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THE ICON OF THE VIRGIN OF KONEVITSA

A Study of the "Dove Icon" and its Iconographical Background

by

AUNE JÄÄSKINEN

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SUOMEN KIRKKOHISTORIAALLINEN SEURA

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Keskuskirjapaino, Helsinki 1971

FOREWORD

Twelve years ago, Professor *Lars Pettersson*, Professor of the history of art at the University of Helsinki, asked me to write an article about the most famous icon in Finland, the icon of the Virgin of Konevitsa. On studying the icon, I found that it was a palimpsest, and thus could not study the original iconography. It was not until the icon was restored in Moscow in 1969—70 that my task became possible. During the years of waiting I assembled data on factors affecting the development of the iconographic type represented by the Konevitsa icon. My teacher's encouragement led to the work taking a more comprehensive form than originally planned.

I should like to express my warmest thanks to all those people and institutes who have helped me with the problems of this study. I have received invaluable guidance from my teacher of art history, Professor *Lars Pettersson*, from Professor *Kauko Pirinen*, Professor *Erkki Kuujo*, Docent *Maria Widnäs* and many other experts, in Finland and elsewhere. The help of *Veikko Kiljunen*, Conservator of the Finnish National Museum, has been invaluable to me, too. I am also grateful to Archbishop *Paavali* of the Finnish Orthodox Church for giving the permission for the Konevitsa icon to be studied in Moscow, and to *Igor Gorin* and *V. V. Filatov*, who did the work there. My thanks also go to the *Commission for Scientific-Technical Co-operation between USSR and Finland*, the *Finnish Ministry of Education*, the *Embassy of Finland in Moscow* and the *Soviet Ministry of Culture*, for assistance in practical matters. It is my pleasant duty to thank Miss *Dympna Connolly*, B.A., for translating my

work into English, Professor *Tauno F. Mustanoja* for reading and checking the translation as well as the *Finnish Society for Church History* for publishing it in its annals.

I am also grateful to the *University of Helsinki*, the *Finnish Cultural Foundation*, the *North Karelian Provincial Foundation*, the *Donner Foundation* and the *Foundation for Promoting of Karelian Culture*, whose financial support have made it possible for me to take the necessary journeys abroad and to purchase picture material and other material.

When a wife and mother indulges in scientific research, the whole family is inevitably involved. My thanks therefore go also to my husband *Matti Jääskinen* and our children *Pirkko*, *Niilo* and *Minna*.

I dedicate this study of the Virgin of Konevitsa to the memory of my mother, *Ida Piironen*.

Helsinki 1971

A. J.

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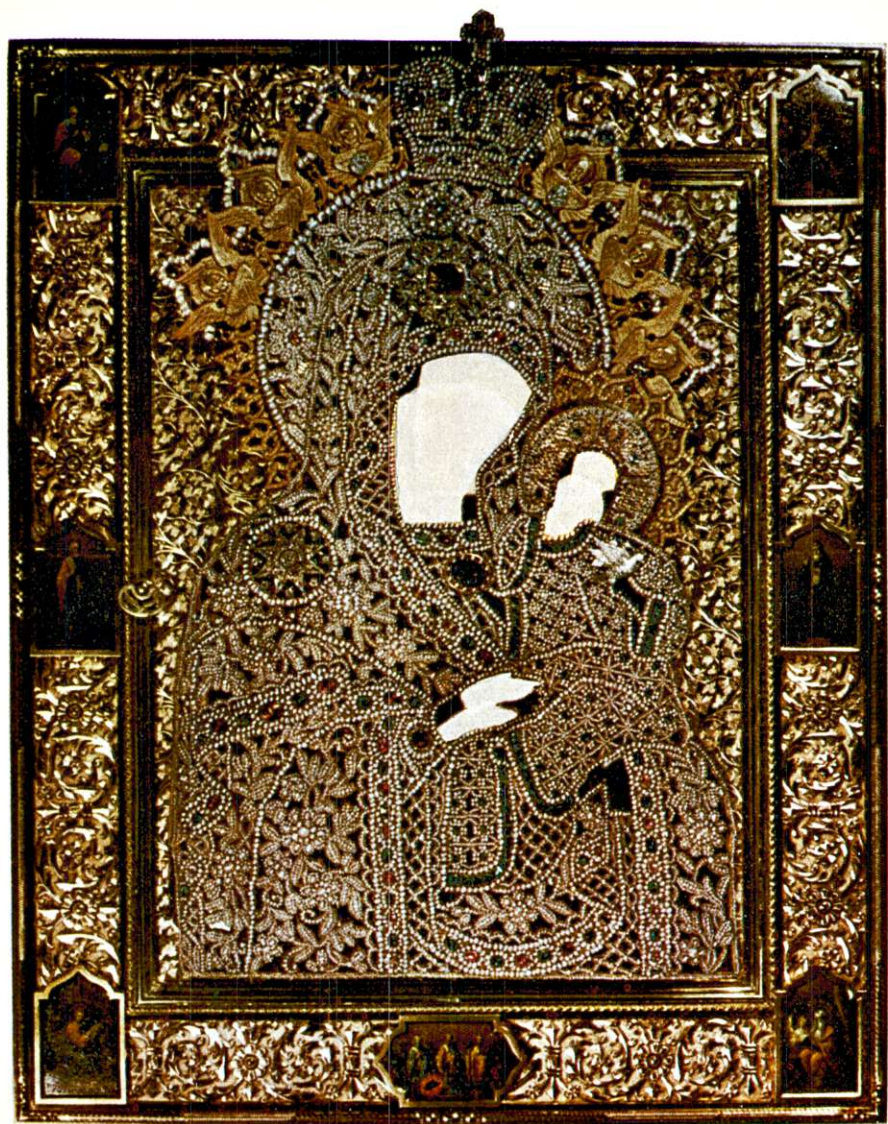
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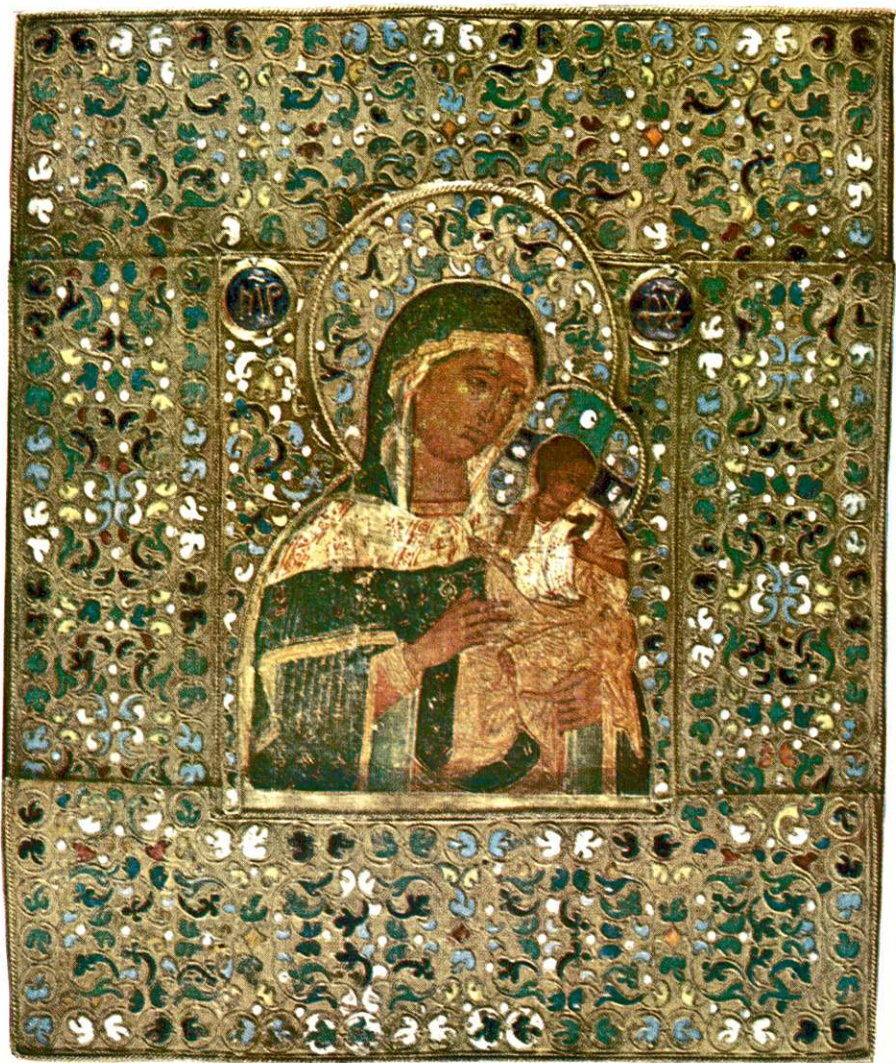
Pl. I. The Virgin of Konevitsa. Icon, tempera, about 1500. New Valamo, Heinävesi, Finland. Phot. after restoration. Photo: A.J.



Pl. II. The Holy Face. Painting on the reverse of the Konevitsa icon. Phot. after restoration. Photo: AJ.



Pl. III. The riza of the Konevitsa icon. Studio Grachev, St Petersburg, 1893.
Photo: Harald Malmgren, Helsinki.



Pl. IV. The Virgin of Konevitsa, COPY G, about 1600. Collection of Ingjald Bäcksbäcka, Helsinki. Photo: Nordblad Oy Helsinki.

INTRODUCTION

»Auf der Paradoxie, dass das echte Kunstwerk eine in sich ruhende kleine Welt und zugleich Durchgangspunkt in einem historischen Geschehen ist, beruht jede echte Kunstgeschichte.»

Hans Sedlmayr, Kunst und Wahrheit.

The scientific study of icons was introduced in the mid-19th century by Russian archaeologists such as *I. P. Sakharov*, who in 1849 published his two-volume study *Izledovaniya o russkom ikonopisanii*. The chief of these pre-revolutionary pioneers in Russia was *N. P. Kondakov* (1844—1925), whose many publications laid the foundations for analysis of the iconography of the Virgin Mary. In the 20th century, icons have travelled far and wide beyond the boundaries of the Orthodox world, and the study of icons has become an international branch of art history. The improvement of restoration methods has increased the opportunities for empirical research. Extensive publications of recent decades on icon collections from Yugoslavia, Greece, the Soviet Union, the monastery of St Catherine at Mount Sinai and elsewhere show that interpretation is very much dependent on material and technical analyses.

Thanks to her Orthodox Church, Finland has been in contact with the cult of icons for almost a thousand years. However, it was not until in the 1930s, when *Bertel Hintze* organised an exhibition of icons in the Helsinki Art Gallery, and published a catalogue¹, that the Finns became really interested in the art

Note

For literature the author, year of publication and page/col. are given, for letters the sender and the recipient (except the author), and the date. For oral information the name of the person and the date (day/month/year) are mentioned in the notes.

Works by the same author published in the same year are distinguished by the letters a, b, c.

¹ *Hintze 1934.*

of icon painting. *Lars Pettersson* continued the work in the 1940s, publishing a number of articles on Karelian icons.² In 1957, the Orthodox Church Museum, with icons from the churches and monasteries of the area ceded to the Soviet Union in the Second World War, was opened in Kuopio. At present, it has a collection of about 300 icons.³ Icons also form part of the collections of the Finnish National Museum in Helsinki and the North Karelian Museum in Joensuu; there are many private collections, and of course there are icons in Orthodox churches and homes. There is still no exhaustive catalogue of the material in Finland.⁴ Internationally speaking, the icons in Finland are not of a very high standard, but a knowledge of them would at least be a help in the study of Karelian icon painting.

When I decided to concentrate my study on the icon of the Virgin of Konevitsa I did so in full awareness of the criticism this might arouse. There is no doubt that even the icon material in Finland could offer more comprehensive — perhaps even more interesting — problems than those concerning the history, function and iconography of this particular icon. It is true that research projects aiming at a monograph on one particular work of art are becoming more common in modern art history⁵, and a steady flow of studies in thematic history of art is being published⁶; the criticism, then, is most likely to be concerned with the icon chosen as the basis of the study. I have received the impression that the Finnish Orthodox Church considers this icon the most important of its miraculous icons, and it may be assumed that the analysis will be of significance for study of the community that owns the icon and, more broadly, of Karelian history as a whole. The palladion of the monastery of Konevitsa

² *Pettersson* 1943, 1944^{ab}, 1945.

³ *Makkonen* 16.12.70.

⁴ Part of the Finnish material has been printed in the following exhibition catalogues: *Jääskinen* 1965^c, 1966, 1967^{ab}, 1968; — *Karpov et al.* 1968. — *Ikonien maailma* 1970.

⁵ *Sedlmayr* 1961 p. 7.

⁶ E.g., *Kolb* 1968. — *Wadell* 1969.

is described in Russian iconographic literature as the prototype of a particular group of pictures, and there are very few icons of similar status that are at present available to research. Thus, despite its limitations, my theme may well be of some interest in terms of art history.

Acquisition of the material has been hindered by the restrictions imposed on research into art that is in cult use. Despite my efforts I have not been able to see personally the collections of some monasteries. Similarly, it has often been impossible to see icons in the sanctuaries of Orthodox churches. Material research on the Konevitsa icon has also been slowed down, and occasionally been hampered by complications of various kinds, because of the status of the icon (cf. p. 15). It has been particularly difficult to track down the present locations of Russian icons; since the revolution many collections have been moved and many churches closed. I have tried to map out the occurrence of the iconographic type I have been looking for by means of visits to museums and through correspondence. This aspect has been handled in the context of regular holidays abroad. I anticipate making still more discoveries, since new research findings are being published in the Soviet Union, where the museum holdings are regularly increased by wide-ranging and systematic collection.⁷ I feel, however, that it is appropriate to publish the material I have at present, although I should have liked it to be rather more comprehensive even at this stage.

My chief literary source is a manuscript in the Central Archives of Old Documents in Moscow, Zhitie Arseniya Konevskago (= ŽAK, a Life of Arseni of Konevitsa). I have also found unpublished source material in Finland; some of this is from the Orthodox Church Museum Archives in Kuopio (= OKA)⁸ and

⁷ *Popova & Jamščikov* 1968: Popova's introduction — I received the same impression at the Novoexport selling office of icons in Moscow in January and September 1969, and June 1971.

⁸ The signs of the OKA documents are based on the files of Leo Kasanko, archivist in 1958–69. No other file of the contents was available.

from the Savo-Karelia Provincial Archives in Mikkeli. In fact, with a few exceptions, the same texts, or extracts from them, are also to be found in the printed source material, which includes the following: 1) A history of Konevitsa monastery, Rozhdestvenski Konevski Monastyr (in Part III of the series »Istoriko-statisticheskiya svedeniya o S.-Peterburgskoy eparhii»), 1869 (= RKM), 2) *Zverinsky's* Material dlya istoriko-topograficheskogo izsledovaniya o pravoslavnykh Monastyryakh v Rossiyskoy Imperiy, I—II, 1890—92, whose bibliography provides a lot of information on 19th century literature on the subject of my study⁹, 3) A collection of documents published by *Kadykin & Shlyapkin*, Letopisnuya izvestiya i dokumenty Novgorodskago Derevyanitaskago Vozkresenskago Monastyrya (1335—1839), 1911, which, despite the dates given in the title, includes only documents up to 1761, and 4) A collection edited by *Geyman*, Materialy po istorii Karelii (MIK), 1941.

For the transliteration of the Russian words in the references and catalogues ISO Recommendation R 9, 1955, 1st ed., has been used. That is why there are some minor differences between the Russian words in the notes and those given in the text where that system has not been followed. The transcription of Russian historical names into English has been controlled in accordance with *Kirchner's* History of Russia, 4th ed., 1966, and with different Russian-English Dictionaries.

The literature dealing with art history has provided background information rather than material actually concerned with the problem at issue. I have chiefly used the works on Byzantine art by *A. Grabar* and *Demus*, those on Italian art by *Venturi*, *Marle*, *Offner* and *Garrison*, for the general mariological research tradition. Another work I found useful is *Cecchelli's* four-volume Mater Christi, 1946—54, with its wealth of theological background information.

⁹ Much material on the Konevitsa monastery was published in the 19th century, but information concerning the Konevitsa icon was rather scanty. The oldest publication I have found is the IINKO of 1817.

I have been most helped in forming my theory by special studies that come close to my theme: *Kondakov's* *Ikonografiya Bogomateri, Svyazi Grecheskoy i russkoy ikonopisi s italyanskoyu zhivopisyu rannyyego Vozrozhdeniya*, 1911, *Friedmann's* *The Symbolic Goldfinch*, 1946, and *Shorr's* *The Christ Child in Devotional Images in Italy during the XIV Century*, 1954. Publications that, in their approach, come close to this monograph on the Konevitsa icon, are *Anisimov's* *Vladimirskaya ikona Bozhiey Materi*, 1928, *Jónsdóttir's* *An 11th Century Byzantine Last Judgment in Iceland*, 1959, and *Weidhaas's* *Czenstochau, Stadt, Kloster und Marienbild*, 1966.

The purpose of the present study is to illustrate the development of a particular iconographic form, its position and its influence in the tradition of Christian art. I have come to realize that *Panofsky* is right in saying that, when studying the history of a type (*Typenlehre*), it is not enough to use only the methods of form analysis or iconography.¹⁰ Because of the nature of my task and my material, I do not propose to consider essential problems of stylistic history; I shall simply select the elements of the Marian material that I consider to have shaped the iconographic type I am studying. Again, its status in mariology as a whole means that I must very largely keep to general iconographic lines. Because of the restricted nature of my task I have ventured — with considerable diffidence — to go fairly thoroughly into the iconographic background in the body of this study, although some aspects perhaps might be adequately covered by references to the literature. However — as *Demus* has said — »iconographic models were often the carriers of stylistic influence, and a proper diagnosis of these models, that is, of their date and provenance, may also help the art historian in his search for the sources of stylistic inspiration.»¹¹ — The background data are an aid to interpretation, and in a restricted study such as this one that can hardly be felt to be disproportionate.

¹⁰ *Panofsky* 1927 p. 294.

¹¹ *Demus* 1970 p. 2.

My study takes as its starting point the palladion of the former Konevitsa monastery, the icon nowadays known as the icon of the Virgin of Konevitsa. The methods of research and findings are given in Chapter I. Chapter II deals with the tradition surrounding the icon of the same name, and its history, mainly on the basis of written sources. The consideration of the icon's miraculous function in Chapter III is purely informative containing no profound theological scrutiny or considerations of religious psychology, since the expressions of the miraculous function only appear in connection with the history of the icon. Chapter IV presents the iconographic problems and attempts to suggest a solution. With its help, I attempt to determine the development and use of a particular iconographic form in Christian art.

The icon of the Virgin of Konevitsa is painted on both sides, and I have, therefore, also briefly considered the iconography of the painting on the reverse side.

CHAPTER I

THE ICON OF THE VIRGIN OF KONEVITSA

The palladion of the former Konevitsa monastery, the icon of the Virgin of Konevitsa, is now in the possession of the Finnish Orthodox Church. This icon is painted on both sides. The painting representing the Virgin and the Child Jesus of the obverse is the actual icon of the Virgin of Konevitsa (Pl. I). On the reverse is painted the face of Jesus against a background representing a cloth (Pl. II).

Examination and Restoration

Technical examinations of varying degrees on the material of the icon have been carried out at my request. The preliminary observations were made in 1959, when Conservator *Veikko Kiljunen* and myself were given permission by *Archbishop Herman* to study the icon on the spot, at the New Valamo monastery at Heinävesi.¹ The findings are set out in *Kiljunen's* report to the Finnish Orthodox Church Ecclesiastical Administration (*Kiljunen* to SOKH, AJ). Permission was immediately requested to transfer the icon to Helsinki, where modern means of investigation were available, but this proved impossible until 1966², when the icon was at the National Museum and the Atheneum Art Museum for a week. The X-ray and other pictures taken of it

¹ Letter from Archbishop Herman to the Archaeological Commission 10.7.59, copy AJ.

² Minutes of SOKH 24.5.66, § 57, 21—22.6.66, § 22. SOKH.

then, as well as microscopic samples, are described in *Kiljunen's* communication »Investigations on the icon of the Virgin of Konevitsa» (*Kiljunen* 1967, AJ). Some Greek iconographers helped me to study the X-ray pictures in Athens in 1967.³

The written and verbal comments made available led me to the conclusion that previous studies did not provide sufficient material to form a theory concerning the icon, and that restoration would be the only way to find a final solution to the problems. With the permission of *Archbishop Paavali*⁴, the icon of the Virgin of Konevitsa was restored in the State Restoration Laboratory in Moscow (VCNILKR) during the period 16.5.1969—23.6.1970. The work was directed by *I. Gorin*, who has signed three reports sent to me (*Gorin* 1969, *Gorin* 1970 and *Gorin* 1971, AJ). I have also received an interim report signed by *V. V. Filatov* (*Filatov* 1970, AJ) and the picture material assembled during the restoration.

I had requested the restorers not to restore the icon to its original form if preliminary investigations and test cleaning showed that the figures had been greatly changed.⁵ I feared that the members of the Finnish Orthodox Church would be disturbed if the cult picture they so highly revered were to return from Moscow looking quite different. Fortunately, it proved that the basic composition of the figures was similar both in the earliest and latest layers of paint. However, the gilding of the background to the composition on the obverse, as well as many details, were damaged in the original painting, or scraped off when the icon was repainted, so that a later layer of paint and gilding had to be left in place. The original layer of paint was restored to its original condition in the least damaged spots. The composition of the reverse could be restored

³ Cf. note 11.

⁴ Letter from Archbishop Paavali to Kustaa Vilkkuna, chairman of the Commission for Scientific-Technical Co-operation between the USSR and Finland 17.1.69, copy AJ.

⁵ Letter from Aune Jääskinen to the Soviet State Restoration Studio 14.5.69, copy AJ. — Assignment document AKT, 16.5.70. AJ.

almost entirely to its original form, with the exception of a couple of small damaged areas (cf. p. 40).

Because of the conditions set for the restoration (based on a respect for the religious feelings of the community owning the icon), the icon has older and newer paint surfaces even after restoration. This should be remembered when studying the pictures taken of it after restoration (Pls. I, II).

The silver »rizas» of the icon were studied at the studio of the Helsinki goldsmith *Paavo Tarkiainen* on 13–15.9.1969 (cf. note 32, p. 40).

Theories of Dating •

Kiljunen studied the unrestored icon, and thus his conclusions must be seen as preliminary. On many points, however, they agree with the views of the restorers. He did not suggest any precise dating estimate for the composition on the obverse, the picture of the Virgin and Child, considering that determination of the age must be dependent on the result of restoration. However, his impression was of an icon agreeing with the »typical late Byzantine development of painting technique», with a number of superimposed paintings of various dates.⁶

The restoration team reported that the original painting on the obverse was from the late 15th or more probably the 16th century. At many points it has been scraped off, however, and the icon was repainted in the 19th century. Some details had even been painted over twice (cf. p. 31).⁷

Kiljunen differed from the restoration finding in his impression of the composition of the reverse, the image of the Saviour. He considered it was painted at the end of the 18th century.⁸ I myself would have been glad to agree to this on the basis of

⁶ Kiljunen 1967 fol. 11. AJ.

⁷ Gorin 1969 fol. 1. — Gorin 1970 fol. 3. — Gorin 1971 fol. 4. — Filatov 1970 fol. 1. AJ.

⁸ Kiljunen 1967 fol. 2.



Fig. 1. The Virgin of Konevitsa. Phot. before restoration. Photo: VCNILKR.



Fig. 2. The Virgin of Konevitsa. Phot. with ultraviolet rays. Photo: VCNILKR.



Fig. 3. The Virgin of Konevitsa. Phot. with infrared rays. Photo: VCNILKR.



Fig. 4. The Virgin of Konevitsa. Detail of restoration. Photo: VCNILKR.

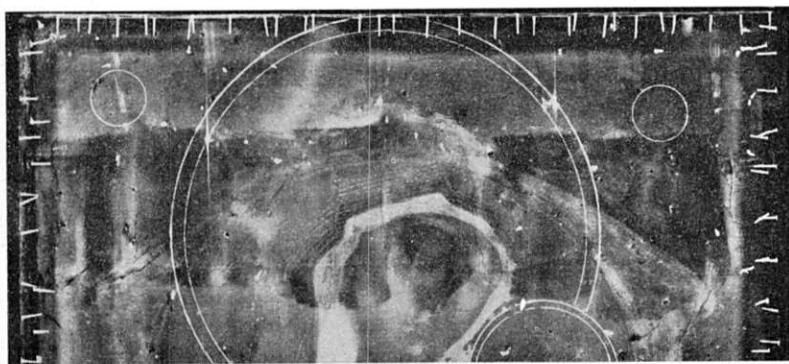


Fig. 5. The Virgin of Konevitsa. Detail of X-ray picture. Photo: VCNILKR.

historical indications (cf. p. 188). But the restoration surprisingly revealed that, under a 19th century repainting, there was an almost perfectly preserved older icon dated as a contemporary with the composition on the obverse, to the late 15th or more probably the 16th century.⁹

In the restorers' view, then, the icon of the Virgin of Konevitsa is late mediaeval or early modern, and was painted on both sides from the very beginning. Some grounds for the dating include particular features of the colours, such as the light green background of the reverse, the painting technique, e.g., the nature of the use of ochre, and the highlights or »white lines» on the faces and hands. These characteristics are rather difficult to distinguish, and according to *Gorin* the standard of the painting is not particularly high.¹⁰

Chatzidakis, *Margaritoff* and *Pallas* came to almost the same conclusion on the basis of X-ray photographs. They considered the painting of both sides to be contemporary, and dating at least to the 17th century.¹¹

Detailed Description of the Icon

Icon Base

As it is now, the Konevitsa icon is composed of two separate parts: the frame base and the actual icon base. The frame of deciduous wood, 47—50 mm wide and about 30 mm thick, is attached at the corners by inset joints and at the centre by a peg of about 6 mm hammered through. This frame section is attached to the old icon base by three pegs about 6 mm thick, vertical on all sides (Fig. 10). The frame base is greenish-brown,

⁹ Cf. p. 17 n. 7.

¹⁰ *Gorin* 1970 fol. 3.

¹¹ *Pallas* and *Chatzidakis* 6.6.67. — Letter from *Pallas* 16.9.67. *AJ*. *Pallas* also reported *Margaritoff*'s estimate of the dating, which was confirmed by *Margaritoff* on 22.6.70.

but there is another, darker layer under the present painting.¹² The Slavonic text painted on the lower edge of the frame base on the obverse of the icon reads in translation, »The feast of the miraculous image of the Most Holy Mother of God of Konevitsa, July 10th. Her appearance in 1576«.

The actual icon base, measuring 43.5×32.5 cm, is framed by four thin strips, whose height is the same as the thickness of the base. This frame is attached by forged nails. It is not original. Underneath it, nails can be discerned along the whole length on the icon base. The primordial okhlad was originally attached by these nails (Fig. 5). The base is supported on two sunken wedges under the image of the Saviour on the reverse side. These supporting wedges, about 7—8 cm wide, do not quite extend to the right edge of the base, as the X-ray photograph shows (Fig. 6). It would seem that right at the start it was intended that the wedges would remain under the painting, and thus the icon was designed to be two-sided.¹³

Following microscopic determination of the wood species, *Kiljunen* reported that the icon base was linden (*tilia*), probably large-leaved linden (*tilia platyphylla*).¹⁴ *Filatov* also thought it was linden, or in any case deciduous, since the X-ray picture does not show the dark lines typical of conifer.¹⁵

A depression has been made in the base for the painting, with a surface about 4—5 mm below the edge. The profile edge round the depression, about 20 mm wide, was strengthened with paint mass in the 19th century (cf. Fig. 11).¹⁶

¹² Kiljunen 1967 fol. 3.

¹³ Gorin 1970 fol. 1.

¹⁴ Kiljunen 1967 fol. 4.

¹⁵ Filatov 1970 fol. 2.

¹⁶ Gorin 1970 fol. 1.

Painting on the Obverse: The Virgin and the Child Jesus

The tempera painting of the obverse is done on fabric glued onto the base. X-ray photography shows that it covers the entire base (Fig. 6). According to *Kiljunen's* definition it is twill-weave linen. The decorative checks, about 20 mm in size, resemble the damask weaves already in use in the Middle Ages, and thus the base fabric of the Konevitsa icon may be »some valuable but discarded damasked fabric». ¹⁷

Filatov expresses no opinion as to the quality of the fabric, but says that the oblique diamond pattern is reminiscent of the icon base fabrics of 15th- and 16th-century northern Russia. The fabric cannot be used as an indubitable proof of dating, since old, discarded fabrics might be selected for this purpose. ¹⁸

The ground for the painting is a layer of alabaster and glue, brushed over many times, with fine, transverse cracking visible. It agrees with the cracking network of later repaintings. The gilding of the background was restored in the 19th century, according to *Filatov* in 1889 when the icon was cleaned. ¹⁹ A note on this was made on the lower edge of the icon. It was done by the Valamo icon painter *Alipi*, who also painted a precise copy of the icon (cf. p. 214 and Fig. 95). At the same time, Mary's halo was decorated with a criss-cross pattern with an inset clover-leaf pattern inside. This type of ornament sometimes appears in Orthodox iconography ²⁰, but as the decoration of halo it is rare. — The other golden ornaments are repainted. No corresponding older painting was found under the ornamentation on the edge and shoulder of Mary's maphorion. The shoulder orna-

¹⁷ *Kiljunen* 1967 fol. 4. — May's examples of Spanish mediaeval fabrics support *Kiljunen's* opinion. *May* 1957 pp. 83–88. — Cf. also Mary's throne in Figs. 49 and 62.

¹⁸ *Filatov* 1970 fol. 2. — Gorin says in his last report that the fabric is serge. Gorin 1971 fol. 2.

¹⁹ *Filatov* 1970 fol. 2. — Cf. also *Kiljunen* to SOKH 14.9.59, copy AJ.

²⁰ E.g., in a 15th-century Rumanian icon the gilded background is filled with red diamond patterns, within which there is a clover-leaf. The patterns are bordered with a double line. See *Chatzidakis* 1968 fig. 191.

mentation includes a decorative pattern resembling a row of letters, which does not form a legible text (Fig. 8).²¹ There is no sign of this on the oldest layer.

The gilded surfaces were left in their 19th-century state during restoration, since the original painting under them had been scraped off.

The maphorion of the Virgin has darkened until it is almost greenish-black. However, the colour was originally blue, apparently natural ultramarine; the crystalline structure of the pigment is clearly visible under the microscope.²² Where the folds open, however, the green is pure. The blue shade of the maphorion could be deduced from the copy of the icon painted in 1889 by *Alipi* (Fig. 95), where he gives Mary a blue maphorion, indicating that this was also the case in the original icon. However, the original colour of the maphorion has been scraped off in many places on the Konevitsa icon, for example from above Mary's right hand, where the paint layer is clearly thinner than elsewhere (Fig. 2). *Kiljunen's* X-ray spectrometric analysis of paint sample showed identical amounts of copper, iron, potassium and chlorine, rather more silica, and more calcium, because of the ground.²³ The blue maphorion is a very important evidence for the origin of the Konevitsa icon. I don't know any examples in Russian mediaeval iconography with blue maphorions, but this colour is very common in the Italian and Byzantine Marian

²¹ According to *L. Lihačeva*, who has studied the ornamentation, this is not a copy of an old cryptograph, because only some equivalents of the letters are repeated, not all as in Staro-Russian cryptography. *L. Lihačeva's* communication in *D. S. Lihačev's* letter to Maria Widnäs 24.4.70, AJ. — Texts in a similar position are usually based on Psalm 45:14, «arrayed in cloth-of-gold richly embroidered». *Chatzidakis* 6.6.67. — Thus, one may read in a Serbian icon the following words: «Shining in fair gold». Cf. *Djurić-Radočić* 1961 p. 37. — A Russian icon has only the words «In fair gold», *Felicetti-Liebenfels* 1956 p. 111 fig. C, — and another: «The sole exalted of the holiest, Jesus Christ». *Muratov* 1927 fig. 1, — thus omitting the word Mother/Bearer.

²² *Kiljunen* 1967 fol. 8. — *Gorin* 1969 fol. 1. — *Gorin* 1970 fol. 2.

²³ *Kiljunen* 1967 fol. 8.



Fig. 6. The Virgin of Konevitsa. X-ray picture. Photo: VCNILKR.



Fig. 7. The Virgin of Konevitsa. «Sliced picture.» Tomogram, pictured by the rotation method. Analysis of the paint layers. Photo: VCNILKR.



Fig. 8. The Virgin of Konevitsa. Detail: decoration of the maphorion.
Photo: Veikko Kiljunen, Helsinki.



Fig. 9. The Virgin of Konevitsa. Detail: micropicture of the birds' heads.
Photo: Veikko Kiljunen, Helsinki.

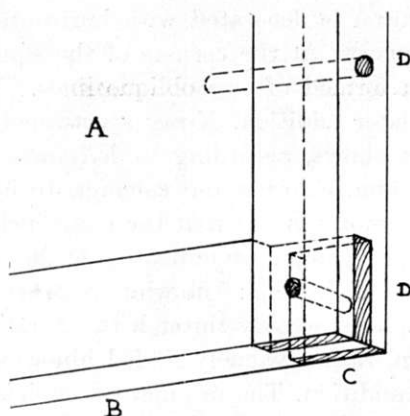


Fig. 10. Corner of the Konevitsa icon showing joint and pegs:

- A: icon base
- B: frame base
- C: inset joint
- D: pegs

Drawing by Robert de Caluwé.

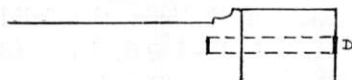


Fig. 11. Cross-section: profile edge, depression for the painting, vertical peg (D).

Drawing by Robert de Caluwé.

depiction.²⁴ I should therefore assume that the blue maphorion of the Konevitsa icon comes from the model which has represented Italian-Byzantine iconography (cf. p. 154).

²⁴ Examples on Byzantine mediaeval Marian icons and mosaics where Mary has a blue maphorion: *Demus* 1958 p. 89. — *Antonova & Mneva* 1963 I p. 373. — *Byzantine Art* 1964 p. 236. — *Underwood* 1966 II figs. 6, 88, 89, 97, 98, 100, 101, 111, 187. — The Russian icon painters have adopted this colour from southern models about 1500. The Konevitsa icon is one of the oldest examples.

Mary's red chiton is decorated with horizontal and vertical lines forming squares. At the corners of the squares there is a star-like pattern formed of two oblique lines. This gold ornamentation is a later addition. X-ray spectrometric analysis of the red pigment shows, according to *Kiljunen*, identical proportions of titanium, chlorine and calcium. In his opinion, the occurrence of antimony means that the paint included a certain antimony cinnobar, which is an indication of the »early technical type of execution» of the icon. The white of Mary's veil includes lead white that passes weakly through the X-rays.²⁵

The red-brown, rather vaguely folded himation of the Child Jesus is a later addition. The original colour has been scraped off; this is particularly clear at the points covering the Child's feet (Fig. 3). The folds and decorative patterns of the Child's tunic, according to *Kiljunen*, are original; he compares them with similar decorative patterns in late mediaeval paintings in the Mediterranean countries.²⁶ *Gorin*, however, says that these details and the leash in the Child's hand are later additions, which were left in place on restoration because there was no original layer of paint.²⁷

Before the restoration of the icon, the Child Jesus had a pair of birds, tied to a leash, in his hand. The birds seemed to have been painted at different times. The lower one appeared older, and proved to be the only bird of the original composition (Pl. I, Fig. 1). Its eye was marked with a fine black line, while the eye of the second bird, painted in the 19th century (cf. p. 60) was not painted at all. A patch of colour at the place where an eye might be expected gave the impression of an eye (Fig. 9). Conservator *Niilo Suihko*, who took X-ray pictures of the icon in 1966, suggested that the wing of the upper bird had belonged to the lower bird in the original painting.²⁸ The restoration proved him correct.

²⁵ *Kiljunen* 1967 fol. 8.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Gorin* 1970 fol. 3.

²⁸ *Suihko* 11.9.66.

The second bird was removed during the restoration (Pl. I, Fig. 2).

The paint surfaces representing skin, the faces and hands of the persons, were repainted twice (Fig. 5). The date of the first repainting could not be determined, but the second was done in the 19th century. The original ochre had disappeared from the neck and right hand of the Virgin and the hands and hair of the Child. However, the original paint layer was almost completely preserved in the Virgin's face. The highlights on the face, the area above the eyebrows and round the eyes and nose, as well as the red on mouth and cheeks are all original.²⁹ The original colour had come off above the upper eyelid and from various small areas. During the restoration, the repainting was left in place or the areas were shaded with watercolours. The scar on the Virgin's face, which was very disturbing to the overall impression of the icon, was studied with particular care (cf. Fig. 3). Although it had left a trace in the original painting, it had not damaged it. In the 19th century, an attempt had been made to cover this scar with a thick layer of paint. This had flaked off, and the place was again filled with paint. During restoration, the traces of these attempts at repair were removed. The only trace of the scar is now a fine depression in the original layer of paint (Pl. I).

Before the restoration, the Virgin had heavy-lidded, almond-shaped eyes (Fig. 1). This impression was lost when the shape of the eyes changed during restoration. It would seem that when the icon was touched up in the 19th century a late Byzantine icon (or its copy) was used as model (cf. Fig. 65). Its features somewhat resemble the features of the Virgin in the Konevitsa icon before restoration (cf. Figs. 1, 65).

The face of the Child Jesus has retained its original shape and is entirely the work of the original painter of the icon. This is seen in a photograph recording one stage of the restoration (Fig. 4).

²⁹ Kiljunen 1967 fol. 7. — Gorin 1970 fol. 2.

The tempera painting of the reverse represents the face of Jesus, of the *Acheiropoietos* type (cf. p. 218), against a background representing a cloth. The Archangels Michael and Gabriel support the cloth in the upper corners of the icon. Jesus has regular features, a small mouth, straight nose, marked furrows in the brow and above the eyebrows, a short beard and gently curling hair falling on both sides of the face. The expression is gentle, and the gaze is direct.

Before restoration, this icon was covered with a thick 19th century layer of paint and varnish. When this was removed (Fig. 14), the gold disappeared from the background, and a light green surface was revealed. The haloes are also of the same background colour, which probably indicates the influence of Novgorod region.³⁰ The chromatic scale as a whole is extremely harmonious: the face of Jesus is a slightly lighter brown than his hair. The upper oblique border on the white cloth is green, as is the monogram of Christ and the text below it. The ornamentation of the lower edge and the text below it are red. The lettering was not part of the original painting.³¹

The colours of the angels form a delightful contrast: Gabriel's wings have gold at the top, with blue and white below. His cloak, falling from his shoulder, is red, and the chiton below it is green. The upper part of Michael's wings is blue, with gold and white below. His cloak is green, and the chiton pink. The brown faces of the angels are harmonious with the whole.

³⁰ A light green background of the same shade as on the reverse of the Konevitsa icon can be seen in a Novgorod icon of St. Peter which dates back to the same period as the icon of Konevitsa, the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries. See *Ikonien maailma* 1970 No. 5. — Other examples of 16th-century Russian icons with green background: Novgorod school, see *Kjellin* 1956 pp. 66, 72, 74. Karelian school *Ibid.* p. 140. — Rostov-Suzdal school, see *Antonova & Mneva* 1963 II p. 51. — In the 17th century the green background was rather common, particularly in Stroganovs' and Simon Ushakov's schools. Cf. also p. 220.

³¹ Gorin 1970 fol. 3.



Fig. 12. The Holy Face. Phot. before restoration. Photo: VCNILKR.



Fig. 13. The Holy Face. Phot. with oblique light. Photo: VCNILKR.



Fig. 14. The Holy Face. Phot. after renewal of varnish. Photo: VCNILKR.



Fig. 15. The Holy Face. Phot. with ultraviolet rays. Photo: VCNILKR.

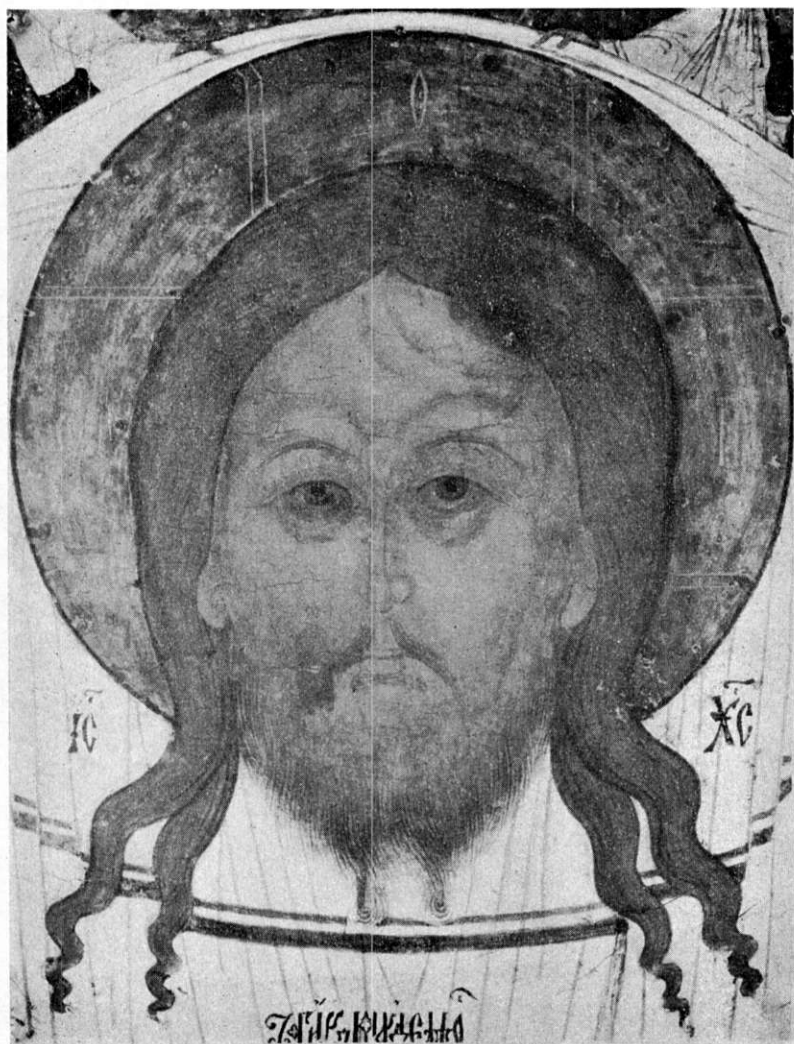


Fig. 16. The Holy Face. Phot. with infrared rays. Photo: VCNILKR.



Fig. 17. The Holy Face. X-ray picture. Photo: VCNILKR.



Fig. 18. The Holy Face. Detail of restoration. Photo: VCNILKR.



Fig. 19. The riza of the Konevitsa icon, opened. Photo: Veikko Kiljunen, Helsinki.

The icon of the reverse is almost entirely original. A couple of places damaged by candle flames (on the brow, hair and cheek) were repainted in the 19th century because the original layer of paint was destroyed.

*Silver Rizas*³²

In 1893, to mark «the fifth centenary of the icon», two gilded silver rizas were made for the Konevitsa icon in the studio of the Grachev family in St Petersburg (Pl. III, Fig. 20). They are marked with the stamps of the silversmith and the silver content inspector: I.G. and A.Š. (see Fig. 21, cf. p. 42). The apertures in the rizas show only the skin areas of the figures, the faces and hands, but the contours are forged onto the silver (cf. Pl. III), giving a clear idea of the composition. According to *Gerhard's* definition, this type of frame is an okhlad³³, but I have used the term riza, which is well-established in Finnish Orthodox terminology («riisa» in Finnish). The term «riza» also appears in the Russian literature of the 19th century describing the Konevitsa icon.³⁴

The dimensions of the riza are 55.5×45.5 cm. The obverse riza (Pl. III) has miniature icons done on brown-painted zinc sheeting let into the border at the edges and the middles of the sides, except the centre of the upper border, where Mary's crown takes up the space. The stylization of these icons corresponds to the iconography of the later 19th century. The colours are blue, yellow, green and red, and various shades of brown. The themes, starting from the upper lefthand corner, are: 1. St John the

³² Paavo Tarkiainen (the Helsinki goldsmith) who took part in the examination of the rizas on 13–15.9.69 later cleaned them, 8.11.69–14.2.70. The photographs in Pl. III and Fig. 20 were taken after the cleaning, when the rizas were repaired to some extent; e.g. 27 pearls and 4 garnets were set in place of missing ones. Tarkiainen 15.2.70.

³³ *Gerhard* 1970 p. 215.

³⁴ RKM p. 41.

Evangelist, 2. St Nicholas the Wonder-worker, 3. St Mark, 4. Sts Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian and John Chrysostom, 5. St Matthew (with an angel beside him), 6. St Arseni of Konevitsa and 7. St Luke. During the investigation (cf. note 32), one of the miniature icons (St John) was removed, and it was seen to cover a seam, showing that the miniature icons were part of the original design of the riza.

The decorative themes of the riza are stylized acanthus and heraldic roses, series of geometrical drops and hounds-teeth, and in the background an ornament representing a leafy bough. The decoration of the centre, with its pearls and jewels, makes the riza very valuable, as the pearls and gems are all genuine.³⁵

The ornamentation of the centre is older than the actual silver chasing, which is designed to follow it. This is seen from the handling of the base, since under the pearls there is only the smooth metal surface.

The jewels used in the ornamentation are pearls, garnets of various shades of red, green emeralds, rose quartzes, rubies, amethysts, brilliants, sapphires and aquamarines. The stones attached to the pearls were attached to the riza at the same time as the pearls, as the settings of the pearls show.

The area covering Mary's head, covered with pearls, is framed by a pearl halo, edged with a wreath decorated with gems and pearls, with a crown and cross in the middle. The wreath of the halo has six seraphs in the design. In the crown there are 10 red rubies and 30 pearls, three large amethysts, 10 garnets, and in the middle a marquis-style ring, with three large brilliants, a ring of rose quartz, and an outer frame of brilliants. The touching wings of the seraphs enclose six emeralds and four garnets. The edges are bordered with pearls, with blue sapphires and red garnets. There are two decorations of brilliants in the wreath of Mary's halo; these are earrings. They were added after the riza was made, attached by wire threaded through a hole bored in the base.

³⁵ Tarkiainen 15.9.1969.

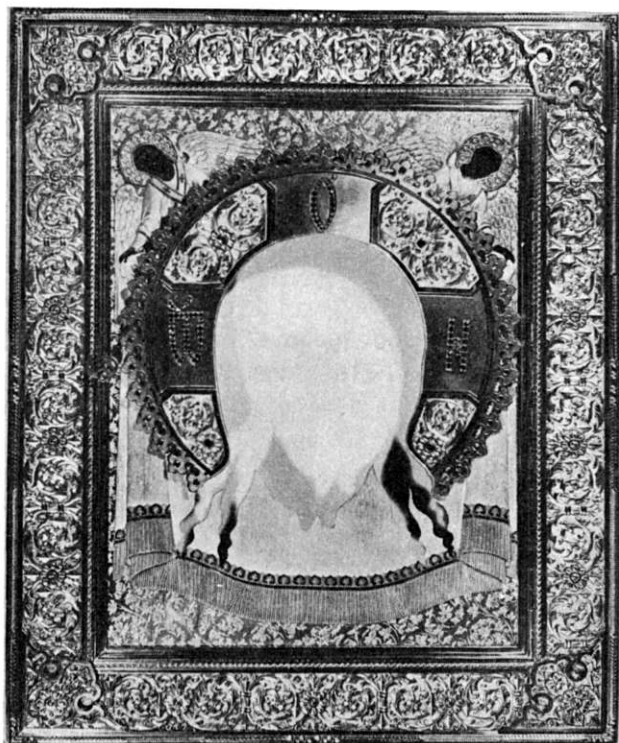


Fig. 20. Riza of the icon of the Holy Face. Photo: Harald Malmgren, Helsinki.



Fig. 21. Hallmarks on the riza of the Konevitsa icon (cf. Pl. III). The hallmarks are under the pearl decoration. Photo: Harald Malmgren, Helsinki.

In the middle of Mary's halo is a star of large and small rose quartzes, with a pair of garnet earrings one on either side. These, like the brilliants of the star-borders, were set in at the same time as the pearl ornamentation around them.

On the brow of Mary's maphorion is a large brooch, with the clasp still attached. It is made of a large stone (beryl?) surrounded by brilliants of various shapes. The part of the maphorion covering Mary's head also has garnets, brilliants and rose quartzes. The face is framed by a row of emeralds and garnets.

The star on Mary's shoulder has a ring of pearls with eight brilliants, rose quartzes, and in the middle a brilliant. The centre of the star there is of pearl raised about 1.5—2 cm.

On Mary's breast is a brooch with the clasp still attached. In the centre of this is an amethyst surrounded by 12 split pearls. The other ornamentation of the maphorion is of the stones already mentioned.

The outer edge of Jesus's halo is of rose-cut diamonds, emeralds and rose quartzes. There are blue sapphires in the surrounding wreath. The birds, of beaten silver, are attached to the riza.

The riza of the reverse is simpler, but here too, the skilful silver chasing is decorated with precious stones (Fig. 20). The themes are the same ones as in the obverse riza (stylized acanthus, roses, etc.).

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF THE PALLADION OF KONEVITSA

1. Tradition of the Palladion of Konevitsa

According to tradition, the Konevitsa icon was in the possession of the Konevitsa monastery from its very foundation. The oldest documents concerning the monastery, however, make no mention of the icon. The Novgorod chronicles mention the monastery a number of times. They describe the founding on Konevitsa Island, the building of a church in 1398, dedicated to the Birth of the Virgin, and Archbishop Simeon's visit to the monastery in 1419.¹ An early 17th-century manuscript from the library of the church of Holy Wisdom in Novgorod, now in the Leningrad Public Library², mentions the founder of the monastery, the »starets» Arseni, who arrived on the island in 1393.³ The Sofiyskaya chronicles for 1425—1534 contain a description by Rodion Kozhukhin, the Metropolitan's scribe, of a miracle that occurred at the Khutin monastery and was witnessed by the igumen of Konevitsa.⁴ There is thus no doubt that the Konevitsa monastery existed in the 15th century. The tax records of the Vodskaya pyatina and other sources⁵ show that by the 16th century the monastery owned considerable estates.

¹ PSRL III p. 233. — PSRL IV p. 102. — MIK p. 92.

² *Kirkinen* 1963 p. 131.

³ *Vostokov* 1842 p. 43.

⁴ *Sofijskij Vremennik* 1821 p. 70.

⁵ *Ronimus* 1906—08 pp. 115—17. — *Kopija ukaza Carja Feodora Alekseevica* (1617 g) bojarinu ... OKA/A 822/12. — See also *Kuujo* 1955 p. 171. — *Ibid.* 1959 pp. 16, 27. — *Kirkinen* 1970 p. 228.

Information is also available on the fires that damaged the monastery. *Troitsky* has copied a note made in a 16th-century Gospels he saw in the Tula archaeological museum to the effect that the Konevitsa monastery burnt down in 1527, but after only three years a new church dedicated to the Birth of the Virgin had been built. There is no mention here of the Konevitsa icon.⁶

The earliest mention of icons in connection with the Konevitsa monastery comes in a letter of Ivan the Terrible of 1554.⁷ The letter quotes a message from Konevitsa about the fire that destroyed the monastery the previous year (1553). Everything burned: the churches, the big warm church as well as the small cold one, the icons, books, church furniture, the monastery property, documents of privilege, bell-towers, monks' cells, grain — in brief, the entire possessions of the monastery. The same letter also mentions that the Konevitsa monks, on their business journeys by river to Novgorod and Staraya Russa, brought icons of the Mother of God to the governor of the Ladoga Falls.⁸

The letter makes no mention of the cult image brought from Mount Athos, its fate in the fire, or its relationship to the icons taken to the governor. From this source must, however, be concluded that the monastery had a painting studio of its own and that the favourite theme was the Mother of God.⁹

The earliest definite mentions of the Konevitsa icon are in the 17th-century manuscript *Life of Arseni of Konevitsa* (ŽAK), in the Central Archives of Old Documents in Moscow¹⁰, which is said to be a copy of a text written by the igumen Varlaam of Konevitsa (Fig. 22). An igumen named Varlaam is mentioned

⁶ *Troickij* 1913 p. 26.

⁷ MIK p. 170.

⁸ MIK p. 171.

⁹ In *Kirkinen's* bold opinion, the icons were naturally copied from the precious image of the Holy Mother of God in the monastery, copies of which were presented to the governor. *Kirkinen* 1963 p. 199.

¹⁰ Centralnyj Gosudarstvennyj Arhiv Drevnih Aktov, fond 201, No. 52. — Cf. *Barsukov* 1882 col. 59.

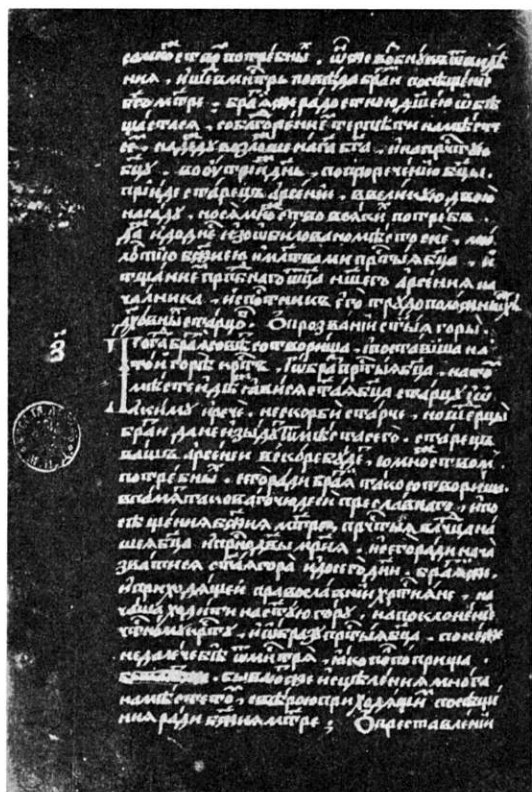


Fig. 22. Text sample of ŽAK. Photo: Heikki Kirkinen, Finland.

in a letter of Ivan the Terrible to the Konevitsa monastery in 1578.¹¹ It also emerges from the letters of the Czars that the igumen of Konevitsa in 1554 was Matvey, and in 1585 Gennadi¹², so that the time of Varlaam must be somewhere between these dates. This means that his »Life of Arseni of Konevitsa» must be from the same period; the original has not been preserved, and the present copy (ŽAK) was made somewhat later (cf. p. 48).

¹¹ MIK p. 254.

¹² MIK p. 174.

Varlaam's identity is somewhat uncertain. According to *Filaret*, a hagiographer of Pskov called Varlaam, whose name in the world was Vasili, wrote a life of Arseni of Konevitsa in 1547.¹³ *Ponomarev* says the same.¹⁴ *Kirkinen* and *Widnäs* also suggest that the writer is the Pskovian monk Varlaam of the Krypetsky monastery.¹⁵ As there is no information about him later than 1563¹⁶, *Kirkinen* and *Widnäs* consider that after this date he went to Konevitsa and was made igumen. He would then be the same as the Varlaam mentioned as the igumen in 1578, who wrote down the life of Arseni.¹⁷

No other Varlaam is to be found among the 16th-century igumens of Konevitsa. One of the signatories to a letter from the Konevitsa brethren in 1610 is indeed »Varlaam, former Bishop of Krutitsy», but at that date the igumen of Konevitsa was one Leonti.¹⁸ After Konevitsa was merged with the Derevyanitza monastery of Novgorod (cf. p. 52), a Varlaam is mentioned as igumen of Derevyanitza in 1625—33.¹⁹ He cannot be the biographer of Arseni, however, as the text makes no mention whatever of the move to Derevyanitza.

It must be concluded that the only suitable Varlaam is someone who was igumen of Konevitsa in 1578. In this case, he must have written the biography of Arseni in the third quarter of the 16th century. It is surprising, however, to find no mention of the fire of 1553 in the text, written only two decades later.²⁰

As well as the complete copy of Varlaam's manuscript (ŽAK), there is a fragmentary copy, a couple of pages only, at present

¹³ *Filaret* 1859 p. 209.

¹⁴ *Ponomarev* 1900 col. 1058.

¹⁵ *Kirkinen & Widnäs* 1963 p. 13.

¹⁶ Cf. *Ponomarev* 1902 col. 149.

¹⁷ *Kirkinen & Widnäs* 1963 p. 17.

¹⁸ *Kadykin & Šljapkin* 1911 pp. 19—21.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 34—35.

²⁰ According to *Kirkinen & Widnäs*, the fire was not mentioned because it was irrelevant to the subject matter and the monastery had been rebuilt. *Kirkinen & Widnäs* 1963 p. 17.

in the Lenin Library in Moscow.²¹ Soviet experts have dated both copies to the 17th century. Going by critical analysis of the text, *Kirkinen* and *Widnäs* have been more precise: the fragment is dated to the very beginning of the century, and *ŽAK* to about 1630.²²

Like most similar texts, Varlaam's biography is florid and verbose. He describes the founding of the monastery on Konevitsa, the founder himself and the icon of the Mother of God he brought from Mount Athos. His text gives us the earliest written record of the tradition of the Konevitsa icon.

Varlaam records that Arseni, the founder of the Konevitsa monastery, was born in Novgorod. Nothing is known of his parents, but it may be assumed they were pious and brought up their son well.²³ The year of Arseni's birth and his name in the world are not known, but it is known that he was a copper-smith. As a young man he renounced the world and entered the novitiate at the Lisya Gora monastery in Novgorod. There he met monks from the Holy Mount (Athos), whose tales of the monastic community made a deep impression on him. Arseni set out on pilgrimage to Athos, and stayed there three years.²⁴ When he started for home, he was given an icon of the Mother of God as a parting gift from an igumen called John (Ioann).²⁵ The same igumen predicted that he would found a monastery far in the north.

After reporting back to John, Archbishop of Novgorod, and

²¹ Gosudarstvennaja Biblioteka im. Lenina, fond 304, No. 806. — Cf. *Kljucevskij* 1871 p. 357 n. 2.

²² *Kirkinen & Widnäs* 1963 p. 9.

²³ The later redaction, e.g., *Žitie Arsenija Konevskago*, 1879 p. 36, emphasizes this characteristic with a parable: «If the root is holy, so are the branches.» — *Smolitsch* tells us that Arseni's parents were of the merchant and bourgeois class. *Smolitsch* 1953 p. 82 n. 1 a.

²⁴ According to *Ammann*, Arseni was at Athos in 1384–87. *Ammann* 1955 p. 211.

²⁵ According to some later sources, the name of the igumen was Ioann Zidon. See e.g., *Slava Bogomateri* 1907 p. 516.

Fig. 23. The Horse Stone at Konevitsa. Lithograph, 1785.
Photo: *Ozereckovskij* 1792,
fig. II.

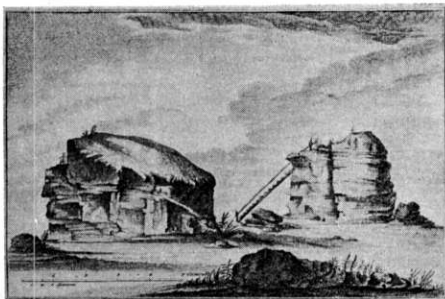


Fig. 24. Embroidered cover
of St Arseni's cenotaph, 1551.
Photo: OKA.



receiving his blessing, Arseni set sail along the river Volkhov to the great Neva Lake (Ladoga). His journey ended at Konevitsa, an island used as a summer pasture for horses and a famous pagan sacrificial site. According to local lore, evil spirits lived under a large stone called «The Horse» (kon in Russian) (Fig. 23). With the icon he brought from Mount Athos, with prayers and with holy water, Arseni drove out the spirits. He founded a monastery on the island, whose first church was dedicated to the Birth of the Mother of God. The foundation was in 1393.

The icon from Mount Athos was known in Konevitsa as the «icon of the Holy Mount». At Konevitsa, too, it was placed on a mount after the Virgin Mary had appeared there to an ancient named Joachim. This happened while Arseni was again visiting Athos, in the days of Archbishop Simeon of Novgorod.

After flood damaged the Konevitsa monastery, the buildings were moved further inland on the island. Arseni drew a new ground plan for the monastery, following instructions received in a dream and with the help of the icon of the Mother of God. Another evidence of the reverence in which the icon was held is a description of the visit to Konevitsa of Bishop Euthymios of Novgorod. He had been a companion of Arseni's ascetic youth, and had now come to honour the icon of the Mother of God.

Arseni died on June 12th 1447 (cf. Fig. 24).²⁶ After his death he appeared to a number of people. He urged one blind man to go «to the Most Pure at Konevitsa». This seems to refer to the icon brought from Mount Athos.²⁷

The following statements concerning the Konevitsa icon are thus found in ZAK:

1. Arseni brought an icon of the Mother of God from Athos to Konevitsa in 1393.

²⁶ ŽAK fol. 452. According to some other sources Arseni died three years earlier, in 1444. E.g., see IINKO 1817 p. 44. — *Bulgakov* 1965 p. 204.

²⁷ The reference to the icon is very clear in later sources. E.g., *Slava Bogomateri* 1907 p. 517: «na poklonenie čudotvornomy obrazy Bogomateri».

2. It remained undamaged and is still to be seen at the Konevitsa monastery.
3. Arseni worked miracles through the medium of this icon.
4. The purpose of Bishop Euthymios's visit was to honour the icon.
5. The icon was called the »icon of the Holy Mount».²⁸

ŽAK does not refer to the icon as miraculous (chudotvornaya), nor record the iconography.

2. The Icon of the Virgin of Konevitsa at Derevyanitsa, in Novgorod

At the end of the 16th century the brethren of Konevitsa were overtaken by the fortunes of war. The monastery was deserted for some time at the end of the century, after the monks fled to the Derevyanitsa monastery in Novgorod. According to their own records this was in 1581.²⁹ The monastery of Konevitsa was so thoroughly destroyed that even the bricks of the church were taken to Käkisalmi to build the castle there.³⁰ The Peace of Tälssinä in 1595 meant the brethren could return to Konevitsa, but in 1610 they had to flee once more. New military operations in Karelia had arisen from the treaty between King Carl IX of Sweden and Czar Vasili Shuisky of Russia (1608—09) to cede the province of Käkisalmi to Sweden. The local population did not observe the treaty, and Käkisalmi was taken by Swedish arms in 1610.³¹ The monks of

²⁸ ŽAK fol. 448—51.

²⁹ *Kadykin & Šljapkin* 1911, pp. 19—21. — In some sources the flight is dated 2—3 years earlier. In a letter from the Czar in 1578 there is mention of a monastery having been destroyed (MIK pp. 254—56), so an earlier dating of the flight seems more probable; e.g., in 1577, see *Zvěřinskij* 1890 I p. 166.

³⁰ *Tawaststjerna* 1918—20 p. 510. n. 4.

³¹ *Sveriges krig* ... 1936 pp. 355—56. — *Kuujo* 1958 p. 36. — After

Konevitsa appealed to the Czar for permission to move to the Derevyanitsa monastery in Novgorod. Correspondence on the subject in 1610 shows that their request was granted and the property of the brethren was transferred across the border free of excise duty.³² The monks had told to the Czar that among the property they were bringing from Konevitsa were the »gifts of God, the icons and books» (Bozhie miloserdie, obrazi i knigi), but there was no special mention of the monastery's palladion brought from Mount Athos.³³

The Derevyanitsa monastery was at the junction of the Volkhov and its tributary the Derevyanitsa, four versts north of Novgorod (Fig. 25).³⁴ It was founded by Archbishop Moses who, according to the first chronicle of Novgorod, built a stone church there in 1335. Three years later, Archbishop Vasili had the church adorned with paintings.³⁵ The church and the monastery were dedicated to the Resurrection. The Konevitsa monks arrived there in 1610.

They also had to flee temporarily to Tikhvin, and when they returned they found Derevyanitsa had been destroyed.³⁶ The Konevitsa monks were thus brought into close contact with the icon of the Virgin of Tikhvin, which had gained renown in the hostilities of 1613 (cf. p. 73). The place where the Tikhvin icon originally appeared was part of the estates owned by Derevya-

the Treaty of Stolbova (1617), the province of Käkisalme to which Konevitsa belonged at the time, was ceded to Jacob de la Gardie for twelve years. *Kuujo* 1958 p. 42. — Later Konevitsa was governed by Erik Mickelsson, a Swedish bailiff. *Tigerstedt* 1877–87 p. 130. Nothing was left of the main church but the stone base. *Šljapkin* 1897 p. 307. — *Salenius's* statement that the Russian church was standing on Konevitsa in 1682 is exaggerated. *Salenius* 1911 p. 16.

³² *Kadykin & Šljapkin* 1911 pp. 19–21. — Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka 1875 cols. 327–28.

³³ *Kadykin & Šljapkin* 1911 pp. 19–21.

³⁴ *Tolstoj* 1862 p. 229.

³⁵ Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis 1950 p. 346. — PSRL III p. 227.

³⁶ *Kadykin & Šljapkin* 1911 pp. 30–32. — Kopija ob'javlenija poslov... OKA/A 822/5.



Fig. 25. The Derevyanitza monastery in 1948, damaged by the war. Photo: Archiv Novgorodskago Istoriko-Arhitelturnogo Muzeja Zapovednika, Novgorod.

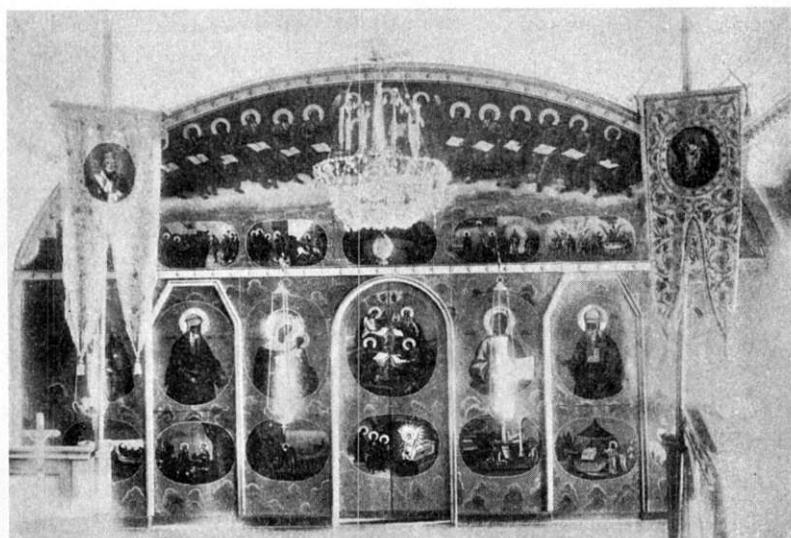


Fig. 26. The iconostasis of the church of St Nicholas at the Konevitsa monastery. Left to the royal doors a copy of the palladion of the monastery. Photo: OKA.

nitsa³⁷, and the Konevitsa brethren came into the immediate sphere of influence of this famous miraculous image (Fig. 40).

Sources from the early 17th century provide no information on the Konevitsa icon during the flight of the monks, but there can be no doubt that it was at Derevyanitsa at the end of the 17th century. It is mentioned in a document of 1688 concerning the payments of a cotter received into the monastery.³⁸

In the early 18th century the Russians regained Käkisalmi province and their rights to it were confirmed by the Peace of Uusikaupunki in 1721. The icon brought by Arseni from Mount Athos is mentioned for the first time in a correspondence concerning the monastery on 11.6.1717, when Archimandrite Yoanniki wrote from Derevyanitsa monastery to Peter the Great, requesting the grant of Konevitsa island in order to build a monastery there. Yoanniki recounts the flight of the monks to Derevyanitsa in 1610, saying they brought with them an icon of the Holy Mount, brought from Mount Athos by Arseni, »which since then has adorned Derevyanitsa».³⁹

Yoanniki was a little tardy with his request, as the island of Konevitsa had already been given to Prince Yuri Dolgoruki. In 1716 Colonel Leontyev, Commandant of Käkisalmi province, headed an inspection of the island, which was described as follows:

Of the church, the stone base remained. There was a wooden chapel in the forest. There were three decent cottages with porches on the island, one empty cottage, the cottage base, a stable, two byres, three barns, a sauna and a threshing barn. There were ten fields under forest, five lying fallow, 15 hayfields, three ploughed fields and two desyatinas unploughed. There were 628 desyatinas of uncultivated forest and marsh. On the island lived Miron Shakhin of Ladoga Karelia, and his family.⁴⁰

³⁷ *Makarij* 1860 I p. 624.

³⁸ *Kadykin & Šljapkin* 1911 p. 112.

³⁹ Reestr. 1. delo o otvode . . . OKA/A 823/1.

⁴⁰ Vypiska o tom . . . OKA/A 823/III.

In a letter to Peter the Great of 13.7.1717 Dolgoruki agreed to give up the Konevitsa island⁴¹, and by a decree of the Czar dated 30.4.1718 the island was assigned to the Derevyanitsa monastery.⁴² The monk Tikhon and some members of the Derevyanitsa community set off to rebuild the Konevitsa monastery.⁴³

Although Yoanniki mentioned the Konevitsa icon in his letter, it does not seem to have been sent to Konevitsa island with Tikhon. First mention of the «icon of the Holy Mount» comes in a report on the inspection of the monastery on 12.4.1733. The inspection was carried out by Pyotr Gavrilov, a priest of the Holy Trinity Cathedral in Olonets, and by Mikhail Ushakov, copyist of the Novgorod episcopal office. The report, published by *Shlyapkin*, shows that the iconostasis of the church of St Nicholas (completed in 1719) included «the icon of the Mother of God of the Holy Mount, next to the Royal Door to the north».⁴⁴

A 1770 inventory of Konevitsa monastery mentions this icon in the iconostasis of the church of St Nicholas simply as an icon of the Mother of God.⁴⁵ This inventory has other points of interest. It mentions an icon of the Virgin of Tikhvin above the altar in the church of St Nicholas. There were four Tikhvin icons in the main church (built in 1766, obviously demolished in the late 18th century⁴⁶), but not a single Konevitsa icon. Of the iconostasis of the church of St Nicholas we are told that the Konevitsa monks took it with them to Derevyanitsa in 1610 and brought it back to Konevitsa in 1718.⁴⁷ *Kasanko* considers

⁴¹ Kopija prošeniya ... OKA/A 823/II.

⁴² The decree was published by Ozeretskovsky and Amvrozi. *Ozereckovskij* 1792 pp. 44–49. — *Amvrozij* 1812 pp. 618–22. — The continuous sympathy of the Czar is illustrated by the grant of additional land to the monastery of Konevitsa in Pyhäjärvi parish in 1728. *Akiander* 1864 p. 177.

⁴³ RKM p. 20.

⁴⁴ *Šljapkin* 1897 p. 306.

⁴⁵ Podrobnaja opis ... OKA/B 826/1 and a reconstructed picture of the iconostasis based on the inventory, made by Leo Kasanko, AJ.

⁴⁶ Vidy i opisanie Konevskago Monastyrja 1876, tekst 3.

⁴⁷ *Pimen* 1886 p. 22.

this statement unreliable, and assumes that the iconostasis formed part of the property acquired by the monastery from Novgorod (when the Derevyanitsa monastery was destroyed) to replace what had been lost.⁴⁸ There is a photograph of this iconostasis in the archives of the Konevitsa monastery which supports *Kasanko's* assumption (Fig. 26), since its iconography appears to be very late, no older than the early 18th century in style. The painting may have been refurbished still later, in the 19th century perhaps.

According to tradition, the iconostasis of the church of St Nicholas was an uninterrupted wall on which the icons and ornaments were painted. The structure and arrangement of the icon on the photograph correspond to the tradition and to the 1770 inventory.

It is probable, then, that the «icon of the Holy Mount» mentioned in the 1733 report was the picture on the iconostasis of the church of St Nicholas. The monastery's original palladion cannot have been there, since a document 38 years later, a 1771 memorandum on the economic relationships of Konevitsa and Derevyanitsa⁴⁹, records that the picture of the Virgin brought by Arseni from Mount Athos was at Derevyanitsa, in the church of the Resurrection. According to the same source, the monks of Konevitsa took the icon to Derevyanitsa in 1610; this is consistent with Yoanniki's letter (cf. p. 54). Academician *Nikolai Ozeretskovsky*, who visited Konevitsa in 1785, does not discuss the monastery's palladion in his description of his visit. If it had been at the monastery then, it would undoubtedly have been displayed to such an influential visitor, who might have published a copy of it in addition to his other lithographs (cf. Figs. 23, 27). *Ozeretskovsky* mentions an old wooden church

⁴⁸ *Kasanko* 20.12.68.

⁴⁹ *Kopia promemorii ... 1771*, signed by Archimandrite Lavrenti of the Hutyn monastery, Mihail Kaljazin, secretary, and Filemon Ivanov, clerk. OKA/A 822/16.

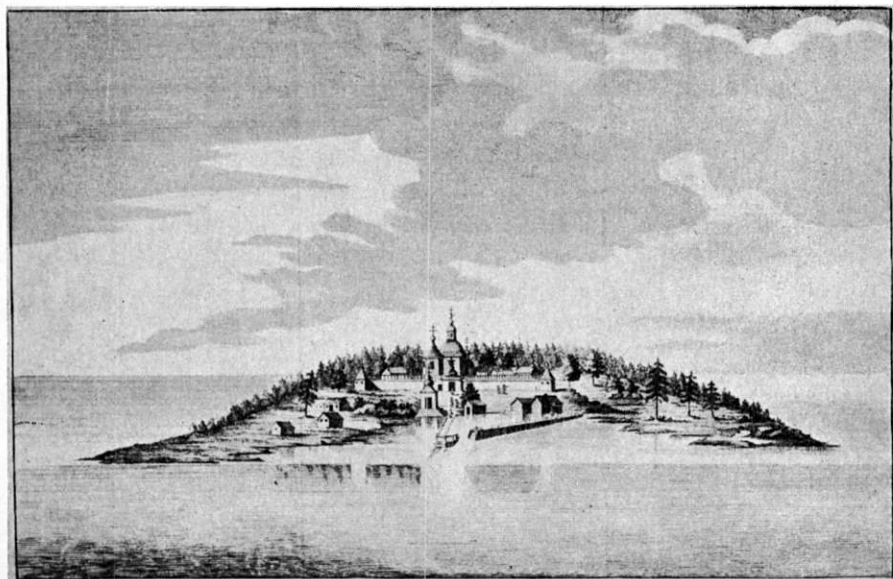


Fig. 27. The Konevitsa monastery in 1785. Lithograph: *Ozereckovskij* 1792, fig. I.

of St Nicholas. The new church, built partly of stone, was also complete by that time (cf. note 46). It was consecrated to the Birth of the Virgin Mary and had a funerary shrine above the relics of Arseni.⁵⁰

It is understandable that Tikhon was not given the Konevitsa palladion when he set off from Derevyanitsa in 1718 to rebuild the monastery. But one wonders why it was still at Derevyanitsa after 1760, when Konevitsa became independent of Derevyanitsa⁵¹ and when, for example, the cover of Arseni's cenotaph (Fig. 24) was handed over to Konevitsa.⁵² Of course the monastery was in poor shape financially. Fire had again ravaged it, and patrons such as the Empress Elizabeth and other donors

⁵⁰ *Ozereckovskij* 1792 p. 42.

⁵¹ IINKO 1817 pp. 17–18. — *Zvěřinskij* 1890 I p. 166.

⁵² Delo s dokumentami . . . OKA/A 824/29.

were needed to put it back on its feet.⁵³ In the monastic reform of 1764, Konevitsa was one of the unclassified monasteries, that is, those not receiving aid from the State⁵⁴, which meant it could be closed at any time. These conditions, it would seem, made it unsuitable to transfer the Konevitsa icon from Derevyanitsa. There can also be no doubt that the icon, acquiring its miraculous reputation (cf. p. 76), was also important to the Derevyanitsa monastery.

3. Return to Konevitsa

At Derevyanitsa, the Konevitsa icon was in the church of the Resurrection, destroyed by fire at the end of the 17th century but rebuilt in 1698—1700.⁵⁵ It was the chief shrine of the monastery. According to *Tolstoj*, the church of the Dormition of the Virgin built in 1726 was reconsecrated in 1856, after repairs, to the icon of the Virgin of Konevitsa.⁵⁶ This was because in 1799 the Konevitsa icon was moved from Derevyanitsa, where its memory was thenceforth cherished.

The igumen of Konevitsa in 1798—1801 was Varfolomey.⁵⁷ He seems to have been particularly concerned with reviving the traditions of the monastery, and to have studied the tradition concerning the monastery's palladion. On July 18th 1799 he received permission from Gabriel, Metropolitan of Novgorod and St Petersburg, to build a new main church in honour of the Virgin's Birth and a side altar dedicated to the Presentation of Christ in the Temple.⁵⁸ The same year he also received permission

⁵³ RKM p. 23. — IINKO 1817 p. 18.

⁵⁴ *Zvěřinskij* 1890 I p. 166.

⁵⁵ Hramozdannaja gramota mitropolita Iova, 29.5.1700. Arhiv Novgorodskogo istoriko-arhitekturnogo muzeja zapovednika, No. 23. — See also *Makarij* 1860 I p. 624.

⁵⁶ *Tolstoj* 1862 p. 230. In 1875 the Derevyanitsa monastery was converted into a convent. *Zvěřinskij* 1890 I p. 121. — *Denisov* 1908, p. 602.

⁵⁷ *Stroev* 1877 p. 285. — IINKO 1817, 21—22.

⁵⁸ RKM p. 29.

to move the Konevitsa icon from Derevyanitsa to Konevitsa. On July 3rd he went to Derevyanitsa to fetch the icon, and took it straight to St Petersburg, where it remained for two months. During this period the painting was touched up, copies were made and a cover, a riza, was made for it. The miraculous function of the icon frequently manifested itself in St Petersburg (p. 78). The icon was an object of wonder and veneration to the local populace.⁵⁹

On September 3rd Varfolomey took the icon to Konevitsa, where the »return» of the monastery's palladion was celebrated »with indescribable joy, to the ringing of church bells». It was installed in the church of St Nicholas for the night. After a night of prayer and vigil the icon was taken from the church and carried in solemn procession to the Holy Mount and to the Horse Stone. Since then, September 3rd has been celebrated in the Konevitsa monastery as the feast of the icon's return.⁶⁰

It appears that the icon was indeed transferred to Konevitsa in 1799, as 19th-century sources are consistent on the subject. However, the riza made in St Petersburg in 1799 is not mentioned in the 1817 IINKO. According to *Amvrosi*, the silver okhlad and the copy of the icon remained at Derevyanitsa.⁶¹ The sources describing the transfer of the icon give no detailed information on the iconography. IINKO mentions that the picture is double-sided: on one side is an image of the Mother of God, on the other that of the Redeemer. The stand of the icon is also mentioned.⁶² I have found no mention of the pair of birds in the Child Jesus's hand before *Sakharov*'s publication of 1849⁶³ (the source, given as *Skazaniye o chudotvornoy ikone Konevskoy*, printed in 1820, has not been available to me). It would thus seem that the second bird appeared in the

⁵⁹ RKM p. 72. — IINKO 1817 p. 22.

⁶⁰ *Vidy i opisanie Konevskago Monastyrja*, 1876, tekst 1.

⁶¹ *Amvrosij* 1812 p. 626. — And *Zvěřinskij* 1890 I p. 121.

⁶² IINKO 1817 p. 28.

⁶³ *Saharov* 1849^a II p. 28.



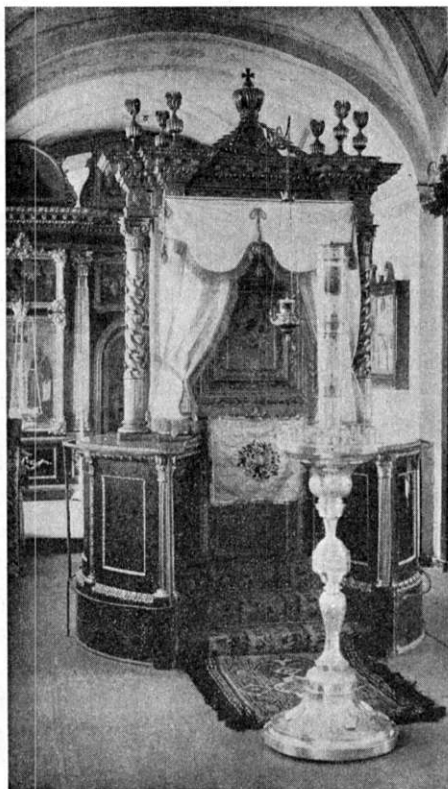
Fig. 28 a. The stand of the palladion of Konevitsa. The icon was covered with the black cloth during the Passion week. Photo: OKA.

composition on the obverse of the Konevitsa palladion in the first half of the 19th century.

The early 19th century was a period of rapid development for the Konevitsa monastery, which may well have been aided by the religious enthusiasm aroused by the icon, and the esteem it enjoyed. Much building was in progress⁶⁴, and the spiritual life too flourished, a library was assembled, devotional texts

⁶⁴ Churches, chapels, two or three hermitages, bell towers and a hostel for visitors were built on the monastery island. RKM pp. 50—52. — The monastery was granted state aid in 1825, when Czar Alexander I promoted it to the third rank. *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossijskoj Imperii* I: XL, 1830 p. 131.

Fig. 28 b. The same as in Fig. 28 a. The icon was usually covered with the white cloth. Photo: OKA.



compiled, etc. According to IINKO (1822), the feast days of Arseni and the icon of Konevitsa, June 12th and July 10th, were entered on the church calendar for 1819 by order of the Holy Ruling Synod (cf. p. 78).⁶⁵ The text of the Feast Day Service of Arseni was printed in 1850.⁶⁶ (Concerning the text of the Konevitsa icon see p. 81).

⁶⁵ IINKO 1822 p. 45. — RKM p. 32.

⁶⁶ Cf. Služba Prepodobnomu otcu načemu Arseniju ... 1850. Barsukov 1882 col. 58. — The calendar for 1853 gives June 12th as Arseni's feast. See Měsjasoslov ... 1853 p. 18.

A new main church was built above Arseni's tomb.⁶⁷ In the usual style, it had a »warm lower church» and a »cold upper church». The lower church was ready in 1802, and was consecrated to the Presentation in the Temple that same year.⁶⁸ This may be the explanation for the painting of a second bird on the icon, as the icon was in fact kept in this church. This may have led to the pair of birds being interpreted as the sacrificial doves of the sreteniye (hypapante) theme (cf. p. 102). The upper church was not completed until 1809, and was consecrated, like many earlier ones, to the Birth of the Virgin. In the sanctuary there was a large copy of the Konevitsa palladion.⁶⁹

In 1809 a splendid stand (aediculum, kiot in Russian) was obtained for the Konevitsa icon. It was edged with slender spiral pillars, and the upper part ended in a crown with six torch-shaped vases and topped by a cross. The palladion of the monastery and its riza were inside this gilded object (Figs. 28: a—b).⁷⁰ Gifts poured in. In 1800, for example, Ekaterina Ivanovna Savelyeva donated a small shrine containing »a piece of the Lord's clothing» for the riza of the Redeemer's icon.⁷¹ A gift of 3 000 silver roubles from Barbara Semenovna Kokoshkina, a major's wife, financed a side altar in the lower church in honour of the Virgin of Konevitsa, which was consecrated on 4.2.1830. The icons for this altar were painted by the monks Spiridon and Alexander (Fig. 29).⁷²

⁶⁷ It is said that the igumen tried to open the tomb, but a flame rushed out of it and nearly blinded him. *Znamenskij* 1909 p. 18. — Corresponding anecdotes have been told of other tombs, such as the tomb of Alexander Nevsky. *Šljapkin* 1913 p. 18.

⁶⁸ Czar Alexander I donated 3 000 roubles for a new church. *Čistovič* 1856 p. 88.

⁶⁹ RKM pp. 45—46.

⁷⁰ Vidy i opisanie Konevskago Monastyrja 1876, tekst 1.

⁷¹ According to *Pimen*, the donation was granted to Adrian, according to RKM, to Hilarion. *Pimen* 1886 p. 33. — RKM, 42. — Adrian was the igumen in 1790—98, Hilarion in 1807—23. *Znamenskij* 1909 p. 17.

⁷² RKM p. 45.

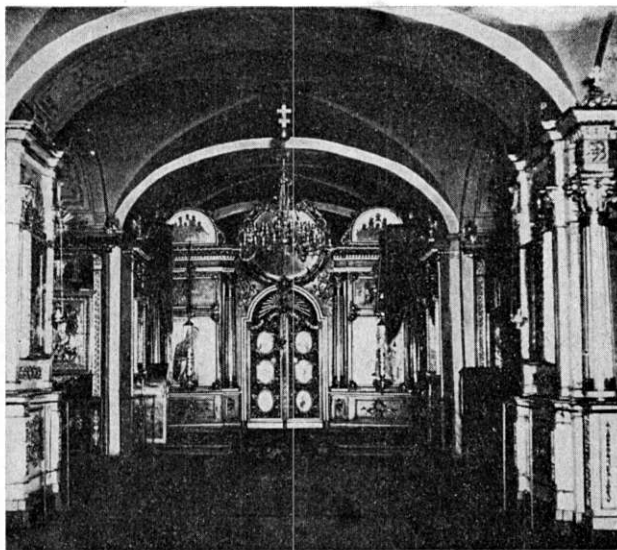


Fig. 29. The side altar in the lower church of Konevitsa. This altar was dedicated to the Virgin of Konevitsa. A copy of the icon is left to the royal doors. Photo: OKA.

The present silver riza was made in 1893, when the fifth centenary of the Konevitsa palladion was celebrated (cf. p. 40). The hallmarks show it was made at the famous Grachev workshop in St Petersburg (Fig. 21). An unknown silversmith, I. G., made it, and the silver content was inspected by Dimitri Alexeyevich Shebanov.⁷³ There is a detailed description of the pearl ornamentation in RKM, printed in 1869⁷⁴, and thus it must have also been on the former, older riza. I have found no report concerning the riza made in St Petersburg in 1799 (cf. p. 59). It would appear that the wealth of pearls mentioned in RKM was assembled gradually from donations in the early 19th century. The igumens Nikon and Venyamin (1825–33) are

⁷³ See *Goldberg* 1967 pp. 166, 199–200. — *Bäcksbäcka* 1951 pp. 26–27, 463.

⁷⁴ RKM p. 42.



Fig. 30. The Konevitsa monastery in the 1930s. Photo: Paul Jouhki, Tampere (Finland).

said to have taken particular interest in the adornment of the riza.⁷⁵

The closing of the Karelian frontier after the first World War (the Konevitsa monastery remained in Finland), and the break-away of the Finnish Orthodox Church from the Russian Church in 1918 were events of great historical importance. Since that time the Konevitsa monastery belonged to the Finland's Autonomous Orthodox Archbishopric (which became affiliated to the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1923). The numbers of the Konevitsa monastery community which in 1916 had 139 members⁷⁶ began to drop markedly. On 19.5.1921 there were

⁷⁵ RKM p. 45. — In front of the icon there was a flame burning in a gilded silver oil lamp, donated by Countess Anna Alekseyevna Orlova-Tshesmenskaja. RKM p. 42.

⁷⁶ Nikandr: Konevskij monastyr' 1.1.1917. The Savo-Karelia Provincial Archives, Mikkeli, E b 1, 22—23.

only 19 monks who wanted to apply for Finnish citizenship and swear the oath of citizenship.⁷⁷ But the palladion of the monastery in its gilded stand remained untouched by the storms of this period.

The Konevitsa icon remained in the lower church of the monastery until 1940. The picture was a focal point of the monastery's spiritual life. At the start of the 20th century divine services were celebrated before it in Finnish, as well as in Slavonic, and copies of it were presented to important visitors.⁷⁸ For example, the reconsecration of the lower church on 8.10.1935 was a solemn service, after which Archbishop Herman of the Finnish Orthodox Church displayed the palladion of the monastery to Arvo Manner, Governor of Vyborg Province, who had attended the service.⁷⁹

4. The Last Stage

The monks of Konevitsa were forced to evacuate their monastery in 1940, when the territorial concessions to the Soviet Union in accordance with the peace treaty that came towards the end of the Winter War were made. This time they went westward. Taking with them all the movables — except the heavy wooden stand of the icon⁸⁰ — the 30 residents of the mon-

⁷⁷ AK 1921/11 p. 100.

⁷⁸ E.g., AK of 1901 reports a Finnish service held in front of the icon, after which copies of the icon were given to the guests. AK 1901/1 pp. 63—68.

⁷⁹ AK 1935/28 p. 217 and AK 1935/29 p. 225.

⁸⁰ Report of Mrs. Könönen, who took part in the packing of the movables 14.3.1940. *Könönen* 1970. — During the war in 1941—44 the lower church of the monastery was found to be empty. AK 1941/36—37 pp. 429—33. — The Priest Monk Maksim also reported that he had visited Konevitsa during the war and seen that the stand of the icon was lost. Maksim 3.10.62.



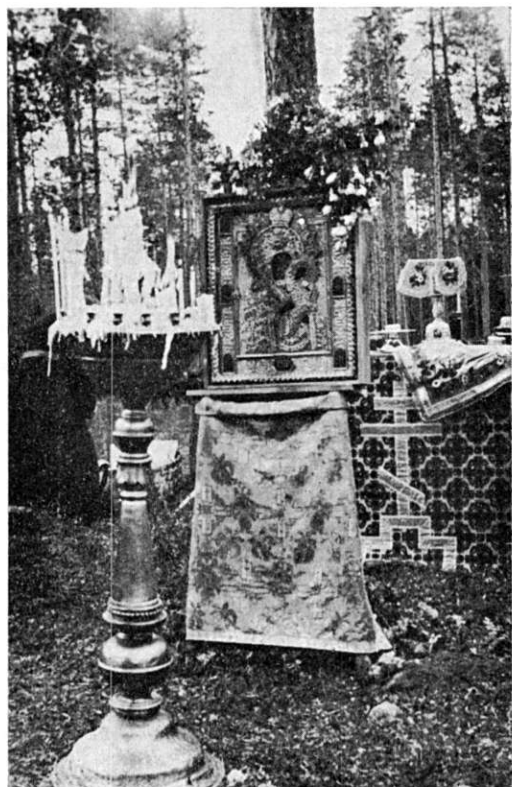
Fig. 31 a. The farm Hiekka at Keitele, the Konevitsa monastery in 1940–56. Photo: Paul Jouhki, Tampere (Finland).

astery, who had stayed on their island throughout the war, set out for inland regions. They first settled at Keitele, where a farm called Hiekka was bought as the brethren's home (Fig. 31 a).⁸¹

At Hiekka, The Konevitsa icon became very well known among the Finnish Orthodox. On the isolated island in Lake Ladoga it had never been in such close contact with Finnish-speaking Orthodox, especially as their pilgrimages had usually been to Valamo with its art treasures. But Hiekka became a summertime meeting-point for the Finnish Orthodox, as camps and courses were held there. The summer camps of the Orthodox Youth Association were very popular among young and rather older alike. The young people in particular spent unforgettable times in the rich green landscape of the inland regions. The

⁸¹ AK 1941/21 p. 104. On the evacuation see the report of Maksim 2.4.61 OKA/Historiallinen materiaali. Konevitsan luostari K (Historical Material. Konevitsa Monastery K).

Fig. 31 b. The palladion of Konevitsa at the camp church at Keitele. Photo: Erkki Piironen, Joensuu (Finland).



Konevitsa icon was the most important cult object of their devotions (Fig. 31 b).⁸² To a congregation of the diaspora, it represented enduring value and the continuity of tradition. In

⁸² As a schoolgirl, I took part in these summer camps in 1949–50. I observed the cult ceremonies of the icon very closely. The palladion of the monastery was carried in solemn procession with other icons and church banners to the forest, where a camp church was erected, and where numbers of pilgrims in addition to the campers had arrived to attend the service. All the services were held in the forest. In the Konevitsa hymn that became familiar to everybody present the feelings of a pious suppliant

both psychological and historical terms, the situation was ripe for activation of its miraculous function (p. 79).

The Konevitsa icon was in the church at Hiekka until 1956. In 1952 it was taken to Helsinki and photographed, and a glass case was also made for it.⁸³ The cards made from the colour photograph have since then been on sale in Orthodox bookshops, helping to make the icon more widely known in Finland.

But Keitele was not the icon's last resting place. When it became obvious that the Konevitsa monastery was no longer viable as an independent monastery, a committee was set up by the Finnish Orthodox Church Ecclesiastical Administration to handle the question.⁸⁴ The last aged monks (Fig. 32) and the movable property of the monastery were moved on 31.8.1956 to New Valamo at Heinävesi, where the Valamo monastery had been evacuated after the war (Fig. 33).⁸⁵ The icon of the Virgin of Konevitsa was accompanied there by the Priest Monks Maksim and Dorofei.⁸⁶ It was installed in its present place in the church of the Heinävesi monastery.

Juridically, however, the Konevitsa monastery was still an independent community, as New Valamo was paid for the board and lodging of the Konevitsa monks.⁸⁷ It was only in 1963 that the Finnish Orthodox Church Ecclesiastical Administration decided

in front of the icon are expressed as follows:

»By the picture of the Mother of God,
the fountain of eternal grace
as in a stream of prayerful tears
he feels his fetters fall off.»

The hymn has been published in Finnish: Luostarin porteilla (At the Monastery Gate), AK 1945/13 pp. 199–200. — In Russian: see *Znamenskij* 1909 pp. 39–40.

⁸³ AK 1959/22 p. 226.

⁸⁴ Minutes of SOKH 1612. 15 §, 9.8.56, SOKH. — The commission was converted into an administrative board, and suspended on 1.1.1963. The Minutes of SOKH. 2487, 27 §, 28.11.62. SOKH.

⁸⁵ Minutes of the administrative board I, 1956, § 3, YOL.

⁸⁶ Joona 27.4.69.

⁸⁷ Report of the board of Konevitsa monastery 1.11.1956–14.3.1958. YOL.



Fig. 32. The last monks of the Konevitsa monastery on August 31st, 1956. Sitting: Brother Joosef, Fathers Maksim, Dorofei and Johannes, Brother Dimitri. Standing: Lay Brothers Andrei Peskov and Vasili Gladsin, Monk Deacon Joona and members of the Administrative Board: Leo Kasanko, Johannes Wolkoff and Niilo Kenjakka. Photo: Paul Jouhki, Tampere (Finland).



Fig. 33. The New Valamo monastery at Heinävesi in 1971. Photo: Tapio Yli-Viikari, Helsinki.



Fig. 34. The interior of the church of the New Valamo at Heinävesi, in 1971. The palladion of the former Konevitsa monastery is in the small stand in front of the iconostasis. Photo: Tapio Yli-Viikari, Helsinki.

to disband the monastery community.⁸⁸ This meant the future of the icon had to be considered, and the same year it was decided to transfer the icon to Kuopio «in the near future».⁸⁹ In 1966 the icon was brought to Helsinki for a week for study (cf. p. 15) and for use in the local Orthodox services.⁹⁰ It was sent to

⁸⁸ Letter from SOKH to the members of the former administrative board of the monastery 20.5.1963 YOL. — The letter shows that a decision to combine the Konevitsa Brethren and the New Valamo monastery was made on that day.

⁸⁹ Letter from SOKH to YOL 4.11.1963. YOL.

⁹⁰ The icon was brought to Helsinki by the clerical member of SOKH Very Rev. Erkki Piironen and Monk Deacon Mefodi on 5.9. and returned on 12.9. by the latter and Heikki Koukkunen, the assistant of YOL. Letter from YOL to the Consistory of Helsinki University 9.9.66, copy

Moscow for restoration in May 1969, and returned to Finland in July 1970 (cf. p. 16). Archbishop Paavali and Bishop Johannes accompanied the icon back to New Valamo, at Heinävesi, on 26.8.1970 (cf. Fig. 34).⁹¹

Summary

According to tradition, there has been an icon of the Mother of God at Konevitsa Monastery since 1393, which was brought from Mount Athos by Arseni, the founder of the monastery. This tradition was written down about 1578 in a manuscript, so by this date at the latest it was identified with some icon of the Mother of God at Konevitsa.

The monks of Konevitsa moved to the Derevyanitsa monastery in Novgorod in 1610. A document dated 1688 mentions the icon of the Virgin of Konevitsa; thus, an icon known by this name was at Derevyanitsa at the end of the 17th century. A document from 1717 records that the Konevitsa monks brought with them to Derevyanitsa in 1610 an icon of the Mother of God brought by Arseni from Mount Athos; thus, the icon at Derevyanitsa was considered the original palladion of Konevitsa.

In 1799 the present palladion of Konevitsa was transferred from Derevyanitsa to Konevitsa island, where it remained until 1940. It was then taken with the evacuated monks to Hiekka farm, at Keitele, and in 1956 to Papinniemi, Heinävesi, to the New Valamo monastery, where it is today.

The present riza of the Konevitsa icon was made in 1893. The decoration of pearls and precious stones was transferred from an older riza, made before 1869.

YOL. — For services, the icon was placed alternately in the Orthodox churches in Helsinki, but when not in use it was examined at the Atheneum and the National Museum. Cf. p. 15.

⁹¹ Makkonen 1.9.70. — AK 1970/21 p. 290.

CHAPTER III

THE SPIRITUAL FUNCTION OF THE KONEVITSA PALLADION

1. General Aspects

Miraculous images occur everywhere in cult art. The mythology of antiquity tells us of many images of gods that caused supernatural events.¹ Christian pictorial art has inherited a similar tradition, and the Orthodox Church seems to have been particularly receptive to it. In Russia in particular, many miracles have been linked with icons, specially icons of the Virgin Mary.² Supernatural reality seems to have been more approachable in the person of the Virgin than in that of Christ. *Smolitsch* writes very much to the point on this relationship of the Russian Orthodox Church to the Virgin Mary and her icons:

»Durch die ganze Geschichte des russischen Volkes geht die Ikonenverehrung und besonders diejenige der Mutter Gottes. Vom Beginn seines christlichen Lebens und seiner staatspolitischen Wirklichkeit an, die beide fast gleichzeitig in seinem geschichtlichen Dasein entstanden, stellt der Russe sein Leben unter den Schutz der Mutter Gottes, begleitet von ihren wundertätigen Ikonen, die ihm Kraft verleihen in den schweren Zeiten seiner Geschichte, wie in den Stunden der Freude. Die überirdische Wirklichkeit tritt ihm weniger in der Person Christi des Erlösers, als in der Gestalt Seiner Mutter, der 'Gebieterin', der 'Himmelskönigin', der 'Fürbitterin' (*Zastupnica nebesnaja*) entgegen.«³

¹ *Schneider* 1950 pp. 68—70.

² On the miraculous function of the cult image of the Mother of God in Russia see *Slava Bogomateri* 1907 or *Snessoreva* 1909.

³ *Smolitsch* 1940/41 p. 201.

Manifestations of the miraculous function of cult images resemble one other closely. Miraculous events, said to be brought about by divine energy through the medium of an icon, are generally connected with war, fire and illness. Descriptions of them are colourful tradition, containing not only religious elements but also primitive, sometimes positively sadistic details. For example, the famous Znameniye icon of Novgorod (Blachernae, the icon of the Sign) saved the Novgorod forces in their battle in 1169 against the troops of Suzdal by blinding the enemy, according to the III chronicle of Novgorod.⁴ The icon of the Virgin of Vladimir played its part in the 14th to 16th centuries in many wars between Russians and Tatars. It is credited with three victories over the Tatars. In 1612 it was there to spur the martial spirit of the Russians in their war against the Poles, but when Moscow was threatened by Napoleon in 1812, the precious cult image was taken to Murom for safety.⁵ Jacob de la Gardie's failure to take Tikhvin in 1613 is also attributed to the icon of the Virgin of Tikhvin.⁶

In fires, icons are said to have saved themselves from the flames, or to have been found unharmed amid the ashes. It is sometimes difficult to work out the relationship between prototype and copies when written sources describe a fire that destroyed all the furnishings of a church but do not specify whether or not a famous cult image in the church, around which a tale of miraculous rescue is soon spun, was also destroyed (cf. p. 99). The most common physical ills said to be cured by icons are blindness and »possession». Descriptions of cases of possession are reminiscent of hysterical or epileptic fits (cf. Appendix II).

There were a number of miraculous icons of the Mother of God in the Novgorod region — the Blachernae, the Konevitsa, the Staraya Russa (cf. p. 187), the Svyatogor and other icons.

⁴ PSRL III p. 215. — In *Kondakov's* opinion the legend is a copy of a chronicle on the defence of Byzantium against the Persians in 625. *Kondakov* 1927 p. 66.

⁵ *Jääskinen* 1965^b p. 63.

⁶ *Jääskinen* 1965^a p. 24.

The best known of them was the icon of the Virgin of Tikhvin, credited with 51 miracles. Many of these are carefully recorded, giving names and dates.⁷

2. Miraculous Function of the Konevitsa Icon

In the oldest source dealing with the Konevitsa icon, the ŽAK, there is only indirect occurrence of the icon's miraculous function: Arseni, though, appears as the miracle-worker, who uses the icon as his medium. In the report on Bishop Euthymios's visit the icon is not called miraculous (*chudotvornaya*) but wonderful (*chudnaya*). The entire reference is: »His purpose was to pray before the wonderful icon of our Most Holy Lady, the Mother of God, that was brought from Mount Athos.»⁸

The words *chudotvornaya* and *chudnaya* appear side by side in the descriptions of icons by Russian chroniclers. It is difficult to decide whether they should be regarded as synonymous or whether there is a clear difference in meaning. For example, both words are used of the icon of the Virgin of Vladimir, although *chudotvornaya* appears to emphasize its miraculous ability more clearly.⁹ Even in the 17th century, the Tikhvin icon is consistently referred to as *chudotvornaya*¹⁰, which I consider indicates that its cult was well-established. The publi-

⁷ Skazanie o Tihvinskoj ikoně Bogomateri fols 230—327. HYK. Sl. Ms. — K — 14.

⁸ ŽAK fol. 450: »pomolitisja čjudnomu obrazu Presvjatej Gospozi Bogorodicy.»

⁹ E.g., in the Sofijskij Vremennik both adjectives are used: »And robbed the very icon, the wonderful icon of the Mother of God.» — »In the same year Prince Danilo, son of Boris, conquered Vladimir, the capital of Nizhni-Novgorod, and burnt it down. He plundered the treasures of the miraculous icon of the Mother of God.» Sofijskij Vremennik 1821 p. 242 and p. 445, n. 1.

¹⁰ PSRL III pp. 267—73. — PSRL VIII p. 48. — Dopolnenija k aktam istoričeskim I 1846 p. 55.

cation of the text of its Feast Day Service as early as 1650 is, I think, further evidence of this.¹¹

There are no unarguable source references to the miraculous function of the Konevitsa icon before the late 18th century. Tradition has, however, preserved two late 16th-century miracles which happened in the monastery. In 1573, it is said, the Virgin saved the monastery from a Swedish assault.¹² And on July 10th 1576, a miracle caused by the icon is again said to have saved the monastery from Swedish attack. This incident is not known in any detail, but the feast of the icon is kept on the date it is said to have happened.¹³

In 1573 Herman Fleming and his troops ravaged the Käkisalme region, and a Swedish attack on Konevitsa is not unlikely.¹⁴ On the other hand 1576 came during a truce, an interim peace that lasted two years¹⁵, and thus there should have been no hostilities between Russia and the Swedes. A letter of the Czar, Ivan the Terrible (1578), does show, however, that the Swedes had destroyed the Konevitsa monastery.¹⁶ Possibly some temporary victory in this skirmish was later — under the influence of the miracles of the Tikhvin icon — interpreted as being a miracle worked by the Konevitsa icon, and this event may have been accidentally dated a little earlier. The Swedish attack was in any event successful, since the monks of Konevitsa had to flee to Novgorod (cf. p. 51), so the report of the miracle cannot concern any outstanding victory.

It is perhaps not a mere chance that these miracles are from the period of the igumen Varlaam, the writer of ŽAK (cf. p. 47). Probably the tradition of the miraculous function of the Kone-

¹¹ Mineja Prazdničnaja 1650, rpt 1910.

¹² IINKO 1817 pp. 9–10.

¹³ Ibid. p. 11.

¹⁴ Kuujo 1958 p. 23.

¹⁵ Tavaststjerna 1918–20 pp. 108–133: Truce in 1573–77, interim peace began 20.7.1575 and ended 20.7.1577.

¹⁶ MIK p. 254. — Cf. Kuujo 1958 p. 26: »The raid of Anders Nilsson in 1578.»

vitsa icon is based on his notes of the miraculous events discussed in the monastery.

The period at Derevyanitsa does not seem to have provided any reports of miracles. It would also seem that the miracle of 1576 was not generally known or accepted in the 17th century, as it is not referred to in mentions of the icon. The traditions of Konevitsa were, however, discussed at Derevyanitsa in the later 17th century. In 1672 King Carl XI of Sweden offered to translate the relics of Arseni from Konevitsa to Derevyanitsa.¹⁷ Preparations for this were made, but there is no certainty as to whether the relics were in fact moved.¹⁸ The cherishing of the Konevitsa traditions is indicated by the silver rim made in 1679 for Arseni's bowl, with an engraved text that reads in part:

¹⁷ King Carl XI of Sweden wrote to General Simon Grundel-Helmfelt at Rugodiv, 6.9.1672, offering to move the relics of Arseni from the island of Konevitsa to Novgorod. The letter was presented to the Courier Department of Czar Aleksander Mihailovich by Governor General Nikolai v. Staden on 4.12.1673. (The shift of year is because the Russians counted the ecclesiastical year from September 1st). — Patriarch Pitirim wrote to Josaphat, Igumen of the Derevyanitsa Monastery on 4.12.1673. Czar Aleksej Mihailovich also wrote to Ivan Petrovich Pronski, Commandant of Novgorod, on 18.12.1673. These letters gave orders concerning preparations for the solemn reception of the relics. — Pyhän Arsenioksen jäännösten luovuttaminen venäläisille Konevitsan luostarista (The transfer of the relics of St Arsenios to the Russians from Konevitsa monastery). Moskovian keskusarkistosta hankitut fotostaatit, kansio 30:4. Valtionarkisto (The Finnish State Archives, Photostats from the Central Archives/Moscow, loose-leaf binders 30:4). — *Kadykin & Šljapkin* 1911 pp. 70–73.

¹⁸ *Mikkola* says the relics were moved. *Mikkola* 1932 p. 10. — There is, however, no exact document on their return to Konevitsa. At the time of the reconstruction of the Konevitsa monastery in the early 18th century, the church was erected »on the tomb of Arseni». Thus the relics were believed to be in the tomb (cf. p. 57 and appendix I, — and *Golubinskij* 1903 p. 556). — It is probable that some documents were destroyed, e.g., in the fire of 1762. — Cf. RKM pp. 13–17. — *Kadykin & Šljapkin*'s material on Derevyanitsa ended in 1761, and cannot help. When the tomb of Arseni was opened in 1940, it was found to be empty. Maksim 3.10.62.



Fig. 35. Wooden bowl of St Arseni, decorated with silver in 1679. Photo: OKA.

«The bowl of the holy father Arseni, founder of the monastery of Konevitsa that was in Ladoga, which has been given to the monastery of Derevyanitsa. Decorated in 1679 on August 15th, in the time of igumen Neuphalim.»

This bowl, traditionally supposed to have been made by Arseni, is now in the Orthodox Church Museum in Kuopio (Fig. 35).¹⁹

Another evidence that the traditions of Konevitsa were cherished is the text quoted by *Amvrosi* which, according to him, was written on the reverse of the Konevitsa icon in 1699 (Appendix I). This refers to the icon only as the icon of the Holy Mount, not as miraculous.

It appears that even in the early 18th century the miraculous function was not recognized. In his letter of 1717 the igumen Yoanniki does not call the icon miraculous — he still uses only the term «the icon of the Holy Mount» (cf. p. 54). However, it would seem to be at this period that interest in the icon grew, and the question of its ownership became a matter for consideration when the monastery was rebuilt on Konevitsa island. At the end of the 18th century the 1576 miracle is recognized to the extent that it is entered on a private calendar: the *Lyuboputnuy mesyatseslov* . . ., published in 1794, notes that the image of the Most Holy Mother of God of Konevitsa appeared

¹⁹ *Surakka* 1961 p. 13.

in 1576 on July 10th.²⁰ This is probably the calendar meant by IINKO when stating that the miracle appears in a state calendar printed in Moscow in 1794—95.²¹ I have not found this feast day in other 18th-century calendars.²² IINKO (1817) calls the icon miraculous and mentions the miracle it performed in the 16th century.²³ IINKO for 1822 says that in 1819, at the order of the Holy Ruling Synod, the feast day of the icon of Konevitsa, July 10th, was entered in the church calendar.²⁴ Although literature concerning the Konevitsa monastery printed in the 19th century, starting with IINKO, regularly mentions this feast and calls the icon miraculous, the official calendars still do not include the feast. It seems not to have been adopted as a general feast day until the 20th century.²⁵ The lists of saints and calendars of feasts were not standardized or uniform but could also be published by private persons, who would select the feasts in accordance with their own preferences. The only norm was that a non-canonical theme could not be included.²⁶

The miraculous function of the Konevitsa icon became very active in 1799. Most of the miracles credited to the icon come from the two months (3.7—3.9.1799) it was in St Petersburg and when »the flame of an eternal lamp burnt before it».²⁷ There

²⁰ Ljubopytnyj mėsjaeslov ... 1794 p. 88. — The memorial feast of Arseni 12.6. is missing. — Ibid. p. 76.

²¹ IINKO 1817 p. 11. — See also Ehrström & Ottelin: Historisk skildring ... fol. 2. HYK/Tigerstedt 4/A⁵ I 4.

²² E.g. Mėsjaeslov ... 1785 p. 28. — Mėsjaeslov istoričeskij i geografičeskij na 1788 god p. IX.

²³ IINKO 1817 p. 11.

²⁴ IINKO 1822 p. 45. — According to *Pimen*, the order of the Synod (No. 2247) was given 24.10.1819. *Pimen* 1892 p. 59. — The document in question has not been found in the Archives of Konevitsa monastery. Kasanko 18.2.71.

²⁵ E.g., Polnyj mėsjaeslov 1906 p. 207. — Vseobščij Kalendar' na 1913 god p. 9.

²⁶ *Bulgakov* 1900 p. 277. — See calendars at the end of the 18th century and in the 19th century: *Rogožin* 1908 p. 36.

²⁷ RKM p. 72.

are numerous reports of the healing of those afflicted with blindness and possession, which can be found in many 19th-century publications.²⁸ The miracles continued after the icon arrived at Konevitsa on 3.9.1799.²⁹

Miracles were still recorded in the 20th century. There is a detailed description of the healing of Darya Batrakova, in 1912, in the Konevitsa monastery archives (Appendix II). It gives an illustrative example of the naturalistic style of these reports of miracles. A number of eyewitnesses swore to Mrs Batrakova's healing on June 15th 1916. She herself had reported on her healing to Archimandrite *Nikandr*, the igumen of Konevitsa. *Nikandr* then informed the diocesan council and published an account of the miracle on 20.9.1916.³⁰

The most recent reports I have heard on the miracles of the Konevitsa icon come from the period spent at Keitele in the 1950s. I was told them by the former spiritual director of the monastery, Father *Maksim*, whom I met after he had become chaplain to the Lintula convent on 3.10.1962. The miracles were concerned with the healing of sickness and with fire.³¹ The former igumen *Pietari* of Konevitsa (*Paul Jouhki*) has also added to *Maksim's* description on 28.4.1969, mentioning a number of cases of healing. According to him, »there have been more miracles than one would think on the basis of the reports handed down by tradition. Not all the miracles have been written down, because they concerned delicate matters.»³²

The miraculous cult of the Konevitsa icon is later and more modest than that of the Tikhvin icon. It would seem that the stimulus for the reports of the miraculous ability of the Konevitsa icon came from the experiences of the Konevitsa monks after the move to Derevyanitza in 1610. They came within the im-

²⁸ E.g., *Pimen* 1892 pp. 25–27.

²⁹ Slava Bogomateri 1907 p. 519.

³⁰ *Nifont* »1916 goda, ijuna 15 dnja...» OKA/A 822/27. — *Nikandr* 1916.

³¹ *Maksim* 3.10.62.

³² *Jouhki* 28.4.69.

mediate sphere of influence of the famous Tikhvin icon. The place where the Tikhvin icon originally appeared was on Derevyanitsa land (cf. p. 52). In addition, the Konevitsa community had to flee to Tikhvin from Derevyanitsa at the very time when the reputation of the Tikhvin icon as the conqueror of Jacob de la Gardie was at its height. It would seem that the miracle cult began to grow up around the Konevitsa icon at the same time. However, since it is not called miraculous in a single source older than the 18th century, its miraculous function must have been little known at first. The Lyuboputnuy mesyatseslov of 1794 nonetheless shows that the feast day on July 10th was known even before the icon was transferred from Derevyanitsa to Konevitsa in 1799.

The Karelian tradition of summer religious festivals, »prazdniks», bears traces of some expressions of the miraculous function of the icons of Mary in the Novgorod cultural sphere. For example, according to *Sarmela*, the feast day of the Novgorod Blachernae icon is celebrated as a general prazdnik day at Hokankaivo (Suojärvi), Rugišjärvi (Šoutjärvi) and Hudjakka (Suis-tamo). The feast of the icon of the Virgin of Kazan is a general prazdnik day at Moissienvaara (Suojärvi), Tšuppu (Kenjärvi), Kenjakka (Munjärvi), Mägrätjärvi (Nekkula) and Yläžagja (Šoutjärvi). The feast of the Tikhvin icon is also a prazdnik day at Paloniemi (Kuujärvi) and Papinposad (Šoutjärvi).³³ It is interesting to note that the feast of the Konevitsa icon, July 10th, never became sufficiently well known to have become a local prazdnik festival.

3. The Feast Day Service

On July 10th, the feast of the Konevitsa icon, a service was celebrated at the Konevitsa monastery in front of the monastery palladion; according to RKM the text was written by the igumen

³³ *Sarmela* 1969 pp. 75—82.

Hilarion (1810–23).³⁴ The entire text was printed in Russian in 1879 if not earlier.³⁵

At the start of the service, the following prayer fixes the attention on the icon:

»Lo, the temple filled with glory! Rejoice and be glad, ye men, for the holy image of the eternal Light and His Virgin Mother beams on us the radiance of grace. Transfigured by this grace, with thankful hearts we sing: Glory to God on high, for He has not abandoned us but has inclined to our aid from above, and has shown His care for us by returning to us from Novgorod this inexhaustible treasure of miracles, left to us by Arseni, a man wise in God, for the salvation of our souls.»³⁶

The service goes from metaphor to metaphor, in glowingly emotional imagery. The icon is called the inexhaustible treasure of miracles, the ever-flowing source of miracles, the bringer of prosperity to the monastery, the adornment of the temple, the cloud of baptism, a new moon appearing in the sky of Russia, the brightest of all stars, etc.³⁷ Demons are repelled thus: »Let the demons weep, scorched by the supernatural fire of the icon of the Pure Virgin, let them flee from the presence of men to that depth prepared for them.»³⁸

The most important themes in the text of the service are the tradition concerning Arseni and the icon (Arseni brought the icon from the holy Mount Athos, as David brought the Ark of the Covenant), gratitude for the return of the icon from Novgorod (it is compared to that light from the east), and praise of the miraculous function. Few of the miracles are mentioned in detail. Mention is made of the blind who regained their sight because of the icon, the cripples who rose from their beds, and those troubled by evil spirits who were cured.

³⁴ RKM p. 32.

³⁵ Služba Presvjatej Bogorodicě, 1879.

³⁶ Ibid. p. 2.

³⁷ Ibid. p. 20.

³⁸ Ibid. p. 15.

The text of the service says very little about the iconography. A sweeping comment is the only information on the composition: »... has given us her image, clear and radiant, in which we see her carrying on her arms the Child, born before all ages, Creator of all.»³⁹ This could as well describe a hodegetria type icon, such as the Tikhvin icon (cf. p. 94). The corresponding text of the Tikhvin icon does not, however, use quite similar expression. Mary is not said to carry her Child but she and her Child, born before all ages, are to be seen in the icon.⁴⁰ The text of the Vladimir icon has the same carrying motif as that of the Konevitsa icon: Mary carries on her arm her Child, Creator of all.⁴¹ When comparing these texts one can find a great deal of common traits. The differences between them are based on the differences between the traditions, history and tales of miracles of the icons.

Igumen Hilarion has, of course, used the existing texts as models when compiling the service text for the palladion of Konevitsa. I shall assume that there were already some ready prayers for this icon, too, some »kondaks and ikosses» (cf. Appendix I).

As far as I know, the text of the service has not yet been published in its entirety in Finnish. However, the service for the festival of the apostles of Karelia, approved by the bishops of the Finnish Orthodox Church on 6.6.1959⁴², has several prayers inspired by the Konevitsa icon. The following troparion from the feast of the icon forms a part of both Vigil and Liturgy:

³⁹ Ibid. p. 4.

⁴⁰ Mineja prazdničnaja 1650 p. 451.

⁴¹ Staroobradčeskij bogoslužebnyj sbornik. HYK/S1. Ms-O-18.

⁴² Pyhittäjäisemme Karjalan valistajien yhteinen juhla (The joint feast of our holy fathers, the apostles of Karelia) 1959.

Like the sun rising from the east
the holy image, Lady, shone on us in brightness.
With the rays of miracles in splendour it shines on
all those who ever approach it in faith and love
and devoutly pray before thy glory
that is to thee in thy Son, God.
Glory be to God who, through Arseni, gave it to us.
Glory to Him who returned it to us.
Glory to Him who through it sheds healing on all.⁴³

The text of the feast of the apostles of Karelia shows other influences from the text for the feast of the Konevitsa icon. For example, the Konevitsa icon is compared to the sun rising in the east, the living Ark of God's Covenant and the brightest of stars. The Virgin Mary is called the protectress of Karelia. Her miraculous icon was brought by Arseni from the holy Mount of Athos to the North »as the eternal protectress of Karelia».⁴⁴

Summary

According to tradition, the miraculous function of the Konevitsa icon began in the second half of the 16th century. A miracle said to have occurred on July 10th, 1576, has provided the date for the feast day of the icon. Nothing more precise is known about this miracle except that it is said to have been connected with a Swedish attack. This miracle appears in a private calendar in 1794, and was probably approved in 1819, but was not a permanent feast of the church calendar until the early 20th century.

The miraculous function became active in 1799, when the

⁴³ Ibid. pp. 10, 22.

⁴⁴ Ibid. pp. 10, 14, 15, 18—19.

The effect of the Konevitsa palladion and the text of its feast day service is seen in the description of the icon brought by Bishop Kiprian to Salmi church from Mount Athos in 1909. Cf. *Merikoski* 1939 p. 245. — Päivinen: *Hajanaisia merkintöjä* . . . HYK/Merikoski DD 102.

icon was in St Petersburg and was arousing more attention than usual. There are also reports of miracles in the 20th century, the last from the 1950s.

In general, the miracles of the Konevitsa icon are miracles of healing. Rescue from fire and war miracles also occur.

The miraculous function of the Konevitsa icon was stimulated by well-known miraculous icons in the Novgorod region, especially that of the Virgin of Tikhvin.

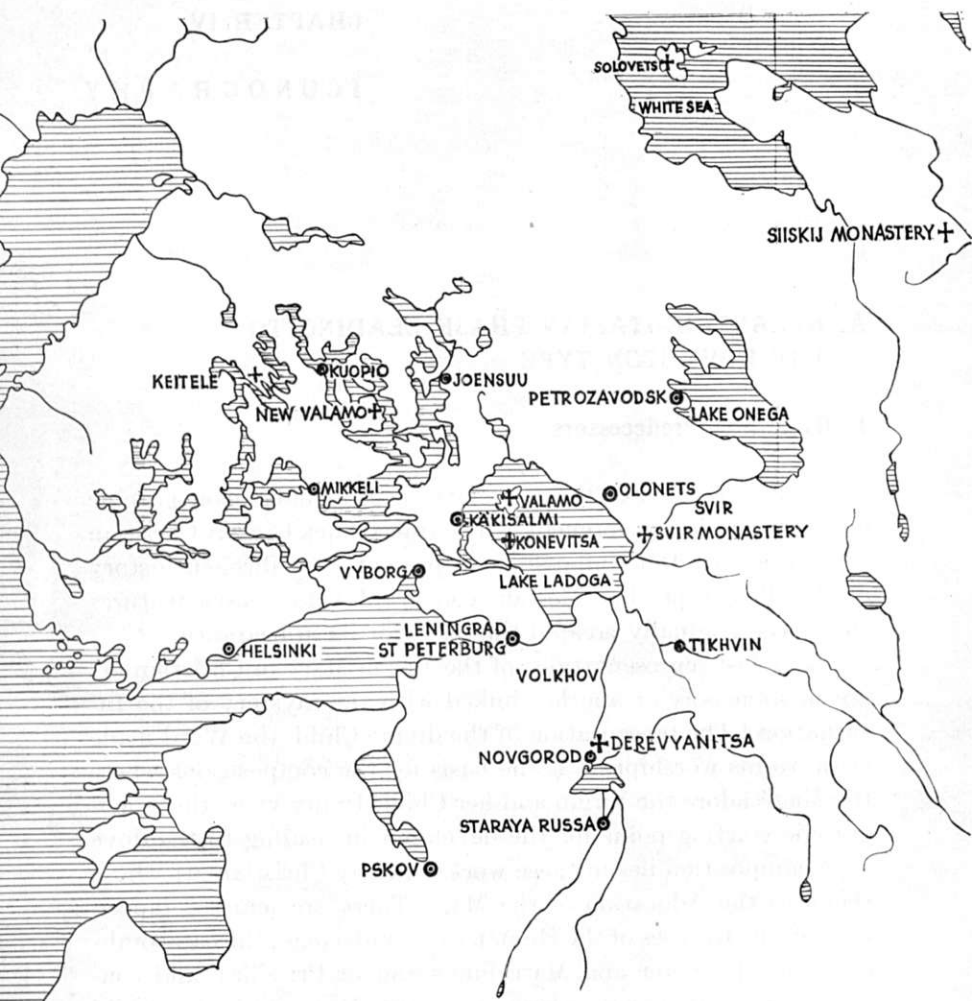


Fig. 36. Map. Drawing by Robert de Caluwé.

CHAPTER IV

ICONOGRAPHY

A. BYZANTINE-ITALIAN PHASE LEADING TO THE DOVE ICON TYPE

1. Byzantine Predecessors

The composition of the Konevitsa icon includes iconographic elements whose development can be traced back to early Christian sepulchral art. It is impossible to present an unbroken history of the dove type, but Marian iconography does have features that have gradually created the basis for its appearance.

The oldest representations of the Virgin Mary in Christian art are in some way or another linked with the mystery of the Incarnation.¹ The presentation of the divine Child, the Word made flesh, to his worshippers is the basis for the compositions where the Magi² adore the Virgin and her Child. In my view, the iconographic starting point for the development leading to the dove type composition lies in these works of early Christian art whose theme is the Adoration of the Magi. There are many compositions in the frescoes of the Roman catacombs (e.g., the catacombs of Domitilla, Peter and Marcellinus and of Priscilla), and contemporary sarcophagi, which represent Mary with the Child Jesus in her lap, and an external object attracting the Child's

¹ *Wellen* 1961 pp. 14—15.

² The Magi were identified with the Kings from the third century. According to *Schiller*, in pictorial art there was transmutation in the 10th century. *Schiller* 1966 I p. 105.

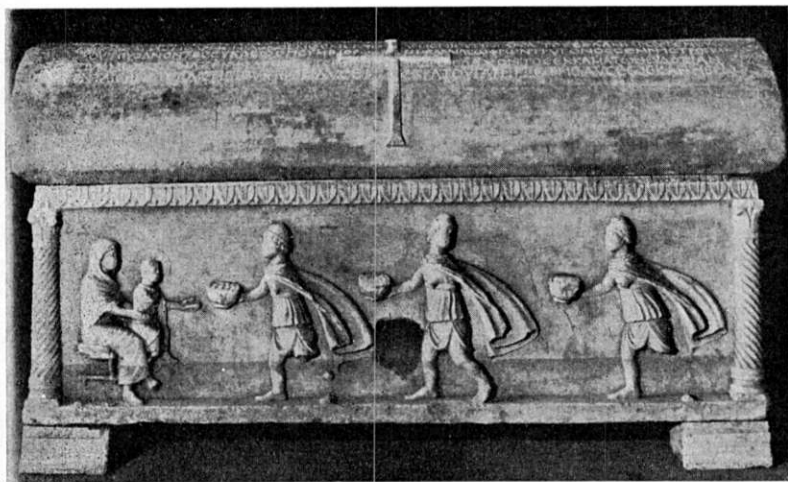


Fig. 37. The Adoration of the Magi. Sarcophagus, c. 400. Ravenna, S. Vitale. Photo: *Volbach* 1958 fig. 179.



Fig. 38. Bacchante and Eros. Fresco, Pompei. Naples. Museo Nazionale, No 110591. Photo: Mus. Naz. Naples.

attention. This is usually the Magi, towards whom, or towards whose gifts, the Child Jesus is stretching out his hand (Fig. 37).³ Mary presents her Child to the Magi in early Christian sepulchral art, just as in pre-Christian art a bacchante raises up the boy Eros for the people to see (Fig. 38), or Isis presents the child Horus in her lap.⁴ Mary herself is a virtually impersonal background figure, resembling a middle-aged woman dressed in a tunic or dalmatic and short white veil. The Child Jesus, too, is not different from any earthly child.

The decisive influence on Marian iconography came from Byzantine art, which created cult images in accordance with the dogma of the Theotokos approved by the Council of Ephesus in 431. The imperial portraits were the hieratic prototypes for these. Art was entirely an expression of cult.⁵ The metaphysical tendencies that were visible in the predecessors of the icons, the Hellenistic funerary portraits, were transferred to Byzantine art with the merging of neo-Platonist idealism into Christian thinking. Marian iconography in Byzantium was oriented, both ideologically and in terms of formal history, to a new trend, differing from the Hellenistic tradition of the mother goddess.

The earliest art of Byzantium is extremely heterogeneous, giving the lie to the mediaeval belief that an authentic portrait of Mary had influenced her iconography. Another witness of this is Augustine's familiar remark: »Neque enim novimus faciem Virginis Mariae.»⁶ Although there are not many memorials of the pre-iconoclastic early Byzantine period (from c. 430 to 726), the comparison of various types of art with contemporary texts⁷ has given an idea of the artists' attempt to express the Theotokos cult then taking shape. The formal world of the monumental paintings, engravings and reliefs on cult objects, sarcophagus

³ For the iconographic development of the theme see *Schiller* 1966 I, figs. 245—99 and 560.

⁴ *Dalton* 1911 p. 643, n. 1 and p. 673.

⁵ *Schweinfurth* 1954 pp. 9—10.

⁶ *Augustinus* De Trinitate VIII⁵.

⁷ Cf. e.g., the method of *Wellen*: *Wellen* 1961 p. 10.

works, manuscript miniatures and the few remaining icons show both tendencies affecting the entire Empire and local trends.⁸ Although the ceaseless development of methods requires regular scrutiny of datings⁹, Mariological research does have a fairly well-established concept of the pictorial representation of the Mother of God in the pre-iconoclastic centuries, or at least of the basic trends of Marian iconography.

When studying the phases of formal history that have contributed to the development of the composition of the Konevitsa icon, we must remember the Byzantine types in which Mary presents her son to the faithful. The dogma of the Theotokos meant an increase in the personal importance of Mary, and from the 5th century onwards she came to be depicted for her own sake, not just as a background figure to the Child Jesus because of Christological motives.¹⁰ An important starting point was the presentation of the Virgin Mother and the divine Child to a crowd of worshippers, now representing larger groups than the Magi in early Christian art. This invisible public demanded a ceremonial en face composition, which in terms of formal history is a return to the iconography of the mummy portraits.¹¹ Previously, Christian art had depicted only Jesus enthroned¹², but now Mary was also depicted as regnant. Ideological and iconographic models for the Mariological throne images exist in the representations of the pre-Christian mother-goddesses and the Byzantine empresses.¹³ The Mother of God enthroned with her Child symbolizes both the queen of heaven and earth and the church triumphant. She herself, when she bore the Son

⁸ Cf. e.g., *Kondakov* 1914 I pp. 162, 236, 361.

⁹ E.g., the dating of the famous panel of Santa Francesca Romana (Santa Maria Nuova) has been transferred from the 13th century to the 6th century. — Cf. *Garrison* 1949 p. 63, No. 114. — *Cellini* 1950 pp. 1–6.

¹⁰ *Wellen* 1961 p. 224.

¹¹ *Rothemund* 1966 p. 16.

¹² *Wellen* 1961 p. 147.

¹³ *Lawrence* 1935 p. 152. — *Cecchelli* 1946 I pp. 81–88. — *James* 1959 p. 210. — *A. Grabar* 1968 pp. 81–82.



Fig. 39. Hypapante. Mosaic, 432—440. Rome, S. Maria Maggiore. Photo: *Wellen* 1961 fig. 18—19, detail.

of God in her womb, was his first earthly throne, and thus she was also seen as a throne of the incarnate Word of God, the Logos.¹⁴

Mary is first depicted in court dress in the mosaics of the triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome (Fig. 39). She is not represented as a separate hieratic composition (such as might appear in the apse of the church), but in a Christological context, in the themes of the Annunciation and the Presentation (hypapante, cf. p. 102). In the former mosaic she sits like a princess on a throne, a diadem on her hair, receiving the messenger of God. In the latter, she carries the Child Jesus, who is dressed in tunic and pallium, the clothing of an ordinary child.¹⁵ Mary has no halo in the mosaics of the triumphal arch, although the Child Jesus and the angels, and even Herod, have haloes.¹⁶ The type *Maria Basilissa* (*Maria Regina*) is not clearly defined until the 6th century: with crown and halo, flanked by angels as by imperial court ladies, Mary sits on the splendid throne of the Byzantine court. Comparing the *basilissa* pictures of the period

¹⁴ *Cecchelli* 1946 I pp. 106—07, 113.

¹⁵ Cf. *Karpp* 1966 figs. 13 and 26.

¹⁶ Because the halo was used as a symbol of power, it was also attached to the representatives of evil powers; e.g., to a pagan emperor persecuting the Christians, or even to the devil. *Didron* 1843 p. 75. — *Molsdorf* 1968 p. 135.

with, for example, the mosaic of the Empress Theodora in S. Vitale at Ravenna, there are many similarities in the features, haloes, crowns and clothing.¹⁷ In the art of the early Christian period Mary received the Magi seated in a modest »chancery chair», inherited from antique art¹⁸, but now she has the throne her position warrants. Sometimes the throne has no backrest, sometimes it has a lyre-shaped or rectangular back. It is ornamented with precious stones and upholstered with purple cushions, one of which acts as a footstool.

The basilissa type was popular in Rome, from where it came into Carolingian art.¹⁹ It was not yet established in the icon painting of the Eastern church.²⁰ The Theotokos enthroned was adopted in the east, but in a form that may be termed the cathedra type, the throne of the Son of God. Mary sits on the throne wearing a simple maphorion, and without the symbols of power. The reasoning behind the cathedra presentation can be found in the hagiographic texts, such as the Acathistos Hymn, where Mary is called the »Throne of the Lord».²¹ The Child Jesus is either seated on his mother's lap or depicted in a medallion on her breast. The cathedra type descends from the iconography of the Adoration of the Magi. The oldest compositions that have broken away from the narrative theme are from 5th-century Capua and Rome²², but some 6th-century works also have links with this vanishing theme.²³ As the principle of the throne of the Logos was simplified, the narrative material lost its significance

¹⁷ Cf., e.g., Madonna della Clemenza of S. Maria Trastevere in Rome and the mosaic of the Empress Theodora in S. Vitale, Ravenna. *Cecchelli* 1946 I p. IV. — *Nordström* 1953 pl. 27 b.

¹⁸ *Cecchelli* 1946 I p. 102.

¹⁹ *Lawrence* 1925 p. 150.

²⁰ *Nordström* 1953 p. 79. — The Virgin Mary in court dress is well-known in later Russian icon painting, e.g., in the 16-century presentations of the intercession theme, in which the »Queen» is praying on the right of Jesus. *Lasarew* 1959 p. 66.

²¹ *Wellesz* 1957 p. 61.

²² *Ihm* 1960 p. 55.

²³ Cf. the mosaic of St Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna. *Volbach* 1958 fig. 152.

and thus the Magi were left out. Instead, Mary was pictured flanked by angels, saints, donors of votive pictures, etc.²⁴ The presentation was a double process: on the one hand, the Mother of God and her Child showed themselves to an invisible public, on the other hand, her humble subjects were presented to her, for example, in the apse composition the saint to whom the church was dedicated, the deceased whose funerary memorial the fresco was, etc. The group of worshippers standing to the side of the central composition in a sense cut Mary and the Child off on their own transcendent level, adapting well to the ceremonial nature of early Byzantine art.²⁵

Many iconographic names have been used of the cathedra composition and its variants. The writings of icon scholars display a confusion of concepts when describing this Marian icon type here called the cathedra, where Mary is depicted enthroned with the Child, without any symbols of power.²⁶

Monumental painting in the 6th century depicted the persons of the throne composition frontally, usually in an absolutely

²⁴ Examples of 6th-century works in which there are, as well as the angels, saints or suppliant, at the throne: the apse-mosaic in the Parenzo basilica, the icon in St Catherine Monastery at Mount Sinai and the catacomb fresco of Commodilla in Rome. *Wellen* 1961 pp. 161 (29a), 162 (30), 232 (44).

²⁵ The cathedra composition retained its position in Orthodox icon painting. Perhaps the best-known Slavic interpretation of the theme is the icon of the Virgin of Pecher, known in the tradition of the Kiev cave monastery, where Antonios and Theodosios, the founders of the Pecher monastery, stand on either side of the Mother and Child composition. Cf. *Onasch* 1961 pp. 342–43. — *Antonova & Mneva* 1963 I p. 76.

²⁶ I have found the expression «Kathedra des Logos» in *Wulff* 1914 p. 433. — Other names for this iconographical type are e.g., platytera, nikopoia and hypsilotera. Cf. *Schweinfurth* 1930 p. 222. — *Korevaar-Hesseling* 1932 p. 13. — *Réau* 1957 p. 72. — *Wessel* 1963 p. 63. — *Wellen* 1961 p. 148. — *Mahuet* interpreted the absence of the common iconographic name as follows: «Les grecs n'ont pas de nom pour désigner la Théotokos assise sans doute parce qu'aucune image de ce type ne se trouvait dans un sanctuaire célèbre et ne possédait une histoire.» *Mahuet* 1962 p. 155.

symmetrical en face position. Compared with the Adoration of the Magi compositions of early Christian sepulchral art, they seem to be more static. The profile and half-profile compositions — according to *Schiller*, the former represent an older iconography²⁷ — are replaced by the en face position, which emphasized the majestically ceremonial trend of presentation. With the disappearance of the Magi, the hieratic nature of the central composition is increased, while the presentation of a holy person to his worshippers and the creation of contact between them that is typical of the cult image is gaining ground. «So that they may receive their due veneration from the beholder they must face him, that is, they must be represented in frontal attitude, only so do they converse fully with the beholder», says *Demus*.²⁸ But it is impossible to keep the en face composition when depicting narrative themes. The operational themes of icons representing events demand variation of positions. The half-profile was adopted as a compromise between the profile and en face compositions. The profile is generally used in depicting those representing negative attitudes, or less important characters.²⁹

The half-profile became particularly important in the *hod-egetria* composition, which may also go back to the theme of the Adoration of the Magi.³⁰ *Kondakov* says that a real «spider's web of hearsay» conceals the origin of this type.³¹ In the *hod-egetria* icons, Mary holds the Child Jesus on one arm, pointing to him with the other hand. In this way she directs the thoughts of the faithful to Jesus.³² It is uncertain whether this symbolic gesture, which is linked with the name of the type of picture

²⁷ *Schiller* 1966 I p. 110.

²⁸ *Demus* 1953 p. 7.

²⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 7—8.

³⁰ *Lasareff* 1938 p. 49.

³¹ *Kondakov* 1915 II p. 153.

³² This is a general interpretation. Alternatives, e.g., the motif of intercession, are rarely represented. However, see *Sirén* 1922 p. 68. — *Danilowa* 1970 p. 56.

(Hodegetria—Indicator of the way) and the motif of guidance it implies³³ formed part of the famous mediaeval palladion of Constantinople, its Theotokos Hodegetria, which is considered the prototype of the hodegetria icons. Again, there is no unanimity as to whether the prototype showed Mary full-length or half-length³⁴, or whether the prototype was painted on both sides from the start.³⁵ The tradition attached to the Constantinople Hodegetria is in general full of contradictions, even up to the last phase of its history. Tradition has not accepted the claim that the Tatars destroyed the icon in 1453, but believes that it had already escaped from their hands and fled to Russia in 1383, and has continued to exert its influence as the icon of the Virgin of Tikhvin.³⁶ However, the old icon which was in the Tikhvin monastery is said to have shown typically Russian traits of the late 14th century when it was opened and examined in 1920.³⁷ The whereabouts of that original Tikhvin icon is nowadays unknown (cf. Fig. 40).

The function of the Palladion of Constantinople, the Theotokos Hodegetria, was important in the devout life of Byzantium. There are many inspired accounts of its worship and miracles.³⁸

The hodegetria type became established in the art of east and west alike, preserving its basic distinguishing features of the Child Jesus on Mary's arm and Mary's hand pointing to the Child. The Child blesses the faithful, forming the letters indi-

³³ Near a temple on Hodegon street there was a fountain where water was believed to heal blindness. The guides of the blind were called the 'hodegoi'. The palladion of the blind was the cult image of the temple, the 'hodegetria'. *Kondakov* 1915 II p. 157. — *Schrade* 1963 p. 218. — *Wessel* 1967 p. 69, etc. — It is still undecided whether the name 'the street of guides' was named after the church and the icon or vice versa.

³⁴ *Kondakov* and *Lazarev* interpreted it as a full-length figure. *Kondakov* 1915 II p. 159. — *Lasareff* 1938 p. 46.

³⁵ According to *Pallas*, the figure of the Crucifixion on the reverse was painted after 975. *Pallas* 1965 p. 92.

³⁶ *Stacton* 1965 p. 250. — Cf. *Jääskinen* 1965^a p. 21.

³⁷ *Antonova & Mneva* 1963 I p. 322.

³⁸ Cf. *Kondakov* 1915 II p. 160.



Fig. 40. The Virgin of Tikhvin. Icon, 14th. cent. Whereabouts unknown.
Photo: *Kondakov* 1927 fig. XVIII.

eating his name with the fingers of his right hand. At first the persons of the hodegetria icons were represented en face, but the half-profile gradually became general. The head of Mary inclined a little towards the Child. The Child turned inwards on her arm. As the hodegetria type became linked with the cathedra compositions, the Child Jesus was often transferred from Mary's arm to her lap. Many of the famous altarpaintings of the Italian duecento are combinations of the cathedra and hodegetria types. They provided the iconographic foundation for the great Maestà compositions (cf. p. 123).

In the basilissa, cathedra and hodegetria compositions alike, there is a lack of human contact between Mary and the Child Jesus. The principle of the composition is the presentation of the Virgin Mother and the Divine Child to the faithful, and the presentation of the faithful to them. The expression is based on the belief that Mary and Jesus represent a spiritual hierarchy, and thus the central composition is depicted as disproportionately large compared with the other figures. The transcendent world of values can only be depicted by the stylization principles of a stern theology. Individual external features or human feelings could not be represented. The portrait-type presentation permitted as little physical contact as possible between Mary and Jesus.³⁹

The eleousa composition has also affected the development of the dove type, although the composition does seem to differ from the Konevitsa icon. The eleousa represents a different viewpoint from the types mentioned above, and has presented scholars with plenty of problems. In Orthodox icon painting it appears mainly in the form of the famous icon of the Virgin of Vladimir (Fig. 41) and copies of this.

The influence of the eleousa type on Mariological iconography has appeared in the forms of impulses towards dissolution of the hieratic compositional structure, in terms of nuance and

³⁹ Example: In the mosaic of the Hosios Lukas monastery the Child seems to be sitting in the air. Cf. *Grabar & Chatzidakis* 1959 fig. XIV.



Fig. 41. The Virgin of Vladimir. Icon, 12th cent. Moscow, Tretyakov Gallery, No 14243. Photo: *Jääskinen* 1965^b fig. 1.

atmosphere. With its interest in the mother-child relationship between Mary and the Child Jesus, the eleousa paved the way for human feelings in Christian art. It was a foretaste of a more liberal trend, and prepared the ground for new forms from which the dove icon type also developed.

There have been various views as to the origin of the eleousa type. Of the older generation of scholars, *Kondakov* and *Likhachev* traced it to Italy⁴⁰, but their successors such as *I. Grabar*, *Alpatov* and *Lazarev* are convinced that it is Byzantine.⁴¹ Their view is supported by many eleousa works of the »mid-Byzantine period» of the post-iconoclastic centuries (843—1204).⁴² According to recent research, Byzantium itself was only a way-station on the route taken by the eleousa composition, since it had already appeared in the 6th century in the southern parts of the empire, chiefly in Coptic iconography.⁴³ However, *Wessel* does not believe the monophysites created this composition with its tender humanity, since according to their theology, Jesus had no human nature at all.⁴⁴ In fact, we must look to the Greek-Orthodox culture of Alexandria for the origins of eleousa iconography.

The oldest surviving eleousa work is thought to be an Alexandrian ivory relief in the Baltimore Walters Art Gallery. It is dated variously between the 7th and 9th centuries.⁴⁵ The eleousa type seems to have reached Italy with the first Crusade.⁴⁶ It became particularly popular in Russia, as is shown by the name often used of the prototype, the Virgin of Vladimir, »Mother of Russia» (Fig. 41).⁴⁷

There has been some dispute as to the dating of the Vladimir icon, but on the whole a dating in the 12th century is accepted.⁴⁸

⁴⁰ *Kondakov* 1911 p. 151. — *Lihačev* 1911 p. 150.

⁴¹ *I. Grabar* 1930 p. 41. — *Alpatov* 1932 p. 255. — *Lasareff* 1938 p. 37. — Cf. also *Antonova & Mneva* 1963 I p. 61, n. 1.

⁴² E.g., *Berckenhagen* 1963 pp. 145—151. — *Restle* 1967 cols. 1550—51.

⁴³ *Bovini* 1962 p. 57. — *Poglayen-Neuwall* 1941 p. 294. — *Rothemund* 1966 pp. 252—56.

⁴⁴ *Wessel* 1965 p. 212. — *Wessel* 1963 p. 133.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Restle* 1967 col. 1553. — *Bourguet* 1967 p. 41. — *Shorr* 1954 p. 43.

⁴⁶ *Restle* 1967 col. 1553. — On the Eleousa type in Italian art (»Il gruppo affettuoso») see also *Sandberg-Vavala* 1934^b, pp. 57—65 — and *Weigelt* 1928 pp. 195—221.

⁴⁷ *Rothemund* 1966 p. 38.

⁴⁸ E.g., *Antonova & Mneva* 1963 I p. 58. — *Bank* 1966 p. 370. — *Rothe-*

Many Russian chronicles have references to this icon, such as the Lavrentyevskaya, Ipatyevskaya, and Sofiyskaya chronicles.⁴⁹ The Steppennaya kniga also mentions it.⁵⁰ According to these sources, the icon was painted in Constantinople and thence taken to Russia. Its name comes from the town of Vladimir, where Prince Andrey Bogolyubsky took it in 1155. The church where it was kept burnt down in 1186. As the fire started in the ceiling⁵¹, it is possible that the icon of Vladimir, famous for its miraculous function, was saved. It has been suggested, however, that the original Byzantine icon might nonetheless have been destroyed and, as was the usual practice, replaced by a copy.⁵² This would make the present »Vladimirskaya» a copy of the original.⁵³ — The icon of Vladimir is nowadays two-sided. There have been conflicting estimates as to the date and authorship of the composition on the reverse.⁵⁴ It is generally dated to the period of Andrey Rublev (c. 1360—1420), and sometimes even attributed to the famous icon painter himself.⁵⁵

The iconographic characteristics of the eleousa type are seen in the icon of Vladimir. The composition shows traces of the hodegetria tradition.⁵⁶ The Child Jesus sits on Mary's right arm. Mary points to the Child with her left hand, although the symbolism of guiding can hardly be supposed to be present. Jesus

mund 1966 p. 38. — *Felicetti-Liebenfels* 1956 p. 51. — *D. Talbot-Rice* 1968 p. 11.

⁴⁹ PSRL I p. 148. 165 — 66. — PSRL II p. 303.

⁵⁰ *Kniga Steppennaja* I 1775 p. 252.

⁵¹ PSRL I pp. 165—66.

⁵² Cf. *Ainalov* 1933 p. 85. — *Danilova* 1970 p. 52.

⁵³ *Onasch* 1955 p. 56. — *Kolb* seems to have accepted the theory of *Onasch*, *Myslivec*, on the contrary, rejects it categorically. — *Kolb* 1968 pp. 105—106. — *Myslivec* 1968 p. 327.

⁵⁴ E.g., *Alpatov* dates it to the beginning of the 15th century, while *Pallas* considers it contemporary with the Vladimir icon, dated by him in the 14th century. *Alpatov* n.d. p. 18. — *Pallas* 1965 p. 103.

⁵⁵ *Antonova & Mneva* 1963 I p. 62 n. 8.

⁵⁶ In *I. Grabar's* opinion, the eleousa goes back to hodegetria. *I. Grabar* 1930 p. 41. — Cf. also *Cecchelli* 1946 I p. 212. — *Lasareff* 1938 p. 38.

has put his arm round Mary's neck, inside the maphorion. The faces of mother and Child touch. The sorrow depicted in Mary's face is achieved chiefly by the fractionally down-drawn corners of the mouth and the shadows of the lashes darkening the corners of the eyes.

When the «Vladimirskaya» was cleaned in 1918, the original painting was found best on the faces of Mary and Jesus.⁵⁷ These places were painted on cloth, which may be the reason why the paint was preserved. The rest of the painting was done directly onto a size base spread on the icon board.⁵⁸ The face of Mary is rather long and oval. The nose curves gently, and the eyebrows almost meet. The base colour is olive green, which is seen in the shadows. Ochre, representing skin, is spread on the top. The cheeks, the nose and upper eyelids are emphasized with red, slightly darker than the red of the lips. The highlights are picked out in white. The darkest shadows are achieved by emphasizing the contours of the nose and eyelids. The unknown painter has placed broad spots of light on the tip of the nose and the left nostril.⁵⁹ Although the Vladimir icon is painted in tempera, the wide, relief-like brushstrokes are reminiscent of encaustic.⁶⁰ The face of Jesus is painted in lighter ochre than that of Mary. The cheeks are emphasized with rose, and the shadows are formed from the olive-green base colour.

In general, the Vladimir icon is considered the prototype of the eleousa iconography in Russia, where this composition came to be known as the «umileniye». In the Middle Ages, the word «umileniye» had a variety of shades of meaning, all of them expressing melancholy and compassion or a sense of devoutness.⁶¹ Mary's compassion for the Child Jesus because of the sufferings

⁵⁷ Antonova & Mneva 1963 I p. 59. — Cf. the different layers of paint in Anisimov 1928 p. 36.

⁵⁸ Gerhard 1957 p. 74.

⁵⁹ Anisimov 1928 p. 29.

⁶⁰ Lasarew 1957 p. 280.

⁶¹ See the synonyms in Sreznevski 1903 col. 1205, — and the Greek equivalents according to Miklosich: Miklosich 1862—65 p. 1051.

he is destined to endure »extends to embrace within its sphere every creature on whose behalf the sacrifice is offered». ⁶² The emotion of the Child Jesus is tenderness, expressed towards his mother. The element of tenderness is undeniable, but it is not too intimate nor, for example in *Alpatov's* opinion, comparable with the sentimentality of the madonnas of the Italian trecento and later Russian icons of the Virgin of Tenderness. ⁶³ The emotion of the mother and the tenderness of the Child are, however, new features in Marian iconography, just as the attitude of embracing means new principles of composition. In *Wessel's* opinion, it was with the eleousa composition that Marian iconography moved »aus der Ferne der unnahbaren Majestät in die warme und beglückende Nähe der Menschlichkeit und Mütterlichkeit und Kindesliebe». ⁶⁴ The humane trend gained a foothold, preparing the ground for richer imagination, for example play themes and animal allegories, which, side by side with the dissolution of the hieratic compositional structure, also led to the development of the dove icon type.

All these types took form in the pre-iconoclastic early Byzantine period. When following their development, and that of the iconography of the Virgin in a wider sense in the mid-Byzantine period (during the reign of the Macedonian and Comnenian dynasties, 843—1204) one can see that the principle of frontality is collapsing in other compositions as well as in the eleousa. The static cathedra pictures changed, with the en face position replaced by a partial (head) or entire half profile (head and body). This time it seems to be based, not on the observation of nature but on the new expansion of Hellenism into art (the »Macedonian Renaissance»). The hodegetria too was released from the en face composition, which was »turned» to a half profile. ⁶⁵ The Child Jesus also turned half profile on Mary's arm

⁶² *Ouspensky & Lossky* 1952 p. 93.

⁶³ *Alpatov* 1932 p. 255.

⁶⁴ *Wessel* 1965 p. 212.

⁶⁵ Of the changes in the drawing system see *Panofsky* 1964 p. 181.

or in her lap, and Mary bent her head towards the Child. This came closer to the eleousa composition, where this trend appeared complete in the attitude of embrace. The eleousa had spread from the region of Alexandria to other parts of Byzantium, and thence to Russia and Italy, finding an echo in the principles of the mid-Byzantine period. Marian iconography developed, in terms of formal history and ideology, from hieratic compositions orientated to the ceremony of presentation to many kinds of mixed forms and variants. Combined compositions arose, with elements from all the types mentioned above. The grip of theologically-based dogmatic stylistic norms gradually weakened.

The basilissa, cathedra, hodegetria and eleousa compositions have given elements to the combination compositions which have decisively influenced the dove icon type. However, none of them was a direct model for the dove icons. Such claims have sometimes been made: the Konevitsa icon has been classified as a hodegetria icon, or called a variant of some hodegetria type,⁶⁶ or of a particular hodegetria icon, such as the Tikhvin icon.⁶⁷ These views, and that which classifies it under the general heading of «umileniye» (eleousa)⁶⁸ show that the dove type has been only partly understood, since the form world of narrative images has also contributed elements to its iconography.

2. The Hypapante Theme

The liberalization in the compositional structure of icons of individuals brought them closer to narrative icons, where it was essential to have the persons in varied positions. As well as the Adoration of the Magi other compositions developed requiring an object external to the Mary and Child group that

⁶⁶ Réau 1921 p. 153. — Schweinfurth 1930 p. 221.

⁶⁷ Kjellin 1956 p. 242.

⁶⁸ Kjellin 1933 p. 64.

aroused the Child's attention and had him turning aside, away from his mother (cf. p. 86). This trend is important for the development of the dove icon type. It is particularly clear in the hypapante pictures.

The hypapante is the meeting of the Child Jesus and Simeon. The feast of the hypapante, known to have been celebrated in Palestine in the 4th century⁶⁹, took its theme from the presentation of the Child Jesus in the temple. The dedication of the first-born son to God according to the law of Moses⁷⁰ is linked with the ritual purification of Mary in St Luke's Gospel.⁷¹ By the law of Moses, this purification was to be performed 40 days after the birth of a male child.⁷² According to *Räisänen*, Luke's use of the plural in »their purification» is due to the influence of the Greek tradition, since according to the Greek view the mother, the child, and those present at the birth required the ritual purification.⁷³ The dedication of the first-born son did not in fact demand that the child be brought to the temple. Here we see the parallel of the case of Samuel: the parents give up their son to the service of the Lord.⁷⁴ By bringing two young doves as their sacrifice, the parents of Jesus showed they were poor, since a richer family would have brought a lamb as well.⁷⁵

In Jerusalem the feast of the hypapante was celebrated on February 14th, 40 days after January 6th, the assumed day when Jesus was born. In the late 5th century the Christmas festival was moved backwards to December 25th, and the hypapante feast was correspondingly switched to February 2nd.

⁶⁹ *Wimmer* 1959 p. 340. — *Schiller* 1966 p. 100.

⁷⁰ Exodus 13: 13. — Numbers 3: 13.

⁷¹ Luke 2: 22–39.

⁷² Leviticus 12.

⁷³ *Räisänen* 1969 p. 127. — According to *Wünsche & Witzleben* the expression concerning the Child is to be interpreted as sanctification. *Wünsche & Witzleben* 1967 col. 1265.

⁷⁴ Samuel 1:28.

⁷⁵ Cf. Leviticus 12: 6–8.

From Palestine, the tradition of the feast spread to other parts of the Christian world. An edict of the Emperor Justinian in 542, proclaimed in thanksgiving for the end of an outbreak of plague in the city, established it at Constantinople.⁷⁶ The word »hypapante» used in the oldest Latin tales of the martyrs shows that the idea of the feast of the Presentation in the Temple came to Rome from the east.⁷⁷ It was later given a Latin name, »occursus Domini», the meeting of the Lord. Thanks to the influence of Pope Sergius I (687—701) the purification of Mary became the major aspect of this double feast.⁷⁸ In the Orthodox world, however, the main import of the hypapante feast has retained its original significance, the meeting of the Child Jesus and Simeon, and the liturgical texts and hymns have retained their Christological nature.⁷⁹

From Palestine, the hypapante feast spread through Byzantium to Rome — from east to west. Judging by extant picture sources, the development in pictorial art would seem to be the opposite — Byzantium adopting the pictorial theme from the west⁸⁰. Many scholars are of this opinion, although *Wessel*⁸¹, for example, supports *A. Grabar's* theory of its Palestinian origin. *A. Grabar* refers to the literary proof (the text of Choricus of Gaza) for the occurrence of the theme in 6th-century Palestine.⁸² — It is generally considered that the oldest extant memorial is the mosaic in S. Maria Maggiore in Rome, dated 432—40.⁸³ The hypapante theme does not occur in early Christian sepulchral art.⁸⁴

⁷⁶ *Wimmer* 1959 p. 340. — *Löw* 1953 col. 342.

⁷⁷ *Martinov* 1963 p. 60.

⁷⁸ *Wimmer* 1959 p. 340.

⁷⁹ *Wessel* 1966 col. 1135. — Since 1960 the Roman Catholic Church has also interpreted it as a feast of Jesus Christ. *Podhradsky* 1962 p. 213.

⁸⁰ E.g., *James* 1959 p. 217. — *Rothemund* 1966 p. 301. — *Leclercq* 1948 col. 1724. — *Erffa* 1954 col. 1060.

⁸¹ *Wessel* 1966 col. 1137.

⁸² *A. Grabar* 1947 cols. 240—42.

⁸³ E.g., *Josi* 1952 col. 108.

⁸⁴ *Erffa* 1954 col. 1038. — *Lucchesi-Palli & Hoffscholte* 1968 col. 474.



Fig. 42. The Birth of Dionysios. Neo-attic relief. Rome, Vatican. Photo: Shorr 1946 fig. 12.



Fig. 43. Hypapante. Fresco, c. 700. Castelseprio, S. Maria Foris Portas. Photo: Volbach 1958 fig. 243.

In the mosaics in S. Maria Maggiore, the essential elements of the hypapante composition are already visible (Fig. 39). Mary, dressed as basilissa, carries the Child Jesus, dressed in tunic and pallium, who is distinguished from an ordinary child only by his halo (cf. note 16). In the space between the pillars are Joseph, an angel, and the prophetess Hannah. Mary also has angels guarding her. Simeon approaches the Child Jesus with hands covered, following court etiquette as to how to present oneself for an imperial audience.⁸⁵ Pictorial examples (Fig. 42) show that the custom goes back to pre-Christian times. In the S. Maria Maggiore mosaic the Child Jesus and Simeon meet on the steps of the temple. There is nothing to indicate an altar, and therefore the theme is the meeting (hypapante), not the presentation of the first-born in the temple, which later iconography emphasizes. There are four large doves on the temple steps.⁸⁶ Although the fresco in the church of Castelseprio is variously dated between the 7th and 10th centuries⁸⁷, it does appear to be the second oldest extant hypapante composition (Fig. 43). Here the Child Jesus is in Mary's arms, leaning towards Simeon and probably — the fresco is too worn to allow certainty — blessing the old man with his small hand. The Vatican museum has an enamelled cross from the time of Pope Paschal I (817–824)⁸⁸ where the hypapante composition includes a simple altar table. The theme was favourable to the placing of an altar as the centre point of a symmetrical com-

⁸⁵ *Bruhns* 1951 p. 145.

⁸⁶ In the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew there are also four birds. See *Le protévangile...* 1910 p. 330. — According to *Shorr* this is the only detail referring to Pseudo-Matthew in this old hypapante composition. *Shorr* 1946 pp. 19–20, n. 20. — The text of Pseudo-Matthew is usually dated to the 6th century. E.g., see *Schmid* 1958 col. 317. — *Michl* 1959 col. 1223.

⁸⁷ Cf. *Cecchelli* 1954 IV p. 465. — *Wünsche & Witzleben* 1967 col. 1266. — *Réau* 1957 II p. 264. — *Schiller* 1966 I, p. 332, fig. 231. — *Erffa* 1954 col. 1060.

⁸⁸ On the dating see e.g., *A. Grabar* 1963 p. 153. — *Wessel* 1967 pp. 21, 48–52.

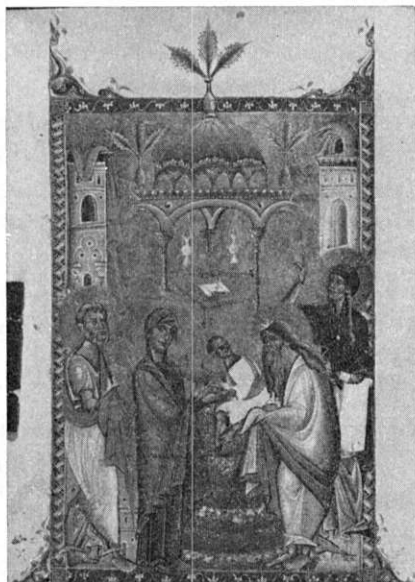


Fig. 44. Hypapante. Miniat. Gospel, 13th cent. Jerusalem, Greek and Armenian Patriarchate. Photo: Checklist of Manuscripts . . . 1953, p. 43, no 2568, 159 v.

position. »The Presentation in the Temple furnished the opportunity to oppose two groups of figures right and left of the centre, which again is occupied by the Holy Child», says *Demus*.⁸⁹ The basic features of the hypapante iconography became established before the 11th century, although there were some changes in detail in the late Middle Ages. Mary usually holds out the Child to Simeon across the altar, and Simeon gradually acquires a halo and finally (in the 13th century) the robes of a high priest.⁹⁰ The position of the altar varies for a long time. Sometimes it may be in the background or on the fringe of the picture (Fig. 44).

⁸⁹ *Demus* 1953 p. 23.

⁹⁰ See *Erffa* 1954. — *Shorr* 1946. — *Lucchesi-Palli & Hoffscholte* 1968.

Interpretation of the hypapante theme also varies in Orthodox iconography. According to *Brockhaus's* explanation, a 12th-century manuscript (Tetraevangelon) in the monastery of Iviron of Athos has the following composition: »Darbringung. Links vom Altar sieht man Joseph, der zwei Tauben bringt, und Maria, welche das Kind trägt, rechts davon Simeon und Anna, letztere mit einem Zettel . . .»⁹¹ The Painter's Manual of Mount Athos gives a similar description of the hypapante theme.⁹² However, the traditional attempt of art to place characters in narrative pictures from left to right has also affected the hypapante compositions. Orthodox iconography is full of examples.⁹³ In the Painter's Manual of the Stroganov family, for example, the people are placed in line towards Simeon.⁹⁴ The temple background is shown as a silhouette pattern, often simplified to an arch bearing a cupola rising above the altar. — Unfortunately, the picture of the hypapante theme in the Kariye Djami mosaic has not been preserved⁹⁵, and thus an important source for comparison from early 14th-century Byzantine iconography is not available.

Parallel compositions have developed in some themes of Christian pictorial art. For example, the martyr cult has produced compositions reminiscent of the presentation of the Child Jesus in the temple. The parents present a dead child to the martyr just as the Child Jesus was presented to Simeon (Fig. 45).⁹⁶ There are also themes for consecrating the children: a child turns in its parent's arms or walks itself towards the receiving saint accompanied by relations. E.g., in the mosaics

⁹¹ *Brockhaus* 1891 p. 219.

⁹² *Das Handbuch der Malerei vom Berge Athos* 1855 p. 175.

⁹³ Cf. Nyssen 1962 p. 65. — Examples on pictures: *Omont* 1929 fig. XXXII. — *Millet* 1927 figs. 119/5, 174/1, 188/3, 198/2, 222/3.

⁹⁴ *Ikonenmalerhandbuch der Familie Stroganov* 1965 p. 175.

⁹⁵ *Underwood* 1966 I p. 30.

⁹⁶ The figure of the sarcophagus in the Marseille Museum (Fig. 42) also belongs to the martyr cult and not, as *Montault* supposes, to the illustrations of the hypapante theme. Cf. *Montault* 1890 II p. 122.



Fig. 45. Parents presenting dead child. Sarcophagus. Marseille, Mus. Borély. Photo: *A. Grabar* 1957 fig. 87.

in the church of St Demetrios in Salonica that were destroyed by fire in 1917 were compositions of this type.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ *A. Grabar* 1957 pp. 86–87, figs. 82–83 and 86–87. — *A. Grabar* 1943 p. 41, pl. XLIX/2. — An interesting point is *A. Grabar's* comment on the appearance of a pair of doves in a 6th-century relief representing the Presentation of Mary, not that of Jesus. *A. Grabar* 1947 II p. 92. — There can have been no reason for including sacrificial doves in this composition, as the child was a daughter, not a son. *A. Grabar* is probably right in saying that «l'image mariologique s'inspire d'une cérémonie courante dans les églises chrétiennes de Grèce». *A. Grabar* 1947 II p. 92. — Sometimes the child is represented walking towards the saint receiving him, like Mary who, according to Pseudo-Matthew, walked the 15 steps



Fig. 46. Presentation of Christ in the Temple. Relief on wood, c. 1310—20, detail. Photo: *Schiller* 1966 I fig. 237.

The hypapante theme and parallel forms in the martyr cult are important in the formation of the iconographic elements which were synthesized to produce the dove icon type. This is shown by the attitude of the Child Jesus, his turning towards Simeon and the sacrificial birds, whose number became estab-

of the temple when only a baby. *Le protévangile* . . . 1910 p. 296. — The sacrificial birds have also been transferred from the child's hand to the mariological composition, although it is not always easy to deduce whether the little figure carrying the doves is Mary or a child. The little girl holding in her hand a gift of two doves in the mosaic of St Demetrios of Salonica was a child named Mary. The mosaic illustrated the ceremony of the presentation of this child to the saint. Cf. *Hoddinot* 1963 p. 146.

lished as two, according to St Luke's Gospel.⁹⁸ They are usually white doves, but I have also seen other colours in Orthodox art.⁹⁹ Joseph usually carries the birds in his hands or in a cage. Sometimes they are held by Mary or a young servant maid.¹⁰⁰

Obviously the idea of the victim has been transferred from the doves to the sacrifice of Jesus, which the composition has begun to symbolize. So far this is shown only by hypapante compositions in Western art I have found dating from after the middle of the 13th century, in which the Child Jesus himself — without Mary's or Simeon's help — stands on the altar with the birds in his hands (Fig. 46) or sits or lies on the altar like a sacrificial animal. The idea of the victim is taken to its extreme when Jesus is held above the altar while flames leap from an opening in the middle of the altar.¹⁰¹

The most important as regards the problems of the Konevitsa icon and other dove icons is the composition where the Child Jesus sacrifices the birds, holding them one at a time above the altar.¹⁰² I have only seen one example of this, in a 14th-century Italian manuscript (cf. p. 120, Fig. 47), whose illustrator has remained anonymous despite the efforts of many scholars.

⁹⁸ Sometimes there are three birds symbolizing the Holy Trinity or some other motif amongst the numerous symbolic themes of mediaeval numerical mystique. Cf. *Hopper* 1938 p. 70. — Example on picture: *Lazarev* 1966 p. 101.

⁹⁹ E.g., at the exhibition of the Andrey Rublev Museum in Moscow, 17.5.69, I saw a Gospel from the 15th century. In its hypapante (sreteniye) picture one of the sacrificial birds was blue, the other violet (a shade near lilac). Cf. *Sbornik Besed etc. Musej im. Andreja Rubleva*.

¹⁰⁰ Joseph usually carries the birds in a basket or in his hands. They are sometimes taken care of by a maid en suite, sometimes one of the birds is in Joseph's basket and the other in the girl's hand. A solution like this shows that the birds may also have been handled separately. Cf. *Borenius & Tristram* 1927 fig. 58.

¹⁰¹ See *Clemen* 1916 p. 598 fig. 411. — *Stange* 1936 figs. 10, 97, 127. — *Stange* 1938 figs. 141, 222, 223. — *Offner* 1927 pl. 9 A.

¹⁰² *Frauendorfer* leaves out the case in which the Child Jesus himself sacrifices the birds, although he introduces the hypapante theme of the meditations in the «Pseudo-Bonaventure». *Frauendorfer* 1954 p. 87.



Fig. 47 a. Presentation of Christ in the Temple. Miniatur. 14th cent. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Ital. 115. fol. 35v. Photo: Bibl. Nat.



Fig. 47 b. Detail of Fig. 47 a.

Iconographic indications have been found in the Byzantine tradition, in the art of Siena and Pisa, and even in 14th-century Germany¹⁰³, but there is no unquestioned attribution to any particular artist.

In the first picture of that manuscript the author, a Franciscan monk, points to St Cecilia. Next comes St Francis receiving the Stigmata and the dispute of the virtues, and only then does the illustration of Christ's life begin with the Presentation of the Virgin in the temple. The prologue of the manuscript shows a direct link with the person and ideology of the father of the Franciscans as well as with some other Western saints.¹⁰⁴

There are eight pictures of the hypapante theme, showing a parallel symbolism for Jesus's own sacrifice and the sacrificial

¹⁰³ Wentzel 1942 p. 249. — Ragusa & Green 1961 p. XXIX. — Meiss 1967 p. 121.

¹⁰⁴ The illustration at the end of the manuscript is missing. The rooms drawn in for the pictures are empty. There are 193 completed pictures, 113 are coloured. The colours are blue, green, brown, yellow and rose. The colours are faded. Personal observations at Bibliothèque Nationale 9.7.69. — See also Ragusa & Green 1961 p. XXI.

birds: Jesus himself is first placed on the altar, then he assists in the sacrifice of the birds, placing them on the altar with the help of his mother. A note on this to the illustrator has been made at the side of the page (Fig. 47).

I have not yet found anything similar in Byzantine iconography¹⁰⁵, so, if there are any Eastern prototypes and parallels — as the background of the period leads one to suppose (cf. p. 115) —, they remain unknown for the present.

3. Ideological Sources of the Italian Duecento

9

Marle summarizes his view of the factors affecting the development of the art of the Italian duecento as follows: »Two different events caused the existence of influences which were to be of enormous importance for the development of Italian painting during the 13th century. They were the fall of Constantinople and the apparition of St. Francis.»¹⁰⁶ The fall of Constantinople to the Latins in 1204 caused an increased Byzantine current — the *maniera greca* — in the art of the conquerors and of western Europe as a whole. Like the Hellenes, conquered by the Romans, the Byzantines began to dominate the development of their conquerors' art with their vigorous tradition. At the same time Francis of Assisi, with his sermons praising the beauty of every creature and all creation, spread a mystic view in Italy. If we add the traditional Roman and contemporary Gothic stylistic trends we may perhaps arrive at the outlines of the ideological history of the art of the duecento, but the »Kunstwollen» of that age of transition is so varied and so full of contradictions that — if it is to be completely understood — we must take into account many other, less obvious, factors as well as these main trends. — This study restricts

¹⁰⁵ This was also *Pokrovsky's* statement. *Pokrovskij* 1892 p. 111.

¹⁰⁶ *Marle* 1923 p. 257.

itself to considering the features that contributed to the development of the dove icon composition.

Maniera Greca

The explosive increase of Byzantine influences in the pictorial art of the Italian duecento is due to the great increase in contacts between Italy and Byzantium. Contact between the countries had never been broken, but the Crusades increased the amount of contacts considerably. Byzantium had clearly dominated in the cultural exchange between east and west. Not even the split between Rome and Constantinople in 1054 lessened the influence of Byzantine art.¹⁰⁷ This is shown, for example, by the ecclesiastical architecture, especially the church interiors, of 12th-century Venice, Torcello and Sicily. The fall of Constantinople in 1204 finally removed the obstacles in the path of Byzantinism and allowed the maniera greca to emerge victorious. According to *Sandberg-Vavala* all the Italian schools began to feel a new interest in Byzantium.¹⁰⁸ In *A. Grabar's* opinion, every Italian artist had personal experience of the art of Byzantium.¹⁰⁹ *Lazarev* specifically emphasizes the position of Byzantium as the giving party in this increased interaction. He criticizes *Kondakov*, *Likhachev*, *Bettini* and other byzantinists of the early 20th century, whose error was »colossal overestimating of Western influences.» *Ainalov* in particular is guilty of overestimating the influence of Venice, since, in *Lazarev's* view, »Venice had nothing to teach to Constantinople».¹¹⁰

This uniform evidence of the present authorities may suffice to confirm the significance of the maniera greca for the art of the Italian duecento. What is in question, is, however, a general

¹⁰⁷ Cf. *A. Grabar* 1953 pp. 119–32. — *Lassus* 1966 pp. 134–36.

¹⁰⁸ *Vavala* 1931 p. 159. — See also *Kitzinger* 1960 pp. 84–86.

¹⁰⁹ *A. Grabar* 1963 p. 16.

¹¹⁰ *Lasareff* 1938 p. 27. — *Lasareff* 1931 p. 31.

trend, not sufficient to explain all individual phenomena and details. As regards a particular pictorial theme (such as a composition like the dove icon type), the components of Byzantine or Western iconography must always be analyzed separately.¹¹¹

The Greek artists working in the artistic centres of Sicily and Italy disseminated the *maniera greca*.¹¹² Byzantium in turn had its foci of Italian art. The Genoese colony Galata in the Pera district of Constantinople was in an important position as an intermediary in the culture exchange between Italy and Byzantium. From there, influences spread to Russia, for example, through the medium of the famed 14th-century icon painter Theophanes the Greek, for one. He is known to have worked in Galata before moving to Russia.¹¹³ Italian artists also travelled in Byzantium, and brought back knowledge of the trends there. One of these «artistic crusaders» seems to have been Duccio¹¹⁴, whose studio was a veritable melting pot of the stylistic features of the duecento.

When studying the expressions of byzantinism in the art of the Italian duecento we should remember that the *maniera greca* was no new phenomenon. Byzantium had its influence on the art of Italy from the start. What was new was the domestication in the art of the duecento of modes of expression that had not become established even in Byzantium until after the iconoclastic period.¹¹⁵ There might be some forms of expres-

¹¹¹ As *Garrison* has noted, we know very little or nothing concerning the contracts and conditions under which the Byzantine craftsmen worked in Italy. The fact must not be overlooked that their commissioners were prelates of the Western Church, in many matters of dogma and doctrine opposed to the Eastern Church. *Garrison* 1962^b p. 206.

¹¹² *Dalton* 1911 p. 264. — *Schweinfurth* 1930 p. 370. — *Duby* 1966 p. 55.

¹¹³ *Lazarev* 1961 p. 12.

¹¹⁴ *Dalton* 1911 p. 266. — *D. Talbot-Rice* 1968 p. 101.

¹¹⁵ *Schweinfurth* 1954 p. 120. — *Demus* 1970 p. 168–70. — *Panofsky* has shown that the system of proportions in the Painter's Manual of Mount Athos, applied in Byzantine art for the drawing of the human figure, goes back to the mathematical-astrological philosophy of the

sion that were extremely old, but only new revived. For example, according to *A. Grabar*, the 13th-century mosaic work in the narthex of St Mark's in Venice shows the influence of contemporary iconographic compositions in Byzantine churches as well as of the Greek illustrations in a 6th-century Bible (similar to the Cottonian Bible in the British Museum). The direct contact with early Christian models restored the classic vision to art. »By way of this return to early Christian sources at both Byzantium and Venice artists were brought into contact with many reminiscences of classical art. Moreover, the anecdotal nature of these pictures gave them opportunities of introducing — whether purposely or not — concrete facts of visual experience and of giving their art a bias towards nature-imitation.»¹¹⁶

The new trends of the mid-Byzantine period were in fact the *maniera greca* that conquered Italian art. The Madonna depiction of the duecento was also based on Byzantine iconography, although the duecento boldly adapted the Eastern tradition it had inherited (cf. pp. 102, 123).¹¹⁷ — The general trend of humanization also affected the image of Mary giving her personality a new liveliness. »Masks become faces, no longer set in some grand, frightening or even grotesque mold, but human and variable», says *Demus* of this evolution and for comparison mentions as very good examples two Spanish representations of the Marian iconography: the wall painting of Tahull (c. 1120) and that of the Nativity of Christ in Sigena (early 13th century).¹¹⁸ These examples illustrate the same pattern of development which we find in Italy (cf. p. 123).

Arabian scholarly brotherhood 'Brethren of Purity' which flourished in the 9th and 10th centuries. Its ideals gained a foothold in Western art as well, appearing for example in the sketches of Villard de Honnecourt and the conclusions of the famous theoretician of the trecento, Cennino Cennini. *Panofsky* 1964 p. 178. — *Panofsky* 1955 pp. 74—75.

¹¹⁶ *A. Grabar* 1953 pp. 122—23.

¹¹⁷ *D. Talbot-Rice* 1968 pp. 101—02.

¹¹⁸ *Demus* 1970 p. 165.

In Italy, it was the local Romanesque style that received the pressure of the *maniera greca*. The painting of panels, which according to *Carli* was an «almost entirely new genre» in Tuscany in the 11th century¹¹⁹, increased tremendously after the 11th century, partly because of the decline of the Romanesque style in architecture. Unlike the Romanesque building, the richly articulated interior of a Gothic church did not leave large areas of wall free for frescoes and mosaics. Art had to find modes of expression independent of wall space — panels and stained glass.¹²⁰ The *maniera greca* and the power behind it, the Byzantine icon cult that had become known through the Crusaders, contributed largely to this development. Specifically it increased the popularity of small religious images in Italy. But one must agree with *Weitzmann* that here we meet fundamental differences between the Orthodox and Latin outlook towards religious images. For the former, they are cult-images, for the latter, devotional images.¹²¹

We meet a great deal of the duecento material in *Garrison's* catalogue *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting*, published in 1949. It contains 705 works of the Romanesque period according to stylistic schools.¹²² *Garrison* has tried to analyse the Romanesque elements of paintings in Italy although he admits to using the term «Romanesque» only «for want of a better one».¹²³ According to *Garrison*, the Romanesque style was dominant in Italy from the late 11th to the early 14th century. The *maniera greca*

¹¹⁹ *Carli* 1965 p. 9.

¹²⁰ *Schrade* 1963 p. 206.

¹²¹ *Weitzmann* 1966 p. 29.

¹²² See also the completion of the catalogue: *Garrison* 1956. *Bologna* has criticized *Garrison's* work. In his view this catalogue is «a masterpiece of scholarly classification», but simultaneously «utterly indifferent to everything except classification». *Bologna* 1964 p. 8.

¹²³ *Garrison* 1949 p. 2. — Cf. also a similar view of *A. Grabar*. *Grabar & Nordenfalk* 1958 p. 11.

comes towards the end of this period, mingling with the local Romanesque tradition and newer tendencies, such as the Gothic.

With the *maniera greca* features appeared in Italian painting of the 13th century that *Garrison* feels are, despite their Byzantine character, more purely Romanesque than the actual Romanesque elements. Byzantine art had never lost the tradition of Hellenism that is one of the main characteristics of the Romanesque; it had simply stereotyped models originally adopted from nature and classical art and made them its canons of painting. Italian painting had rejected both Byzantine and Transalpine abstractism, preserving the heritage of Hellenism more clearly than Byzantium.¹²⁴

The Romanesque style ended in the classico-naturalistic view adopted by Cavallini, Giotto, etc. That is why *Garrison's* catalogue does not include these trail-blazers.

Nature as a Source of Inspiration

The new classical and naturalistic elements won a foothold in Italian art, combining the Romanesque and the *maniera greca* of the late Romanesque. They derived their vitality e.g., from the mystical ideology already proclaimed by Bernard of Clairvaux (1090—1153) and further developed in the teachings of the 13th-century scholastics. With Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225—74) at their head, the theologians of the duecento searched for what was common to Aristotelian logic and the mystical spirit of Christianity. An increased interest in legends, the reappearance in literature of the animal allegories of antiquity, the romance of chivalry, worship of the madonna and the idealism of the new orders, such as the Franciscans, set their seal on the culture of the 13th century. Meditative literature with a romantic flavour, lauding the life and miracles of Christ and his mother, came into fashion. Earlier there had been more emphasis on the

¹²⁴ *Garrison* 1949 p. 2.

sufferings of Christ, but this was replaced by happier descriptions of his childhood. One well-known and much copied manuscript was the »Meditationes de Vita Christi», thought to be based on a text by St Bonaventure (d. 1274). The author was later known as the Pseudo-Bonaventure or »a Franciscan monk living in Tuscany during the second half of the thirteenth century».¹²⁵ Attempts have been made to find a name for the author of such famous meditations, and he has sometimes been identified a.a. with Johannes de Caulibus.¹²⁶ One copy of the text is in Paris, at the Bibliothèque Nationale (cf. p. 111). It is an illustrated version from the 14th century (Ms. ital. 115).

Other similar texts likewise spread to various language areas, providing sources for popular versions and themes for art.¹²⁷ The chivalric ideal combined with worship of the madonna surrounded the Virgin Mary with sensual verbal images, leading contemporaries away from the dogmatic Byzantine view of the Mother of God. Currents of change were flowing under the surface of the universalized Catholic culture. St Louis of France (1214—70) was one of the most influential figures of the era. The idealistic view of the central importance of the human individual in the universe, one of the typical features of French Gothic, developed under his influence.¹²⁸ This paved the way for the rising Christian humanism, for which the ground had also been prepared by the religious trend inspired by Francis of Assisi and other comparable sects, mainly supported by laymen.¹²⁹

Francis's »Fioretti» praised the beauty of creation and every creature. This proclamation of the beauty of the universe awoke

¹²⁵ Ragusa & Green 1961 pp. XXI—XXII, n. 2.

¹²⁶ E.g., Aurenhammar 1959—67 p. 512. — Doubts on this identification still exist. E.g., see Müller 1960 col. 1017. — Fussenegger 1962 col. 234.

¹²⁷ E.g., »Vita Beatae Mariae et Salvatoris rhytmica». Graef 1964 p. 237. — After the 12th century the Madonna cult increased considerably, and the 13th century may be regarded as a virtual century of the Madonna. Cf. Mâle 1913 pp. 232—36.

¹²⁸ Andersson 1967 pp. 255—57.

¹²⁹ Antal 1947 p. 67.

a response in the thinkers of the 13th century. Of course, this century did not discover the idea of the transcendental beauty. Augustine and many after him had defended it. But in the 13th century it acquired a new immediacy, developing into a systematic teaching. It left its mark on the theological thinking of the century. Alexander of Hales (c. 1170—1245), St. Bonaventure, Vincent of Beauvais (1190—1264), Thomas Aquinas and many others believed that infinite beauty was realized as the maximum of perceptual beauty. It radiated from all creatures, banishing from real existence all ugliness which thus — in the metaphysical sense — did not exist. Unpleasant insects or monsters, even the devil himself, cannot be banished from the universal kingdom of beauty. The beauty of the existing is from the Creator, »the greatest symphony, the highest poetry, the picture of perfect harmony».¹³⁰

The earlier mediaeval concept of the eternal conflict in the world of good and evil, beautiful and ugly, thus was gradually set aside. The new aesthetic vision at first used the language of poetry. »It is because poetry is imagist, that it can, as in the Franciscan Fioretti, take precedence over the plastic arts as an expression of a state of consciousness», says Read.¹³¹ — In literature, this new harmony of sacred and profane love reaches its highest expression in Dante's Divine Comedy. According to Chydenius, »by making the love of Beatrice the foundation of the spiritual structure of the Divine Comedy, Dante stands out as the great proclaimer of the medieval idea that the earthly reality has a worth of its own, but is also a type which leads us towards the higher reality of the spiritual world.»¹³²

¹³⁰ Bruyne 1946 p. 6. — Aurenhammer 1959—67 p. 537.

¹³¹ Read 1955 p. 94.

¹³² Chydenius 1958 p. 148.

Influence on the Pictorial Arts

The new ideology soon began to spread to the pictorial arts.¹³³ In the Romanesque period the pictorial arts often took as their theme the struggle between the Christian soul and the devil¹³⁴, but the nature mysticism proclaimed by Francis now gained a foothold in painting.¹³⁵ — Francis's personal importance to the pictorial arts was also significant. These arts had long been dominated by the images of the crucified Christ and the Madonna. Francis's romantic personality, in which some contemporaries saw the Son of Man returned¹³⁶, and his religious experiences climaxing in the stigmata, provided material for the artists of the duecento and trecento. — However, his influence cannot be detached from the overall artistic development of the age.¹³⁷

The changes in Italian painting show how «a new consciousness of organic vitality became apparent».¹³⁸ The two-dimensional image of the Middle Ages, seeking now for an appearance of nature, began to turn to the illusion of depth, and otherwise to put into practice the «classico-naturalistic view» (cf. p. 119). *Offner* sees the influence of Francis's concept of Christ and the formal heritage of Hellenism in this change. It brought the sacred personages back to solid ground. Art was no longer content to

¹³³ According to *Duby*, the new ideology spread to the pictorial arts through the aristocracy and the chivalric culture. *Duby* 1966 p. 36.

¹³⁴ *Aurenhammer* 1959—67 p. 537.

¹³⁵ *Sirén* 1922 p. 20.

¹³⁶ *Nicholson* 1932 p. 9.

¹³⁷ E.g., by calling Christ «a poor man» Francis incited sympathies towards his sufferings. It is not, however, feasible to regard the new representation of the Crucified, characterized by suffering, the deceased hanging on the cross with closed eyes, as a product of this ideology, for its iconography goes back to earlier art in the Palestine region. *Weitzmann* 1966 p. 28, fig. 2. — The proclamation of Francis no doubt promoted the spread of this motif in Italian art to a great extent.

¹³⁸ *Read* 1955 p. 93.

be a »consecration of the surface». ¹³⁹ New ideas of form and colour were needed to express the new concept. They gave way to the »Giotton» drawing, based on direct observation of nature and showing a new sense of space. — The trecento reaped the harvest of the ideological and aesthetic changes of the duecento, and these changes appeared in their final forms in its art.

These trends of the age are also visible in the iconographic forms leading to the development of the dove icon, which seems indeed to be one of the fruits of this time of change. In the art of the duecento, the pictorial Marian tradition entered on a new stage, in that the typological differences decreased greatly, and combined forms swamped the respected painting canons of the mid-Byzantine period passed on in Italy by the *maniera greca*. The Madonnas of the duecento boldly combined for example the basilissa, cathedra, hodegetria and eleousa com-

¹³⁹ I should quote *Offner* at some length, since I feel his definition expresses the main content of the change very clearly: »The Dugento, however, still represented a figure without cubic density in a space without cubic depth (like a medieval artist of the Near East and Asia Minor) almost as immaterial as Oriental visions of a holiness too dazzling or exalted to be beheld by human eyes. These figures are accordingly as bodiless as they are forbidding in their detachment. They hover between heaven and earth by the grace of a surly, sublime immovable Jehovah, who was to become — sooner than might have been expected — the meek Franciscan Christ of the West. With such a bias the style of these Dugento panels is a sort of consecration of the surface, to which, by a fine instinct of respect for the flat, the representation remains true. But all the while the hieratic East was refashioning the character of Italian painting, the Hellenic tradition on form was maintaining itself on Roman ground, by its stubborn indigenous materialism. This gradually brought the figure down to the earth again, the earth with which it finally established a reciprocal relation. The seemingly sudden appearance of sacred personages upon solid ground between the closing of the thirteenth century and the weakening of the next, is thus the reestablishment of an old tendency, the artistic rediscovery of gravitation.» *Offner* 1927 p. 14. — Modern scholars might note, however, that the East was no longer merely »hieratic» at that time and that the »rediscovery of gravitation» had, in fact, happened in the Byzantine art a little earlier. *Offner's* interpretation is, in any case very eloquent.



Fig. 48. Guido da Siena, *Madonna and Child*. Panel, 13th cent. Siena, Accademia di Belle Arti. Photo: Alinari, Florence.

positions.¹⁴⁰ One common type is the composition based on the cathedra and hodegetria, where the Child Jesus sits in the lap of his enthroned Mother, blessing the faithful (Fig. 48). At first he is in half-profile, turned inwards, while the direction of his gaze and the object of the blessing sometimes remain unclear, as in the famous panel *Madonna Rucellai*.¹⁴¹ Sometimes this combined composition also adds crowns for Mary and the Child as in the *basilissa* type.

The most important change as regards my particular problem is the process of development that gave rise to a kind of form midway between the hieratic and the narrative; the devotional

¹⁴⁰ On different variations of the Madonna compositions during the duecento see *Jacques* 1937 pp. 1–57.

¹⁴¹ Cf. *Schrade* 1963 p. 230.

image (*Imago Pietatis*, *Andachtsbild*). According to *Panofsky*, in the 14th century devotional images developed chiefly from two ideological and iconographic premises:

1. There was a concentration of a particular theme when the individual pictorial theme became an independent composition, divorced from the context of the narrative pictures.
2. The hieratic, cultic presentation acquired new, more human features and details.

These factors, of course, concern the external iconographic form, and do not explain the hindmost nature of the devotional image. The most significant change, the particular contribution of the age in question, is expressed as a new, mystical content. This nourishes the individual's subjective devotional experience in a way impossible to the narrative image with its ties to a transitory moment, or to the cult image with its striving for transcendent truth. The breakthrough of mysticism is due to the individual's need to feel a unity with the object of his spiritual life.¹⁴²

New symbols were needed to create this contact. For example, in compositions where the Child Jesus is turning away from Mary, the external object becomes more symbolically important as an iconographic and theological link. True, the object that has made the Child turn may still sometimes remain an »invisible complement»¹⁴³, but it was usually a concrete figure. The number of objects increased greatly from the 13th century onwards.¹⁴⁴ It is important here to note the introduction of a new symbol,

¹⁴² *Panofsky* 1927 pp. 264—68. — Cf. the estimate of *Ringbom* on the theory of *Panofsky*. *Ringbom* 1965 pp. 54—58.

¹⁴³ Cf. the expression by *Janson* »invisible complement». *Janson* 1966 p. 410.

¹⁴⁴ E.g., in votive pictures the Child Jesus turns or bends forward to bless the donor. In the panels depicting the spiritual marriage of St Catherine of Siena, he stretches out the ring bending forward to Catherine. Similarly, he is often playing with John the Baptist (as an infant), angels and saints. The Byzantine canons having lost their hold, no motivation was required for the alternations in the posture of the Christ Child. Cf. *Shorr* 1954.

a little bird, into the representations of the Madonna. It is the outcome of the ideological development described above, bearing witness to the naturalistic artistic concept of the early Renaissance and the new status of animal allegories among the themes of pictorial art. — The influence of the personality and ideas of Francis of Assisi appears in the contexts of formal history and iconography to which the development of the dove icon type can be traced. This is not simply a general link with the breakthrough of nature mysticism, but also a direct contact with the Byzantine-Italian early iconographic forms of the dove icons (cf. p. 151).

4. The Bird Motif in Representation of the Madonna

The bird theme was very common in the frescoes and mosaics of the catacombs and of the early Christian basilicas (cf. note 201).¹⁴⁵ In the era of the 12th and 13th century nature mysticism it was manifest again. There are some tales on birds in the mosaic of Monreale in Palermo, for example, Noah sending the dove (1130—54), and in those of St Mark's of Venice: the same Noah theme, the Creation of birds and fishes (c. 1216—20), and the Miracle of the quails (1280—90).¹⁴⁶ It appears that the avine world in literature — lively and rich in variety — had now reached the pictorial arts.

The bird motif makes a rather late appearance in representations of the Madonna.¹⁴⁷ The oldest examples are to be found

¹⁴⁵ E.g., see *Leclercq* 1936 cols. 2038—58.

¹⁴⁶ *Kitzinger* 1960 p. 13, pl. p. 26. — *A. Grabar* 1953 p. 122. — *Bettini* 1968 fig. 68, figs. pp. 25—28.

¹⁴⁷ The bird motif in Madonna depiction has been studied by Herbert *Friedmann*, a.a., whose work «The Symbolic Goldfinch» has proved very helpful to me. Friedmann dealt with a very comprehensive material (486 works from different countries in Europe). The bibliography in Russian, however, is restricted to two works by *Kondakov*. I have also noted that some panels with the bird motif in the Leningrad Hermitage



Fig. 49. Maestro della Maddalena, Madonna and Child. Panel, 13th. cent, detail. Florence, Coll. Acton. Photo: Alinari, Florence.

in the last twenty-five years of the 13th century when they appear in the High Gothic sculptures of France and in the Florence paintings. Both *Kondakov*¹⁴⁸ and *Friedmann*¹⁴⁹ believe

are absent, e.g., paintings by Lorenzo di Niccolo Gerini, Niccolo di Pietro Gerini, Jacopo Carucci da Pontormo and Franciabigio. Personal observations in Leningrad 15.5.60. Cf. n. 198.

¹⁴⁸ *Kondakov* 1911 p. 27. — *Kondakov* 1927 p. 80. — *Kondakov's* estimate has been accepted in Russia. See *Pavluckij* 1912 p. 217, etc.

¹⁴⁹ *Friedmann* 1946 pp. 3—4.



Fig. 50. Maestro di Varlungo, Madonna and Child. Panel, 1300–10.
Photo: *Garrison* 1949 fig. 181.

that the theme travelled from France to Italy, where large numbers of French sculptures were taken in the 13th century (especially to Florence, Siena, Lucca and Pisa). The dissemination of such a detail south of the Alps is thus possible.

Probably the oldest representation of the Madonna with the bird motif painted in Italy is the panel of the Maestro della Maddalena in the Acton collection in Florence, dated between 1270 and 1285 (Fig. 49).¹⁵⁰ Iconographically, the composition is a combination of the hodegetria and cathedra types. The Child Jesus has a bird, which *Friedmann* says is a goldfinch, in his left hand.¹⁵¹ In the art of the duecento, however, the bird theme

¹⁵⁰ On dating see *Garrison* 1949 p. 99 (No. 251). — *Friedmann* 1946 p. 65.

¹⁵¹ *Friedmann* 1946 p. 62.

is rare. *Friedmann* also dates two Italian works, whose author he describes as »Follower of Cimabue» and »Follower of Duccio», to the 13th century.¹⁵² The next works, chronologically speaking, the paintings of Deodato Orlandi and the Master of Varlungo, are from the start of the trecento.¹⁵³ In all of them, the composition is chiefly based on a combination of the cathedra and hodegetria types. For example, the Madonna composition of the Varlungo Master is entirely Byzantine in iconography. The symmetry of the hieratic cathedra type is only broken by the inward-turned position of the Child Jesus, adopted from the hodegetria type. The dark-plumaged bird is like a lifeless symbol in the Child's hand (Fig. 50).

There are no bird themes to be found in the Madonnas of Giotto, Cimabue and Duccio, but their pupils and followers adopted the theme. *Friedmann* has pointed out that Giotto, who mainly painted frescoes, did not adopt the little bird theme in his Madonna composition, while the motif appears frequently in the works of Taddeo Gaddi, Bernardo Daddi and Jacopo del Casentino, pupils of Giotto who themselves painted panels. »Being so dominated by the precept and influence of their illustrious master, they would hardly have made such very extensive use of the icon if there had been any definite unwillingness to use it on Giotto's part. We cannot therefore assume that the icon or its symbolism was antagonistic or even foreign to Giotto's iconographic system.¹⁵⁴ — *Friedmann's* view is supported by the fact that Giotto has happily combined child and bird in works depicting other subjects. For example, in the fresco of the Arena chapel in Padua, representing Jesus cleansing the temple, one of the figures in the crowd is a boy carrying a bird, apparently a youthful birds' merchant.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² Ibid. p. 75.

¹⁵³ Cf. *Garrison* 1949 p. 160 (No. 418). — Fig. 50.

¹⁵⁴ *Friedmann* 1946 p. 67.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. *Tintori & Meiss* 1962 fig. p. 65.

The Charadrios Bird

The goldfinch and the dove were the most important in the iconographic development of the dove icon, but other birds also have had an indirect influence. The partly mythical charadrios bird has been used in interpreting the bird theme of the dove icons, and therefore its contribution to this course of development should be studied.

The Old Testament, listing »unclean birds», mentions »every kind of cormorant»¹⁵⁶ — this is the species used in the English Bible to translate the charadrius/charadrios of the Septuagint and the Vulgate.¹⁵⁷ The present-day cormorant, however, does not seem to correspond to the charadrios of mediaeval mythology. It is not one of the charadrios birds actually in existence — the »charadrii» — and »charadriidae» — species.¹⁵⁸

The charadrios of mediaeval animal allegories seems to go back to the beliefs of the ancients about birds with supernatural abilities. The charadrios of the Physiologos texts¹⁵⁹ can predict death. If, when brought to the bedside of a sick man, it looked

¹⁵⁶ Leviticus 11:19. — Deut. 14:18.

¹⁵⁷ Septuagint: Lev. XI:19. — Deut. XIV: 18. — Biblia Sacra juxta vulgatum: Lev. XI: 19. — Deut. XIV: 18. — In the Finnish translation of the Bible the word »sirriäislajit» (species of sandpipers) is used for the charadrius. 3 Moos. 11: 19. — 5. Moos. 14—19.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. *Landsborough Thomson* 1964 pp. 125—26, — and *Hortling* 1929 p. 742.

¹⁵⁹ The collection of animal allegories named Physiologos was composed by an unknown author who lived in the Alexandria region before 140 A.D. *Lauchert* 1889 p. 65. — In the Greek linguistic area it spread after 385, in the Latin area before 431. *Peterson* 1959 p. 252. — *Woodruff* 1930 p. 237. — Its influence can be discerned in the writings of Tertullian, Ambrose, Augustine, Cassiodorus, Isidore, etc. This material was diffused into Romanesque and German literature at the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries, providing subject matter for religious, didactic and erotic allegories, in which animal behaviour and character is allegorically adapted to human behaviour. The same material was also adopted in pictorial arts. *Manitius* 1931 p. 731. — *Ainalov* 1933 pp. 82—83. — *Réau* 1955 p. 77.

at him, it sucked away the disease from him and flew towards the sun: the disease was then burnt to ashes. If the bird turned its head away from the patient, he was going to die.¹⁶⁰ In the mythology of antiquity, the bird was yellow, and could cure jaundice. Physiologos has borrowed the theme, made the bird white, and provided it with a general ability to cure diseases.¹⁶¹ The mediaeval theologians took the claim seriously, and identified the bird with Jesus. Peter Damian (1007–72) writes: »Charadrius quoque figuram nostri Salvatoris exprimere non ambigimus, si mirabilem ejus naturam non sine admiratione pensamus. Est igitur hoc volatile totum album, nec ulla nigredinis macula reperitur in plumis . . . Instar quippe charadrii candidus est Christus, quia nulla criminis apparuit macula denigratus.»¹⁶² Honorius of Autun (Augustodunensis, d. 1138) compared the features shared by the charadrios and Jesus. As the charadrios turns its head away from a sick man, abandoning him to death, so Jesus turned from the Jews to the Gentiles. The flight of the bird to the sun symbolizes the resurrection of Jesus. As the miraculous bird sucks away disease from the sick man, so Jesus took upon himself the disease of mankind's sins. He himself was sinless, just as the charadrios is a pure white bird. The conclusion to this outstanding early scholastic's meditations is an unambiguous identification: »Caradrius albus est Christus de Virgine natus.»¹⁶³ — Hugh of St-Victor (c. 1096–1141) also mentions a bird called »caladrius seu charadrius», identifying it with Jesus.¹⁶⁴ The magical bird inspired mediaeval poets to apply its symbolism outside the boundaries of religion. It developed, for example, into an erotic symbol, as the rejected suitor

¹⁶⁰ *Pitra* 1963 p. 342.

¹⁶¹ *Forstner* 1961 p. 319. According to *Stauch*, even Hermes Trismegistos (c. 80 A.D.) is said to have mentioned that the bird in question healed different diseases. *Stauch* 1954 p. 418.

¹⁶² MSL 145 col. 772.

¹⁶³ MSL 172 col. 958.

¹⁶⁴ MSL 177 col. 139.



Fig. 1. — Le Caladrie, d'après une broderie en laine du XIII^e siècle.

Fig. 51. Charadrius. Embroidery, 13th cent. Photo: *Charbonneau-Lassay* 1940 p. 432 fig. I.



Fig. 52. Cecco d'Ascoli, *Vita Acerba*: »De natura calandrini». Miniat. 1300—02. Florence, Biblioteca Medica Laurenziana. Plut. 40, 52 c 40/a. Photo: Bibl. Med. Laur.

writes of his love how, like a charadrius, she has turned away from him, and left her troubadour to die of his passion.¹⁶⁵

The influence of the legend of the charadrius in pictorial art begins in the 9th century.¹⁶⁶ There is no uniformity as to the

¹⁶⁵ *Thornstein* 1941 pp. 25—26.

¹⁶⁶ *Stauch* 1954 p. 420. — See also *Woodruff* 1930 pp. 233, 247 fig. 32.

appearance of the bird. It may be large, resembling some bird of prey (Fig. 51), or a perfectly ordinary small bird (Fig. 52). The word «calandra» used for it in vulgar Latin has become confused with the words «calandro/calandrino/calandrello» in Italian, and «calandre» in French, both meaning «lark», so that the charadrios has been identified with the lark.¹⁶⁷ *Kondakov* has put forward a theory that the calandrinus (charadrios) is a goldfinch in Christian art.¹⁶⁸ This claim is interesting as regards the Konevitsa icon.

Kondakov bases his interpretation on a manuscript «Vita Acerba» (1301—02), by Francesco degli Stabili or Cecco d'Ascoli (1257—1325), in the Biblioteca Medica Laurenziana in Florence. The manuscript includes the poem «De natura calandrini» (Fig. 52). The word «calandrini» (genitive of calandrinus) appears in the title, and «calandrello» in the text, both indicating the lark (cf. note 167). *Kondakov* has translated the word as goldfinch (shchegol), and also interprets the «caradrius» in Honorius's text as being a goldfinch, corresponding to the Italian «cardellino» and the French «chardonneret». *Kondakov*, then, has combined the concepts «calandrinus», «cardellino» and «chardonneret»¹⁶⁹ with the express intention of identifying the «calandrinus» (charadrios) with the goldfinch. Thus, for example, the expression «a legend of the white goldfinch»¹⁷⁰, used in *Minns's* English translation of *Kondakov's* «The Russian Icon» is not a mistake, but *Kondakov's* own interpretation, as a result of which «calandrinus» is translated as goldfinch.

The goldfinch appears in the oldest «bird-Madonna» works and *Kondakov* has in all good faith met the problem of the mythical charadrios bird by identifying it with the goldfinch.

¹⁶⁷ *Dauzat* 1938 p. 128. — *Charbonneau Lassay* 1940 pp. 431, 542. — Cf. also *Friedmann* 1946 p. 17. — *Souter* 1949 p. 47: «Charadrius = the lark», — and *Machek* 1968 p. 236: «Kalandrlerche».

¹⁶⁸ *Kondakov* 1911 pp. 30—31. — *Kondakov* 1927 pp. 81—82.

¹⁶⁹ *Kondakov* 1911 p. 30, n. 1: «de natura calandrini (cardellino — chardonneret)».

¹⁷⁰ *Kondakov* 1927 p. 81.

True, the dove icons to which *Kondakov* applies his theory have a white bird, which has made him a little uncertain. »Purely Russian icons of this theme show a white goldfinch or some sort of white bird instead of a finch, and there follows the interpretation that it is a white dove, and a halo round it marks it as the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove; so the icon is called *Golubitskaya* (from *Golub*, dove).»¹⁷¹ *Kondakov* cannot refrain from noting a certain paradox caused by his interpretation: »It is a case of a small fraud but a pious one and an explanation made to suit it: yet there is something strange in the emblem of the Holy Ghost being led upon a string even by the hands of the God-man.»¹⁷²

The etymological works I have consulted do not, with one minor exception, support *Kondakov's* view.¹⁷³ I myself, unlike *Kondakov*, think that the part played by the charadrios bird in the iconographic motivation of the dove icon type is very distant and indirect. It established bird themes in the pictorial arts, as well as the phoenix, the pelican and other winged symbols of Jesus. The charadrios had an air of mystery and mysticism, and it created the preconditions for the introduction of more genuine and familiar birds. It cannot be said that there is a single composition in Marian iconography that undeniably includes the charadrios. *Friedmann* has called a Florentine work »Madonna and Child with a Charadrius», but this, he says, is just

¹⁷¹ Ibid. p. 82.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ In the etymological dictionary of *Battisti & Alessio* there is a reference to a possibility that in a Spanish dialect the word 'golorita' (= goldfinch) derived from 'caradrio'. *Battisti & Alessio* 1950 p. 751. — The words of the same family 'golorito' and 'colorin' are, in general, derived from 'color' (colorido) = colour. E.g., see *Corominas* 1954 I p. 857. — *Slabý & Grossmann* 1932 p. 158, — and *Diccionario de la lengua española* 1956 p. 670. — Of the words meaning 'goldfinch' the most common in Spanish is 'jilguero'. *Alonso* 1958 II p. 2453. — *Corominas* 1954 II pp. 1055—56. — As a derivative of 'carduelis', 'cardelina', from 'cardus, cardo' (thorn), has been used, as in Italian 'cardellino'. *Alonso* 1958 I p. 940.

his »own English descriptive title»¹⁷⁴, not based on the original name of the work. The charadrios is important as a symbol of Christ, but it has not been so important to the development of the dove icons as *Kondakov's* theory proposes. The bird theme of the dove icon is based largely on the goldfinch and the dove.

The Goldfinch in Mariology

When looking at the development of the goldfinch as a religious symbol, we can see the absorption of playful elements into an ideology meant to be taken seriously, and their profaning effect on it. »Before a symbolic form is put to public religious use», says *Langer*, »before it serves the difficult art of presenting really profound ideas — it has probably had a long career in a much homelier capacity. Long before men perform rites which enact the phases of life, they have learned such acting in play.»¹⁷⁵

A child's game with a bird tied to a string attracted the attention of Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury (d. 1109): »Alia vice conspexit puerum cum avicula in via ludentem. Quae avis pedem filo innexum habens, saepe cum laxius ire permittebatur, fuga sibi consulere cupiens avolare nitebatur. At puer filum manu tenens, retractam usque ad se dejiciebat, et hoc ingens gaudium illi erat. Factum est id frequentius. Quod Pater aspiciens, miserae condoluit avi, ut rupto filo libertati redderetur optavit.»¹⁷⁶

Anselm's observation refers to children's game with a tame bird, familiar from the folk customs of many nations. At the time of Jesus, the Jews would buy a child a bird, often a sparrow, as a playmate.¹⁷⁷ In the apocryphal »Gospel of the Childhood»,

¹⁷⁴ *Friedmann* 1946 p. XVII, 7 and *Friedmann's* letter 28.10.68. AJ. — Cf. expression by *Marle*: »a little bird». *Marle* 1923 p. 302.

¹⁷⁵ *Langer* 1949 p. 126.

¹⁷⁶ MSL 158 col. 92.

¹⁷⁷ *Troickij* 1913 p. 29.



Fig. 53. The Child Jesus with animals. Arabic miniat. 13th. cent. Florence, Biblioteca Medica Laurenziana, Orient. 387 c. 27. Photo: Bibl. Med. Laur.

Jesus makes sparrows out of clay and brings them to life.¹⁷⁸ A picture of Jesus with the bird appears as an illustration in a late 13th-century redaction, showing that the theme was current at that time (Fig. 53). The winged pet was kept close by tying it to a leash. Mediaeval literature describes these games. According to *Lauffer*, the goldfinch has also been a popular pet bird for children.¹⁷⁹

There are many reasons why the goldfinch became a symbol of the Child Jesus. It was seen to frequent thorn bushes and eat their seeds.¹⁸⁰ This linked the goldfinch with Jesus's crown of thorns. There were also magic beliefs attached to thorns in the folklore of many peoples. For example, in France it was believed that they had healing properties, and thus medicines were made from them. Expressions like «carduus benedictus» (blessed thorn) and «carduus marianus» (Mary's thorn) refer to such ideas.¹⁸¹ In many languages, the word for goldfinch is in fact related to that for thorn: in Greek «akanthis» (akantha)¹⁸², in Italian «cardellino» (cardus, carduus), in French «chardonneret» (chardon), and in German «Distelfink» (Distel)¹⁸³, although the bird is also called «Stieglitz». Superstition connected with thorns is also known from Russia¹⁸⁴, but the word for goldfinch «shchegol» is, according to *Vasmer* descended from the same family as «Stieglitz»¹⁸⁵, and the word for thorn (chertopolokh) is not related to the goldfinch.

The goldfinch became a symbol of the passion of Jesus, and won a place in Madonna art as well. It is believed to have drenched its feathers in Jesus's blood when pulling out thorns

¹⁷⁸ *Hennecke & Schneemelcher* 1959, pp. 293—94.

¹⁷⁹ *Lauffer* 1939 p. 29.

¹⁸⁰ *Grimm* 1941 col. 2829.

¹⁸¹ *Friedmann* 1946 p. 23. — *Alonso* 1958 I p. 942.

¹⁸² *Frisk* 1960 I p. 50.

¹⁸³ *Ernout & Meillet* 1959 p. 100.

¹⁸⁴ *Vasmer* 1958 III p. 329.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p. 445. — See also *Šišmareva* 1955 p. 44. — In Czech 'goldfinch' is 'Stehlik', derived from 'Stieglitz'. *Machek* 1968 p. 576.

from his forehead on the cross.¹⁸⁶ In the Madonna composition, the presence of both the Child Jesus and the goldfinch was a sign of the close relationship between the Crucifixion and the Incarnation.¹⁸⁷ In 13th-century Italy, the oldest Madonna compositions where the Child Jesus has a goldfinch in his hand developed from this. Iconographically, they were duecento-type combined compositions (pp. 96, 117, 124), with elements from the Byzantine prototypes previously described.

The bird appeared, not only in the hand of the Child Jesus, but also fastened to a leash or in a cage; it then symbolized the soul chained by sin, on which Jesus has pity (cf. Anselm of Canterbury, p. 135,) and which he can release.¹⁸⁸ If the bird is simply in the hand of the Child Jesus, it is a replacement for his usual attribute, the scroll.¹⁸⁹ *Friedmann's* mention of the phonetic similarity of »cardellino» (goldfinch) and »cartellino» (scroll) may be noted here¹⁹⁰, although *Friedmann* does not think that this linguistic coincidence can explain the iconographic change. A winged playmate, usually a goldfinch, becomes increasingly common in Madonna pictures. The Child Jesus is not always particularly well-disposed towards the bird, an aspect that has caught the attention of scholars of the bird symbol. »L'Enfant serait-il devenu cruel?» asks *Lotthe*.¹⁹¹ *Tikkanen* also uses the expression »the cruel game with the bird».¹⁹² *Troitsky*, however, cannot agree with such an interpretation. The Child Jesus cannot be represented as tormenting birds, since

¹⁸⁶ *Charbonneau Lassay* 1940 p. 534. — A corresponding legend has been attached to some other birds with a red breast, e.g., the bullfinch, well-known in Karelian folk tradition. *Haavio* 1936 p. 35.

¹⁸⁷ *Ferguson* 1955 p. 17.

¹⁸⁸ *Dahlby* 1963 p. 61.

¹⁸⁹ *Sandberg-Vavala*: »... tiene invece del rotolo un uccellino.» *Sandberg-Vavala* 1934^b p. 48. — Cf. *Doering*: »Vogel, gläubige Seele, darum oft in der Hand des Jesuskindes.» *Doering* 1949 p. 125.

¹⁹⁰ *Friedmann* 1946 p. 22.

¹⁹¹ *Lotthe* 1947 p. 116.

¹⁹² *Tikkanen* 1916 p. 49.

such a trait is not consonant with his personality. In his teachings, Jesus emphasized the importance of even the humblest sparrow, and God's care for it.¹⁹³

In fact, the little bird, like many other attributes originally containing serious symbolism, such as the apple and the vine, changed as the Madonna art grew more secular, becoming a vehicle for human emotions and emphasizing the human features of the relationship between mother and son.¹⁹⁴ A small bird, usually a goldfinch, but gradually representing a variety of species and symbolism (such as the martin), was adopted into compositions of very varying type, even including the eleousa. Even the representation of Mary suckling the Child did not make it impossible to have a little bird in the Child Jesus's hand.¹⁹⁵ As *Vloberg* has pointed out, in the end it would be impossible to find a cage large enough to hold all the birds that gladdened or saddened the Christ-Child.¹⁹⁶ The interest in birds had appeared in the 12th and 13th centuries, with the rise of nature mysticism¹⁹⁷, but in the 14th century, the artists of Europe freed from the shackles of the Black Death expressed their delight in and desire for life, favouring more and more pictures of sprightly little birds in their Madonna works. The connection with Christian symbolism, and the pre-Christian manifestations of supernatural birds that were in the background, gradually grew obscure. In the High Renaissance, the secularization of art finally led to compositions that have hardly anything of the mysticism of a devotional image, and whose birds can hardly be

¹⁹³ *Troickij* 1913 p. 30.

¹⁹⁴ *Hirn* 1909 pp. 523—24, n. 55. — Cf. also *Tikkanen* 1916 p. 17.

¹⁹⁵ See painting of Filippo Mazzola: *Berenson* 1957 I fig. 534.

¹⁹⁶ *Vloberg* 1934 II p. 11.

¹⁹⁷ Similarly, a Sicilian manuscript (belonged to Emperor Frederick II) «*De arte venandi cum avibus*», the illustration of which is from 1258—1266 (*Bologna* 1964 pp. 62—63) exemplifies knowledge of different birds. *Ancona* 1925 p. 18. — The mosaics of St. Mark's in Venice also show the interest in birds. Cf. p. 126.

interpreted as symbols of suffering.¹⁹⁸ Portraits of royal children were painted where the child had a bird, often a gaily feathered goldfinch, in the hand.¹⁹⁹ In fact the combination of child and tame bird goes back to the old tradition of Christian art.²⁰⁰

The Dove in Madonna Art

Early Christian art has a dove (often a pair of doves) as a symbolic and decorative theme.²⁰¹ Its main function in Christian art is to symbolize the Holy Ghost, appearing in the form of a bird. In this role it is seen in a wide variety of compositions: In representations of the Annunciation, it flies in a stream of light towards Mary. As one of the three persons of the Holy Trinity, it sits inside a medallion on the hand of God, while a scroll in the other hand represents Jesus.²⁰² It may occur in the middle of other symbols of the Trinity on the altar (for example, in the picture on the reverse of the icon of the Virgin of Vladimir²⁰³) and in the composition known as «Fatherhood» it is in Jesus's lap.²⁰⁴ As the Holy Ghost, the dove hovers above the head of Jesus as he is baptized in Jordan, or settles onto Mary's head

¹⁹⁸ E.g., one Madonna of Franciabigio has already drawn apart from the Christian view as well as a Madonna composition of Jacopo Carucci da Pontormo in its manneristic stylistization. Personal observations in Leningrad 15.5.60.

¹⁹⁹ *Friedmann* 1946 pls. 1–2.

²⁰⁰ E.g., a 6th-century floor mosaic of the imperial palace of Constantinople, now in the Mosaic Museum of Istanbul, shows two children riding a camel, one of them gently pressing a bird to him. Personal observations in Istanbul 28.6.70. — Example on picture: *A. Grabar* 1966 fig. 108.

²⁰¹ *Kirsch* 1914 col. 2231. — Even if there was only one deceased in the tomb, whose soul is symbolized by a dove, the decoration of the tomb has in general two birds, due to symmetrical or other decorative aspects.

Uvarov 1908 p. 156 n. 2.

²⁰² *Lampaki* 1896 fig. p. 83.

²⁰³ *Antonova & Mneva* 1963 I fig. 10.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.* fig. 46.

in a composition representing the Coronation of the Virgin. The dove is also an attribute of many saints.²⁰⁵

Even in the 4th century, Jesus was identified with the dove. Prudentius (348—410) sees Jesus as a mighty dove, as a bird of prey with bloodstained throat: »Tu mihi, Christe, columba potens, sanguine pasta cui cedit avis.»²⁰⁶ Cyril of Alexandria (412—44) has the pair of doves of the hypapante theme as a symbol of Jesus.²⁰⁷ However, Christian iconography has never been particularly interested in replacing Jesus with the dove symbol. This has only rarely happened; in some hetoimasia compositions, for example, the dove represents Jesus on the throne of the judgement of the world, and in the symbolism of the eucharist.²⁰⁹ Hugh of St-Victor, who has compared the church to a dove²¹⁰, does not mention the dove or any other birds when listing many epithets and symbols for Jesus and Mary.²¹¹

The dove of mariology is descended from pagan mythology. It has been the sacred bird of many goddesses — Ishtar, Aphrodite (Venus), Atargatis, etc.²¹² The dove of the Song of Songs has provided the subject for romantic metaphors later applied to Mary in mediaeval literature. The mediaeval poets often compared Mary to a dove.²¹³ For example, in the Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine, Jesus calls his mother his dove (»columba mea»).²¹⁴

Both pagan and Christian art agree in putting the dove in sensuous contexts, linked with conception and birth. In the Pseudo-Matthew, Joseph is said to have been selected as the

²⁰⁵ *Montault* 1890 I p. 130.

²⁰⁶ *MSL* 59 col. 809.

²⁰⁷ *MSG*, 77 col. 1041.

²⁰⁸ *Charbonneau-Lassay* 1946 p. 484 fig. XIII.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 486—87.

²¹⁰ *MSL* 177 cols. 138—39, 141.

²¹¹ *Ibid.* col. 18.

²¹² *Forstner* 1961 pp. 346—47.

²¹³ Cf. *MSL* 219 col. 505.

²¹⁴ *Jacobus de Voragine* *Legenda aurea*. De assumptione Mariae.

betrothed of Mary when a dove flew from his staff, which had been put on the altar together with the staffs of other widowers: »... statim de cacumine ejus egressa est columba nive candior, speciosa nimis, et volans diu per templi fastigia petevit caelos...»²¹⁵ In another apocryphal text, the Gospel of the Birth of the Virgin, a dove flies from heaven onto the end of Joseph's staff: »... in cacumine ejus columba de caelo veniens condisset.»²¹⁶

However, there is a certain dualism in the Mariological literature in this respect. On the other hand, by ancient tradition the dove is linked with sensuous contexts, while on the other it is a symbol of the purity and virginity of Mary.²¹⁷ In the Proto-Gospel of James, Mary is compared gently to a »tamed dove» (*hōs peristerā nemoménē*).²¹⁸ According to *Lipffert*, the doves of the hypapante theme also symbolize Mary's gentleness and purity.²¹⁹

It should be remembered here that even in Greek mythology the dove is also given negative parts to play. For example, the ringdove is an omen of misfortune or evil news.²²⁰

In the Western sacral art, the dove has been detached from the context of narrative images and become the theme in Madonna and Child compositions. The bird appearing in French sculpture usually seems to be a dove, although it is less easily identified than the clearly differentiated painted birds (black martin, variegated goldfinch, etc.). But the size and form of the bird, and its link with other symbols (such as a bunch of grapes) in High Gothic French sculpture and Italian sculpture

²¹⁵ Le protévangile... 1910 p. 308.

²¹⁶ Ibid. p. 358.

²¹⁷ Charbonneau-Lassay 1940 p. 497. — Réau 1955, 81. — Hirn 1909, 533, n. 2. — Montault 1890 I p. 30.

²¹⁸ Le protévangile... 1910 pp. 208—10.

²¹⁹ Lipffert 1957 p. 41.

²²⁰ Steier 1932 cols. 2481—84.

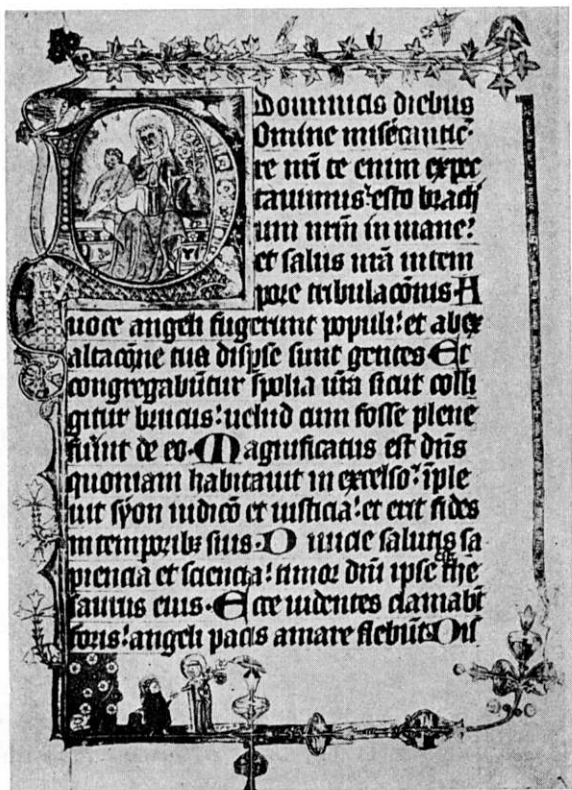


Fig. 54 a. Madonna and Child. Bohemian miniat. 1323. Photo: *Květ* 1931, 44-tyz. rukopis. fol. 188, inic. D.

influenced by it²²¹ indicate the dove. Again, a Bohemian miniature of 1323 has a composition for the ornamented letter D where Mary sits on a Gothic chair, the Child Jesus on her right knee and a large flower in her left hand (Fig. 54). The Child is turned away from Mary and holds a large white bird, that ac-

²²¹ Cf. *Pope-Hennessy* 1955 p. 37 fig. 26. — On the birds in French sculpture see *Vloberg* 1934 II pp. 7–17.



Fig. 54 b. Detail of Fig. 54 a.

cording to *Květ* is a dove.²²² The theme has no connection with the text of the Vulgate (Is. 33, 2—7) with which the illuminated D begins.²²³

The dove also appears in Madonna and Child compositions of the Italian High Renaissance. The »Vierge au Pigeon» of Piero di Cosimo (1462—1521), now in the Louvre, shows that the bird has become holy, as it has a halo of its own.²²⁴

Friedmann has shown that folk tradition has occasionally confused the dove and the goldfinch.²²⁵ In Oldenburg, for example, the turtle dove and the goldfinch both appear in

²²² *Květ* 1931 p. 116. Dating: Ibid. index p. 131.

²²³ Cf. *Biblia Sacra juxta vulgatum*; Isaia XXXIII: 2—7.

²²⁴ *Friedmann* 1946 p. 174 n. 36. — The bird in the work by Cosimo has a halo, just discernible. Personal observations in Paris 9.7.69.

²²⁵ *Friedmann* 1946 p. 24.

beliefs concerning the healing of consumption. *Frazer's* comment on this is also reminiscent of the charadrioid beliefs: »In Oldenburg they sometimes hang up a goldfinch or a turtle-dove in the room of a consumptive patient, hoping that the bird may draw away the malady from the sufferer to itself.«²²⁶

In Russia the dove was a sacred bird in ancient times. The attitude of the Russian Orthodox to doves followed up the old oriental tradition²²⁷, which, according to *Kiparsky*, differed clearly from Roman Catholic customs: »Im alten Russland galt die Taube als ein heiliges Tier, und Taubenbraten wurde jedenfalls bis 1917 nicht gegessen, während es z.B. im katholischen Österreich-Ungarn zu den beliebtesten Speisen gehörte.«²²⁸ We hear of the care of tame doves in Russia from 10th-century sources. For example, the description of the revenge of Princess Olga in the Lavrentyevskaya chronicle shows that the dove was a pet bird.²²⁹ In Russia it was believed that a white dove could save the house from fire. Anyone who killed a dove stood in danger of losing his cattle.²³⁰ *Kiparsky* has also shown the popularity of doves by proving that a large number of Russian surnames are connected with them.²³¹

The dove-shaped sacral vessels of Orthodox tradition go back to early Christian art. As well as lamps, ciboria were made in the shape of doves, and hung by chains above the altar.²³² This custom was also known in Russia as early as in the 12th century.²³³ In all likelihood, the carved birds placed by the Slavic peoples on graves to provide a home for the souls of the dead were also in the dove shape.²³⁴

²²⁶ *Frazer* 1900 p. 25.

²²⁷ *Forstner* 1961 p. 347.

²²⁸ *Kiparsky* 1956 p. 234.

²²⁹ *Povest' vremennykh let* I, 1950 p. 240.

²³⁰ *Afanas'ev* 1865 I p. 541.

²³¹ *Kiparsky* 1958 p. 152.

²³² *Charbonneau-Lassay* 1940 pp. 486—87.

²³³ *Voronin* 1962 p. 39 fig. 20.

²³⁴ *Belovic'* 1927 pp. 160—61.

Dove symbols were also introduced into the iconography of the Virgin. For example, a 14th-century Coptic picture shows a white bird on Mary's breast²³⁵, just as, in pre-Christian art, a dove was represented on the breast of Aphrodite (Venus).²³⁶ In later Russian iconography (from the 17th century onwards), there is the icon type known as the »Softener of evil hearts» which, according to *Kondakov*, goes back to Italian or Polish iconography.²³⁷ The composition resembles that of the icon of the Virgin of Kazan, but on the breast of the crowned Virgin there is a dove, set in an aureole and with a halo, thus symbolizing the Holy Ghost.

The Bird of the Dove Icons

Kondakov's mistaken translation (cf. p. 133) appears to have misled students of the iconography of dove icons. *Friedmann*, indeed, did suspect that *Kondakov* had misinterpreted the species of the calandrinus in Cecco d'Ascolis's manuscript, and had erroneously identified the caradrius of Honorius's text with the goldfinch.²³⁸ However, not even *Friedmann* has considered the possibility that the bird of the dove icons might be, in fact, a dove. He sees the influence of the charadrios myth in the fact of the bird's being white, and cites four Madonna works with white birds which, he considers, represent the charadrios.²³⁹ It seems that the word »caradrius» does not occur in the name of a single one of them (cf. p. 134). *Friedmann* bases his view on the colour of the bird. In considering the white birds that have no haloes, he believes that the dove did not appear in Italian

²³⁵ Koptische Kunst 1968 No. 43.

²³⁶ *Grill* 1958 col. 384.

²³⁷ *Kondakov* 1911 p. 100.

²³⁸ *Friedmann* 1946 pp. 13–16, 21.

²³⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 19–20.

painting before the High Renaissance otherwise than as symbolizing the Holy Ghost.²⁴⁰

In my view, the works of Christian art which indisputably include a charadrios bird are not Madonna compositions. The white bird in Italian Madonna painting can hardly be interpreted as a charadrios.

It would seem consistent to assume that the bird of the dove icons is the outcome of the following process of development: Christian art adopted the bird symbol from literary sources in the 13th century. Birds both real (goldfinch, dove) and mythical (charadrios, phoenix) were interpreted as symbols of Jesus. Representations of the Madonna first adopted the goldfinch, which replaced the scroll, the attribute of the Child Jesus. The bird theme in narrative pictures was already familiar from the hypapante theme. The sacrificial dove of the hypapante eventually, through the medium of devotional images divorced from the narrative theme (cf. p. 125), became an alternative to the goldfinch in Madonna compositions. The young dove brought for sacrifice might, like the goldfinch, the pet bird, be tied to a string. The missing link was a hypapante picture showing the Child Jesus turned away from his mother, holding the bird above the altar. Here he has only one of the sacrificial doves in his hand; one bird in fact, just as in the goldfinch pictures (cf. Fig. 47^b).

The devotional image with the Child Jesus holding the dove symbolizes his sacrificial death. In terms of formal history, the

²⁴⁰ Ibid. pp. 19, 174 n. 36. — One of the paintings with a white bird is part of the Odda altarpiece (1350), now in the Bergen Museum. In it the bird seems to be a dove. It is standing on the arch of the throne in the cathedra composition, on the opposite side to the Child Jesus, who is sitting on his mother's knee and stretching his right hand towards it. Cf. *Borenus & Tristram* 1927 fig. 48. The second painting with the white bird, the panel of the Diocesan Museum (Barcelona), attributed only to «Manner of Guimera» in *Friedmann* 1946, pl. 6, is called the «Virgen de la Humildad». Letter of Francisco Camprubi to Sisko Valkeaniemi de Garcia-Jove 22.6.69. AJ. — The bird in the Child's hand looks like a dove in that panel, too.

other elements of the hypapante composition have become detached, and all that is left is the part of the composition above the altar. Thus it is possible that the new type of devotional image also symbolized the sacrificial liturgical act of the altar, the eucharist.²⁴¹ The dove has replaced the goldfinch, the symbol of the Passion used elsewhere in Madonna paintings, but it would nonetheless seem that the sacrificial death of Jesus is the primary symbolic theme.

In Western art, the bird might be either a goldfinch or, much more rarely, a dove. In Russia, however, the popular dove cult established the white dove in this iconography. *Schweinfurth* is probably right in saying: »Der dunkle Stieglitz wird auf der 'Golubizkaja' in eine weisse Taube verwandelt, die das Kind, der Darstellung auf dem zugrundeliegenden italo-byzantinischen Vorbilde entsprechend, ebenfalls an einem Bande hält.»²⁴² However, *Schweinfurth* seems not to have realized the significance of the hypapante composition in this metamorphosis.

One 15th-century Russian work has been found where the bird is dark, almost black. It forms a central composition of a wooden octagonal paten (cf. p. 173, Fig. 69). Although the goldfinch was a pet bird in Russia as well²⁴³, one can hardly agree with *Kondakov*, *Schweinfurth* and *Rothemund*²⁴⁴ that the bird of this mediaeval work is a goldfinch. The troubled expressions of the Virgin and Child might indeed refer to the original significance of the goldfinch as a symbol of the Passion, but was this definitely realized in Russia as well, where it was not a goldfinch but a dove that was adopted in the dove icons? Again, even the contemporary Italian works do not in general show troubled expressions.

There may be other explanations for the colour of this bird.

²⁴¹ Cf. *Aurenhammer* 1959—67 p. 539. — *Lankheit* 1969—70 p. 211.

²⁴² *Schweinfurth* 1930 p. 450.

²⁴³ *Zabelin* 1862 p. 193.

²⁴⁴ *Kondakov* 1927 p. 81. — *Schweinfurth* 1930 p. 450. — *Rothemund* 1966 p. 250.

In folk tradition in general, black birds are omens of evil tidings. According to *Afanasev*, «it often happens that the same symbol changes from good to bad, from white to black». For example, a white raven that flew from Noah's ark did not, according to a Jewish legend, return; instead it attacked the corpses of the victims of the flood, fed on dead human flesh, and turned black.²⁴⁵ Originally the bird had been as white as snow and as innocent as dove.²⁴⁶

Perhaps the painter of the octagon was in fact familiar with the goldfinch symbol of Western art, and knew that it originally meant «evil tidings» (the crucifixion). Again, he may not have had any particular bird in mind but, in painting it black, felt that in some way or other it symbolized misfortune. The material is restricted, in mediaeval Russian art, to a single example, and no claims can be made with any certainty as regards the symbolism of the bird.

5. Adaptation of the Prototype in Byzantine-Italian Iconography

The Sterbini Diptych Group

Kondakov refers to the Madonna of Spinello Aretino in the Florence Academy in his argument showing that the Konevitsa icon goes back to Italian iconography (Fig. 55).²⁴⁷ This work is dated to 1391, and as regards date it agrees perfectly with the tradition concerning the Konevitsa icon that says that it was brought from Athos to Konevitsa in 1393 (p. 50). Aretino's work also contains iconographic elements that can be compared

²⁴⁵ *Afanas'ev* 1865 p. 526. The illustration of the legend can be seen e.g. in the mosaic of the Palace Chapel of Monreale. See *Kitzinger* 1960 p. 26.
— Cf. also p. 126.

²⁴⁶ *Afanas'ev* 1865 p. 527.

²⁴⁷ *Kondakov* 1911 p. 27.



Fig. 55. Spinello Aretino, Madonna and Child, centre part of a triptych, 1391. Florence, Academy. Photo: Alinari, Florence.

with the composition of the Konevitsa icon, such as the attitude of the Child Jesus, turning away from Mary, and the bird in his hand. In other details, Aretino's picture differs from the Konevitsa icon, and it is of very little significance as a proof of the Italian origin of the dove type. The four trecento Madonnas published by *Garrison*, on the other hand, are much more reliable evidence of the link between the dove icons and Byzantine-

Italian representations of the Madonna (Figs. 56—59).²⁴⁸ *Garrison* has not linked them up with the dove icons, however, and thus perhaps was not familiar with *Kondakov's* theory.

Garrison places the trecento works in question in his loosely interpreted »Adriatic School», in the Group C that comprises five works in all. His only restriction on this school is to classify under it a number of Italian paintings of the 14th and 15th centuries that have more Byzantine features than other contemporary works. The school was active on the Adriatic coast and on the islands, combining stylistic features of the Venetian, Dalmatian, Sicilian, Maltese and other groups. The paintings of the C-group would appear to be Venetian work (»may have been produced in Venice itself»), but are distinguished by their »Adriatic details» from other Venetian works.²⁴⁹

With one exception²⁵⁰, the works of the C-group correspond to the Konevitsa icon both in basic composition and many details. One of them is a detail of a diptych which belonged to the Sterbini collection, hence its name of the Sterbini diptych. It is now in the Palazzo Venezia museum in Rome.²⁵¹ The whole diptych comprises four themes. The Madonna, the Child Jesus and Joseph are painted on the upper part of the left half (dimensions 22 × 14 cm). Below this is a composition representing two deacons, Laurence and Philip, and John the Baptist. On the right-hand side of the diptych is a painting of Christ crucified, with Mary and John beside him and Mary Magdalene at the foot of the cross. The lower part has pictures of the Stigmatization of Francis of Assisi and St Louis of Toulouse. In the Madonna composition, Mary and Joseph are painted half-length, but

²⁴⁸ *Garrison* 1949 p. 53 (No. 65), p. 58 (No. 92), p. 98 (No. 247) and *Garrison* 1956 p. 307.

²⁴⁹ *Garrison* 1949 p. 11.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p. 61 (No. 106).

²⁵¹ In 1964 it was in the store of the museum. Personal observations in Rome 17.4.64.



Fig. 56. The Sterbini Diptych. Panel, c. 1318. Rome, Pal



Venezia. Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome.

judging by the folds of the clothes they are standing, not seated.²⁵² The Child Jesus sits on Mary's arm. Joseph extends a bird, usually identified as a goldfinch, to the Child.²⁵³ The bird's legs are tied to a leash, and the Child Jesus holds the other end. The themes of the diptych are so theologically disparate that their inclusion in the same work can hardly be explained on dogmatic grounds. The themes were probably dictated by the wish of the artist or the patron, and this is indicated by the fact that the diptych is like a devotional image, with an intimacy suitable for family or private use.

The colours of the Madonna composition are extremely harmonious. Against the gold background, the Madonna's dark blue maphorion with golden stars, the veil of light rose, the brown skin of the face, all stand out beautifully, as do Joseph's white hair and beard, the Child's light hair and the pale green and lilac of his clothes and, in the clothes of other figures, violet, blue, lilac, red and brown.

The Sterbini diptych has proved problematic. It has been attributed to a wide variety of painters. *Richter* has attributed it to Duccio.²⁵⁴ *Munoz* thinks it is a 13th-century Tuscan work.²⁵⁵ *Venturi* has been a little uncertain, first attributing it to the school of Cimabue²⁵⁶ and later confining himself to a more cautious view, 'some Tuscan master from c. 1318'.²⁵⁷ *Friedmann* discusses this diptych in the context of Florentine art, considering it the work of an unknown master of the school of Cimabue, but also notes that *Offner* attributes it to the Venetian school.²⁵⁸

²⁵² Cf. *Shorr* 1954 type 13 Venice 1: 'Seated Child, Standing Virgin'. — *Muñoz* states that the Child is on Mary's knees: 'L'enfant, qui est sur les genoux de sa mère.' *Muñoz* 1906 p. 7.

²⁵³ *Venturi* 1905 p. 200: 'cardellino'. — *Muñoz* 1906 p. 7: 'chardonneret'. — *Friedmann* 1946 p. 66: 'goldfinch'.

²⁵⁴ According to *Muñoz*. Cf. *Muñoz* 1906 p. 8.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p. 10.

²⁵⁶ *Venturi* 1905 p. 201.

²⁵⁷ *Venturi* 1907 p. 114.

²⁵⁸ *Friedmann* pp. 65–66, 182 n. 1.

Shorr also thinks that the actual work is Venetian, but that the prototypes of its iconography must be sought in the art of Siena.²⁵⁹ *Longhi* thinks the work is entirely Sienese («puramente senese»);²⁶⁰ *Fraundorfer* describes it as «adriatisch-venezianisch»;²⁶¹ *Marle* has pointed out the stylistic differences between the two parts of the diptych; the right-hand side is Western in both theme and iconography, showing Gothic influence, while the left-hand side is more Byzantine.²⁶² *Offner's* definition (cf. note 139), can be applied to this diptych. The figures of the left-hand side are presented «in a space without cubic depth», while those on the right-hand side are «upon solid ground». The transcendent, icon-like atmosphere of the left-hand side is complemented by the vivid drama of the right-hand side, shown, for example, in the attitudes and gestures of the angel looking at the blood pouring from Christ's side, of the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene and the apostle John. The picture of the Stigmatization of St Francis has references to his realistic environment, although rocky background reminds of Byzantine icons. *Lazarev* calls this problematic diptych Byzantine but, on the basis of the position of the hand of the crucified Christ, considers that it represents a transition period with influence from Western art.²⁶³ *Venturi* again has compared the head of the Child to the Child of the Rucellai Madonna.²⁶⁴ The hyacinthine curls are also an indication of the return of the themes of antiquity to pictorial art.²⁶⁵

The painter of the diptych remains anonymous, and has become known simply as the Maestro del dittico Sterbini. A combination of Western and Eastern elements is clearly visible in the work, for example when studying the figures, the clothes

²⁵⁹ *Shorr* 1954 pp. 97, 103.

²⁶⁰ *Longhi* 1953 p. 44.

²⁶¹ *Fraundorfer* 1954 p. 356. — Cf. *Kermer* 1967 p. 83: «adriatische Schule oder venezianisch».

²⁶² *Marle* 1923 p. 360.

²⁶³ *Lasareff* 1931^a p. 11.

²⁶⁴ *Venturi* 1906 p. 13.

²⁶⁵ Cf. *Homer* The Odyssey p. 108.

and their folds. The letters in the background are Latin. It seems probable that the painting is from a Venetian studio, since Eastern and Western influences mingled in Venice.

I feel that *Venturi* is right in dating the diptych to about 1318 (cf. note 257), as Louis of Toulouse was canonized the previous year²⁶⁶, and was thus a topical subject. The iconography of the work as a whole indicates the early years of the trecento.

How did the master of the Sterbini diptych plan his composition, which differs from earlier Madonna works with bird themes? It may be that he worked from a lost or unknown model, or his work may have been original.

I shall assume that he chose as his theme the Holy Family. He had seen hypapante compositions where Mary carries the Child Jesus. The Child is turned away from his mother to bless Simeon. In accordance with the trends of the period, themes for devotional images were adopted from narrative themes, concentrating on one detail as the basis for the new composition. There are not very many devotional images on the hypapante theme, but its suitability is nonetheless indisputable.²⁶⁷ In my opinion, the master of the Sterbini diptych took the hypapante theme as his starting point. He put Joseph in place of Simeon. Since artistic tradition had not shown Jesus blessing Joseph, the painter tried to find a suitable way of expressing contact between them. A new theme, the goldfinch, had already won a place in contemporary Madonna compositions. Now the Master of the Sterbini diptych borrowed it to link Jesus and Joseph. Using a current theme as the instrument of the contact, he provided the inspiration for the theme of the Holy Family and the little bird, which survived for centuries, right up to the days of Murillo, and even of Watteau.²⁶⁸

Another indication of the connection between the hypapante

²⁶⁶ *Wimmer* 1959 p. 328.

²⁶⁷ LMK 7/8 col. 1195. — *Ringbom* 1965 p. 89. — Cf. *Kloss* 1942 fig. 11. — *Frauentorfer* 1954 p. 86 n. 4.

²⁶⁸ See e.g., *Berenson* 1957 II fig. 833. — *Vloberg* 1934 II p. 14.

theme and the Sterbini diptych is the picture of the meditations referred to on pp. 111—14, where the Child Jesus is seen sacrificing a dove (Fig. 47). This theme of 14th-century iconography²⁶⁹ seems to have arisen from the reference, in the meditations, to the Child Jesus sacrificing birds.²⁷⁰ I have nowhere else found the bird sacrifice represented in this way, since in the cases where the Child Jesus himself holds the birds, he stands on the altar with them in his hands (cf. Fig. 46). I should myself like to suppose that the illustrator of the meditations borrowed the idea from the Sterbini diptych, which is so reminiscent of the traditional hypapante composition. It is also possible, of course, that this picture is descended from an older model unknown to me, for example, some 13th-century illustration to meditations. In that case, the master of the Sterbini diptych may have been influenced by the same sources.

Friedmann has considered the interpretation of the symbolism of the Sterbini diptych. Perhaps Joseph is handing the Infant the goldfinch as a symbol of the Resurrection that is to come. It is equally likely, of course, that the original symbolic message of the goldfinch (Passion, Crucifixion) has been preserved in the new composition.²⁷¹ Thus it is closely connected with the sacrificial dove of the hypapante theme.

The three other Madonna compositions of *Garrison's* C-group show that in the school of the master of the Sterbini diptych the theme developed further, becoming an independent devotional image. By leaving Joseph out, they finally break the link with the narrative presentation. The bird no longer represented the contact between the Child Jesus and Joseph, and thus the composition became purely symbolic. The mystical contact between bird and Child was emphasized by bending the Child's head lower towards the bird. This gave a devotional image that is in a sense the Byzantine-Italian »model» of the dove icons. It is

²⁶⁹ *Wentzel* 1942 p. 248: »Aus der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts.»

²⁷⁰ *Ragusa & Green* 1963 p. 416.

²⁷¹ *Friedmann* 1946 p. 66.



Fig. 57. School of the Master of the Sterbini Diptych, Madonna and Child. Panel, 14th cent. Whereabouts unknown. Photo: Dorothy Shorr, New York.



Fig. 58. School of the Master of the Sterbini Diptych, Madonna and Child. Panel, 14th cent. Whereabouts unknown. Photo: Dorothy Shorr, New York.

represented by these three 14th-century versions, of which one made its way to London²⁷², one was last heard in Florence²⁷³, and one is in the Museo Nazionale in Messina.²⁷⁴

The work shown in Figure 57, «the London Madonna», comes closest to the iconography of the dove icons. This painting is almost the same size as the Konevitsa icon (dimensions 47×34 cm, the Konevitsa icon 43.5×32.5 cm). Only some details differ from the dove type. For example, the bird is shown from below, wings and tail spread. In this icon, Mary's maphorion does not have the stars that appear in the other works of the Sterbini diptych group, but the present condition of the picture may not be identical with the original iconography.

In the Messina triptych, the centre panel has the Madonna and Child composition, while the side panels show St Agatha and the Apostle Bartholomew (Fig. 59). According to *Mauceri* this is Sienese work, but *Vigni* and *Carandente* think it is Venetian, although showing Sienese influence.²⁷⁵ The effect is somewhat Byzantine, and *Longhi* in fact thinks the triptych is a copy made by some unknown local master of a Byzantine theme.²⁷⁶ The similarity to the Sterbini diptych, however, shows it to be closed to the Italian art. The relationship between the iconography of the Messina triptych and the Sterbini diptych is obvious and admitted.²⁷⁷ *Garrison*, it is true, observes that

²⁷² According to a rare communication of *Garrison* it came into a private collection from Matthiesen, art dealer. *Garrison* 1949 p. 58. (No. 92.) I have not succeeded in finding out which 'Private Collection' is in question. *Shorr* reported receiving a photograph of the work from Professor *Offner*, not knowing the whereabouts of the picture itself. A letter from *Shorr* 13.11.62. AJ.

²⁷³ *Garrison* 1949 p. 53 (No. 65): «From Florence, Salv. Romano, dealer.»

²⁷⁴ Museo Nazionale, No. 964. A letter from Agnello 12.5.64. AJ.

²⁷⁵ *Vigni & Carandente* 1953 p. 40.

²⁷⁶ *Longhi* 1953 p. 44. — The double-headed eagles — Byzantine imperial emblems — which are to be seen in St Agatha's robe belong to the ornaments of Kariye Djami. Cf. *Underwood* 1966 III fig. p. 547: «Tomb F».

²⁷⁷ *Carandente* 1953 p. 91. — *Longhi* 1953 p. 44. — *Bottari* 1954 p. 16.

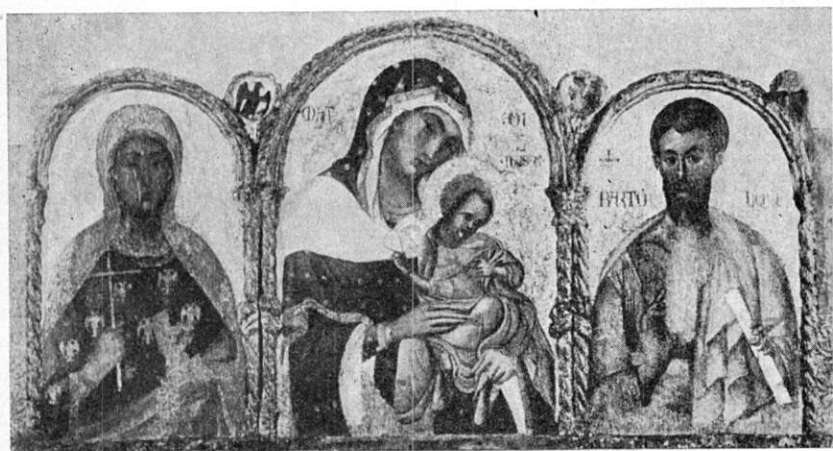


Fig. 59. School of the Master of the Sterbini Diptych, Triptych. Panel, 14th cent. Messina, Galleria Nazionale, No 964. Photo: Gall. Naz. Messina.

there is a difference in standard between the works. He thinks that the drawing of the Messina work, for example in the clothes of the Child Jesus, is more stereotyped.²⁷⁸

The history of the Messina triptych is better known than that of the «London» and «Florence» Madonnas. This large tempera painting (dimensions 80 × 160 cm) was in St Gioacchino's church in Messina until it was moved to the Museo Nazionale some time before 1902.²⁷⁹ The report on restoration carried out in 1953 says that the base was decayed in parts, and the paint completely loose at many points. The painting, on a gold base, was covered with a number of later layers, which were dissolved off during the restoration. The places where the original painting was completely lost were filled in with stucco and water-colours.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁸ *Garrison* 1956 p. 303.

²⁷⁹ *Salinas & Columba* 1915 p. 37.

²⁸⁰ *Carandente* 1953 p. 91.



Fig. 60. Pietro Lorenzetti, Madonna of the Sunset. Fresco, c. 1360. Assisi, Basilica di S. Francesco. Photo: Dacca, Assisi.

The iconographic composition in these works of *Garrison's* C-group is almost identical, and its main features are parallel to the dove icons. Comparison of the details shows that the ornamentation of the Child Jesus's robe is identical in the Sterbini diptych and the «London Madonna», as is that on the maphorion of Mary in the Sterbini diptych and the «Florence Madonna» (Fig. 58). In all the paintings, the Child Jesus is very



Fig. 61. The Virgin of Tenderness. Icon, 15th cent. Munich, Gallery Ilas Neufert. Photo: Ilas Neufert, Munich.

similar. Mary's face is similar, except in the Messina triptych, where the features are coarse and the expression duller. One common iconographic feature is Mary's veil, whose edge is seen under the maphorion, going over the right shoulder. A fine white veil²⁸¹ framing Mary's face is very common in paintings

²⁸¹ After the era of early Christian sepulchral art Christian iconography has not, in general, given Mary a veil, but a kerchief completely covering her hair may be discerned underneath the maphorion. In the art of the

of the period, for example in the works of Duccio and his school.²⁸² Sometimes the Child Jesus is pulling the veil out from under the maphorion (cf. for example the school of Segna di Buonaventura).²⁸³ However, it is very rare to find the veil lying across the shoulder, as in the Sterbini diptych group. I know of only a couple of other cases in Italian art. The Madonna of the Sunset of Pietro Lorenzetti, for example, has a green veil tossed over the shoulder (Fig. 60). This picture does not have the knot at the neck, and thus differs slightly from the Sterbini diptych group.²⁸⁴

In Orthodox icon painting, a veil of this kind is only known in the dove icons. If it is combined with some other type, it is probably due to a mistake on the part of the artist. An interesting case of iconographic misinterpretation can be seen in an umileniye icon of the Ilas Neufert collection in Munich (Fig. 61). Two motifs have been borrowed from the dove type, the veil and the leash. The ignorance or indifference of the icon-painter is shown by the fact that the bird that should be tied to the leash is missing.

The bird in the works of the Sterbini diptych group is not easy to identify except in the diptych itself, where it is a gold-

Italian duecento the use of a white cloth falling onto her shoulders, was again embraced, as in early Christian iconography. *Weigelt* regards it as an iconographic form of Guido da Siena, accepted also by the artists influenced by him, like Coppo di Marcovaldo and Meliore. *Weigelt* 1928 p. 200. *Sandberg-Vavala* has adopted *Weigelt's* theory. *Sandberg-Vavala* 1934^a p. 260. — High Gothic sculptors favoured a cloth like this which, influenced by the romanticism of chivalry, became very decorative, creating impressions of grace, and even perhaps a slight levity, in the era of Gothic. Via Guido da Siena another cloth seems to have spread into Marian iconography (cf. Fig. 48). It is on Mary's arm, underneath Jesus. *Felicetti-Liebenfels* regards it as a Byzantine motif simultaneously symbolizing the baptism cloth of Jesus and anticipating his shroud. *Felicetti-Liebenfels* 1956 p. 61.

²⁸² Cf. *Marle* 1924 figs. 42—44.

²⁸³ *Ibid.* figs. 99—100 and 102—103.

²⁸⁴ See also the veil of a Madonna in a Pisan figure. *Marle* 1923 fig. 194.



Fig. 62. School of B. Daddi, Madonna and Child with Saints. Panel, detail. Photo *Offner* 1934 fig. XL.

finch (cf. p. 154). In the «London Madonna» the bird has white plumage and a dark ring round the neck; it might be a dove. All the works show the leash to which the bird is tied, with the other end in the hand of the Child Jesus.

6. Influence of the Sterbini Diptych Group on Marian Iconography

The Sterbini diptych group seems to have influenced the Madonna painters of the 14th century. In Italy, details from the composition can be seen, for example, in the works of the Daddi school (Fig. 62), of Guariento and the master of the Ovile



Fig. 63. Catalan School, Madonna and Child (centre part of a triptych). Panel, 14th cent. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery. Photo: *Friedmann* 1946 fig. 18.

Madonna.²⁸⁵ Pietro Lorenzetti has also been influenced by this iconography, as is shown, for example, by the veil of the Madonna of the Sunset (Fig. 60) and the Child Jesus of the Dofana altarpiece.²⁸⁶ Despite *Shorr's* optimistic comment, »Unless, of course, both Venetian and Russian types derive from a common

²⁸⁵ *Shorr* 1954 type 14 Siena 1–4, Padua 3. — On the 'Master of the Ovile Madonna' see *Dewald* 1923 pp. 45–54.

²⁸⁶ *Shorr* 1594, type 13 Siena 2.



Fig. 64. Albrecht Dürer, *Madonna, Child and Chained Monkey*. Copperprint, 1498–1500. Photo: *Beer* 1954 fig. 21.

Sienese prototype²⁸⁷ I have not found in the art of Siena any undeniable model of the dove icon.²⁸⁸

Catalonian Madonna art has a composition that is close in both time and iconography (fig. 63). Dürer also seems to have encountered iconographic ideas in Italy similar to those of the

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.* p. 103 n. 7.

²⁸⁸ My view was confirmed by *Carli* 16.4.64.



Fig. 65. Madre di Consolazione. Italian-Byzantine icon, 15th cent. Photo (»mirror image») *Rerih* 1914 p. 15.

Sterbini diptych group (Fig. 64)²⁸⁹. The Madre di Consolazione and the Madonna della Passione may belong to the same iconographic family. According to *Schweinfurth*, the former developed in 14th-century Venice (cf. Fig. 65)²⁹⁰, and the origins of the

²⁸⁹ Cf. *Waetzoldt* 1935 p. 84. — *Strieder* 1967 col. 1477. — LMK 7/8. Tafel 66. — On Italian relationship of Fig. 64 cf. *Berenson* 1957 I fig. 572.

²⁹⁰ *Schweinfurth* 1930 p. 412.



Fig. 66. Virgin of the Passion. Icon, 14th cent. Photo: *Lihačev* 1906 I fig. XXXIII/64.

Madonna della Passione too may perhaps be traced back to Venice.²⁹¹ Both types made their way into Orthodox icon-painting, where they form a homogeneous group with the dove icons in that the basis of the composition is the Child Jesus

²⁹¹ Formerly the origin of these icons was associated with a Cretan-Italian school, active in Venice, while recently there have been attempts to assign them to Byzantine iconography. Cf. *Schweinfurth* 1929/30 p. 616. — *Bettini* 1933 p. 21. — *Felicetti-Liebenfels* 1956 pp. 90–91. — *Rothmund* 1966 p. 247–48.

turned away from Mary. In the Russian relations of the Madre di Consolazione, the object catching the Child's attention is often a pomegranate, the symbol of fertility and the Virgin motherhood, or the orb with a cross, the symbol of Christ's universal rule.²⁹² Sometimes the composition requires an »invisible complement» (cf. p. 125). The Russian icon painters called the Madonna della Passione icons »Passion icons» (*strastnaya*), as in these the Child turns to look at an angel carrying the symbols of the Passion (Fig. 66).²⁹³

The tradition of the Konevitsa icon would require that there be iconographically similar works from Mount Athos. I have not found any work in the Athos material corresponding completely to the Sterbini diptych group. However, the icon of the Athanasios monastery mentioned by *Kondakov* (Fig. 67) is iconographically very close. It is now, according to the reports of *Pallas* and *Matti Jääskinen*, in the Lavra Pinacothèque on Athos.²⁹⁴ Judging by the photograph, this would appear to be a Russian icon, approximately 16th-century (cf. p. 217), obviously later painted over. The composition is virtually identical with that of the Konevitsa icon, except that the Child Jesus holds the orb in his hand.²⁹⁵ *Kondakov* has not dated this icon,

²⁹² *Vloberg* 1934 II p. 9. — *Stauch* 1937 col. 750. — *Aurenhammer* III, 1961 pp. 171—176. — *Os* 1968 p. 124.

²⁹³ According to the interpretation of *Bertaud* the Child Jesus hears the announcement of his future suffering from his Father and simultaneously is supported by his Mother; on account of this his posture expresses the dualistic state of his soul. His countenance is not frightened, but merely observant. *Bertaud* 1947 pp. 78—79.

²⁹⁴ A letter from *Pallas* 27.3.69. AJ. — Report of M. Jääskinen 26.6.70.

²⁹⁵ It has not been possible to decide how this icon has come to Athos. No data concerning its history have been available. Cf. Letter from A. Jääskinen to Muukkonen 6.8.70, copy AJ. Reply from Muukkonen 11.8.70. AJ. Letter from Nicolacopoulou 30.12.70. AJ. — Letter from the Finnish Consulate in Thessaloniki to the Monastery Lavra, Mount Athos, 29.12.70, copy AJ.

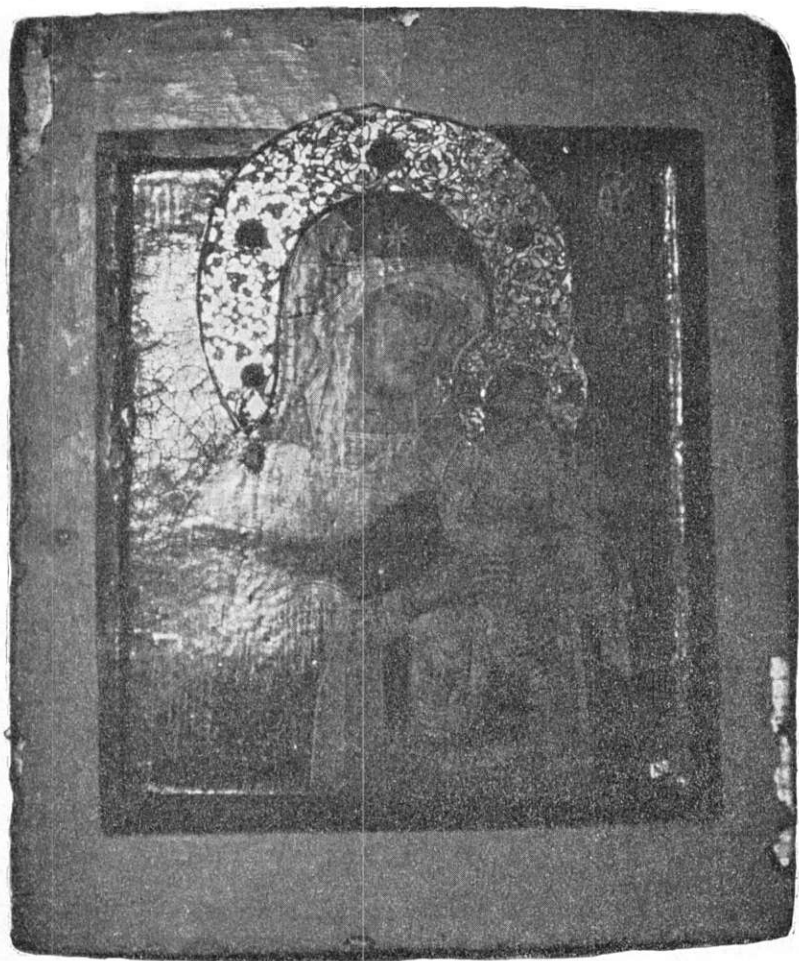


Fig. 67. Virgin and Child. Russian (?) icon, 16th cent. Athos, Lavra.
Photo: AJ.

but it is clear from the context that he regards it as being in the same «age group» as the Konevitsa icon.²⁹⁶

²⁹⁶ *Kondakov* 1911 p. 84.



Fig. 68. The Only-begotten Son. Icon, late 16th cent, detail. Photo: *Lihačev* 1906 I XCVIII/172.

There are some more types in Russian icon-painting with details linking them with the Sterbini diptych. For example, in the «Only-begotten Son» composition, the attitude of the young Jesus and the bird symbolizing the evangelists could be compared to the diptych or the dove icons (Fig. 68).²⁹⁷ Again, the hand holding a hawk in the pictures of St Tryphon may have been influenced by this iconography, unless it is a borrowing from actual pictures of hawking.²⁹⁸

At the Russian Museum in Leningrad there is a wooden octagon where the central design closely resembles the dove icon (cf. pp. 148–49).²⁹⁹ Stylistically it is mixed, with the figures round the edge representing a more Russian style than the Byzantine-Italian central composition (Fig. 69). The bluish green maphorion of Mary belongs to the non-Russian traits in

²⁹⁷ *Kondakov* 1902^a pp. 23–24. — *Buslaev* 1866 pp. 11–12.

²⁹⁸ *Nekrasov* 1937 p. 287 fig. 203. — On Tryphon's hawk see *Dimitrij Rostovskij* 1905 kniga 6, p. 15, n. 1.

²⁹⁹ *Kondakov* 1927 p. 81.

Fig. 69 a. Liturgical
Plate. Wood, 15th cent.
Leningrad, Russian Mu-
seum. Photo: *Kondakov*
1927 fig. XVII.

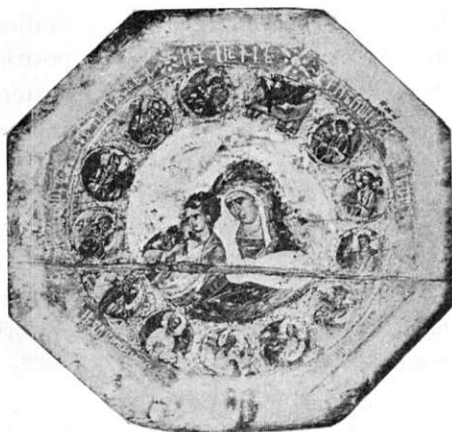


Fig. 69 b. Detail of
Fig. 69 a.



this composition (cf. p. 25).³⁰⁰ The dating of the octagon has also proved problematic. *Kondakov*, *Ainalov* and *Rothemund* date it in the 14th century³⁰¹, but a certain passionateness in

³⁰⁰ Cf. *Ainalov* 1933 fig. 37.

³⁰¹ *Kondakov* 1927 text of fig. XVII. — *Ainalov* 1933 p. 79. — *Rothemund* 1966 p. 250.

the expression might, I think, indicate a rather later date, in the 15th century. The basic composition of the octagon resembles the dove icons, although the atmosphere is more dramatic because of the troubled expressions, the fluttering veil and the black bird.

It may be asked whether this picture might have been the «missing link» between the Sterbini diptych group and the dove icons. In my opinion, it cannot have passed on the iconography of the Sterbini diptych group into Russian icon-painting, since the dove icons are closer to the works of the Sterbini diptych group.

Summary

The pre-Russian development of the dove icons may be seen as the outcome of a gradual process in form. Elements in the development came from: 1. the representations of the Adoration of the Magi in early Christian sepulchral art, where the Child Jesus is turned away from Mary; 2. illustration of the hypapante theme, with the same tendency in the Child's position; 3. the hieratic Byzantine Theotokos icon types, chiefly the basilissa, cathedra and hodegetria, representing the presentation of the Child Jesus to the faithful, and the eleousa type, softening the sternness of dogmatic stylization and carrying the humanistic trends into Marian iconography; 4. the Madonna painting of the Italian duecento, based on the maniera greca, with its combined compositions; 5. the influence of mystical nature philosophy, and particularly of the teaching of Francis of Assisi, which led to increased use of animal allegories in art; 6. the bird theme linked with this which, in the combined compositions of point 4. was in the hand of the Child Jesus (instead of his attribute, the scroll), in which case it was a goldfinch; 7. devotional images based on the hypapante theme, where the Child Jesus holds a sacrificial dove. This composition, developed in the early 14th century, may be considered the prototype of the dove icons. It

is represented by three Venetian works, belonging to the iconographic family of the Sterbini diptych. A work of similar iconography has then made its way to Russia, where it provided the model for the dove icons.

B. DOVE ICONS IN RUSSIAN ICON PAINTING

1. The Prototype Question

It is difficult to decide on the probable age of the model on which the composition called, in Russian iconography, the *golubitskaya*, or dove icon, is based. All the model sketches I have found are undated. *Kondakov* has published two. According to him, one is from Filimonov's collection, and the appended text explaining the origin of the picture, reads, «The most Holy Mother of God of Konevitsa. Appeared in the temple of Hagia Sofia in Constantinople» (Fig. 70)³⁰². *Kondakov* does not mention which Filimonov collection the picture comes from. The Novgorod Painter's Manual published in 1873 including variants from the manuscripts of Zabelin and Filimonov does not have the feast of the Konevitsa icon recorded for July 10th, and *Filimonov* does not mention this icon in his Compiled Manual, either.³⁰³ *Kondakov*'s second model sketch is from the Chirikov collection (Fig. 71).³⁰⁴ It is almost identical with the model called «Golubitskaya, or the Mother of God of Konevitsa» from the Tyulin collection, published by Uspensky (Fig. 72).³⁰⁵ *Likhachev*

³⁰² *Kondakov* 1911 p. 27.

³⁰³ *Ikonopisnyj podlinnik Novgorodskoj redakcii 1873 p. 119. — Svodnyj ikonopisnyj podlinnik XVII veka 1874 pp. 62, 388.*

³⁰⁴ *Kondakov* 1911 p. 28.

³⁰⁵ *Uspenskie* 1900 pl. 43.



Fig. 70. The Model Sketch of the Konevitsa Icon. Photo: Kondakov 1911 fig. 19.



Fig. 71. The Model Sketch of the Konevitsa Icon. Photo: Kondakov 1911 fig. 20.

Fig. 72. The Model Sketch of
the Konevitsa Icon. Photo:
Uspenskie 1900 pl. 43.



Fig. 73. The Model Sketch of
the Konevitsa Icon. Photo:
Lihačev 1911 fig. 401.



has also published a preliminary sketch that he says belongs to his own collection (Fig. 73).³⁰⁶

The Painter's Manuals thus indicate that the dove icon type existed and was identified with the icon of the Virgin of Konevitsa. As has been noted above (cf. p. 78), the feast of the icon of Konevitsa does not appear in Russian hagiographical calendars until the 18th century. It is thus possible that these model sketches are not very old. The Painter's Manual of the Stroganov family originating at the end of the 16th century and probably the oldest illustrated work of its kind in Russia³⁰⁷, seems not to include the Konevitsa icon.³⁰⁸ However, dove icons of the 16th century do exist, both painted on wood (cf. Figs. 74—78) and embroidered (cf. Figs. 79—80), so the type was obviously known at this period. If the Painter's Manuals did not yet include the sketch or outline for it, it may have spread through direct copies of the prototype.

What kind of icon was the prototype of the Russian dove icons? Comparison of the existing models and the dove icons gives us the basic features that remained unchanged. Mary is presented half-length, carrying the Child Jesus on her left arm. He is turned to the left, away from his mother (Figs. 71—72 are »mirror images»³⁰⁹), looking at a bird in his hand. The iconographic relationship with the Sterbini diptych is thus indisputable (cf. Figs. 56—59). The model sketches vary a little in details. In the version from the Filimonov collection for example, the bird is not tied to a leash as in the other models, and the tunic of the Child Jesus has curving ornamental lines. In the

³⁰⁶ *Lihačev* 1911 fig. 401: 'An ancient prototype from the collection of the author.'

³⁰⁷ *Rothemund* 1966 p. 55.

³⁰⁸ Cf. *Ikonopis' iz kollekcii G. R. Stroganova i drugih*, Sl. — K-331 HYK. — The printed Stroganov Manual has no Marian icons, except the narrative themes of Mary's life. Cf. *Ikonenmalerhandbuch der Familie Stroganov* 1965.

³⁰⁹ If the carbon drawings have been used as models, the sketches are »mirror images». Cf. *Pettersson* 1945 p. 15.

models from the Chirikov and Uspensky collections, Mary has no halo.

The model from the Filimonov collection contains an indication of the Byzantine origin of the type. The icon is said to have appeared in the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. This may be the result of inadequate knowledge of the tradition concerning the Konevitsa icon (cf. p. 48). The dating of the present palladion of Konevitsa (cf. p. 17) gives no grounds for supposing that it is the icon mentioned in ZAK as being brought from Mount Athos in 1393. Some of *Kiljunen's* findings do indeed suggest that it might be dated a little earlier, such as the roentgen spectrometry paint analysis (cf. p. 25) and the presence of the alabaster in the ground which, according to *Kiljunen*, indicates that the painter of the icon used «an early technique, since it is generally confirmed that alabaster fell into disuse in later icon painting».³¹⁰

Filatov's view on the use of alabaster does not support *Kiljunen's* opinion. *Filatov* writes: «Claims that icon bases were prepared with alabaster and that it is only later icon painting that uses chalk instead of alabaster are not based on material sources but on literary sources and legends, and on the known practice of icon painters. Old sources, both Russian and foreign, show that in Byzantium and, later, on Athos and in Italy, alabaster was generally used for the ground, while in Russia both alabaster and chalk were used . . . Of nine icons from Byzantium and Athos, dating from the 14th and 15th centuries, five had an alabaster base and four a chalk base. Again, study of 72 Russian icons from the 12th to the 17th centuries showed that the ground of 51 was of chalk, that of 13 alabaster, and eight had a mixed base of chalk and alabaster. No definitive conclusions can be drawn from this, however, especially as regards the foreign icons, as the choice of foreign samples was in this case a matter of chance, however, it can be seen in Russian painting that one base or the other is used more frequently depending on the date

³¹⁰ *Kiljunen* 1967 fol. 8.

and provenance of the icon. Between the 14th and 16th centuries, only chalk bases were used at Yaroslav, but in the 17th century alabaster is more common.»³¹¹

The base of the Konevitsa icon, with both chalk and alabaster, does not solve the question of the date of the icon and does not permit us to disparage the results of the restoration. Neither does it solve the question of the icon's provenance. *Filatov's* findings indicate that it could have been the work of an Athos studio just as well as of a Russian one.

The tradition of the Konevitsa icon would fit in well with the late Middle Ages. Russian ascetics have lived on Mount Athos since the 11th century.³¹² Mount Athos was also a popular place of pilgrimage. Sources concerning the relations of the Russian Church and the monasteries of Mount Athos record the names of many Russian monks who visited Athos in the late Middle Ages. These pilgrims included the hagiographer Epiphani (d. 1460), who wrote the biography of St Sergey of Radonezh, and the Deacon Zosima of Sergey's monastery, who in 1420 wrote an account of his visit to Athos. Savva of Tver gave up his duties as head of his monastery and left for Athos as »the highest school in spiritual struggle». The »starets» Mitrophan Byvaltsev spent nine years on Athos. The igumen Yona of Ugresh monastery »skulked» in the monastery of St Athanasios on Athos, copying manuscripts.³¹³ It was thus quite consonant with the spirit of the times to add Arseni of Konevitsa to the list of pilgrims.

Monks also went from Athos to Russia, and many of them established monasteries there, such as Lazar, the founder of the Murom monastery, who as tradition relates was a Greek by birth, as was Theodosios, said to have written his biography.³¹⁴ The

³¹¹ *Filatov* 1961 pp. 10–12.

³¹² *Huber* 1969 pp. 138.

³¹³ *Pribavlenija k izdaniju tvorenij sv. otcev* . . . 1848 pp. 137–39. — See also *Russkie inoki na Sv. Gorě Afonskoj* . . . 1853 pp. 290–317.

³¹⁴ *Kirkinen* 1970 p. 197.

Metropolitan Cyprian of Moscow (d. 1406) was a Bulgarian by birth, but had been at the monastery of St Athanasios on Athos before going to Russia. Dionysios, Bishop of Rostov in 1418—1422, was also a Greek monk who left Athos for Russia at the end of the 14th century, and, in the monastery he was given by Prince Dimitri Donskoi (d. 1389), «introduced the rules of Athos and beautified the churches with icons and books». The hagiographer Pakhomi the Serb moved from Athos to Russia in the mid-15th century, and spent some time in the St Trinitys' monastery of Sergey of Radonezh (Zagorsk) and in Novgorod.³¹⁵

The prototype of the dove icons might have reached Russia from Athos, as a result of this lively cultural exchange, without the help of Arseni of Konevitsa.

Chronicles and other sources give accounts of the iconpainters' contacts with Constantinople and the transport of icons to Russia. Pyotr, the first Metropolitan of Moscow, an excellent iconpainter himself, spent a long time in Constantinople in 1308. The Metropolitan Theogonost, a Greek by birth, invited Greek masters to Moscow in 1340s to embellish the churches. Theophanes the Greek was the leading painter of icons and frescoes in the later 14th century in Novgorod and Moscow. In 1381, Bishop Dionysios had two hodegetria icons painted in Constantinople; one was put in the Cathedral of Suzdal and the other in the church of Nizhni-Novgorod. An Intercession icon was sent from Constantinople to the Monastery of Serpukhov Vyssotsk in Russia in 1387—96. Towards the end of the 14th century the Metropolitan Pimen went to Jerusalem via Constantinople, taking with him the Greek-born monk Ignatios, who wrote an account of the journey. The icon later to be known as the »Pimenovskaya«, now in the Tretyakov Gallery, was brought home from that journey. Ignatios has also been identified as the painter of the icon of the Virgin of Tikhvin.³¹⁶ His icon of the

³¹⁵ *Pribavlenija k izdaniju* . . . 1848 p. 139.

³¹⁶ *Saharov* 1849 pp. 93—122. — *Nekrasov* 1937 pp. 222—24. — *Priselkov* 1950 pp. 448—49. *Lebedeva* 1962 pp. 15—19. *Smolitsch* 1963 pp. 283—84, etc. (cf. note 334). — *Antonova* 1960 p. 110.

Virgin of Tikhvin is dated the same year (1383) as the traditional account of the supernatural arrival of the icon in Tikhvin from Constantinople (cf. p. 94 and Fig. 40).

Soviet collections have a number of late mediaeval icons of Byzantine style³¹⁷ that support these accounts of contacts with Athos and Constantinople. They show that the theme of transport, upon which the tradition of the Konevitsa icon is based, is a general explanation used when describing the arrival of an icon in Russia. Sometimes the transport of a Byzantine icon covered more stages than one — for example, the icon of the Virgin of Vladimir, which was moved from place to place (in 1395, for example, from Vladimir to Moscow) so that various regions would have the benefit of its powers (cf. p. 73). Sometimes the journey was short, and handled by the same person: A well-known person is said to have carried a certain icon from a particular place to its final goal. This is the kind of account the Konevitsa tradition gives of the icon's journey to Konevitsa from Athos (p. 50). It would seem that it was customary in the Novgorod region too, in mediaeval times, to accompany an icon to its final home in solemn procession. For example, the Ustyug chronicle relates that in 1399 the Bishop of Novgorod accompanied miraculous icons to the town of Ladoga.³¹⁸

The Konevitsa icon is not the only dove icon linked by tradition with Mount Athos. In the Russian Museum of Leningrad there is a 16th-century dove icon with an inscription in Greek on the back to the effect that Arsenios of Elassion sent it from Moscow to the Khilandari monastery on Athos in 1592 (cf. p. 193 and Figs. 75—77). This Arsenios was the Archbishop of Elassion and Domenikos in Thessalonica who travelled in Russia in the 1580s and finally remained there, one of his offices being

³¹⁷ *Danilova* 1970 p. 23. — *Lasarew* 1959 p. 64. — Cf. n. 316.

³¹⁸ *Ustjužkij letopisnyj svod* 1950 p. 67. — Another interesting story tells how an icon was accompanied to the Prince Mikhail of Tver by a delegation from Constantinople in 1399. *Lichatschow* 1962 p. 160.

that of Archbishop of Suzdal (Fig. 96).³¹⁹ In his account of his journeys he records that he sent icons to Greece; some were sent to the Meteora monasteries, taken there in 1590 by the Archimandrite Damaskin.³²⁰ The text inscribed on the reverse of these icons follows the same formula as that of the dove icon in the Russian Museum, whose Greek inscription includes these words: »I Arsenios, the humble Archbishop of Elassion and Domenikos, send this icon to the monastery of Khilandari, for the salvation of my soul, from Moscow in Great Russia in 7100 (= 1592).»³²¹ If the text is accurate, the icon was taken from Moscow to Athos. Since it is now in Russia, it must have come back in some way. It has been suggested that the Sevastyanov expedition brought it back to Russia.³²² This archaeological expedition visited Athos in 1857, and brought away 150 icons. The sources I have found do not mention the iconographic type of all the icons³²³, and the absence of the word »Golubitskaya» does not necessarily mean that the icon was not part of the collection; it may be identified merely as an »icon of the Mother of God». If it came to Russia some other way, it must in any case have returned at the latest in the latter 19th century, since it is mentioned in a catalogue of the Czar Alexander III Museum (now the Russian Museum in Leningrad) published in 1902.³²⁴ The text on the reverse is in my opinion 16th-century script³²⁵, which lends support to the dating of the icon in the period of Arsenios of Elassion.

To what extent do the tradition of the icon of Konevitsa and the account concerning Arsenios of Elassion agree with one

³¹⁹ *Enciklopedičeskij slovar'* ... 1890 p. 170. — *Amman* 1950 pp. 232—33. — *Kopoi kai diatribē* ... 1749 p. 433.

³²⁰ *Dmitrievskij* 1899 p. 58.

³²¹ Cf. corresponding scripts in the other icons sent by Arsenios. *Dmitrievskij* 1899 p. 59.

³²² *Vaškov* 1914 p. 4.

³²³ *Polenov* 1859 pp. 372—81. *Tarasov* 1904 p. 32. — *Dolgov* 1913 p. 187.

³²⁴ *Lihačev & Votkin* 1902 p. 22. — The icon still exists in the same museum. Cf. note 345.

³²⁵ Cf. *Amfilohij* 1879 fig. appendix XIV—XVIII.

another? In each case, a person of the same name (Arseni, Arsenios) is mentioned in connection with a dove icon. Both of them were involved in the transport of the icon between Athos and Russia. Did Arsenios of Elassion perhaps see copies of the palladion of Konevitsa — for example in the monastery of Sergey of Radonezh (Zagorsk, cf. Fig. 82) — and have an icon of the same type painted to be sent to Athos? Can we perhaps take the account of Arsenios of Elassion as a competing theory in studying the problem of the prototype of the dove icon? Did he in fact bring the oldest model from Greece to Russia, and there have one or, as *Vashkov* claims³²⁶, several copies of it painted? In this case, the present palladion of Konevitsa and the other dove icons of the 16th century would be the outcome of the same process.³²⁷

However, the present palladion of Konevitsa is older than the icon sent to Athos by Arsenios of Elassion, and thus must have existed before this tradition arose. Arsenios's icon does not give Mary a white veil, although this detail already appeared in the 14th-century Byzantine-Italian predecessors of the dove icons (cf. Figs. 56—59) and also appears in all other dove icons. Arsenios's icon, then, cannot be considered the oldest example of the Russian dove icons. Whatever the case, the name of Arsenios of Elassion is most interestingly connected with the history of the dove type. It is also possible that the »doveless» dove icon in the Lavra of Mount Athos was painted after the picture sent to Athos by Arsenios (Fig. 67).

³²⁶ *Vashkov* 1914 p. 4.

³²⁷ If the first dove icon had come to Russia with the Archbishop Arsenios, his name would — I think — have been connected with the icon type in question. E.g., the icon called the »Petrovskaya» has got her name according to the estimated painter of the prototype, the Metropolitan Pyotr. The »Pimenovskaya» is named after the Metropolitan Pimen who is said to have brought the prototype from Constantinople in 1381—88. Antonova & Mneva 1963 I pp. 90 (n. 1), 374 (cf. p. 181). The traditional names for the Konevitsa icon are, however, only these two: »the Virgin of Konevitsa» or »the Dove Icon».

There is thus a variety of ways in which the icon type could have spread from Byzantium to Russia in the 14th and 15th centuries, although no indisputable Greek prototype for this iconography has been found.

There remains the possibility that the model travelled directly from Italy to Russia. Here too, there is a wealth of opportunity. According to the chronicles, Novgorod was engaged in lively trade with the Hanseatic towns of Europe. The foreign merchants had their own districts and churches in Novgorod.³²⁸ Churchmen also travelled between Italy and Russia. In 1439, for example, the Metropolitan Isidor of Moscow took part in the Council of Florence, accompanied by the monk Simeon of Suzdal, who wrote an account of the journey. The monk Makari of Rome came to Novgorod in the 15th century, and spent some time at the Svir monastery and elsewhere; he too might have had Italian picture models with him. Such an opportunity had, of course, also the Byzantine Princess Zoe, who married the Czar Ivan III in 1472, because she had been educated in Rome.³²⁹

The direct influence of Western art in Russian icon-painting is rather slight, however, and was restricted chiefly to sculpture, devoid of cultic significance, and miniature painting. Icon-painting was the «holy of holies» to the Russians, who tried to preserve it from external influences.³³⁰ This is clearly shown by the decision of the Stoglav Council in 1551.³³¹ Despite this attitude, however, some Italian models were adopted in Russian iconography, and appeared in icons of the Virgin Mary, in the Middle Ages.³³² However, the expansion of Byzantine art was particularly marked at the end of the Middle Ages. According to *Alpatov*, Byzantine models can be seen in virtually every Russian

³²⁸ PSRL III p. VII. — *Johansen* 1953 p. 139. — *Alpatov* 1967 p. 150.

³²⁹ *Saharov* 1849^b pp. 77–85. — *Nikodim* 1904 p. 48. — *Stupperich* 1967 p. 35. — The influential international circle of humanists around Archbishop Gennadi of Novgorod may be recalled. *Onasch* 1969 p. 178.

³³⁰ *Alpatov* 1967 p. 150. — *Lazarev* 1970 pp. 36–40.

³³¹ *Gerhard* 1970 p. 179.

³³² E.g., *Alpatov* 1929/30 pp. 623–26.

icon of the period, though in russified form.³³³ Most Soviet scholars agree as to the influence of Byzantium, but the influence of Italian art has been underrated.³³⁴ It is only very recently that voices have been raised in opposition to the »Byzantine theory».³³⁵

If the problem of the prototype of the dove icons is to be solved we must consider the forms in which the dove type appears in Russian iconography. The group I have assembled for comparison³³⁶ shows, in my opinion, the function of a completely developed original in this iconography. Although physical ana-

³³³ *Alpatov* 1967 p. 149.

³³⁴ Cf. e.g., *Muratov* 1927, 102. — *Lasarew* 1958 p. 107, note 1. — *Lasarew* 1959 p. 64. — Cf. n. 330.

³³⁵ E.g., see *Lebedewa* 1962 p. 14: »... in der sowjetischen kunsthistorischen Literatur wurde bis in die jüngste Zeit hinein die Rolle der byzantinischen Kunst des 14. Jahrhunderts bei der Herausbildung der russischen und besonders der Moskauer Malerei dieser Zeit stark überschätzt.»

³³⁶ The present location of the following icons is unknown:

1) An icon of the Nosov collection, shown at the Romanov exhibition in 1913, mentioned in the work *Vystavka drevnerusskago iskusstva 1913* p. 40. No. 134.

2) An icon of St. John in Novgorod, called the 'yellow icon'. *Rovinskij* 1903 p. 24. — It is possible that this is COPY B, to which the dating (16th century) and the colour, ochre, refer. In the sources for COPY B there is no mention of the original location. Cf. p. 189.

3) The dove icon, shown in the Victoria and Albert Museum London in 1929, of which there is a small picture in a photograph of the general view of the exhibition. *Farbmann* 1930, pl. LIX. — In the catalogue it is dated to the 16th century. *Ancient Russian Icons* 1929 No. 113. Its dimensions 95×71 cm refer to an iconostasic image. In response to my inquiry the Museum Official wrote that the icon in question was from Moscow, presumably from an antique dealer, and its later history is unknown. Letter from *Kaufmann* 6.2.63. AJ.

4) A copy of the Konevitsa palladion, left in the Derevyanitsa monastery, and which most probably is not COPY K, since its dimensions do not justify designating as an authentic copy (točnaja kopia) of COPY A, which was sent to Konevitsa. Cf. p. 59.

5) The dove icons of the Church of the Annunciation, Moscow, and the Church of the Resurrection in Torzhok, Tver. *Skazaniya o zemnoj žizni...* 1897 p. 280. — *Slava Bogomateri* 1907 p. 519.

lysis of the present palladion of Konevitsa showed that it is not a 14th-century work, and thus cannot be the icon brought from Mount Athos by Arseni in 1393, it is of course possible that it was the model for the dove icons in Russia. Unfortunately, the damage done to the original painting of the obverse (cf. p. 31) is a bar to comparison with later dove icons. We must therefore turn to literary references in considering whether it did operate as a prototype.

In the 17th century there was an icon at the Derevyanitsa monastery called the Mother of God of Konevitsa (cf. pp. 54—56). The study of the history of the Russian hierarchy by *Amvrozi*, Rector of the Novgorod priest seminary, quotes a lengthy text which, in according to *Amvrozi*, was inscribed on the reverse of the icon of Konevitsa at Derevyanitsa in 1699 (cf. Appendix I). *Amvrozi*, then, did not know the painting on the reverse of the Konevitsa icon, although this is contemporary with the painting on the obverse. Derevyanitsa is very close to Novgorod, and it is likely that *Amvrozi*'s statement is based on his own observation. When mentioning the new main church built at Konevitsa in 1801³³⁷, he shows a familiarity with events of the early 19th century in Konevitsa. If he had been at Konevitsa himself, he would certainly have noticed that the icon sent there in 1799 from Derevyanitsa was painted on both sides. On the other hand, it seems strange to assume that he quoted a long text word for word if he had not himself seen it at Derevyanitsa. This gives rise to the suspicion that the icon referred to by *Amvrozi* was not in fact sent from Derevyanitsa to Konevitsa. It may be that the original 14th-century icon was after all kept at Derevyanitsa, and the icon given to the Igumen Varfolomey was a copy (cf. p. 59). The third possibility, that the icon might have been changed in St Petersburg during the period 3.7—3.9. 1799 (cf. p. 59), seems very odd. In either case, one might expect the exchange to have come to light later.

If we recall the dispute that lasted for centuries between the

³³⁷ *Amvrozi* 1812 pp. 623—26.

monasteries of Tikhvin and Staraya Russa on the original icon of Staraya Russa, we shall have to consider the possibility of fraudulent action. The icon of Staraya Russa which, was regarded brought by the Greek, was taken from Staraya Russa to Tikhvin in 1655, in order to overcome raging pestilence there. The epidemic disappeared but the icon was not given back. Ceaseless demands brought about the transfer of a copy to Staraya Russa in 1788 and finally, a hundred years later, in 1888, the original icon was returned to Staraya Russa on the order of the Synod.³³⁸ This took place at Tikhvin, not far from Derevyanitsa, so that the comparison of this tale with the problem of returning the Konevitsa icon is unavoidable.

Whatever the case, the IINKO printed in 1817 mentions a two-sided icon at Konevitsa, brought there from Derevyanitsa in 1799 (cf. p. 59). *Tolstoy* mentions a copy of the Konevitsa icon at Derevyanitsa and under it, on a separate place, a text the same as in the text quoted by *Amvrosi*.³³⁹

There is a definite contradiction between *Amvrosi*'s account and the picture on the reverse side of the Konevitsa icon we know. Derevyanitsa was later completely destroyed, and its icons with it. It may be that the original icon of Konevitsa was there, and was destroyed with the rest, as there is no surviving dove icon that is older than the present palladion of Konevitsa.

The iconographic identity of the dove icons is indisputable, and this type has not, in general, been confused with other compositions (cf. however Figs. 61 and 67). I have encountered some iconographical misinterpretations in the literature, but these appear to be accidental slips, not indications of any actual theory; I have therefore ignored them here.³⁴⁰

³³⁸ *Snessoreva* 1909 p. 270.

³³⁹ *Tolstoj* 1862 p. 230.

³⁴⁰ Examples: in the RKM the Konevitsa icon is called Akafistnaja of Mount Athos. RKM 21. — This statement may be based on a misunderstanding caused by the Akafistnaja icons. One of them was a popular

2. Dove Icons from the 15th to the 19th Centuries

This section concerns 20 Russian dove icons that permit us to follow the development of this type from the late Middle Ages to the modern era. No 20th-century icons have been included, as there have been no major changes in the type this century; in addition, these are mostly colour prints.

COPY A

Mother of God of Konevitsa (cf. pp. 15–43, Figs. 1–20)

COPY B

Tretyakov Gallery, 49×43 cm (Fig. 74)³⁴¹

COPY B was in the Ostroukhov collection until 1929, when it was transferred to the Tretyakov Gallery. I agree with *Antonova*'s estimated dating, placing the icon in the 1570s. It was restored by E. I. Bryakin in 1911.³⁴²

The base of COPY B is linden wood, as the Konevitsa icon was assumed to be (p. 23). Wooden supports are set into the reverse of the base, not quite extending to the edges. The icon is hardly warped at all. Part of the frame has been cut away at the lower edge, so the upper border (7 cm) is about 5 cm higher than the lower (1.8 cm). The present dimensions, thus, are not

topic in the Orthodox world in the 19th century, because it had «saved the Khilandari monastery from a fire in 1837». *Sergij* 1901 p. 544. — *Snessoreva* 1909 pp. 648–49. Similarly, the attribute «svyatogorskaya» (the icon of the Holy Mount, cf. pp. 50, 55) often attached to the Konevitsa icon, may have been influenced by the common name of two Pskovian icons 'The Mother of God of Svyataya Gora'. *Slava Bogomateri* 1907 pp. 303, 526–28.

³⁴¹ Personal observations in the Tretyakov Gallery 24.1.69.

³⁴² *Antonova & Mneva* 1963 II p. 217. *Kondakov* dated this icon to the 15th century. *Kondakov* 1928 fig. VIII. His opinions were accepted by *I. Grabar*, *Kjellin* and *T. Rice*. *I. Grabar* 1914 p. 79. — *Kjellin* 1956 p. 242. — *T. Rice* 1960 pl. 7.



Fig. 74. The Virgin of Konevitsa. COPY B, late 16th cent. Moscow, Tretyakov Gallery, No. 12034. Photo: Tret. Gall. Moscow.

original; the icon was originally about 5 cm higher. In any case, it is larger than COPY A.

The background of COPY B is covered by decoration carved into the chalk base; this is gilded, and gives the icon a glittering effect. The roses at the corners are shaped by hand.

COPY B is an egg tempera painting. Mary's maphorion is red-brown, with a yellow lining. The folds are lighter. The chiton is basically rose-coloured, the veil and ornaments on the clothing gold. The features of both figures are the same shade of brown. The tunic of the Child Jesus is greenish, and the decoration, not distinguishable on the photograph, is in blue and red. The gold-striped himation of the child is rhythmically consonant with the



Fig. 75. The Virgin of Konevitsa. COPY C, late 16th cent. Leningrad, Russian Museum, No. 1112. Photo: Russ. Mus. L-grad.

curving background ornamentation. The icon is extremely decorative, but the »monotonous and thick»³⁴³ colours make it rather dreary.

In COPY B, three fingers of Mary's left hand are hidden under the Child's himation, but the thumb and forefinger are visible. This detail resembles COPY A. The Child has a manuscript scroll in his right hand. The white bird in the Child's left hand has a golden halo. The bird is small, but if it is compared, for example,

³⁴³ *Muratov* 1914 p. 29.



Fig. 76. The same as in Fig. 75. Text on the reverse of the icon. Photo: *Lihachev* 1911 fig. 464.

with the dove symbolizing the Holy Ghost in a 14th-century Novgorod icon³⁴⁴, it can be interpreted as a dove.

COPY C

Russian Museum, Leningrad, 36 × 31 cm (Figs. 75—77)³⁴⁵

COPY C is an egg tempera painting on cloth, whose composition and palaeography indicate a date in the 16th century (cf.

³⁴⁴ *Antonova & Mneva* 1963 I fig. 46.

³⁴⁵ Personal observations in the Russian Museum in Leningrad 19.5.69.



Fig. 77. The same as in Fig. 75. Before restoration. Photo: *Liháčev* 1911 fig. 463.

note 325). Stylistically it is a little difficult. The composition is Greek in its simplicity, but the expression of Mary has a Slav sentimentality.³⁴⁶ Mary's clothing is undecorated, and she has no veil, a feature going back to Italian-Byzantine iconography. The folds and ornamentation of the Child's tunic are also simpler than, for example, in the Konevitsa icon. Mary's left thumb is hidden under the Child's himation. The position of the bird is unusual: its head is turned backwards.

³⁴⁶ The artist may have been one of the Greek masters working in Moscow. Cf. *Rothemund* 1966 p. 140.



Fig. 78. The Virgin of Konevitsa. COPY D, 16th cent. Whereabouts unknown. Photo: *Kondakov* 1927 fig. XVI/2.

The background of COPY C is gilded, the maphorion is red-brown, the chiton, of which only the wrist is visible, is green, as is Mary's veil, the Child's tunic is white, with red and green decoration, the himation reddish, with gold borders. The faces are brown, with white high-lights, the white bird is attached to a red leash and has a golden halo round his head.

The border of COPY C formerly had script and flower ornamentation (visible in Fig. 77, a picture taken before restoration) but these were removed during restoration.

COPY D

Whereabouts unknown (Fig. 78)

According to *Kondakov*, this icon was in the Ostroukhov collection³⁴⁷, but *Vashkov* says it was in the Protopopov collection. *Vashkov* has also claimed it was one of the dove icons that Arsenios of Elassion had painted.³⁴⁸

Some details in COPY D differ from the other dove icons: the Child Jesus is proportionately smaller, the faces are narrower and longer than usual, the Child's feet are in a different position, Mary's maphorion is covered with Italian-type flower ornamentation and the veil is painted with ends thrown over both shoulders. Only the forefinger of Mary's left hand is visible. The white bird seems to be a dove. The photograph does not show any halo for the bird, and presumably the painting does not either. The colour print shows the colours, but of course their authenticity is open to doubt. According to the print, Mary has a bright red chiton and dark blue maphorion with an olive-green lining. The maphorion is decorated with gold, while the decoration of the white veil is red. The Child Jesus has a light green tunic and a red-brown himation. The faces of both figures are light brown. The background of the icon is darker brown, but it looks extremely fresh, and may be a later layer. A dark brown line outlines the base. *Vashkov*, who has seen the icon, says the drawing is naive and the colours pure and warm.³⁴⁹

COPIES E—F

COPIES E and F are embroidered (Figs. 79—80), and in terms of material and technique cannot be properly called icons. They should be taken into account when analyzing the 16th-century iconography of the dove icon³⁵⁰, however, since they help

³⁴⁷ *Kondakov* 1927 pl. XVI/2.

³⁴⁸ *Vashkov* 1914 p. 4. — Cf. p. 184.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁰ COPY E, dated by *Pylkkänen* and *Widnäs* to the 16th century. Cf. *Pylkkänen*: An account of visit to the Orthodox Church Museum 13—15.9.1956. National Museum, Historical Department. — Cf. also *Heinonen* 1958 p. 94. — Report of *Widnäs* on palaeography 7.6.70. AJ. — COPY



Fig. 79. The Virgin of Konevitsa. COPY E, embroidered icon, 16th cent. Kuopio, Orthodox Church Museum. Photo: OKA.



Fig. 80. The Virgin of Konevitsa. COPY F, embroidered icon, 16th cent. USSR, Zagorsk Museum. Photo: Zagorsk.



Fig. 81. The Virgin of Konevitsa. COPY G, c. 1600. Collection of Ingjald Bäcksbäcka, Helsinki. (Cf. Pl. IV). Photo: C. Grünberg, Helsinki.

to confirm the theory of the immutability of the basic features of the composition. COPY E is from the monastery of Konevitsa, nowadays in Finland, in the Orthodox Church Museum in Kuopio, while COPY F is in the Zagorsk Museum, in the Soviet Union.

COPY G

Collection of Ingjald Bäcksbäcka. Helsinki, 30×25 cm
(Pl. IV, Fig. 81)³⁵¹

F, dated to the 16th century, by the Zagorsk Museum. Personal observations in Zagorsk 25.1.69.

³⁵¹ Personal observations in the Art Gallery of I. Bäcksbäcka, Helsinki 4.6.69.

COPY G was bought probably in Helsinki in the 1930s by Leonard Bäcksbäck.³⁵² In many details it is reminiscent of COPY C; for example, there are resemblances in the faces and the position of the bird. The forefinger of Mary's left hand is entirely visible. A special feature of COPY G is the unusual relationship between picture area (15×12 cm) and background. The composition is in a smaller area than usual.

I would date COPY G in the early 17th century. Some details, such as the ornamentation of maphorion and veil, might indicate an earlier dating (late 16th century) but the general impression does not support this. The icon base is supported by two wedges, which do not extend all the way to the opposite edge. A slight crack in the upper part is covered by a support wedge, called a »swallow».³⁵³ A part of the rear has rotted away.

When the enamelled riza (Pl. IV), which appears to be contemporary with the icon, is removed, the background revealed is bone-coloured. The gilding has worn away, and only the shiny-surfaced ground remains. Mary and the Child Jesus have brown faces and hands. The maphorion is dark blue with a faded olive-green lining and red and gold decoration. The veil and tunic are white with red decoration, the chiton is red with gold decoration at wrist and neck, the himation is reddish with gold borders. The monograms and outlines of the haloes are red. The bird is now dark, but seems to have been originally white.

The riza has a brown base with decorative work in green, white, yellowish brown, wine-red and black.

COPY G has been exhibited three times in Finland, in 1967—68.³⁵⁴

COPY H

Zagorsk Museum, c. 50×46 cm (Fig. 82).³⁵⁵ Beside this icon

³⁵² Report of I. Bäcksbäck 4.6.69.

³⁵³ Cf. *Filatov* 1961 figs. 1 and 3.

³⁵⁴ *Jääskinen* 1967^a No. 28. — *Jääskinen* 1967^b No. 15. — *Jääskinen* 1968 No. 20.

³⁵⁵ Personal observations in Zagorsk 25.1.69.



Fig. 82. The Virgin of Konevitsa. COPY H, 16th cent. USSR, Zagorsk Museum. Photo: *Kondakov* 1911 fig. 18.

is the following note: »Icon of the Mother of God of Konevitsa, under a golden okhlad with wrought metalwork and filigree, XVII century.» *Kondakov* knew this icon, and put in the 16th century.³⁵⁶

In COPY H Mary has a pearl headdress, as in the iconostasis icon from the church of St Nicholas at Konevitsa monastery (Fig. 26). I have only seen the icon under glass, and the lightning conditions made it impossible to be precise about colours. The maphorion appears to be red-brown with an olive lining, the veil is slightly lighter than the maphorion. The Child Jesus has a loosely gathered himation and the patterns on the himation are

³⁵⁶ *Kondakov* 1911 fig. 18; dating: note 29.

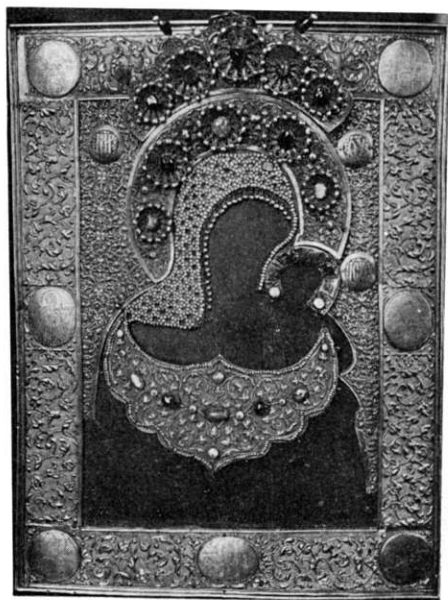


Fig. 83. The same as in Fig. 82. The riza of the Icon, 17th cent. Photo: Zagorsk, USSR.

reminiscent of COPY A. Mary's hands are in the same position as in COPY B. The bird has one wing outspread, which could easily give the impression that there are two birds. The faces are brown.

COPY H appears to be a well-preserved icon of good quality. The present riza is more splendid than that in the photograph published by *Kondakov* (cf. Figs. 82—83).

COPY I

Church of the Resurrection (built 1629), Ulitsa Nezhdanova 15/2, Moscow, c. 143 × 117 cm (Fig. 84).³⁵⁷

³⁵⁷ Personal observations in that church in Moscow 17.5.69.



Fig. 84. The Virgin of Konevitsa. COPY I, 17th cent. Moscow, Church of the Resurrection. Photo: Archbishop Paavali, Kuopio (Finland).

COPY I was earlier in the church of Demetrios of Salonica in Moscow; after this was destroyed it was moved to its present site.³⁵⁸ Stylistically it is obviously later than the dove icons described above, and is 17th-century work. It shows certain stylistic feature of the period, such as the portrait-like treatment of the faces: shading has been used to make the faces fuller and more alive than in earlier iconography. The script in the background is also 17th-century type.³⁵⁹ The position of the Child's feet is freer than the dove icon type really requires. The sole of the left foot is visible. Mary's thumbs are hidden under the Child's himation. Mary's maphorion and veil, like the Child's clothes, are freely drawn and decorated. This icon gives a monu-

³⁵⁸ Letter from Archbishop Paavali 12.9.62. AJ.

³⁵⁹ Report of Widnäs 24.5.69.



Fig. 85. The Virgin of Konevitsa. COPY J, 18th cent. Whereabouts unknown. Photo: *Ikoner* 1957 p. 15 No. 5.

mental impression. It is the largest dove icon I have found. It is placed on a simple white-painted pedestal.

The background colour is green; vague ornamentation can be distinguished. The maphorion is red, the veil gold, but of a pale shade, the chiton sleeve is light green, the Child's tunic and belt green, the himation pink, the bird white, with a large halo. The figures have brown faces, Mary's face being rather more »glowing» than that of the Child.

COPY J

Whereabouts unknown, 32×27 cm (Fig. 85).³⁶⁰

³⁶⁰ *Ikoner* 1957 p. 15 No. 5.

This small dove icon was displayed at an icon exhibition in Copenhagen in 1957. In 1962 it was in Ole Haslund's antique shop³⁶¹, whence it was sold to an »unknown purchaser».³⁶²

The background of COPY J is almost entirely covered by Mary's metal halo. The icon is edged with an elegantly decorated metal frame, with themes reminiscent of the riza of COPY G. Mary's face resembles COPY B, but here her gaze is directed straight at the observer, not meditatively in front of her as in COPY B. Of her left hand, only the thumb is visible. The position of the Child's feet is not the usual one in the dove icons, but resembles rather the icon of the Virgin of Antioch.³⁶³ In COPY J the Child has one white bird in his hand. The leash cannot be distinguished on the photograph. The stiff folds of the maphorion and some other details of the drawing indicate an 18th-century date. Nothing can be said about the colours, as the present whereabouts of the icon are unknown.

COPY K

Church of Philip the Apostle, Novgorod, 120 × 100 cm (Fig. 86).³⁶⁴

COPY K is in a cellar chapel in the basement storey of the church. It has a wooden frame. The base is supported at the back by two wedges. Although the dark olifa, and possibly some layers of varnish, make the surface appear shiny, this is probably a tempera painting, not an oil painting.

The composition is conventional, the colours dark and »dirty». The maphorion is almost blue-black, the visible chiton sleeve is red and edged with gold decoration, like the maphorion. The colour of the veil is vague, more or less tarnished gold, the tunic is a violet shade, the himation orange, and the basic colour of

³⁶¹ Letter from Dessau 4.2.63. AJ.

³⁶² Account by Ole Haslunds Hus, Copenhagen, 24.4.64.

³⁶³ *Lihachev* 1911 fig. 437. — On the icon of the Mother of God in Antiokia see also *Slava Bogomateri* 1907 p. 396 or *Snessoreva* 1909 p. 299.

³⁶⁴ Personal observations in the Church of St Philip the Apostle, Novgorod 20.5.69.



Fig. 86. The Virgin of Konevitsa. COPY K, early 18th cent. Church of Philip the Apostle, Novgorod. Photo: Rudolf Sykiäinen, Moscow.

the darkly shadowed bird is white. The background gilding has worn until it is now light brown. I could not see the leash holding the bird. Despite its shabbiness, COPY K is a pleasant icon. I would date it in the early 18th century.

COPY L

Museum of the History of Religion and Atheism (MIRA), formerly Kazan Cathedral, Leningrad. 32 × 26.7 cm (Fig. 87).³⁶⁵

COPY L was transferred from the Hermitage to its present location on 15.1.1941. I know nothing of its previous history. A special feature of the composition is that the bird is on the right hand of the Child Jesus, while in the left hand he holds what

³⁶⁵ Personal observations in MIRA, Leningrad 19.5.69.



Fig. 87. The Virgin of Konevitsa. COPY L, 18th cent. Leningrad, MIRA, No. 4-A 1456-IV. Photo: MIRA.

corresponds to a scroll, folded in star-shape (cf. COPY B). The text on this paper cannot be distinguished. Mary's maphorion has decoration reaching up to the shoulder, the star symbolizing her virginity has moved slightly leftwards from the forehead, and only the thumb of her left hand can be seen. The Child Jesus is reminiscent of COPY C, which indicates some influence from 16th-century iconography, although COPY L itself is 18th-century work.

The background is brown. The base is bordered with a dark brown and, at the extreme edge, a red contour. Mary has a red-brown maphorion, although the colour has darkened (to almost black), there is wine-red decoration at the neck of the chiton, the veil is light gold with black decorations. The Child Jesus has a pinkish himation with gold borders, and the tunic is a little lighter and more yellow. The faces are brown, the haloes



Fig. 88. The Virgin of Konevitsa. COPY M, relief on wood, 19th cent. Madrid, Collection of Sergio Oztoup. Photo: *Iconos de los siglos X al XX* 1965 fig. 570.

bright gold, outlined in red. The white bird has red feet like a dove. It has no leash, and no halo.

COPY M

Oztoup collection, Madrid. 15.1×12.3 cm (Fig. 88).

In 1965 COPY M was displayed at an exhibition in Madrid as a 17th-century relief with Polish influence.³⁶⁶ I think this dating is too early. I would date this work as early 19th-century. It is not in fact a painting, and perhaps should not be included here, but despite the different technique the authenticity of the dove icon composition is clear. Two birds are crouched on the Child Jesus's hand. Mary's left hand is like that in COPY H.

³⁶⁶ *Iconos de los siglos ...* 1965 fig. 570.

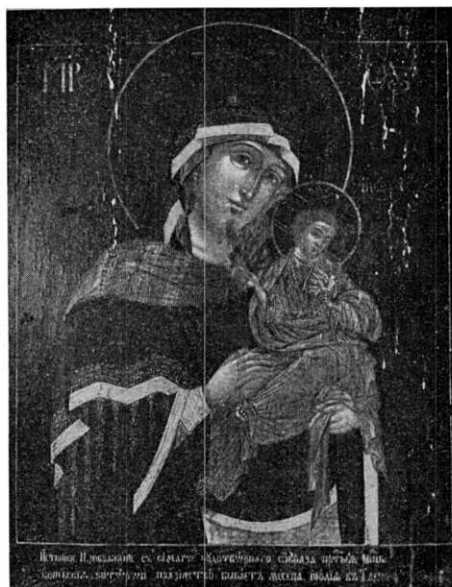


Fig. 89. The Virgin of Konevitsa. COPY N, 19th cent. Leningrad, MIRA, No. B 44939-IV. Photo: MIRA.

COPY N

MIRA Leningrad. 51 × 45 cm (Fig. 89).³⁶⁷

COPY N was originally in the Smolenskaya church at Pulkov, 16 versts from St Petersburg.³⁶⁸ It was painted in the early 19th century. The dove icon composition here is fined down and the ornamentation less. The haloes are represented by outlines on the background only. Mary's left hand is like COPY B. There are two white birds tied to a leash in the Child Jesus's hand.

The background is dark green, the maphorion dark red-brown, the veil, like the tunic, is slightly shaded with olive green. The

³⁶⁷ Personal observations in MIRA, Leningrad 19.5.69.

³⁶⁸ Istoriko-statističeskija svědēnija o S.-Peterburgskoj eparhii VII, 1884 pp. 452—454.



Fig. 90. The Virgin of Konevitsa. COPY O, 19th cent. Whereabouts unknown. Photo: Konevskij listok 1934/4.

himation is light (reddish) brown. The edge of the maphorion and the halo outlines are red. The birds are rather dark, but seem to have been white originally. Mary's face is slightly ruddy, while the Child's face is rather more »ascetic» brown.

COPY O

Whereabouts unknown, possibly destroyed (Fig. 90).³⁶⁹

In the 19th century, COPY O was in a chapel of the Konevitsa monastery built in 1821 at Zagorodsky Prospekt 7 in St Petersburg. It became famous on 28.5.1862 when it »saved the building from fire». ³⁷⁰ This appears to be the only dove icon, apart from

³⁶⁹ RKM 77. — Blagodatnyja dějstvija ... 1913 p. 9. The photograph of this copy is published in the periodical of the Konevitsa monastery as the Konevitsa icon. Cf. Konevskij listok 1934/4.

³⁷⁰ *Polisadov* 1867 pp. 3—4. — Blagodatnyja dějstvija ... 1913 p. 4.



Fig. 91. The Virgin of Konevitsa. COPY P, 19th cent. New Valamo, Heinävesi. Photo: Eino Hartikainen, Viinijärvi (Finland).

the Konevitsa icon, believed to be miraculous. The icon was probably painted in the early 19th century, when the chapel was being built.

The background of COPY O seems to have diagonal chequering. The trefoil theme also appears in the decoration running round the base. The Child Jesus is proportionally larger than in the other dove icons. The pair of birds is tied to a leash, in the Child's hand. Only the thumb of Mary's left hand is visible, as in COPY J. Nothing can be said about the colours, as only a black and white photograph of poor quality was available, which did not permit precise observation.

COPY P

New Valamo monastery, Heinävesi, c. 26×21 cm (Fig. 91).³⁷¹

³⁷¹ Personal observations at Heinävesi 28.4.69.

COPY P is among the relics of the Konevitsa monastery, where it was originally. It is in the possession of the monk Joona. The icon itself is small, but it has a large gilded frame. This is a very modern treatment of the dove icon, dating from the mid-19th century. It has similarities with COPY I, for example in the faces and in the position of the Child Jesus's feet. The haloes are mere outlines, as in COPY N. In the Child Jesus's hand there are two white birds tied to a leash.

The background is green, the maphorion red-brown, the veil and tunic are slightly olive-green and the himation is yellowish. In general the colouring of the icon appears very similar to that of COPY I.

COPY Q

MIRA, Leningrad. 30.5×26.7 cm (Fig. 92).³⁷²

COPY Q was in the Novo-Devitshi monastery in St Petersburg (Voskresenski).³⁷³ It is 19th-century work, representing the modernized representation of the dove type. Both Mary and the Child Jesus follow the «Western» principle of expression. The composition is simplified, the folds of the clothing are soft and freely formed, and there is no decoration. The two birds tied to a leash are depicted almost en face, as is the Child Jesus.

The powerful colours make the icon almost startling. The surface is vanished and shining. The maphorion and himation are burning red, the veil more yellowish than the maphorion, the chiton is blue, with orange decoration at wrists and neck. The tunic is light green, the birds white, the leash blue, and the background mossgreen with brown decoration. The figures have romantically ruddy faces.

³⁷² Personal observations in MIRA, Leningrad 19.5.69.

³⁷³ See *S.-Peterburg i ego okrestnosti* 1881 p. 363.



Fig. 92. The Virgin of Konevitsa. COPY Q, 19th cent. Leningrad, MIRA, No. B-4848-IV. Photo: MIRA.

COPY R

Orthodox Church Museum, Kuopio (No. 387). Formerly the property of the Konevitsa monastery. 32.5×26.5 cm (Fig. 93).³⁷⁴

In COPY R, supporting wedges are set into the ends of the base. The brown frame is edged by a dark brown line. No indentation has been made for the painting, but the painting area is delimited by golden ornamentation. The composition is conventional. The position of Mary's hands is close to COPY B. There are two white birds on a red string. The background is green, the maphorion wine red, decorated with red and gold leaf, the chiton is pink and entirely decorated with a checked pattern with crosses. Jesus has a red-brown himation, of almost the same shade as Mary's veil. The tunic is lighter, yellowish

³⁷⁴ Personal observations in the Orthodox Church Museum, Kuopio, 8.6.69.



Fig. 93. The Virgin of Konevitsa. COPY R, 19th cent. Kuopio, Orthodox Church Museum. Photo: Harald Malmgren, Helsinki.

red. Both figures have brown faces. Mary's face is badly damaged. The monograms and haloes are of gold leaf.

In COPY R, the maphorion is decorated with a Slavonic text that, in translation, runs: »Lady, hear the prayer of thy servant» (cf. COPY A, p. 25).

The riza of COPY R is, according to the Orthodox Church Museum, from 1790.³⁷⁵ It is of gilded silver, decorated with pearls. The painting seems to be 19th-century work, so the riza may have been taken from some older icon.

³⁷⁵ Since the use of a camera was not allowed during the observation mentioned in the previous note, I asked to have the icon photographed in Helsinki in the National Museum. It was brought 23.9.69, but without the riza. Because of this no opportunity for an expert statement to check the dating of the riza has arisen.



Fig. 94. The Virgin of Konevitsa. COPY S, 19th cent. Helsinki, Chapel of Bishop Johannes. Photo: Harald Malmgren, Helsinki.

COPY S

Chapel of Bishop Johannes, Helsinki. Formerly in the Valamo Monastery Museum, catalogue number 183. 36×30 cm (Fig. 94).³⁷⁶

The supporting wedges in COPY S are sunk into the ends of the board. The outer edge of the icon is framed with a red-brown line, with a lighter line inside. The frame section is mustard-brown. The painting, in the indentation, is delimited by lines of red and almost black. The haloes are painted yellow, but the other ornamentation is in gold leaf. Mary's monogram is red, but the monogram of Jesus and the type name of the icon are painted in white. The maphorion is wine-red, with a pink lining.

³⁷⁶ Personal observations in Bishop Johannes's Chapel, Helsinki, 28.4.70.



Fig. 95. The Virgin of Konevitsa. COPY T, painted by Alipi in 1889. Heinävesi, New Valamo. Photo: Veikko Kiljunen, Helsinki.

The chiton and kerchief are light blue, and the veil pink. The himation of the Child Jesus is orange, and the tunic light blue. Both figures have mustard-brown faces. The face of Jesus is childishly round, and the hair is delightfully painted. The pair of birds, shaded rather grey, are tied to a red leash, tails outwards.

COPY S seems to be a 19th-century painting. The blue-green background indicates Karelian work.³⁷⁷ The icon is in fairly good condition, with just a couple of scratches on the himation of Jesus and at the edge.

³⁷⁷ *Pettersson 1944^b p. 133.* — I have not found any representatives of the dove type in older Karelian material previous to 19th cent. Personal observations in the museum stores of Petrozavodsk 22.5.69. — See also *Jamščikov 1966, Smirnova 1967, Reformatskaja 1968 and Popova & Jamščikov 1968.*



Fig. 96. Portrait Icon of Archbishop Arsenios. Photo: Dmitrievskij 1899.

COPY T

New Valamo, Heinävesi. 42.8 × 33.3 cm (Fig. 95).³⁷⁸

³⁷⁸ Personal observations at Heinävesi 3.10.62.

COPY T was painted by the Valamo icon painter Alipi in 1889, when he restored the Konevitsa icon. According to the text on the board, COPY T is an authentic copy of the Konevitsa icon. The text runs: »Size and appearance as in the icon of the Most Holy Mother of God of Konevitsa. Her feast-day, July 10th.»

The background of COPY T is gold leaf. The maphorion is dark blue (cf. COPY A), the himation red, the tunic white, decorated as in the Konevitsa icon. Mary's halo is filled with diagonal chequering and trefoil ornamentation. According to the Father Pamva, Alipi did not want to copy the scratch in Mary's face that even in 1889 was on the palladion of the monastery.³⁷⁹

Summary

The Russian dove icons go back to a lost Italian-Byzantine prototype. This came to Russia either with Arseni, founder of the Konevitsa monastery, in 1393, when he came from Mount Athos, or as a consequence of the general expansion of Byzantine art. Its influence is seen in Novgorod from the 15th century, and in Moscow from the 16th century. The oldest copy is the palladion of Konevitsa (COPY A).

It is difficult to assign the dove icons to different schools, because archives data are defective and some observations have had to be made on the basis of photographs. However, the area

³⁷⁹ Pamva 3.10.62. — I. Merikoski comments as follows on Alipi: Alipi, lay name Aleksei Konstantinoff, from the county of Yaroslav, the town of Rybinsk; born in 1851, parents of bourgeois origin; came to Valamo in 1875: an art course in the Academy of Petersburg furnished with capital by a former Lutheran patron; returned to Valamo, where worked as a teacher of icon painting. According to a famous icon painter of the Pecher monastery he was given the name Alipi. He was short in stature, lively in temperament and very popular as teacher. I. Merikoski: Valamon taiteilijamunkit pp. 48—54. YOL.

of distribution is clear: before the 19th century, this type was known in Novgorod and Moscow. Thanks to the copying of the palladion of Konevitsa, it spread in the 19th century, especially in the St Petersburg region. It does not appear in Karelian icon painting before the 19th century.

The immutability of the composition principles (p. 178) shows that the iconographic identity of the type has been known from the start. There have been slight changes, for example in the positions of Mary's hands and the Child Jesus's feet, but there is no point in dividing this very small group into subgroups on the basis of these details, since the deviations do not appear to be regular.

The most important feature of this type is the bird in the Child Jesus's hand. This bird is something of a problem: in the 16th century it was interpreted as holy, presumably the Holy Ghost, and was given a halo. This interpretation was abandoned in the 18th century. It was only in the early 19th century that the bird acquired a new symbolic meaning. The single bird was replaced by a pair, interpreted as being the sacrificial doves of the *sreteniye* (*hypapante*) theme.

In my view, the icon in the Lavra Pinacothèque on Mount Athos is a 16th-century icon belonging to this iconographic family. Here the Child Jesus has in his hand not a bird, but the orb; this may have been painted later, and probably shows the influence of the *Madre di Consolazione* iconography.

EXCURSUS

ICON OF THE HOLY FACE (ACHEIROPOIETOS)

On the reverse of the icon of the Virgin of Konevitsa is a painting of the «acheiropoiotos» type (cf. p. 15). It is contemporaneous with the composition of the obverse, dating from the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries. The oldest publication where I have found mention of this icon is the IINKO of 1817 (p. 59); it is not mentioned in the context of the Konevitsa icon in pre-19th-century sources.

The legends that affected the development of this type of icon, corresponding to the Western Vernicle, continue the antique tradition of images of the gods of supernatural origin and powers.³⁸⁰ Dobschütz has made a thorough and expert analysis of the legendary tradition³⁸¹, and later studies have added little to his views.³⁸² Modern Orthodox theology sees this image of Christ with its supernatural origin mainly as a symbol of the Incarnation.³⁸³ The theme has been interpreted in various ways in Christian pictorial art.³⁸⁴ Orthodox iconography has adopted the

³⁸⁰ On miraculous images in ancient mythology see Dobschütz 1899 pp. 3, 11, 13. Cf. Witzleben 1957 p. 35: »Ein Zusammenhang der christlichen Acheiropoioten mit diesen heidnischen Kultbildern ist mehr als fraglich, da der zeitliche Abstand sehr gross ist.«

³⁸¹ Dobschütz 1899.

³⁸² E.g., Perdrizet 1932. — Volbach 1949 pp. 220—22. — Spiess 1955. — Schneider 1950 pp. 68—71. — A. Grabar 1957 p. 20, n. 2. — Aurenhammer 1965 p. 461.

³⁸³ Ouspensky & Lossky 1952 p. 70.

³⁸⁴ Famous images: in the Vatican Museum and in the Cathedral of Laon in France. Cf. Felicetti-Liebenfels 1956 fig. 9 A. — Radočjić 1956 fig. 2.



Fig. 97. The Holy Face. Painting of the upper border of an icon, 17th cent. Photo: *Lihachev* 1906 I CXXXVII/244.

type where the face of Jesus is represented against a background depicting a cloth, without any Golgotha themes (crown of thorns drop of blood, etc.).³⁸⁵

The oldest written mention of this image of Christ is in the ecclesiastical history of Evagrius the Scholastic (c. 536—600)³⁸⁶, and the oldest surviving icon is said to be a 6th-century encaustic painting in the Tiflis Museum.³⁸⁷ The custom of painting a crucifix or acheiropoietos icon on the reverse of an icon of Mary is rather common in Christian iconography.³⁸⁸ The reason for painting both sides of the icon seems to be an attempt to present two important objects of devotion simultaneously; in ritual processions, for example, this would mean that the congregation could see the images of both Christ and Mary.

³⁸⁵ Early examples: *Antonova & Mneva* 1963 I p. 66 fig. 26. — *Lazarev* 1966 fig. 56.

³⁸⁶ MSG 86 col. 2750.

³⁸⁷ *Rothemund* 1966 p. 205.

³⁸⁸ E.g. *Matejček & Pešina* 1955 figs. 194, 198, 276—277. — *Antonova & Mneva* 1963 I pp. 211—12. — *Byzantine Art* 1964, pp. 244—50.



Fig. 98. The Holy Face. Model Sketch, late XVIIth cent. Photo: Licevoj ikonopisnyj podlinnik I 1905 fig. 83.

Comparison of the composition on the reverse of the Konevitsa icon with the representatives of same type in Russian iconography (Figs. 97—98) shows that it represents a stage of development that can be dated to the period just previous to the influence of Simon Ushakov³⁸⁹; this confirms the date proposed on the basis of the findings at restoration of the icon (cf. p. 32).

³⁸⁹ Cf. also the icon painted by Pervusha, early 17th cent., and the icon of Ushakov, 1658. The reverse picture of the Konevitsa icon is iconographically closer to the former. *Antonova & Mneva* 1963 II figs. 105, 144.

ABBREVIATIONS

AJ	Collection of Aune Jääskinen, Helsinki
AK	Aamun Koitto (Official organ of the Finnish Orthodox Church)
DACL	Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie
HYK	Helsingin yliopiston kirjasto (University Library, Helsinki)
IINKO	Istoričeskoe izobraženie o načalě Konevskijja obiteli
LfTK	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche
LMK	Lexikon der Marienkunde
MIK	Materialy po istorii Karelii
MIRA	Muzej Istorii Religii i Ateizma
MSG	Migne, Patrologia series Graeca
MSL	Migne, Patrologia series Latina
OKA	Ortodoksisen Kirkkomuseon arkisto (Orthodox Church Museum, Archives), Kuopio
PSRL	Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisej
RKM	Roždestvenskij Konevskij Monastyr'
RzDK	Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte
SOKH	Suomen Ortodoksisen Kirkollishallitus (Finnish Orthodox Church Ecclesiastical Administration)
VCNILKR	Vsesojuznaja Central'naja Naučno-issledovatel'skaja Laboratorija po Konservacii i Restavracii
ŽAK	Žitie Arsenija Konevskago
YOL	Yliopiston ortodoksinen laitos (University Orthodox Institute), Helsinki

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Oral Information and Letters to the Author

from:

Agnello, Santi Luigi, Professor. Messina
Bäcksbäck, Ingjald, Ph.D. Helsinki
Camprubi, Francisco, Professor. Barcelona
Carli, Enzo, Superintendent. Siena
Chatzidakis, Manolis, Superintendent. Athens
Dessau, Birgitte, Stud.Mag. Copenhagen
Friedmann, Herbert, Museum Director. Los Angeles
Garrison, Edward B., American Scholar. New York
(Personnel of) Ole Haslunds Hus. Copenhagen
Jääskinen, Matti, Lic.Pol.Sc. Helsinki
Joonas, Monk Deacon. Heinävesi (Finland)
Jouhki, Paul, Precentor. Mikkeli (Finland)
Kasanko, Leo, Archdeacon. Kuopio (Finland)
Kaufmann, C. M. Assistant Director. London
Lihacheva, Ljudmila, Museum Official. Leningrad
Makkonen, Heikki, Archdeacon. Kuopio (Finland)
Maksim, Priest Monk (d. 9.4.1964). Heinävesi (Finland)
Margaritoff, Anastasios, Conservator. Athens
Muukkonen, Marja, Secretary of the Finnish Consulate. Athens
Nicolacopoulou, Zoe, Secretary of the Finnish Consulate. Salonica
Paavali, Archbishop of the Orthodox Archdiocese of Finland
Pallas, D. I. Professor. Athens
Pamva, Priest Monk (d. 12.3.1965). Heinävesi (Finland)
Shorr, Dorothy C., American Scholar. New York
Suihko, Niilo, Conservator. Helsinki
Suljak, Temislav, Museum Custodian. Dubrovnik
Tarkiainen, Paavo, Goldsmith. Helsinki
Trifunović, Lazar, Museum Director. Beograd
Valkeaniemi de Garcia-Jove, Sisko, Mrs. Madrid
Widnäs, Maria, Docent. Helsinki

Appendix I

Translation of the text inscribed on the reverse of the icon of the Virgin of Konevitsa at Derevyanitsa monastery in 1699¹

By the grace of God and by the care of His Most Pure Mother, our very Holy Lady, the Theotokos and ever Virgin, our holy father Arseni spent some time at the holy Mount of Athos and was blessed by the igumen John of Athos, who also gave him this icon of the Most Pure Mother of God in 6901.² With his blessing and with the holy icon, Arseni came to the Archbishop John of Great Novgorod. After receiving his blessing, Arseni set out for the island of Konevitsa in Lake Ladoga and settled there with the holy icon given him by John on the Holy Mount. He built a church in memory of the Birth of the Most Holy Mother of God and a monastery. He gathered around him a brotherhood and, having lived his appointed time, died on the twelfth of June 6985 (50)³. After the death of our holy father Arseni, the Czar and Grand Duke Vasili Ivanovich ruling and the bishop Isidor being metropolitan of Great Novgorod and Velikiya Luki, igumen Leonti and the brethren of the Konevitsa monastery fled from the ravages of the foreigners in 7118⁴, taking with them the icon brought from Mount Athos by Arseni and all the church furnishings, and coming to this monastery of the Resurrection of Jesus at Derevyanitsa. The relics of the holy father Arseni still rest at the monastery of Konevitsa that he founded in Lake Ladoga. On September 24th 7207⁵, when all the Russians were ruled by the Czar and Grand Duke Peter Alekseyevich, when the Holy Adrian was patriarch of Moscow and all Russia and Job was metropolitan of Novgorod and Velikiya Luki, this holy church was built and consecrated, in the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and in it was placed the icon of the Holy Mount of the Mother of God, and beside it kondaks and ikosses and other icons too in the presence of igumen Antoni and the brethren.

¹ *Amvrosij* 1812 IV, pp. 624—26.

² 1393.

³ 1472/1442. The text seems to give the wrong year for Arseni's death, cf. p.

⁴ 1610.

⁵ 1699.

Appendix II

»Memorandum on the miraculous cure of a woman who had suffered fits, which occurred at the monastery of Konevitsa in the diocese of Finland on June 12th 1912.¹

Darja Frolova Batrakova, aged 32, of the village of Bor in Lomonosov municipality, Holmogor region, in the Archangel Province, suffered from nervous attacks that had plagued her since the age of 18. They began with giddiness and paralysis of the right arm and leg. The afflicted then fell to the ground and began to shout, twitch and bark like a dog.

The strange thing was that these attacks always seized her in church, during Divine Service. Many believed the affliction would pass when the woman married, but this was not so. On the contrary, after her marriage the attacks grew more frequent until finally her husband left her and the children to manage as best they could. The woman tried to get employment as a maid, but never kept a position because of the attacks. She suffered poverty, and tried to earn a living by sewing.

The doctors believed she was a hysteric and gave her bromides and valerian, but this did not help her at all.

In 1912 her mother, who lived in St Petersburg, intended to go to Valamo to pray to God and asked her sick daughter to go with her. The daughter refused, fearing the sea journey and her attacks, but later, on receiving a letter from her mother from Valamo, decided to go.

Arriving at Konevitsa in the evening, Batrakova stood at the Thanksgiving Service usually held when a ship arrived at the monastery from St Petersburg. She prayed fervently to God by the cenotaph of Saint Arseni, begging relief for her severe illness. In the morning, she participated in the early morning service. She began to grow dizzy and drowsy. She thought it was due to the sea journey and took no notice of the symptoms, but remained standing as she wished to stay to the end of the service. But the illness forced her to leave the church in the middle of the service.

On June the ninth she went to confession, and on the tenth she took Holy Communion.

The same evening she met her mother, who had come from Valamo to Konevitsa. With her mother, she took part in the solemn evening service held because of the feast of the holy Arseni by many priests and monks, led by Archbishop Sergey of Finland and Vyborg.

A number of attacks racked the sick woman, but she remained in church, begging God for relief for her illness.

¹ Po opisi porjadkovej, 18.2.1915, No. 27. OKA.

During Divine Liturgy on June 12th Batrakova had a severe attack, fell to the ground raving, shouting and disturbing the service. She was carried out of the church and laid on the grass near the church.

As she lay there, the sick woman continued to shout, tearing her garments and shouting at the priests who approached her with holy water and oil from the lamp over the grave of St Arseni.

When the procession left the church with the miraculous icon of the Holy Mother of Konevitsa, the sick woman cried out, 'It's coming', broke away from those restraining her and began to run through the holy gates towards the shore. Four sturdy men held her, wanting to bring her to the icon of the Mother of God, but Batrakova resisted violently and easily brushed the men aside, shouting, 'Black crow, you torment me. I am going, I am going. I am burning.'

When others tried to seize her by violence and take her back to the former place by the church close to the icon, she vomited green bile although she had eaten nothing all morning. Yellow 'needles' came from her mouth, and the patient shouted 'The roots are coming'. She fell into a deep sleep, and woke when the procession returned, joining the others. When asked, she said she was well, and wished to touch the miraculous image of the Mother of God for herself. She was so weak she could hardly stand. One standing nearby helped Batrakova to approach the procession, and with calm reverence she touched the holy image and the holy cross carried by Bishop Sergey.

She went into church with the others, praying with tears in her eyes before the miraculous icon, and giving praise for her cure.

After this, she had no more attacks.»

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