

## POLITICS, ORTHODOXY AND ARTS: SERBIAN-RUSSIAN CULTURAL RELATIONS IN THE 18TH CENTURY\*

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## ПОЛИТИКА, ПРАВОСЛАВЉЕ И УМЕТНОСТ: СРПСКО-РУСКЕ КУЛТУРНЕ ВЕЗЕ У XVIII ВЕКУ

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### АБСТРАКТ

The complicated political and cultural position of the Serbs who migrated to the Habsburg Monarchy in the early eighteenth century caused the rise of popularity of Russian rulers, who were recognized as protectors of the Orthodox against religious persecution. Political ties were accompanied by a strong Russification of Serbian culture, which was carried out through the mass procurement of Russian liturgical books and the arrival of many Russian teachers to Serbian schools. Ukrainian painters who came to the Metropolitanate of Karlovci brought new forms of baroque religious painting and introduced changes in the structure of the iconostasis. The cult of the Romanov dynasty among Orthodox Serbs in Hungary was amplified by their numerous portraits and engravings.

KEYWORDS: Russian-Serbian relations, eighteenth century, religious painting, portraits, Romanov dynasty

### АПСТРАКТ

Сложене политичке и културне позиције Срба који су се населили у Хабзбуршкој монархији током раног XVIII века узроковале су пораст

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популарности руских владара, који су били препознати као заштитници православља против верског омаловажавања. Политичке везе су пропраћене јаком русификацијом српске културе, која је спроведена кроз масовне набавке руских литургијских књига и долазак многобројних руских учитеља у српске школе. Украјински сликари који су дошли у Карловачку митрополију, донели су нове форме барокног сакралног сликарства и увели су промене у структури иконостаса. Култ династије Романов међу православним Србима у Мађарској појачан је њиховим бројним портретима и гравирама.

Кључне речи: руско-српски односи, XVIII век, сакрално сликарство, портрети, династија Романов

## INTRODUCTION: POLITICS AND ORTHODOXY

The spiritual ties between the Serbs and the Russians, dating back to the time of the building of the first Serbian state, have been firm for centuries. The Orthodox Church was the most important mediator in this relationship, which, from the time of the Great Turkish War (1683–1699) and the reign of Emperor Peter the Great, also acquired a political component. Patriarch Arsenije III Čarnojević, the leader of the Serbs who migrated from the Ottoman Empire to the Habsburg Monarchy in 1690, corresponded with the Russian emperor in search of spiritual support (Jovanović 2012: 23–24; Dolgova and Ivanova 2009). Before the Petrine era, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this relationship was mostly based on raising aid for Serbian monasteries in the Ottoman Empire which were in an awkward position. The patriarchs of Peć addressed Russian rulers asking for help to rebuild the damaged temples, sending not only individual monks but also entire delegations to Russia (Turilov 2009: 172–175; Radojčić 1965: 261–309). The preserved archival sources testify to numerous gifts donated by the Russian rulers, primarily liturgical books and items (Veselinović 1986: 23–24; Dimitrijević 1922: 75–78, 89, 122, 129, 140, 150, 160–161, 201, 223, 278). This expression of the ruler's goodwill towards Orthodox peoples under Ottoman rule was also a means of political representation of the Russian dynasty. In doing so, they established their autocratic ideology and affirmed the idea of Moscow as the Third Rome (Subotić 2011: 167–192; Sinicina 1998: 174–220).

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Moscow was visited by numerous Serbian monastery envoys, like those from Papraća, Gomirje, Lepavina, Šemljug, Studenica, Šišatovac, Hopovo, Velika Remeta, Krušedol, Rakovac, Kovilj, Grgeteg, Lesnovo, Dečani, Ravanica and Hilandar. As their numbers increased over time, rules were introduced for the admission of petitioners by the Russian emperor (Dolgova 2013: 74–75; Jovanović 2012: 61–62). Thus, the monks of Mileševa, who used to come most frequently, enjoyed the highest reputation; Hilandar had a special status as the endowment of the Nemanjić dynasty, while others were often given alms at the border crossing in Putyvl (Putivlje) (Dimitrijević 1948: 54–55; Petković 1995:

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147–148; Turilov 2009: 174; Dolgova 2013: 55). The fraternity of the Krušedol Monastery had always relied on the assistance from Russia, primarily in the form of books and worship items (Dimitrijević 1948: 52).

Russian Emperor Alexei Mikhailovich (1629–1676), father of Peter the Great, donated priestly robes to the Šišatovac Monastery, and the Vrdnik Monastery received some privileges too (Leskovac 1977: 42–43). It is also known that in 1721 two monks of the Velika Remeta Monastery went to Russia to seek help with books, clothing, and other liturgical items destroyed during the Turkish reprisals of 1717 and 1718 (Dimitrijević 1922: 189–194, 221–223; Ruvarac 1906: 340–343; Denić 2010: 219–220; Vasić 1971, 30–31; Kovačević 2005: 52) (**Fig. 1**). They carried with them valuable icons and relics that encouraged the Russian Orthodox people to help. Archival sources speak about the gifts given to the Russian rulers: in 1652, the monks of the Mileševa Monastery presented the Russian emperor with an icon of Saint Sava, Simeon, and Stefan



Fig. 1. Anonymous painter (after Louis Caravaque), Peter the Great, oil on canvas, formerly in Velika Remeta monastery, middle of 18th C.

the First-Crowned (Prvovenčani); the monks from Hilandar gave him a wood-carved encolpion and icons representing Saint Sava and Simeon; in 1662, the deputation from the Studenica Monastery gave an icon of the Second Coming of Christ; and in 1692, the monks from Ravanica icons of the Ascension of Christ and the Holy Prince Lazar (Dimitrijević 1922: 159, 124, 141, 164, 218; Dolgova 2013: 56–58; Radojčić 1948: 246–248, 251–254; Petković 1961: 91–94). However, by the end of the eighteenth century, this model of raising funds was criticized by the enlightened public, which saw it as an inappropriate form of begging around Russia and Europe (Piščević 1998: 204; Pavić 1976: 119).

In 1689, Patriarch Arsenije III sent Archimandrite Isaiah of the Athonite monastery of St. Paul's as an envoy to the emperor. He brought a petition that contained an appeal to the emperor to use his troops to expel the Turks from the Balkans and to liberate the enslaved Orthodox people. He offered the help of 300,000 Serbs and Bulgarians ready to step in under his command, promising that other Balkan Christians would join as well. Unfortunately, no answer from the emperor ever came, because the Austrian authorities arrested Archimandrite Isaiah on his return and confiscated his imperial diplomas. Despite the failure of the plan, the patriarch continued to publicly maintain good relations with Kozma Nefimov (Козма Никитич Нефимов), the Russian ambassador in Vienna, who in 1697 submitted an official petition to the Austrian authorities against the pressure on the Serb population (Jovanović 2012: 81–83; Dolgova 2013: 62–64, 346–349). During Emperor Peter's journey through Western Europe from March 1697 to July 1698, the patriarch also took the opportunity to meet him in Vienna and to ask for protection for the Orthodox people in Hungary (Kostić 2010: 80–83; Radojčić 1960: 288–291, 365). Many Serbs migrated to Russia with the desire to place themselves in the service of the Russian emperor. For that purpose, they would usually first send a capable and reliable officer on a secret mission to Moscow, like colonel Pana Božić, cavalry officer Hristifor Stefanović Tutrinović, or captain Bogdan Isajev Popović (Kostić 2010: 84–87).

The introduction of Serbian culture into the sphere of Russian influence was further intensified by metropolitans Mojsije Petrović and Vikentije Jovanović in the first half of the eighteenth century. Pinned between hostile Catholics in the Habsburg Monarchy and the Muslim government in the Ottoman Empire, Serbs in Hungary turned to Orthodox authorities in Russia. This was further facilitated by Russia's military successes and its transformation into a European power. The anti-Turkish and anti-Catholic policies of the Russian court were significant elements in nurturing Russophilia among the Serbian people (Jovanović 2012: 67–68; Veselinović 1986: 25–26). They hoped that Russia would carry out a liberation mission in the Balkans and reclaim their lost homeland, a possibility that was hinted at in 1710 when Peter the Great issued a manifesto proclaiming himself the protector of all Christians in the Balkans (Mokuter 1965: 348–349). All this aroused general enthusiasm for the Russian emperor so that songs and legends about him soon began to emerge. Unfavorable religious policies of the Habsburgs in the middle of the century led Serbs to several waves of migration to Russia. Those events sought to prevent the actions of both the court of Vienna and Pavle Nenadović, the Metro-

politan of Karlovci. On the other side, Russian rulers sent secret emissaries to the Serbs, encouraged migration and promised autonomy to the settlers intending to inhabit the desolate areas of southwestern Russia (Kostić 2001: 45–58; Lalić 2005). Even during the reign of Catherine II, such relations were maintained. She was also addressed by the Serbs in 1770, with a plea to protect them from Ottoman rule, which she partially did by concluding the peace treaty in Kuchuk-Kainarji in 1774 (Jovanović 2012: 84–85; Samardžić 1986: 351–355). After the beginning of the Serbian uprising in 1804, Metropolitan Stefan Stratimirović and Bishop of Bačka Jovan Jovanović also appealed to the Russian emperor Alexander I, asking that Russia establish a kind of protectorate over Serbia (Dimitrijević 1926: 47–51, 55; Slijepčević 1936: 171–185).

Church reforms implemented by Peter the Great also became a template for implementing similar reforms by the Serbs in Hungary. The most important document of his time was the Spiritual Regulation, drafted and published by Theophan Prokopovich in 1721 (Florovski 1997: 102–125; Cracraft 1971: 49–62; Kostić 2010: 100–101). Soon after it was published, copies of that document reached the Serbs in Hungary, affecting the reforms implemented in the Metropolitanate (Ward 2001: 155–163; Dickson 1993: 89–94; Puzović 2014: 37–41). Although the majority of the clergy rejected it, it is known that some monks possessed copies and that it was part of the libraries in some Episcopal courts (Denić 2010: 153; Stajić 1947: 87). Vikentije Popović, the archimandrite of the Šišatovac Monastery, also had in his private library a book by Stefan Yavorsky – Знаменія пришествія Антихристова (The Signs of the Advent of Antichrist). It was published as a response to numerous prints made by Grigory Talicki around 1700, in which he attacked the reforms of Peter the Great, claiming that the emperor was possessed by the Antichrist (Ostojić 2002: 353; Riasanovsky 1985: 76–79). Some biographical elements from the life of a famous Russian monarch were used by Jovan Muškatirović to propagate Enlightenment ideas and reforms introduced by Joseph II. In his work Краткое размышление о праздники (A brief reflection on the feasts) (1786) he justified the abolition of some religious feasts by the state authorities, referring to the same measures implemented in 1723 by Emperor Peter in Russia (Muškatirović 1786: 22–24).

### BOOKS, LANGUAGE AND RUSSIFICATION OF CULTURE

A large number of Russian school textbooks and religious books eventually became a hallmark of this period. Significant mediators in the process of Russification of the Serbian language and culture in the first half of the eighteenth century were traveling book dealers called “Moskoviti”, who sold books printed in Russia throughout Hungary. For Orthodox Serbs the place of publication meant a confirmation of religious rightness, which was crucial for maintaining a genuine liturgical life (Kostić 2010: 129, 135; Kostić 1932: 14–30). That was the most obvious way of promoting and preserving the distinctive Serbian identity in multiethnic and multi-confessional Hungary. Not much time passed before Russian liturgical books replaced old Serbian

manuscripts. That caused a kind of confusion because those books were meant for use in domestic churches and not abroad, and as such they commemorated only Russian emperors (Simić 2018: 34–37). Since the names of the emperors and the royal family were printed routinely in the *Service Book*, they were also mentioned in liturgies at the Metropolitanate of Karlovci without any change (Dimitrijević 1922: 248). That had an extremely political character, and the Habsburg court policy was firmly against this kind of liturgical practice. Because of the loyalty issue, which was the core of this problem, the Metropolitan had to give a justification, and so, in the end, the Austrian empress was liturgically commemorated as a ruler of all the Orthodox in the Habsburg Monarchy. However, that did not exclude Russian emperors from being mentioned in the liturgy at all. Dionisije Novaković, a professor of the Petrovaradin school and the future bishop of Buda, was permanently banned from preaching by the Holy Synod's decision from 1744, because of mentioning the Russian emperor instead of the Habsburg monarch (Marinković 1968: 226). So, hand-written corrections were made in Russian liturgical books, where the names of Russian saints were replaced with Serbian ones, and names of the Russian emperors were replaced with the names of the Habsburg monarchs. On the first empty page of the *Moscow Service Book* from the Krušedol Monastery, the names of Joseph II and Maria Theresa were written instead of the names of Russian emperors. Something similar happened to the *Book of Hours* printed in Kyiv in 1729, which was used very often in the Metropolitanate of Karlovci. In part concerning the liturgical act of the elevation of Panagia, there are extensive instructions on how a priest should say a litany at the end of this act, where the emperor was commemorated explicitly (Timotijević 2008: 65).

Even under the metropolitan Pavle Nenadović, the issue of the liturgical commemoration of Russian rulers was not solved. To avoid problems with the Austrian government, he had to send a circular letter to the monasteries in Fruška Gora in 1768, in which he established the rules for mentioning the Catholic Austrian emperor at the liturgy and for his place in the church during his announced visit (Rugarac 1905: 682). When the emperor was entering the church, a priest had to cense him, and during the service, the Gospel was brought to him for veneration. He was to sit on a prepared throne placed on the ambo and, at his express wish, was to be introduced into the sanctuary (Timotijević 1994: 291–292). A discussion about the ruler's invocation was led at the church council in Sremski Karlovci in 1769. The plenipotentiary of the empress at the council publicly stated that Maria Theresa was aware of the fact that images of the Russian empress Elizabeth were kept in Orthodox churches and that, instead of Maria Theresa herself, Elizabeth was being commemorated in the liturgy. Representatives at the council, of course, denied that claim (Rajković 1872: 170–171).

The figure of the Russian emperor as a symbol of paternal grandeur and protection was constantly present in the public consciousness of the Serbs, therefore it was also a frequent topic in literature (Mokuter 1965: 345). Heroic poems about the emperor as a great and successful commander-in-chief were recorded in different variants throughout Southeastern Europe. Count Sava Vladislavić, a diplomat at the court of Emperor Peter the Great, translated and published at his request the work of

the Ragusan historian Mavro Orbini *Il Regno degli Slavi* (The Kingdom of the Slavs) from 1601. Zacharia Orfelin composed and printed *Житије и славнија дела государја императора Петра Великаго* (Life and glorious affairs of the Emperor Peter the Great) (1772), which he dedicated to Empress Catherine II (Fig. 2). In this book Orfelin also included a poem commemorating the Tsar's declaration of war against the Ottoman Empire of March 3, 1711 (Boškov 1986: 215–218; Marinković 1966: 420–421). Similar patriotic feelings can be recognized in the panegyric written by Parteniје Pavlović titled *Песен славнаго орла росијскога* (The Song of the Glorious Russian Eagle) in which he celebrates the symbols of the Romanov dynasty (Grdinić 2005: 8, 204). Another example is provided by Stefan Novaković, the publisher of the important book *Историја разних словенских народа, посебице Бугара, Хрвајџа и Срба*

(The History of various Slovenian nations, especially Bulgarians, Croats and Serbs) written by Jovan Rajić, who gave a copy of this work to Catherine II. He inscribed in it an eloquent dedication praising the universal glory of the Russian empress and the immortal Slavic-Russian nation (Čalić 2010: 270–277; Dolgova and Ivanova 2009: 443–444; Dučić 1999: 132–134).

In the 1720s, Russian and Ukrainian teachers came to the Metropolitanate of Karlovci, where they introduced Russian educational elements and methodology into the local schools. In addition to the most famous among them, Maxim Suvorov and Emanuil Kozachinsky, Jelisej Pletinecki, Piotr Padunovski, Sinesij Zalucki, and Timofey Levandovsk also worked in Serbian schools, further contributing to the Russification of Serbian culture (Čurić 1974: 103–118; Vukašinović 2008: 205–209). On the other hand, a growing number of



Anonymous Ukrainian painter, Resurrection of Christ, iconostasis, Church of the Transfiguration of Christ, Szentendre, 1745/46.

Serbian students went to study at the Kyiv Theological Academy, increasingly disseminating its theological and artistic influences. Leading Serbian intellectuals and painters of the period, such as Dionisije Novaković, later the bishop of Buda, and Stefan Tenecki, who left a notable oeuvre in religious painting, had been educated in Kyiv. That university remained the center of the spread of the Russophile sentiment among Serbs until the 1760s (Denić 1986: 239–259; Medaković 1954: 291–293; Puzović 2017: 15–57). Some individuals made great careers after moving to Russia, such as Sava Vladislavić who became a diplomat, Petar Smelić who became the archimandrite of the Alexander Nevsky Monastery in St. Petersburg (later Archbishop of Belgorod and Obojansk), or Teodor Janković Mirijevski who became a reformer of the Russian educational system and a distinguished nobleman. Atanasije Stojković, Gligorije Trlajić, Pavle Julinac, and Petar Tekelija were also linked to Russia in different ways (Jovanović 2012: 101–108, 110–111). Some of them were even introduced to the reigning emperor or empress, e.g., Jovan Popović Tekelija to Peter the Great, Simeon Piščević to Elizabeth Petrovna, and Sava Tekelija and Gerasim Zelić to Catherine II (Simić 2018: 138–140).

## ARTS

Ukrainian painters who began to arrive to southern Hungary from the 1720s onwards, namely Jov Vasilijević, Vasilije Romanović and Grigorij Gerasimov, had a significant influence on Serbian baroque art (Kučeković 2014: 335–340; Kučeković 2016: 177–200; Davidov 1969: 121–138; Timotijević 1987: 109–126; Timotijević 1994: 63–90) (Fig. 3). Also, many icons were brought from painting centers such as Mstera, Šuja, Holuj, and Paleh, where they were mass-produced for the Russian and foreign markets (Jovanović 1963: 396–398; Krasilin 2007: 211–230). Along with these craftworks, high-quality religious art pieces were brought to the Metropolitanate. That is



Fig. 3. Jov Vasilijević, Jesus Christ, iconostasis, throne icon, Monastery of Krušedol, 1745.



very well illustrated by the example of the abbot Grigorije who brought icons by Russian court painters to the Rakovica Monastery in 1701. These icons by Leontije Stefanov, Jovan Maksimov, Spiridon Grigorijev, and Tihon Ivanov marked the new style, which had begun to take shape already in the second half of the seventeenth century. It emphasized the realities of saintly figures, which became a model for the development of Serbian icon-painting in the following decades (Rakić 1986: 128–144).

The painting coming from the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra had some characteristics somewhat different from Russian art, primarily because of its strong links with the Catholic Baroque culture of Central Europe. The influence of Polish painting from the end of the sixteenth century heightened interest in portrait and landscape painting, which subsequently led to changes in the iconography of Orthodox icon-painting. After significant parts of Ukraine were incorporated into Russia in the mid-seventeenth century, the Kyiv Spiritual Academy began to occupy an increasingly important place in the Christian topography of Eastern Europe (Davidov 2004: 171–173; Puzović 2015: 209–215; Jovanović 1926: 3) which, in turn, caused iconographic and thematic novelties to gradually make their way into Serbian religious painting (Fig. 4). The structure of the iconostasis changed, growing in height, and over the following few decades, this new type of iconostasis became dominant all over the Metropolitanate (Vuksan 2016: 13–37; Timotijević 1996: 51–58). At the same time, under the auspices

of the Russian emperors, the Lavra began a delicate cultural transmission of the Romanov imperial ideology to the peoples of Southeastern Europe. Some Russian engravers, like Alexei Zubov, produced images for those Slavic markets. Among other things, he made an engraving with a portrait of Peter the Great on horseback, which served as a portrait model for engravings made by the Serbian printer Hristofor Džefarović. Russian prints also influenced Serbian icon-painters, like Teodor Stefanović Gologlavac, Kiprijan Račanin and Gavril Stefanović Venclović, who used Толковая псалтир (Tolkovaya



Fig. 4. Zaharija Orfelin, Dedication to Empress Catherine II, from the book *History of Peter the Great*, engraving, 1772.

psaltir) published in Kyiv in 1697 (Jovanović 1963: 387–389; Lebedianski 1973: кат. бр. 36). The image of Saint Simeon Nemanja published in the book Србљак (Srbljak), printed in Rymnik in 1761, was modeled after an illustration from the Патерик (Paterik) made in Kyiv in 1702. Similarly, the book Зборник молитава (Collection of Prayers) published in 1770 by Joseph Kurtzbek in Vienna repeated the graphic elements of the book of the same name published in Moscow between 1741 and 1762 (Stošić 1960: 256-263).

The appearance of baroque imperial portraits was connected with the changes brought about by the reign of Peter the Great. Historiography has recognized the icon, the reforms, and the establishment of the Academy of Fine Arts as crucial elements for the emergence of this new type of portrait (Cracraft 1997: 149–231; Cracraft 2004: 219–276). Earlier researchers assumed that it possibly developed in the older Russian tradition of imperial portraits – known as парсуна (parsuna). These early portraits, in stylistic and morphological terms, were close to icons and derived from traditional images of saints. Their name came from the Latin word *persona* because they referred to the peculiar connection between an individual personality and its visual image, which became its double. The term *parsuna* covered many phenomena with different meanings, most often referring to Russian, Belarussian and Ukrainian portraits from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. In stylistic terms, a *parsuna* is close to the icon, because it depicts hieratic and idealized figures, whose body posture is accentuated by the costume, with a pronounced ornamentalization (Vasser 2015: 91–92). The iconic foundation of the *parsuna* is well illustrated by the image of Emperor Fyodor III, depicted in the presence of Christ in the form of the Veil of Veronica. With its four cartouches with emblematic inscriptions the portrait symbolically confirms the divine origin of the emperor's power (Uspenskij and Zhivov 2012: 3–37; Napp 2010: 31–32; Vdovin 2005).

Based on the image of a ruler created in the literary panegyrics of Simeon Polocki, painter Josif Vladimirov recreated it in the visual arts. He founded it on the iconic character of the earthly monarch as a representation of Christ as the ruler of the world. However, he criticized the dark incarnate of the face, and in the theological sense, the idea of the prototype followed by Russian icon-painters (Timotijević 2003: 214–218). He emphasized that, unlike in Russia, painters in Western Europe represented their rulers as faithfully and “life-like” as possible. The aspect of memorializing the ruler's character through the image contained the elements of reverence that his subjects were expected to feel towards his real personality. That inevitably conveyed his image as his effigy (Kämpfer 1978: 205; Ovčinnikova 1964: 41, 45). Vladimirov expressed not only his attitude, but also the opinion of an influential group of painters, including the court master Simon Ušakov (Kämpfer 1978: 206).

In addition to money, books, and ecclesiastics, Serbian monks also brought to Hungary images of Russian rulers. Most often, these were engravings made to illustrate books, while in other cases they were copies of official portraits intended to spread and strengthen the cult of the Russian monarch. Sometimes they also brought large-format oil portraits, though this was not a typical case, as the Austrian border and customs controls were rigorous, and the possession of such paintings could cause

problems to the owner. Serbs held the Romanov dynasty in high regard, secretly procuring and treasuring their portraits, mentioning them at liturgies, and thereby leading the Habsburgs authorities to question their loyalty (Simić 2012: 29–32; Kostić 2014: 148–155).

A portrait of a Russian ruler had iconic power, and that was one of the reasons why it was increasingly encountered in private homes of the Serbs. Prints, and sometimes medals, were most often an integral part of the interior of civic houses. Getting a portrait of a ruler became a vital means of political communication and the highest expression of his grace toward loyal subjects (Simić 2012: 32–33). That was aptly illustrated by the example of Bogdan Isajjev Popović, who returned in 1710 from a secret mission to the Russian court and brought with him the gifts of Peter the Great: four portraits mounted with precious stones for Serbian officers, and fifty-three gold ducats with his figure for the lower ranks (Dimitrijević 1922: 51; Kostić 2010: 86). Later on, wills and inventories often mentioned various figures: a portrait of Peter the Great is found in the legacy of Ana Savić, née de Mosko (Stajić 2003: 243; Stajić 2002: 292). It also appears in the inventory of the Metropolitan Court in Sremski Karlovci from 1731, which records that in the Great Room, besides paintings of earlier metropolitans, there is also a portrait of “Peter I, the Emperor of Moscow” (Denić 2010: 97). In the inventory of the bishop’s court in Novi Sad, compiled on August 7, 1757, it was noted that in the middle room there were portraits of Peter the Great, Elizabeth Petrovna and her heir, right next to the portraits of Empress Maria Theresa and Prince Joseph (Stajić 1947: 111).

At the auction of the personal belongings of Metropolitan Vikentije Jovanović Vidak, after his death in 1780, one quality and expensive oil portrait of Peter the Great was sold, at least according to the documents (Ćorović 1934: 195–196). Portraits of Russian emperors were famous long after their death. One such example is preserved in the Savina Monastery, where it is believed to have come from either the collection of Count Sava Vladislavić or some other Serbian nobleman in the service of the Russian emperor. A similar portrait was also made by the painter Stefan Tenecki during his studies at the academy in Russia in the 1730s. According to legend, it was created when the painter was only twenty years old, which is the reason for the rather lackluster execution: crude drawing, rigidity of the torso, small and hard-drawn hands. However, when one looks at the model he copied, one immediately notices the high fidelity of the face Tenecki achieved. This portrait belongs to a group of works designed for the Russian court by the famous French painter Louis Caravaque (1684–1754) (Vasser 2015: 115–127; Sobko 1882: 139–142). The same circle of Caravaque’s works also includes the famous portrait of Peter the Great from the Srem monastery of Velika Remeta, whose tumultuous history has been described before. At the end of the nineteenth century, the portrait was transferred from the monastery to St. Petersburg, where, at the personal request of Emperor Alexander III, it was purchased for the Imperial Hermitage, where it is still kept (Stasov 1882: 214; Simić 2014: 619–624).

The end of the eighteenth century was marked by the appearance of the Russian Princess Alexandra Pavlovna in Hungary and the intense cult that developed around her tragic fate. In 1799, she married the Hungarian palatine Joseph in order to form

a political alliance between the houses of Habsburg and Romanov. The arrival of the princess caused an outburst of joy among the Serbs in Hungary, as they finally received what they had hoped for throughout the eighteenth century – an Orthodox ruler. She was a symbol of a long-lasting connection with the Russian emperors and a guarantee of Serbian rights in the Habsburg Monarchy. Many poems were published in her honor, like the one written by Grigorije Trlajić in which he celebrated her ideal young character. Thanks to Princess Alexandra, the court in Buda became open to Serbian intellectuals and artists for the first time. After her sudden and tragic death in 1801, her confessor, priest Andrei Samborski, commissioned an engraving showing her on her deathbed. He printed it in several thousand copies and distributed it to all leading figures in the country. Many similar images and poems testified about the popularity of Alexandra Pavlovna and the public sorrow after her death, which together became one of the means for the religious and political unification of Orthodox subjects in Hungary.

The image of the Russian rulers in the eighteenth century was idealized, and as such, the Serbs wholeheartedly accepted it. In whatever way it came, publicly or secretly, it was respected to such an extent that it was worth every risk, even the accusation of treason. It was translated into various mediums, verbal and visual, but it always carried the same message – the liberation of the Serbs from the enemy and unification under one Orthodox ruler.

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ПОЛИТИКА, ПРАВОСЛАВЉЕ И УМЕТНОСТ:  
 СРПСКО-РУСКЕ КУЛТУРНЕ ВЕЗЕ У XVIII ВЕКУ

(РЕЗИМЕ)

Од времена Петра Великог и Великог турског рата (1683–1699) српско-руски односи све више добијају политички карактер. Пећки патријарх Арсеније III Чарнојевић, предводник Срба избеглих 1690. из Отоманског царства, одржава преписку с руским владарима тражећи заштиту од римокатолика. Руски владари наступају као заштитници православних на Балкану, тежећи ка остварењу својих политичких интереса. Такви односи су задржани и у другој половини XVIII века, за време владавине Катарине II, којој су се Срби обратили 1770. с молбом да их заштити од османске власти, што је она и учинила приликом склапања мировног уговора у Кучук-Кајнарџију 1774.

Русификацији српске културе у првој половини XVIII века највише су доприносили путујући трговци, називани „Московима”, који су широм Угарске продавали књиге штампане у Русији. Место издања је за православне Србе означавало потврду верске исправности, па је такав начин набавке религиозне литературе опстао све до терезијанских реформи седамдесетих година XVIII века. Током двадесетих година XVIII века, на позив карловачких митрополита, долазе руски и украјински учитељи, који преносе концепте тамошњег школског система у Карловачку митрополију. Српски студенти одлазе на студије на Кијевску духовну академију, одакле пристижу богословски, али и уметнички утицаји. Појединци који одлазе у Русију успевају да направе велике каријере, попут Саве Владиславића, Петра Смелића или Теодора Јанковића Миријевског.

На барокизацију српске уметности велики утицај су имали руски сликари који су од двадесетих година XVIII века почели да се појављују у Карловачкој митрополији, посебно Јов Василијевич, Василије Романович и Григорије Герасимов. Такође, уочена је и специфичност утицаја украјинске уметности на српску, превасходно оне настале у Кијево-печерској лаври. Мења се архитектоника иконостаса, који све више расте у висину, а иконографске и тематске новине постепено проналазе место у репертоару српског религиозног сликарства. Тај развијени тип иконостаса остаје доминантан све до друге половине XIX века. Истовремено, под покровитељством руских царева Лавра започиње с деликатном културном трансмисијом идеологије

Романових ка народима југоисточне Европе. Поред других дарова, српски монаси су из Русије доносили и слике руских владара. Најчешће су то били графички листови рађени за потребе илустровања књига, док се у појединим случајевима радило о самосталним уљаним портретима великог формата. То није био чест случај, јер су граничне и царинске контроле биле ригорозне, а поседовање таквих слика могло је да изазове сумњу аустријских власти. Православни Срби су гајили велико поштовање према руској владарској династији, кришом набављали и чували њихове портрете, помињали их на литургији, чиме су у очима власти доводили у питање своју лојалност према Хабзбурговцима.

Кључне речи: руско-српске везе, XVIII век, религиозно сликарство, портрети, династија Романов