea, the *Strel'tsy* were tortured and killed without remorse. The emperor personally executed many of his victims with his own hands. According to historian Jacob Abbott, Petr took a drink of brandy after each execution, and “he was just an hour in cutting off the twenty heads.”⁸² Thus, from this historic event we see that the icon remained in the Kremlin even during Petr's rule, but it was not used or appealed to.

In the course of Russian Imperial rule, the Vladimir icon was removed from the Cathedral of the Dormition only once. During the Napoleonic War of 1812, when the French army was about to reach Moscow, Aleksandr I decided to surrender the old capital and evacuate all the valuables from the city. Before Kutuzov's army retreated

⁷⁹ Nikodim Kondakov, *The Russian Icon* trans. Ellis H. Minns. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927) 2.

⁸⁰ Ibid. 3.

⁸¹ «Сказание о чудотворной иконѣ Богоматери, именуемой Владимирской» (Москва. 1849), 43

⁸² Jacob Abbott, *Peter the Great* (Harper&Brothers Publishers: New York, 1902) 169.

beyond Moscow, the icon was exported from the Kremlin to the city of Vladimir. It was returned to its place before the spring of 1813.⁸³

The Romanov dynasty ended with the death of Nikolas II. As an art historian, Robert Nichols notices in the book *Alter Icons*, Emperor Nikolai II linked himself closely with the Russian icons, and he was surrounded with icons from his childhood until his death.⁸⁴ The last tsar had the Vladimir icon refurbished for his coronation in 1894. Also, in 1914, when Germans invaded Russia, Nikolai came to Moscow where he and his family kissed the blessed icon and asked the Mother of God for help.⁸⁵ It was the last episode in royal Russia that had connection with the Vladimir icon.

The October Revolution of 1917 brought to power the Bolshevik regime that seized church properties. The Bolsheviks declared a war on religion and the arts of Orthodoxy – from church buildings to the sacred vessels, vestments, and icons housed within them – were subjected to an unremitting campaign of destruction, degradation, and displacement. The control over icons shifted decisively from the church to the museum. One of the many contradictions of this period is that Soviet Russia became the vanguard in the practice of scientific art restoration, focusing on the medieval icon.⁸⁶

Therefore, the home of the Vladimir icon, the Cathedral of the Dormition in the Moscow Kremlin, was closed and the icon was given to a museum for restoration. In 1930 the icon was handed to the State Tret'iakov Gallery, where it was put on a display for everyone to see. However, even during the Soviet faithless period a new myth

⁸³ Anisimov, 23

⁸⁴ Robert Nichols. «Nicholas II and the Russian Icon», *Alter Icons* (The Pennsylvania State University Press: Pennsylvania, 2010) 74

⁸⁵ Anisimov, 23

⁸⁶ Wendy R. Salmon "The Triumph of Science over Superstition: the Fate of Russian Icons in the Early Soviet Era" *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*. (University of Minnesota: Minnesota, Vol 22/23; 2006/2007), 1.

managed to appear. In the book *Munitsupal'naia Militsiia v Rossiiskoi Federatsii*, Viktor Volokhov, a chief of the State Department of Internal Affairs of the city of Moscow, describes a new legend that in December of 1941, Stalin ordered a special command, according to which the Vladimir icon was placed on a plane that circled Moscow before the Soviet counterattack.⁸⁷ Thus, it illustrates that even during the communist regime people continued to create stories about this wonderworking icon.

During the Brezhnev period, the policy against the church slowly changed. In 1980 Moscow hosted the Olympic games, and according to the Charter of the International Olympic Committee, the Olympic Village had to have a temple or a chapel for the athletes to have the opportunity to pray before the competition. On July 2, 1980 a chapel in honor of the Vladimir icon was consecrated, where among other icons was one of the copies of the icon. Many people believed that because of the prayers of the Vladimir icon, many Soviet athletes won at the Olympics-80.⁸⁸

1993 marks the most recent claims for the Vladimir icon's miraculous power, the year of the Russian constitutional crisis. It was a political conflict between the Russian president Boris Yeltsin and the Russian parliament that was resolved the military force. The Patriarch of Moscow Aleksii II and the mayor of Moscow, Yurii Luzhkov, ordered the icon to be taken from the Tret'iakov Gallery and delivered it to the Epiphany Cathedral at ElokhoVo where they asked the Virgin to protect the country from the a civil war and bring the nation to peace.⁸⁹ As we know, the crisis was swiftly resolved, and Yeltsin was able to preserve his power. As I mentioned before, in 1999 the icon was

⁸⁷ В. Волохов, “Муниципальная милиция в Российской Федерации: исторический опыт и перспективы: Документально-публицистическое исследование” (М.: Издательство Главного архивного управления города Москвы, 2012) 295

⁸⁸ Ibid, 297

⁸⁹ Ibid, 305

moved to the Church of St. Nicholas in Tolmachi, which is a part of the State Tret'iakov Gallery. There, for the first time after the revolution, the Patriarch offered an official prayer to the Vladimir icon.⁹⁰

In conclusion, the Vladimir icon is the oldest existing Byzantine icon delivered to Kievan Rus' in the twelfth century. Through the accounts of the primary sources, we can trace its journey from Constantinople to Moscow from the Russian medieval period starting in the 12th century up to today. It became a symbol of the continuity of Russian national aspirations even after the Rurikid princes and Romanovs died out. Orthodox Russians continue to venerate and honor the icon today. The course of history shows that the icon has been used as a political instrument to consolidate power and control over regions and people, as a piece of art that has to be restored and preserved, and as a beautiful symbol of faith and devotion.

⁹⁰ Ibid, 305

Chapter 3

The Reflection of the Vladimir Icon in Visual Arts

For centuries the Vladimir icon has been extremely famous and has been venerated by many people of Russia. Its miracles and legends became popular and spread around Russian lands quickly. In order to venerate and worship the icon almost all principalities and cities needed their own Vladimir icon. Thus, icon painters had to produce an immense amount of reproductions of the icon called *spiski* (copies of a certain icon). Since every icon is considered to convey divine energy, God's power and truth, an icon painter played the role of a mediator. The copy and the original were considered equal, and the *spisok* carried the same name as the original. Therefore the question of the authenticity for an icon never arises.

Today there are over 300 surviving medieval reproductions of the Vladimir icon. Some of them became popular and got their names after their places of origin, while others simply bear the name of the original. In addition, not only are there *spiski* of the icon, but we also see illustrations of it in chronicles, murals, icons that took just a base of the Vladimir Icon, and even depictions of the icon in secular and contemporary art. It is impossible to examine and analyze all reproductions of the famous icon, so in this chapter I will just give a few examples that illustrate impact that the Vladimir icon has had on religious and secular art. I will demonstrate how the influence that originated in the twelfth century continues to affect contemporary Russia and even appears in the culture of other countries.

The first images of the Vladimir icon appear in the *Radziwill Codex* or *Königsberg codex* that was written before 1487. In his article, "Notes on the *Radziwill*

Codex,” Oleksei Tolochko, a director of the center for Kievan Rus’ studies at Institute of Ukrainian history, calls the *Codex* the most recognizable manuscript containing the chronicle text. He claims that it is the only illuminated medieval chronicle that survived, and has the largest set of illustrations (613 in total).⁹¹ Due to its constant replications, the *Radziwiłł Codex* survives today, and is believed to be a copy of a lost illuminated manuscript of the thirteenth century. We do not know the name of the authors or the place where it was written; however, it is certain that the manuscript left the Great Russian territory and from the Moscow or Vladimir district traveled to what is now Belorussia, then to Lithuania, where it finally fell into the hands of Radziwiłł family.

In any case, for this research it is crucial to analyze the illustrations from the *Radziwiłł Codex*. There are three miniatures that depict the icon and represent the historical events that were discussed in the previous chapter. The first miniature tells us the story of how the icon was brought from Constantinople to Vladimir (fig.11). The Vladimir icon is in the center of the miniature. It stands on the three-part handle.⁹² On the left we see Andrei Bogoliubskii and boyars, and on the right stand two clerics with books in their hands. All of them point to the icon with their hands and gazes as a symbol of the blessing and salvation that the icon gives people. The gold color is a representation of divine power and the splendor of the celestial kingdom where there is never any night.

⁹¹ Oleksei, Tolochko. “Notes on the *Radziwiłł Codex*” *Studi Slavistici*, Vol 10, Iss 1, 2014, 30.

⁹² As I mention in the introductory chapter the icon had originally a special handle that allowed taking the icon outside of the church.



Fig. 11. The miniature, *Postonovlenie Bogoliubskim Ikony Bogomateri Vladimirskoi*. (Поставление кн. Андреем Боголюбским иконы Богоматери Владимирской. Миниатюра из Радзивилловской летописи.) XV century. The *Radziwill Codex* (p. 200).

The second miniature accompanies the article about the victorious campaign of 1164, in which Bogoliubskii won the battle against the Volga Bulgars (fig. 5). Here we see the prayer in front of the icon. While some soldiers kneel, Bogoliubskii and his trusted men raise their hands praising the icon's miraculous power. Again the icon is centered, but here the faces of the Mother of God and Christ do not come into contact. We know that it is the Vladimir icon only from the story that is written beneath the picture.

The last miniature from the *Radziwill Codex* depicts one legend that appears only in this *Letopis'* (fig. 12). The scripture tells us how Bogoliubskii's younger brother, Vsevolod III Bol'shoe Gnezdo, obtained political power and became the Grand Prince of Vladimir. After Andrei's death there was a feud between his brothers for power over the Vladimir and Suzdal regions. When Vsevolod was approaching the city, the people of Suzdal saw the Vladimir icon floating in the air, an event they treated as a divine sign.

They proclaimed that Vsevolod was the only legitimate candidate to rule the cities of Vladimir and Suzdal. As we know, he won an easy victory over his enemies. Thus, this miniature portrays Vsevolod, coming to the city and the icon flying in front of city's walls announcing his arrival and authority. These are the first reproductions of the icon that stand along with the text depicting its history.



Fig. 12. The miniature, XV century. The Radziwill Codex (p. 222).

Spiski

The next most famous reproduction of the icon (*spisok*) is the Vladimir icon from the Assumption Cathedral of Vladimir that was painted around 1408 by the famous icon painter Andrei Rublev (fig. 13). It is considered to be the first copy of the Byzantine icon. The city of Vladimir lost the original when it was taken to Moscow after Timur's invasion, and the city needed a new protector and savior. Rublev's reproduction was not just a common reproduction of the icon; it was an exact copy of it. The size, 104 x 69 cm, is the precise size of the Byzantine icon. This type of *spisok* was very rare and its main purpose was to act as a substitute for the original when necessary. Of course, when Moscow became extremely powerful, the Vladimir icon was removed from Vladimir to

the new capital; Rublev's task was to create an icon that could replace the original without anyone noticing it.

There are several questions to address: how do we know that Andrei Rublev was the one who painted this version of the icon? Why did Vladimir's government entrust Rublev with this job? What are the differences between the copy and the original? What happened to Rublev's copy?

Today it is clear that it is not possible to trace Rublev's work chronologically, as Russian icon painters never signed or dated their works. It was prohibited to write a name on any icon in medieval Russia. Furthermore, we have very little information about Rublev's life in general.



Fig. 13. The Vladimir icon from the Assumption Cathedral of Vladimir, *spisok* Andrei Rublev. 1408. The Vladimir-Suzdal museum.

Although to answer some of these questions with certainty is impossible, leading art historians, Igor Grabar and Viktor Lazarev, believe that it was Rublev, who created the famous copy. In his work *Andrei Rublev*, Grabar was the first who claimed that

Rublev made this *spisok*. Most scholars date the icon to the period of time between 1408 and 1410 and associate it with the appearance of murals and iconostasis of the Assumption Cathedral of Vladimir by Andrei Rublev and Daniil Chernyi. Grabar writes:

“Здесь все, сверху донизу, от Рублева — холодный голубоватый общий тон, характер рисунка, черты лица, с типичной для Рублева легкой горбинкой носа, изящные руки, прекрасный силуэт всей композиции, ритм линий и гармония красок.”⁹³

In addition, the *Troitskaia Chronicle* (“Троицкая летопись,” 15th century) tells us that in 1408 Rublev together with Chernyi painted the Assumption Cathedral in Vladimir: “Того же лета мая в 25 начаша подписывати церковь каменую великую съборную святая Богородица, иже в Владимире, повеленьем князя великаго, а мастера Данило иконник да Андрей Рублев.”⁹⁴ Thus, we have evidence that Rublev was in Vladimir at that time and was working at the Cathedral. It is entirely possible that the city of Vladimir asked Rublev to paint one more icon for the Cathedral.

As I mentioned above, Rublev’s copy of the icon was made in the size of the original with ancient added fields, but there are different pyramidal outlines of the silhouettes of the figures, and the position of the left hand of the Virgin is lower. Researchers explain the inconsistency of icon’s composition as Rublev’s creative innovation.⁹⁵ It was also suggested that the *spisok* of the Vladimir icon showed a new look that the original had after its first restoration.

In addition, the composition of the copy has peculiar features that are characteristic of Andrei Rublev’s works (harmony, rhythm smooth consistency, soft

⁹³ И. Грабарь, «Андрей Рублев». «Вопросы реставрации» 1, 1926, 42-43.

⁹⁴ Ibid, 43.

⁹⁵ Ibid, 43.

lines, pyramidal silhouette). This copy differs also by the position of both feet of infant Christ; Rublev depicts them on one level, which reinforces the impression of lightness of his figures. The icon served the city of Vladimir and its people for centuries until the Bolshevik regime came to power, at which point the icon was restored and placed into a museum. Today the icon is at the Vladimir-Suzdal museum.

Interestingly, in the Cathedral of Annunciation in Moscow, there was an iconostasis that was formed in the seventeenth century and collected ornate small icon that are called *piadnitsa*. These small icons, called “*piadnitsy*,” were the size of a “*piad*” or nine inches. Saints’ devotees prayed to images of the Savior and the Blessed Virgin Mary, which they could carry everywhere. They were brought from the Kremlin Armoury (icons repository) and the Treasury. Many of them belonged to the ancestors of the tsars and great princes. The number of reproductions (*piadnitsy*) of the Vladimir icon was nine, far exceeding the number of other icons of the Virgin. Among the icons of the Annunciation Cathedral remained the most revered reproduction of the sixteenth century, a big *piadnitsa*, which had a golden *oklad* (fig. 14).

According to its artistic features, the icon belongs to the works of the early sixteenth century. Its iconography is quite different from the original: it shows only one hand of Christ Child; the other, with which he embraces Mother’s neck, is not shown. Between faces and bowed shoulders we can see the infant’s cloak with visible gold edging. This failure to preserve the miraculous image of the original could occur because of the *oklad* that hid the hand. This icon probably was made for one of Princes’ home chapel.



Fig. 14. *Piadnitsa* the Vladimir icon, Cathedral of Annunciation, Moscow. XVI c. Moscow Kremlin Museum.

The next *spisok* that requires special attention is the Icon of Our Lady of Volokolamsk (fig. 15). According to the *Legend of Bringing the Icon of the Holy Virgin in the St. Joseph Volokolamsk Monastery* (“О принесении иконы Пречистой Богородицы Владимирьския, и чудо святого о диаке Петре,” 1570s), in the second part of the sixteenth century a “certain nobleman” (“некий вельможа”) commissioned this *spisok*:

Имея великую веру к Богу, Пречистой Богородице и преподобному Иосифу... он [некий вельможа] дал обет, что воздвигнет в обители на Святых вратах каменную церковь во имя Сретения Владимирской иконы Пречистой Богородицы. И прежде основания церкви отправил в обитель храмовую икону Пречистой.⁹⁶

The icon was brought to the Monastery on March 2, 1572, and it was the exact

⁹⁶ *The Legend of Bringing the Icon of the Holy Virgin in the St. Joseph Volokolamsk Monastery* Web: <http://iosif-vm.ru/saint/skazanie> Accessed on January 15, 2017.

reproduction of the original icon. Icon of Our Lady of Volokolamsk was also decorated with very expansive *oklad* and the quality of the painting was equal to the original. The main question is, who was the nobleman that ordered and decorated the icon? The *Legend of Bringing the Icon* tells us his name: “Прежде названному вельможи Григорию, так чудно икону украсившему.”⁹⁷ The researchers found out that it was Grigorii Belskii, better known as Maliuta Skuratov. He was one of the most cruel and odious leaders of the *Oprichnina* during the rule of Ivan the Terrible, who strangled the Metropolitan of Moscow, Filip II.⁹⁸

We can see sorrow and grief on the face of Our Lady of Volokolamsk. The icon shows the pain and brutality that Mother Mary’s son has to endure. The tragedy is expressed even in colors of her clothes and the dark green background. With her left hand pointing to her son, Mary lets us know the joy of repentance, purification of the soul, and salvation. On the margins of the icon the archangels stand with the holy Metropolitans of Moscow, Petr and Ion. This is a distinctive feature of the Volokolamsk Icon of Our Lady. The choice of these patrons of Moscow is not accidental; it is they who in the eyes of the sixteenth century Muscovites were intercessors of the capital city during the invasion of foreigners.

The original of the sixteenth century was taken from the monastery in 1954. In 1959, Briagin restored the icon, and since then it has remained in the collection of the Central Museum of Ancient Russian Culture and Art of Andrei Rublev in Moscow. In March of 2007 the monastery received a copy of the icon that was brought and painted by

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ «Православная энциклопедия», под ред. Патриарха Московского Алексия II. Т. 9 (Москва: Церковно-научный центр. 2005) 3.

the Moscow painter, Fomin.⁹⁹



Fig. 15. The Icon of Our Lady of Volokolamsk, 1572. Rublev's Museum.

One more famous *spisok* is the Icon of Our Lady of Vladimir *Oranskaia* (fig. 16). The icon represents an exact copy of the Vladimir icon, painted by the archpriest of the Assumption Cathedral of the Moscow Kondrat with help of another icon painter, Grigorii Chernyi. At the bottom of the icon are Moscow saints: Metropolitan Petr, Aleksii and Ioan, Prince Mikhail of Chernigov and Boiarin Fedor, Prince Dmitrii, Moscow holy fools, Vasilii and Maksim.

According to *Skazanie o Ikone Bogomateri Oranskoi* ("Сказание о иконе

⁹⁹ Ibid, 3.

Богоматери Оранской,” 1662) in the reign of Mikhail Fedorovich near Nizhnii Novgorod lived a pious man named Petr Gladkov. He was a nobleman who ordered the *spisok*. In 1629 he became seriously ill and the Vladimir icon healed him. After it, he led a virtuous life and had great respect and reverence to the Vladimir icon. He wanted an exact copy of the miracle-working icon of Vladimir and turned to archpriest Kondrat. With the help of the icon painter Grigorii Chernyi Kondrat fulfilled Gladkov’s desire. After receiving the icon, Petr took it into his estate, the village Bocheevo.¹⁰⁰

For five years the icon remained in his house. In 1634, in the fifth week of Lent, Gladkov heard a voice in a dream, commanding him to go. He saw a hill and there again he heard a voice saying to him: “Put a cross here and build a church in honor of Our Lady of Vladimir.”¹⁰¹

The same vision and the same command were repeated three times. Gladkov reckoned that it was the will of God and decided to obey. He went in search of the hill that he saw in his dreams. For a long time he was wandering in the forest, when finally he saw a light on a top of a hill near the Orano field. When he ascended to the top, he immediately recognized the hill. Then he went to Moscow and asked the Patriarch Filaret for a charter to construct a temple on the hill in honor of the Vladimir icon. Returning from Moscow, Gladkov first put the marble cross on the chosen spot, and then proceeded with the construction of the temple, which was called the Oranskii Bogoroditskii monastery.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Дмитри Лихачев, “Сказание о иконе Богоматери Оранской.” Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси. Ч. 3. Вып. 3 (СПб., 1998) 395

¹⁰¹ Ibid. 397

¹⁰² О.В. Дегтева, «Судьба Оранской Иконы Божьей Матери» Вебсайт: *Вознесенский Печерский мужской монастырь*. http://www.pecherskiy.nne.ru/text/publish_other/11.2006.8 Accessed on January 15, 2017.



Fig. 16. The Icon of Our Lady of Vladimir *Oranskaia*

After the revolution, the Oranskii Monastery was ruined, the reverend was shot, and the holy icon was confiscated and transferred to the Historical and Architectural Museum of Nizhnii Novgorod, where the icon remains today. In 1993 a copy of the *spisok* was returned to the monastery.

The last reproduction that I want to discuss is *Zaonikievskaya* Icon of Our Lady of Vladimir (Fig. 17). Its name derives from the place of the residence, Zaonikievskii Monastery. It was uncovered in 1588 by the pious Vologda villager, Ilarion, the future St. Iosif Zaonikievskii. He was a sick man, and after long and fervent prayers to the Blessed Virgin Mary and the saints of God for the return of health, Saints Cosmas and Dam'ian appeared and promised healing. They showed him a place he had to visit. Arriving at the

holy place, Ilarion suddenly saw the light and the extraordinary icon of the Mother of God appeared. He humbly knelt down and kissed the holy image, and immediately he was healed. After these events, he took monastic vows with the name of Iosif and founded Zaonikievskii Monastery on this spot (named it because it was located behind the Anikievskii forest that derives from the name of a robber Anika who lived there). This *spisok* of the miraculous Vladimir icon was placed in the monastery, became famous for numerous healings, and attracted many Orthodox believers.



Fig. 17. *Zaonikievskaya* Icon of Our Lady of Vladimir, 1588

The Icon of Our Lady in Ushakov's Works

Simen Ushakov was a leading master of the Kremlin Armoury (or Armoury Chamber) and the central figure in Russian art of the seventeenth century. It was the era

of continued struggle for the Russian throne, the struggle with the Polish-Swedish intervention, the peasant war led by Stepan Razin, while schism divided Russian society and the Orthodox faith. This century marked the start of Rus' road to modernization. There were changes in centuries-old concepts and habits of the Russian people. The changes were evident in the art of that time as well, especially in the paintings of the second half of the seventeenth century.

It is important to understand the difference between a sacred icon and art as such. The icon painter does not transfer into the icon anything of his personal worldview that is in any way different from the Orthodox Christian doctrine. The iconographer becomes the mediator of the Church's outlook. Icon is a window into another world that is eternal. The authorship of the icon painter is not disclosed deliberately, for the authorship of the icon belongs to the whole church. And the occupation of icon painting is not a way of self-expression of the artist, but obedience, ascetic feat.

Artistic painting of any genre is an image created with the help of the artist's fantasy and personal worldview. The art painting reflects the individuality of the author; his personal, original features are reflected in the work. Moreover, every artist strives to find his unique manner. One of the highest achievements of authorial activity is the creation of a new style, new directions and techniques in painting. The master's canvases are inextricably linked with his name, manner, and biography.

In 1551 Tsar Ivan the Terrible called *Stoglav* (a religious council), which approved the inclusion of Tsars, as well as legendary or historical figures, within the pantheon of permitted images. As a result, icon painting widened its scope considerably and many changes were made in the production of icons. Most distinctively these

innovations emerged in the work of Simen Ushakov.

Simen (Pimen) Fedorovich Ushakov was born in 1626. The years and the place of training of the future iconographer are unknown. Nothing is known about him until he entered the state service in the Silver Chamber of the Kremlin in 1648. Ushakov was involved in the writing of icons, frescoes, drew maps, plans, made drawings for coins and jewelry on the gun, and portraits.¹⁰³

Of the eleven icons of Mother of God that Ushakov painted, four are reproductions of the Vladimir icon. The earliest known icon of Ushakov - a copy of Russian main icon, the miraculous Vladimir icon, dates back to 1652. Ushakov made it for Zamoskvoretskaia Church of Archangel Michael in Ovchinnikov (fig. 18). We learn about the authorship of Ushakov from his signature on the icon.¹⁰⁴ It says: "Лета 7160 (1652) году списана сия икона с самыя чудотворныя иконы пресвятыя Богородицы Владимирския и мерой, а писал государев иконописец Симан Федоров. Зачата июня 19 день."¹⁰⁵

Ushakov's style and performance of his painting in this icon is dry, not even attempting to transfer the colors, massiveness, and uniqueness that would distinguish his style in the future. But it is important to note that in his early monument Ushakov uses unusually light skin color in the writing of the faces. Today the icon is in the Tret'iakov Gallery.

¹⁰³ Georgii Filimonov, *Simen Ushakov* (Universitetskaia Tipogr, 1873) 4.

¹⁰⁴ The author's signature on Russian icons appear from the middle or the second half of the seventeenth century.

¹⁰⁵ *Христианство в искусстве*. Web: http://www.icon-art.info/masterpiece.php?lng=ru&mst_id=1869 Accessed on January 15, 2017.



Fig. 18. The Vladimir icon by Simon Ushakov. The Tret'iakov Gallery.

One of the most famous icons that Ushakov created is *The Tree of the Russian State* (“Древо государства Московского,” 1668) (Fig. 19). The accession of the Romanov dynasty in 1613 set a target for official confirmation of legitimacy of this house. Renowned genealogist Maria Bychkova expressed the view that it was the first attempt to create a family tree of the royal family copying the Western genealogy, and it belonged to the famous icon painter Ushakov.¹⁰⁶ An inscription on the icon confirms the authorship: “А писал сии образъ его государевъ зографъ Пимин зовомый Симон Ушаковъ” (“The icon was painted by royal icon-painter Pimen, named Simen

¹⁰⁶ М. Е. Бычкова, “Икона Симона Ушакова и идея происхождения государства Российского” *Церковная археология: Материалы первой всероссийской конференции*. Ч. 2 (СПб.; Псков, 1995) 30-31

Ushakov”).¹⁰⁷ The icon’s dimensions are 105 x 62 cm. The icon is known under various names such as *The Tree of the Moscow State*, *In Praise of Our Lady of Vladimir*, or *Tree Planting of the Russian State* is a variant of the Vladimir icon, created by Ushakov. The image was painted for the iconostasis of the Church of the Trinity in Nikitniki, and is now in the Tret’iakov Gallery.

The bottom of the icon shows the first Moscow Metropolitan Petr and Prince Ivan Kalita. They plant and water the tree, which grows through the Cathedral of the Assumption, filling the entire surface with the branches of the icon. On the branches of the tree are medallions depicting saints of Moscow, and in the central largest medallion is the image of Our Lady of Vladimir. On the Kremlin Wall stand Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich and his first wife Maria Ilinichna with their children. All the way up, in *Spas* clouds are hovering angels handing the crown and robe for Aleksei Mikhailovich, as the king of the heaven crowns the king of the earth.¹⁰⁸

The fruits symbolize Russian saints who are depicted in medallions with scrolls in hands. The total number of the medallions is 20, with 10 on each side. Images of saints in medallions are arranged from bottom to top with some deviations from the historical sequence. The left branch of the Metropolitan Petr presents the fathers of the Russian Church: Metropolitan Aleksii, Kiprian, Ioan, Filip and Fotii, the Patriarch Iov and Filaret, the Tsars Mikhail Fedorovich, Fedor Ivanovich, and Tsarevich Dmitrii.¹⁰⁹

On the right-hand branch, the first medallion depicts Ivan Kalita, Prince Aleksandr Nevskii as a clothing hermit. Behind him are the founders and abbots of

¹⁰⁷ В. Г. Чубинская, “Икона Симона Ушакова” “Богоматерь Владимирская”, “Древо Московского государства”, Похвала богоматери Владимирской” (Опыт историко-культурной интерпретации) // ТОДРЛ. Л., 1985), 300.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. 295.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. 298.

monasteries that are close to Moscow: St. Sergii Radonezhskii, St. Sava Storozhevskii, St. Panfuti of Borovsk, Reverend Simon Bezmolvnik, Reverend Andronik and Moscow blessed Maksim, Vasilii, Ioan of Moscow.¹¹⁰



Fig.19. *The Tree of the Russian State*. Simen Ushakov 1668.

The influence of the Vladimir icon was immense on the Russian iconography during the medieval period. The reproductions or *spiski* of the icon were made almost in every major city of Russia. Often the icon was even painted on the walls of cathedrals or murals together with production of large and small sizes for churches and for private prayers at home. People could find the analogy of the icon in even distant tiny towns and villages. However, with the decline of the influence of the religion on politics and society, artists were becoming secular as well. In the beginning of the nineteenth century Russian artists were strongly influenced by European Romanticism with its emphasis on

¹¹⁰ Ibid. 298.

emotion and individualism. Its primary importance was the free expression of the feelings of the artist that immediately contradicted to the rules of iconography.

By the mid-century Realism became the leading force of arts that provides an objective depiction of contemporary social reality. Realism includes the urge to explore the human condition in a spirit of serious research, the tendency to set works of fiction in the Russia of the artist's own day, the cultivation of a straightforward style, but one also involving factual detail, an emphasis on character and atmosphere, and a focus on everyday activities of the lower classes of society without any romantic dramatization and idealization.

"Wanderer" artists like Repin, Serov, and Petrov preferred to concentrate on ordinary people, their lives, and social problems. The inclusion of icons was a part of depiction of the reality, and icons still played a big role in household of the majority of the Russian population in the nineteenth century. For example, the famous red corner can be found in works like Surikov's *Men'shikov in Berezove* ("Меньшиков в Березове," 1883). Also, the other way to depict icons in the secular art was historical paintings like Surikov's *Boiarynia Morozova* ("Боярыня Морозова," 1887) or the scenes that portray everyday life like in Pukirev's *The Unequal Marriage* ("Неравный брак," 1862) and Repin's *Religious Procession in Kursk Province* ("Крестный ход в Курской губернии," 1883). Thus, icons became a part of the realistic setting.

In the end of the twentieth century and today the Vladimir icon continues to play a role in the world of art. One of the contemporary artists of our time is Ilia Sergeevich Glazunov, the major nationalist painter, portrait and landscape painter, creator of monumental historical paintings, book illustrator, Master of Theatre and Decorative Arts,

artist-architect, social activist, and teacher. Glazunov is an author of more than three thousand works.¹¹¹ There are two works that are crucial for this research, *The Legend of Tsarevich Dmitrii* (“Легенда о царевице Дмитрии,” 1967) and *Eternal Rus’* (“Вечная Россия,” 1988).

Glazunov includes the Vladimir icon into one of his earliest works, *The Legend of Tsarevich Dmitrii* (fig. 20). On 15 May 1591, Tsarevich Dmitrii died from a stab wound, under mysterious circumstances, which gave the reason to believe that he was killed by an assassin sent by Boris Godunov, who, thanks to much intrigue and blood, managed to take over the throne. Glazunov represents Dmitrii both as a martyr and at the same time as the transfigured saintly youth. The angel that legitimately and finally places a crown on his head is positioned on Dmitrii’s left side, and on the right side we see the hand with a bloody knife that mercilessly kills him. In the background Glazunov depicts the city of Moscow (where Tsarevich Dmitrii had to ascend the throne) with its religious symbols including the Vladimir icon in the left corner as a protector and savior of the capital.

Eternal Rus’ is a monumental work finished in Moscow in 1988 (fig. 21). The artist devoted this masterpiece to millennial anniversary of the Christianization of Kievan Rus’. Glazunov presents the story of the eternal Russia in the form of an endless national march, or the Eastern Orthodox procession, originating from Hagia Sophia of Constantinople and passing Sophia Cathedral in Kiev, the Church of the Intercession on the Nerl’, the walls of the Kremlin, and monumental works like the *Bronze Horseman* and the *Motherland Calls*.

¹¹¹ Iliia Glazunov. Biography. Web <http://glazunov.ru/en/biography> Accessed January 10, 2017.



Fig. 20. *The Legend of Tsarevich Dmitrii*, I. Glazunov, 1967.



Fig. 21. *Eternal Rus'* by Glazunov, 1988.

At the beginning of the procession are clear images of Orthodox saints, statesmen, public figures, military leaders, writers, artists, scientists, and composers. It is a gigantic artwork

(size: 3 x 6 m) that promotes a version of Russian history from its origins until the twentieth century.

The Easter (*Pascha*) Procession carries a large cross that is placed in the center of the painting representing the suffering of Russia and its people. In addition to the cross, people carry multiple famous icons such as Rublev's *The Old Testament Trinity* ("Троица," 1411) and *St. Georgii Slaying the Dragon* ("Чудо Георгия о змие", 14th century). Of course, Glazunov skillfully includes the Vladimir icon in the very center. In the second row of the procession behind Nikolai Gogol and Mikhail Lomonosov, the artist places the Vladimir icon. As one of most dominant and powerful symbols of Russia, he positions it at the center of this work.

With the new century came a new regime: in 2000 Vladimir Putin was elected president of the Russian Federation. From the beginning of Putin's presidency, conservative and nationalist values took center stage, with the explicit promotion of Russian Orthodox Church. We can see that during the Putin's regime over 25,000 churches and 800 monasteries have been built. The church became a common source of Russian pride and nationalism. Today, the Vladimir icon is a focal point of the debate between ultraconservatives with their masculine heroic images and more internationally oriented Russian artists.

The example of this dispute is art works of Alexander Kosolapov and Avdei Ter-Ogan'ian. Alexander Kosolapov was born in 1943 in Moscow, graduated from the sculptural department of the Stroganov Art School in 1969. He has worked in the realm of Sots-art since 1972, combining the visual products of the communist ideology with the products of Western mass-culture in his works. In 1975 he immigrated to the US. He has

taken part in many artistic exhibitions in a number of European countries and in the United State.¹¹² In 2005, he created a new project called “Have You Eaten Caviar Lately?” (“Давно ли Вы ели икру?” or “Икона-икра”) that ironically opposes American “iconography” (fig. 22). Kosolapov was building his masterpiece upon Warhol’s concept of American consumerism.

It depicts an outline of the Vladimir icon figure hewn entirely from caviar within a gold *oklad* and was displayed in the State Tret’iakov Gallery as part of an exhibition called *Russian Pop Art*. The museum’s director, Valentin Rodionov, decided it was safer to take it down after he received a warning letter from a group of the Orthodox believers. The letter bore the signatures of at least 50 churchgoers and priests, who argued that the artwork violated their constitutional rights. They demanded the museum take appropriate measures and vowed to take their own measures if they did not get their way.¹¹³ Thus, the work was removed from the Gallery on the stated basis that the work was insulting the feelings of the Orthodox believers.

After this incident, two men, Iurii Samodurov, former head of the Sakharov Museum, and Andrei Erofeev, a former curator at the Tret’iakov gallery, in 2006 organized an exhibition called *Forbidden Art* (that included the *Icon-Caviar*) in order to fight censorship in Russia. However, as a result of the exhibition, Erofeev and Samodurov were charged with criminal charges under the Article 282 of the Criminal

¹¹² *Saatchi Gallery*. “Alexander Kosolapov.” Web: http://www.saatchigallery.com/artists/kosolapov_alexander.htm?section_name=breaking_the_ice Accessed on February 1, 2017.

¹¹³ *The Tsukanov Art Collection*. Web: <http://tsukanov-art-collection.ru/picture.html?id=277> Accessed on February 1, 2017.

Codex of the Russian Federation (inciting religious hatred) and were fined \$ 11, 000.¹¹⁴



Fig. 22. *Icon-Caviar*. A. Kosolapov, 2007.

Another participant of this project was Avdei Ter-Ogan'ian. One of his works called *The Icons on the Cardboard* (“Иконы на картоне”), was displayed as a part of the exhibition *Forbidden Art* (Fig. 23). It included eight icons among which was the Vladimir icon. On each icon was written “revolution,” “vodka,” “Kalashnikov,” “Russian art,” “50%,” “Lenin,” “1917.” This artwork was severely damaged during a *pogrom* organized by the church supporters and ultraconservatives.

These particular cases demonstrate the attitude to contemporary Russian art that combines pop art movement and religious themes. While many people would simply see it as an indictment of post-Soviet materialism and a call to spirituality rather than an attack on the Russian Church, the Church sees it as an assault on Orthodoxy.

¹¹⁴ Э. Вермишева, Возбудительное «Запретное искусство» // Газета Ру. 2008.13 05.
<https://www.gazeta.ru/social/2008/05/13/2722656.shtml> Accessed on February 1, 2017.



Fig. 23. *The Icons on the Cardboard*. Avdei Ter-Ogan'ian, 2005. After the *pogrom*.

As long as civil-rights advocates are predetermined to lose in Russia, the nationalist artists remain the only participants of main current art exhibitions and events. For example, Iurii Pantiukhin, a contemporary nationalist artist imbues his art with a celebration of the heroic Russian past. Among his paintings are works of historical genre, Russian landscapes, cityscapes of St. Petersburg and European cities, as well as a series of theatrical portraits. Nevertheless, the Russian motives dominate in his works, and they are colorful and realistic. They appear in a series of Russian architectural landscapes, emphasizing the greatness of Russian culture and national traditions.

In 2007 Pantiukhin created a large triptych, the central part of which is called “St. Sergii Radonezhskii and Dmitrii Donskoi. On the Kulikovo Field” (size: 243 x 203 cm) (fig. 24). The painting is dedicated to an important event in Russian history, the scene where Sergii Radonezhskii blesses the Grand Duke of Moscow Dmitrii Donskoi for battle with the Mongols. Pantiukhin does not depict the battle of Kulikovo, nor does he show its

outcome; instead he presents the blessings and the holy moment, the sense of confidence and tranquility of his native land.

Sergii appears in a black robe firmly and confidently holding a raised holy crucifix. His figure is simple, but it is central to the composition. He places his fatherly hand on Dmitrii's shoulder, and with this gesture his determination, firmness, and calmness is passed to the figure of the prince, who listens to the prayers of Sergii and with pride and dignity prepares to take the fight. He believes in God's blessing and on his knee he waits for fulfillment of the prayer. The artist deliberately omits the horizon; it helps to raise the central figures, to elevate them above the audience. Behind the central group of figures the Vladimir icon and St. Georgii are visible, embroidered on the banner, echoing the prayer of the monk to advocate for a successful outcome of the battle. In Pantiukhin's paintings we can see that his chief themes are the Russian Orthodoxy and the depiction of nationalist heroic imagery, and thus he continues to enjoy displaying his paintings in many major art exhibitions of Russia.

In addition, the Vladimir icon's influence extends beyond the Russian borders as well. In August 1989 Mel Gibson and Bruce Davey founded an American-Australian independent company called *Icon Production LLC*. The company has produced more than fifty popular and well-known movies including *Braveheart* (1995), *The Passion of the Christ* (2004), *Apocalypto* (2006), *Mary and Max* (2009), and *Anna Karenina* (1997). It is interesting that the logo's artwork features a small part of the Vladimir icon (fig. 25). Mel Gibson explained that the company's name was chosen because icon means "image" in Greek, and that the inspiration came from a book on Russian icons in his house.¹¹⁵ The

¹¹⁵ "More on Our Lady of Vladimir Icon," *Reinkat*. Web: <https://reinkat.wordpress.com/2014/10/18/more-on-our-lady-of-vladimir-icon/> Accessed on February 1, 2017.

logo of



Fig. 24. “St. Sergii Radonezhskii and Dmitrii Donskoi. On the Kulikovo Field” (The central part). Iurii Pantiukhin, 2007.

Icon Production LLC demonstrated that the fame and beauty of the Vladimir icon spread far away from its home. It proves that the icon became the world famous masterpiece like Leonardo da Vinci’s *Mona Lisa* and Michelangelo’s *The Creation of Adam*.

In conclusion, the Vladimir icon was extremely important and popular during the Russian medieval period. Hundreds of reproductions or *spiski* were produced along with wall paintings, murals, and new icons, in which icon painters represented the Byzantine icon of Mother Mary. Later, during the Soviet regime the Vladimir icon was given to the museum and preserved there. In contemporary Russia, there are some artists who devote their works to historical themes, in which they include the depiction of the Vladimir icon as a part of Russian history.

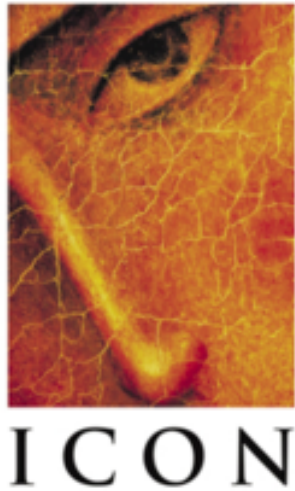


Fig. 25. Logo's artwork features *Icon Production LLC*.

Today there are some painters that continue to depict the Vladimir icon such as Alexander Kosolapov and Avdei Ter-Ogan'ian, but their art faces major problems in contemporary Russia. Even though, according to the articles 14, 28, and 29 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation that declare that Russia is a secular state that guaranties to its citizens the freedom of ideas, speech, conscience, and religion, in practice we see that the artists like Alexander Kosolapov and Avdei Ter-Ogan'ian unfortunately cannot display and show their art if it includes some of religious themes that can offend the Russian Orthodox Church.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ The Constitution of the Russian Federation, 1993, text. Web: <http://www.constitution.ru> Accessed on February 1, 2017.

Conclusion

Most people think that an icon that barely finished in the workshop of an icon painter would immediately take a place in a church and never leave it and people simply have to go to the church, listen to a priest, and pray to the icon. However, in my work, through the example of one icon, the Vladimir icon, I show that icons reflect life: they have blood, sweat, tears, tragedy, and drama, like the life of every human. This particular icon shares with people one of the most intriguing and fascinating stories: it was stolen, recovered, saved, damaged, and restored; it became an object of political speculation and a national relic for over eight centuries. This particular piece of art, like any individual, has its own fate.

As it was shown above the Vladimir icon has made a great impact on Russian politics, history, culture, literature, and art. It represents the history of a whole nation. It has seen everything: Mongol invasions that left Rus' devastated for centuries, the consolidation of Muscovite power, the creation and development of the Russian state, the dynasty of the Rurikides, the Time of Troubles, the coronation of all Romanovs, Napoleonic war, the Revolution, the Soviet regime and terror, the Second World War, the dissolution of the USSR, and today's Putinism. It stands as a guardian and a witness of the great history of the Russian nation:

И с тех пор в часы народных бед

Образ твой над Русью вознесенный

В тьме веков указывал нам след

И в темнице - выход потаенный. (М. Волошин).¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ Волошин, 257.

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