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MEMORIAL CHURCH IN GORNJI ADROVAC AS A SYMBOL OF SERBO-RUSSIAN CULTURAL, POLITICAL, NATIONAL, AND ARTISTIC TIES IN THE LATE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURY

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Keywords:

Nikolaj Nikolajevich Raevsky;
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memorial church;
religious art;
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Abstract. During the Serbo-Turkish wars (1876–1878), a Russian volunteer, Colonel Nikolaj Nikolajevich Raevsky, died in a battle at Golo Brdo, the place near the village Gornji Adrovac. One of the monuments built in his honour is a memorial church erected in the place where he was shot. This paper discusses the erection of the memorial church in light of the political circumstances and the national ties between Russia and Serbia during the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The Church in Gornji Adrovac itself stands as a representation of good political, national, and religious ties between Serbia and Russia, as well as an example of artistic transfer and aesthetic ideal in the religious art of the time.

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Introduction

The topic of this paper is a Holy Trinity Church in Gornji Adrovac, near Aleksinac, built as a memorial church to the Russian Colonel Nikolay Raevsky, who died as a volunteer in the Serbo-Turkish wars during 1876. He is believed to be the model that Tolstoy used to build the character of Vronski in *Anna Karenina*. (Шемјакин, 2006, pp. 33–47) This memorial church had, in its time, unified the religious, ideological, political and aesthetic aspects and thus represented a reflection of good cultural, political, national and religious ties between Serbia and the Russia in the late 19th and early 20th century. Considering that the ideas for its aesthetic forming and equipping had come directly from Russia, this memorial church stands out as a significant component of an artistic transfer and broader transformational process in the religious art and visual culture of the Serbian Kingdom at the beginning of the 20th century. The paper thus examines the process of building the church through the contexts of cultural, political, and national ties between Russia and Serbia in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, as well as processes of artistic transfer—how the cooperation between Serbian and Russian artists was achieved in the visual shaping of the church.

Numerous authors and researchers have mentioned the Church of the Holy Trinity in Gornji Adrovac by examining the character of Colonel Raevsky and the processes of his memorialization in the Serbian environment (Стевановић, 2016, 2019; Шемјакин, 2004; 2006; 2016; Ђуровић, 2008; Јовић, 2003; Поповић, 2002; Стојановић, 1998; Михајловић, 1995; Макуљевић, 2006, p. 289; Макуљевић, 2007, pp. 23, 184–185). The church is mentioned in a study on Aleksinac, which deals with the history of this area in the second half of the 19th century (Спирић, 2021). As the subject of broader historical art reviews, the church is seen within the typology of monuments in Serbian visual culture of the 19th century (Макуљевић, 2006, p. 289), as well as through the influence of the state in the creation of religious art in the Kingdom of Serbia (Макуљевић, 2007, p. 23). The most significant research on the church, however, was carried out by Andrej

Semjakin in the publication *Death of Count Vronsky* using documents from Serbian and Russian archives (Шемјакин, 2006).

Colonel Raevsky as a Hero of the Serbian-Turkish Wars (1876–1878)

The Serbo-Turkish wars lasted from 1876 to 1878 and were fought against the Ottoman Empire by the Principality of Serbia to liberate the occupied Serbian areas in the South and gain full sovereignty (Стојанчевић–Милићевић и др., 1981, pp. 369–407; Стојанчевић, 2014, pp. 369–383). The Serbo-Turkish wars had some changing results. The first of them, which lasted from 1876 to 1877, had brought the defeat of Serbia, while the second one held from 1877 to 1878, ended in liberating and annexing certain territories in the South, leading also to the full sovereignty of Serbia, which was approved in the Congress of Berlin in 1878 (*Срдија 1878: документи*, 1978, pp. 556–575). The areas that had been liberated and annexed to the territory of the Principality of Serbia during the Serbo-Turkish wars were those around Niš, Vranje, Pirot, and Prokuplje (Стојанчевић, 2014, p. 382).

In Serbo-Turkish wars, some Russian army squads took part as volunteers. It was not only a matter of Russian turn against the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans but also a representation of good Serbo-Russian political ties—this act was regarded mainly as help to the Orthodox brothers (Тимофејев, 2007, pp. 227–247). The Russian volunteering squads were formally independent from the Russian state (Стојанчевић, 2014, p. 370; Кузмичева, 2007, pp. 255–261). The most significant part of the Russian volunteers fought within the Timok-Morava army, the number of volunteering people here was around 2200 (Кузмичева, 2016, pp. 269–270). The significance of the Russian volunteers in Serbo-Turkish wars was immense since the Russian military had excellent training and experience in warfare; many Russian commanders, colonels, and officers had led the Serbian army on the battlefield (Кузмичева, 2016, p. 262). Under the command of Chernyayev, the Russian commander, the central part of the Serbian army was concentrated near the town of Aleksinac. It comprised three divisions and various volunteering squads, where the total number of fighting men was 68000 soldiers (Скоко и Опачић, 1981, p. 30). Under Černjajev's command was Colonel Nikolay Raevsky. Nikolay Raevsky died on August 20, 1876, on the battlefield as the person in charge of the battle in Gornji Adrovac near Aleksinac, in which the Serbian army was badly defeated (Скоко и Опачић, 1981, pp. 114, 115, 129–135).

The body of the dead Colonel Raevsky was first buried in the Monastery of Saint Roman near Aleksinac (Шемјакин, 2016, pp. 238,239) (Fig. 1). Soon after that, his mother Ana took his body, and from September 13, 1876 the remains of Colonel Raevsky started the road to his mother country, Russia (Шемјакин, 2006, pp. 107, 108). The procession of transferring the body of Nikolay Raevsky



Fig. 1. The grave of Colonel Nikolay Revsky in St. Roman monastery, photo A. Kostić



Fig. 2. The transfer of the remains of Colonel Nikolay Revsky from the monastery of St. Roman to Belgrade, online source (<https://www.aleksinac.net/lat/aleksinac/pukovnik-nikolaj-nikolajevic-rajevski-i-njegova-pogibija-u-gornjem-adrovcu.html>)

from the Monastery of Saint Roman to Belgrade and his accompaniment from Belgrade to Russia were organized as the ceremony in which the top Serbian State officials took part (Fig. 2). In the Saint Michael's Cathedral in Belgrade, which was the Cathedral Church of the Principality of Serbia at the time, the coffin with Raevsky's remains was exhibited on September 17, and the requiem service

(parastos) was held by the Serbian Metropolitan Mihailo Jovanović. Thirty Serbian high-ranking hierarchs and priests served the requiem service with Metropolitan Mihailo while the Moscow church choir sang the song *Večna ja pamjat* (Eternal Memory). Prince Milan Obrenović also paid homage to the remains of Colonel Rajevski (Шемјакин, 2006, p. 108). Starting from the Cathedral Church in Belgrade to the harbor where the boat named *Deligrad* had waited for Raevsky's body, the officials, people, and the army followed his remains together with the musicians and the volley-firing (Шемјакин, 2006, p. 108). Being celebrated as the hero of the battlefield (Макуљевић, 2006, p. 92), the Colonel's ceremonious accompaniment was to be regarded as a reflection of the intense political and religious ties with Russia and gratefulness for its volunteering and diplomatic help during Serbo-Turkish wars. All this was confirmed by the solemn tone of the event and the leading of the funeral procession by Metropolitan Mihailo, who had a significant role in political relations with Russia (Макуљевић, 2007, pp. 51–57), as well as the presence of Prince Milan Obrenović himself. Raevsky's body had been transferred to the family estate in Razumovka, where he was buried in the family tomb (Шемјакин, 2006, pp. 108, 109).

The place of his death in Gornji Adrovac was marked with a cross in 1887, 10 years after his death, which was preceded by the appeal of his family members and the personal involvement of the Serbian Queen Natalija Obrenović (Fig. 3) (Шемјакин, 2006, pp. 113, 114). A monumental memorial church was built near this monument 25 years later, at the beginning of the 20th century.

The Memorial Church to Colonel Nikolaj Raevsky

The idea of erecting the monumental church dedicated to the memory of the heroic death of Colonel Nikolay Raevsky came from his mother, Ana, who had previously come to Serbia to take over her son's remains in 1876. The final church erection started in 1901 after Maria Raevsky, a daughter-in-law, had advocated for it 25 years after Nikolai's death (Шемјакин, 2006, p. 215; Макуљевић, 2006, p. 289; 2007, p. 23). Although Raevsky's family wanted to build the church with their finances, the reasons for having waited for more than two decades to build the memorial church, among many others, should be sought in the change of the foreign policy of the Kingdom of Serbia. Namely, having signed the Treaty of San Stefano, which was the peace treaty between Russia and Turkey after the Russo-Turkish war in 1878 (Стојанчевић, 2014, pp. 378–381), the turn in Russian politics happened, which was against Serbian expectations. Russia created independent Bulgaria, according to the treaty of San Stefano, to the detriment of Serbia and its territories gained during the Second Serbo-Turkish war (1877–1878) (Јовановић, 1935, pp. 195–207, 220). Prince Milan Obrenović was deeply offended by Russia's attitude towards Serbia, so during his official visit to the



Fig. 3. The monument that commemorates the place where Colonel Raevsky was killed in Gornji Adrovac, photo A. Kostić

Russian court in 1881, he was received coldly and with rejection by the Russian Emperor, Alexander III (Ђоровић, 1999, pp. 657–658). Since Russia confirmed its policy at the Congress of Berlin, where it stood by the interest of Bulgaria at the expense of Serbia, Prince Milan went into political negotiations with Austria. He signed a secret convention purporting mutual and friendly politics between the two countries (Јовановић, 1927, pp. 56–59; 1935, pp. 207–215). Thus, Serbia was responsible for preventing the eventual political intrigues against the Austrian monarchy on its territory. In return, Austria was about to proclaim Serbia a kingdom among other European forces, which happened in 1882 (Јовановић, 1927, p. 136). From that point, the rule of King Milan was marked by Austrophile politics and reckoning with the supporters of Russia, which eventually led to the exile of two strong Russophiles and political

opponents of King Milan—the Serbian Metropolitan Mihailo Jovanović and king's wife, Queen Natalija Obrenović (Јовановић, 1927, pp. 103–106, 236–238, 331–334).

With King Milan's abdication and Aleksandar Obrenović's, his son, coming to the Serbian throne (1889), Serbian foreign policy had changed and again turned to Russia (Јовановић, 1929; 1931). All this led to favorable political and cultural frameworks that enabled the final realization of the idea of erecting the memorial church dedicated to Nikolay Raevsky. His sister-in-law, Maria Raevsky, took part in the negotiations with the Serbian State and Church in 1891 regarding the building and equipping of the church in Gornji Adrovac (Шемјакин, 2006, p. 121). Along with the financial means that had been intended for erecting and decorating the church, she sent the plan and the program of the church's interior decoration from Russia. The plan was made for 600 rubles in April 1901 by a famous Russian artist, Nikolay Aleksandrovich Bruni (Шемјакин, 2006, p. 121). The money for buying the parcels of land in Gornji Adrovac at the place where Raevsky had died was sent from Russia. The Bishop of Niš, Nikanor Ružičić, took care of all the details of buying the land and building the church since he was a student of the Kyiv Spiritual Academy and a prominent Russophile (Шемјакин, 2006, p. 121). At the public concourse for building the

church, the job was given to a contractor from Niš, Giuseppe Kolaro, an Italian by birth (Шемјакин, 2006, p. 121). The invitation to the competition was published in the daily newspaper *Dnevnik*. Titled ‘Plan for a church on the grave of the deceased Russian Colonel N. Raevsky’ the article stated:

“The family of this brave Russian officer who fell in the war for the independence of Serbia in 1876 intends to build a church on his grave in the village of Veliki Adrovac. The plan for this church is with the bishop of Niš, Nikanor. Contractors who want to build this church are invited to contact Bishop Nicanor in Mitropolia by December 20 for an overview of the plan, terms, and conditions.” (Аноним, 1901)

On March 3, 1902, a cornerstone was placed and the celebration had a state importance since there were the representative of his Highness, the Serbian King Aleksandar Obrenović, the representatives of the state elite and the local authorities, as well as the most significant diplomatic representatives of the Russian Empire in Serbia and members of the Raevsky family (Шемјакин, 2006, pp. 122–124; Стевановић, 2008, p. 237). On this occasion, a service was held in the church of Saint Petka in Trnjani, led by Bishop Nikanor of Niš (Стевановић, 2008, p. 237). After the service in the church of Saint Petka in Trnjani, the ceremony continued on Golo Brdo near Gronji Adrvac, the place where Colonel Raevsky was killed. At the monument built on that spot in 1887, the archbishop held a divine service. Then, Colonel Raevsky’s nephew laid the foundation stone as the symbol of the beginning of the erection of the memorial church (Fig. 4). Bishop Nikanor also gave a solemn speech and held a memorial service dedicated to the deceased Colonel (Шемјакин, 2006, pp. 122–124). The private event took place on a state character with the presence of many delegations and officials

from the Serbian and Russian sides. Among them were the first secretary of the Imperial Mission, P. B. Mansurov as same as the official representative of Russia, and the military envoy in Serbia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro, Colonel J. A. Leontievich (Шемјакин, 2006, p.



Fig. 4. Ceremony on the consecration of the foundation of the memorial church in Gornji Adrovac, 1902, online source (<https://www.aleksinac.net/lat/aleksinac/pukovnik-nikolaj-nikolajevic-rajevski-i-njegova-pogibija-u-gornjem-adrovacu.html>)



Fig. 5. Memorial church of Colonel Raevsky in Gornji Adrovac, photo A. Kostić

124). Since King Aleksandar Obrenović did not attend the event in person, he was represented by his adjutant, Colonel M. Kumrić. The event was attended by the minister, military lieutenant colonel, V. AntoniĆ, and the commanders of all military units in the Moravian region. The Senate and the National Assembly sent delegations, the representatives of the local government attended the ceremony, too (Шемјакин, 2006, p. 124). On this occasion, the article dedicated to the memory of Colonel Raevsky was published on the first page of the daily newspaper *Dnevnik*. The text provides information from the colonel's biography and his role in the Serbian-Turkish wars, it also highlights the fraternal bond between Russian and Serbian people regarding the participation of Russian volunteers in the previous wars. The article also reports on the officials who attended the ceremonial event (Аноним, 1901). The next day, the Raevsky family members had a reception at the Serbian Royal Court, together with the Russian diplomacy (Шемјакин, 2006, p. 125), which was also taken as the proof of good diplomatic relations between the two countries.

The church had been erected and fully equipped by September 1903 (Fig. 5) (Шемјакин, 2006, p. 126; Макуљевић, 2007, p. 23). It was built as a crossed single-dome church, with a half-circle altar apse and four little open narthexes, which had been placed at the angles of the cross-section of the cross's arms. Its facade was coated with mosaic yellow plates, installed within the shape of

the crosses on the red surface, which contributed to the picturesqueness of the church. The architectural style of the church was highlighted in the printed media of the time as a traditional Russian, Kievan-Rus, and Neo-Byzantine style (Јовић, 2003, p. 158). The very architecture of the Church in Gornji Adrovac represented the most modern form of Russian church architecture at the moment of its building, which, as a model, had a medieval Byzantine legacy.

The icons for the iconostasis were made in Sankt-Peterburg by Nikolay Aleksandrovich Bruni. He painted 16 icons, the price of which was 5400 rubles. These icons had been sent in the boxes to Gornji Adrovac, and by the end of August 1903, they had been placed onto the iconostasis (Шемјакин, 2006, p. 125). A low wooden iconostasis rail of a historicist type has been saved to date, and the new icons became part of it in 2001–2002 when the painters from Russia—the academic painter Andrey Kozilo, a professor at the Academy of the Slavic Culture in Moscow—painted it (Fig. 6) (Јовић, 2003, pp. 156, 196–197). The original icons made by Bruni had been stolen from the church in the period after the Second World War, and we do not have any trace of them yet nor a picture of them (Јовић, 2003, p. 176; Стевановић, 2019, p. 53).

The wall painting program of the church interior served its memorial function of Nikolay Raevsky, but also contained some bases of Russian and Serbian national ideologies (Макуљевић, 2007, p. 23). The sketches for the frescoes in the church were done by a Russian artist, Viktor Mikhaylovich Vasnetsov.⁴ The inscription in the church dome directly tells us that the paintings were made according to his proposals. Vasnetsov was a famous artist and had already painted one of his most prominent works in church painting, the wall paintings for the Saint Volodymyr's Cathedral in Kyiv, around 1890 (Макуљевић, 2007, p. 185). In the same painting manner, along with the effort to renew medieval painting art, Vasnetsov made sketches for the wall paintings in the church in Gornji Adrovac. Dušan Obrenović, a painter from Kragujevac, was engaged to paint the Church in Gornji Adrovac by Vasnetsov's sketches (Макуљевић, 2007, p. 185). Although he was not an academic painter, Obrenović probably worked under the most favorable conditions, which certainly influenced him to do the work in Gornji Adrovac (Макуљевић, 2007, p. 184). He signed the majority of frescoes in the church. The wall painting program in the church expressed the ruling ideology and the foreign affairs policy of King Aleksandar Obrenović that was oriented towards Russia. The lower church zones were thematically separated into the northern and southern side. On the northern side, the most prominent was the Russian national ideology, while on the southern, it was the Serbian national ideology. The works represented the most significant saints and critical events in Russian and Serbian medieval history (Макуљевић, 2007, p. 23).

⁴ More recent research considers Yuri Vasnetsov as the author of the sketches for the frescoes (Шемјакин, 2006, p. 131).



Fig. 6. Interior of the memorial church in Gornji Adrovac, photo A. Kostić



Fig. 7. The Christianization of the Russians, southern wall of the church, photo A. Kostić

Thus, the northern side contains some monumental standing figures of Prince Vladimir and Princess Olga and a monumental scene, ‘The Christianization of the Russians’ with Prince Vladimir, shown in the middle of the composition along with the Metropolitan Mihailo and numerous population of Kyiv that had gone through the Christianization in the river Dnieper at the end of the 10th century (Fig. 7). On the western wall of the naos, there is a monumental standing figure of Saint Alexander Nevsky on the northern part and of Prince Lazar on the southern part of the wall. Above these saints’ figures, there is a medallion with the portrait of Colonel Nikolay Raevsky⁵ in the central part of the western wall, emphasizing the memorial character of the church (Fig. 8). Saint Alexander Nevsky and Prince Lazar were highly appreciated saints in the Serbia during the 19th century (Симић, 1958, pp. 5–21; Хан, 1958, pp. 63–74; Миловановић Межински, 2013, p. 14). They were painted under the Raevsky portrait in order to emphasize his heroic death. Saint Alexander Nevski was the protector of soldiers and one of the prominent defenders of the Orthodox faith, as was Prince Lazar, who died in Kosovo defending Serbia and Orthodoxy from the Turks (Макуљевић, 2006, pp. 78–82). Nikolay Raevsky died as a volunteer

⁵ The portrait was painted according to the model given by the Serbian artist Stevan Todorović.



Fig. 8. Saint Alexander Nevsky, Saint Prince Lazar, and medallion with a portrait of Colonel Raevsky, the western wall of the church, photo A. Kostić



Fig. 9. The Coronation of the First Serbian King, Stefan the First-Crowned, the northern wall of the church, photo A. Kostić

in the Serbian-Turkish war 1876, fighting with the fraternal Serbian people in the final liberation from the Turks. He died as a hero for the Serbian national cause and the Orthodox faith, as well as Prince Lazar, who is depicted under his portrait as a martyr with a severed head in his hand.

While painting the rest of the church in Gornji Adrovac, Dušan Obrenović used Vaznjecov's templates; still he independently realized the southern side of the church with representations of Serbian Saints and events from Serbian national history, using previously established iconographic solutions in Serbian art. On the southern wall, there are paintings of Saint Mother Angelina, a Serbian Despotess, Saint Despot Stefan Visoki, and a monumental historical composition, 'The Coronation of the first Serbian king, Stefan the First-Crowned' (Fig. 9). The Coronation of the first Serbian King is placed in the church's interior. Stefan Nemanjić is represented in the centre of the scene in a kneeling position, being crowned by his brother Archbishop Sava. Crowds of people of all ages and classes attend the coronation. The iconographic solution was established in Serbian art in the middle of the 19th century by Anastas Jovanović, which was accepted and applied by other Serbian artists such as Dušan Obrenović (Макуљевић, 2007, p. 185). The choice of the saints surrounding the Coronation scene, Saint Mother Angelina and Saint Despot Stefan Visoki, is not accidental because it points

again to the historical struggle and attempt to preserve the Serbian state from the non-Orthodox conquerors, the Austro-Hungarians and the Turks. Once again, the wall-painting program in the church underlines the importance of Raevsky's sacrifice in the Serbian-Turkish war and the general help of Russia to Serbia as a mighty empire and protector of Orthodoxy in the Balkans during modern times.

In the dome's corner squinches, there were the paintings of the Evangelists, while in the tambour stood the pictures of the apostles. The dome shows God the Father in his glory with an inscription testifying that Dušan Obrenović painted the church according to Vasnjecov's designs (Fig. 10). The half-calotte of the altar's apse contains the representation of Jesus Christ on the throne, surrounded by angels.⁶ From the arches that carry the dome up to the vaults, all the other vacant surfaces of the church have been filled with ornaments inspired by the Russian medieval religious painting. One of the recurring decorative motifs is the heart motif. The heart motif is related to Raevsky's wish to leave his heart in Serbia upon his death, so this decoration was to commemorate the Colonel.

The complex program of the wall painting of the church in Gornji Adrovac, besides memorization of the deceased Colonel Raevsky, stood as a symbol of Serbian cultural, spiritual, and national ties with Russia. This idea was again emphasized with the celebration of the church's consecration. The church was consecrated by Nikanor Ružičić, the Bishop of Niš, on September 2, 1903, and the act itself had a state-and-church character although it was more modest than the act of consecrating the foundations of the church. The reasons for this can be found in the political and dynastic changes after the May Coup (May 29, 1903), in which the rebels brutally killed King Aleksandar and Queen Draga Obrenović (Јовановић, 1931, pp. 353–359). This event marked the end of the Obrenović dynasty and the arrival of the Karađorđević dynasty on the Serbian throne. Despite the changes on the Serbian throne in favour of the Karađorđević dynasty, the memorial church in Gornji Adrovac and the death of Nikolay Raevsky remained the symbols of good diplomatic, cultural, and national ties between Serbia and Russia. During the consecration ceremony, delegations representing the leading state institutions and the new king were present. The new Karađorđević dynasty with king Petar attached itself to the memory of the Russian Colonel Raevsky by establishing continuity in Russian-Serbian relations through the mechanism of multiplying interpretations of the past (Тимоотијевић, 2004, p. 23). On that day, the Raevsky family organized a lunch with a tip for the soldiers of the third battery of the first mountain artillery regiment who attended the consecration ceremony of the church (Аноним, 1903; Стевановић, 2019, p. 46). On the occasion of the consecration of the church, a postcard was issued with a picture of the church and a picture of Colonel Raevsky's cap (Стевановић, 2019, p. 45; Спирић, 2021, p. 89).

⁶ In the literature, it is often wrongly stated that the Virgin Mary is painted in the altar apse (Поповић, 2002; Јовић, 2003, p. 154; Стевановић, 2019, p. 47).



Fig. 10. The wall painting of the dome in a memorial church in Gornji Adrovac, photo A. Kostić

The Church in Gornji Adrovac as a Transfer of Russian Religious Art to Serbian Soil

Apart from being an outstanding example of the connection between art and politics, the memorial church in Gornji Adrovac also represented a unique transfer of artistic ideas that had become an essential component of a broader transformational process in the religious art and visual culture at the territory of the Kingdom of Serbia. This transfer of the Russian artistic forms had shown its significance for religious painting in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Namely, one of the painting models that were present in late 19th century Serbia religious art was a Russian model of the icon-painting (Макуљевић, 2007, pp. 159–181). It was supported by the high church hierarchy in the Serbian Orthodox church led by the Metropolitan Mihailo Jovanović. Metropolitan Mihailo wanted to transform Serbian religious painting by adopting the Russian icon painting model. His activities resulted in the painters of the second half of the 19th century turning to Russia and educating themselves at the Russian academies and monastic icon-painting workshops (Макуљевић, 2007, pp. 52–53; Костић, 2022, pp. 91–93). In his opinion, these painters would perform in the “Orthodox spirit”, unlike their colleagues educated in non-Orthodox countries and Academies. To Metropolitan Mihailo and the high church hierarchy that had followed his ideas, the Russian model of religious painting was considered a rightful faith. (Макуљевић, 2007, pp. 52–53; Костић, 2022, pp. 91–94) The painting model and the iconography used in the memorial Church in Gornji Adrovac brought the contemporary solutions from the most elite Russian icon-painting stream that had been developed through the works of the painters from the Abramtsevo circle (Макуљевић, 2007, p. 185). This painting circle was occupied with the idea of restoring the Russian medieval art; the painters that were gathered around it tried to reconstruct the medieval painting forms and models. The most prominent painters of this group were Viktor Vasnjecov, who did the sketches for the wall paintings in Gornji Adrovac. Besides Vasnjecov, other prominent painters who belonged to Abramtsevo circle were Njedorov and Vrubel, who took part in the restoration and the painting of the Saint Sophia Church in Kyiv (Макуљевић, 2007, pp. 160, 177).

The work of Dušan Obrenović in painting the Church in Gornji Adrovac was of great importance for his personal artistic development, but also for accepting the Russian painting model in Serbian religious art in the late 19th and early 20th century. Although Obrenović did not have a formal academic education, by introducing himself to the sketches of Viktor Vasnjecov during his work in Gornji Adrovac, he accepted the contemporary solutions of the Russian religious painting. He continued with their application in his work, combining them with the templates from Serbia. Through painting the icons for the iconostases, he accepted the Russian solutions of icon-painting, which had originated from the circle in Abramtsevo that Vasnjecov belonged to (Макуљевић, 2007, pp. 184, 185). Thus, the church painting of Dušan Obrenović brought to Serbia some

contemporary solutions from the most elite stream of Russian icon painting, spreading them forward. Apart from his works in Gornji Adrovac, Dušan Obrenović painted the iconostases in Bresnica, Knić, Glibovac, Železnik, Seča Reka, and Goračići, together with some individual icons for many churches at the territory of the Kingdom of Serbia (Макуљевић, 2007, p. 184).

Conclusion

The process of erecting the memorial church for Colonel Raevsky in Gornji Adrovac was influenced by many circumstances, such as internal political affairs in the state, changes of rulers and dynasties on the Serbian throne, as well as relations in the foreign policy between Serbia and Russia. Although the initiative to build the church came from the personal desire of the Colonel's family and finances, the whole process had a state character since Serbian and Russian officials and church clergy participated. Confirmation of good relations with Russian diplomacy was also confirmed by the reception of the Raevsky family with the royal couple Obrenović after laying the foundation stone for the church. With the change of dynasty on the Serbian throne, the solemn character was maintained in the memorialization of the image of Colonel Raevsky, which was confirmed by the presence of state delegations at the event of the consecration of the church. The ceremonies that were organized during the construction of the church allowed it to be seen as a symbol of the national, political, and religious ties between Serbia and Russia. This was also confirmed by its furnishing and the well-thought-out wall painting program of the church, in which representations of saints and critical events from the history of the Serbian and Russian peoples were created. Most of the wall painting program of the church, which was performed by the Serbian artist Dušan Obrenović, was based on the sketches of one of the most respected Russian painters of the second half of the 19th century, Viktor Vaznetsov. Accepting the poetics of the Russian contemporary religious art and iconographic patterns during his work in Gornji Adrovac, Dušan Obrenović disseminated the modern Russian painting model in the Serbian environment through his later works.

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Спомен-црква у Горњем Адровцу као симбол српско-руских
 културних, политѣких, националних и уметѣничких
 вѣза на крају XIX и почетком XX века

Резимѣ

Црква Свѣѣ Тројице у Горњем Адровцу је спомен-црква посвећѣна руском пуковнику Николају Николајевичу Рајевском, који је погинуѣо као добровољац у прѣом Српско-турском рату 1876. године у бици на Голом Брду када је српска

војска коју је предводио доживела пораз. Учешће руских добровољаца у српско-турским ратовима (1876–1878) било је од великог значаја за Србе, будући да је посматрано као руска помоћ православној браћи у борби против Османског царства. Одмах након погибије пуковника Рајевског у српској средини отпочео је процес његове меморијализације као хероја бојног поља. Његово тело је сахрањено прво у порти манастира Светог Романа да би убрзо након тога уследио свечани пренос посмртних остатака у отаџбину Русију. Пренос тела пуковника Рајевског из Србије у Русију попримио је државни карактер и био је симбол добрих односа између две државе. Убрзо након чина преноса посмртних остатака Николаја Рајевског у Русију уследила је идеја о подизању спомен-храма на месту погибије у Горњем Адровцу. Иако је иницијатива за подизање спомен-цркве потекла од његове породице, на сам процес подизања храма утицале су многе околности, као што су унутрашње политичке прилике у држави, смене владара и династија на српском престолу, као и односи у спољној политици Србије и Русије. Поменуте околности утицале су на динамику реализовања идеје спомен-храма у Горњем Адровцу и његово коначно подизање и опремање окончано 1903. године, 25 година након погибије пуковника Рајевског. У тренутку када је подигнута и опремљена, црква је постала симбол добрих културних, политичких и црквених веза две државе, Србије и Русије. Свечаности организоване поводом освећења темеља и завршетка градње цркве подцртавале су управо такав контекст. Потврду добрих односа са руском дипломатијом представљао је и дочек породице Рајевски код краљевског пара Обреновић након полагања камена темеља за цркву. Симбол добрих културних и политичких веза двају народа и држава представљао је и програм зидног сликарства цркве, који је садржао представе изузетно поштованих руских и српских светитеља и кључних догађаја из српске и руске националне историје. Сам процес изградње, опремања и осликавања цркве представљао је добар пример уметничког трансфера. План за храм, као и иконостасна преграда и иконе на њој донети су из Русије. Већи део програма зидног сликарства цркве, који је извео српски уметник Душан Обреновић, заснован је на скицама једног од најцењенијих руских сликара друге половине XIX века, Виктора Вазњецова. Архитектура, ентеријер и зидно сликарство спомен-цркве у Горњем Адровцу представљали су тако најсавременији израз руске уметности на тлу Србије и естетски идеал у тадашњој црквеној уметности.

Кључне речи: Николај Николајевич Рајевски; Горњи Адровац; спомен-црква; црквена уметност; српско-турски ратови.



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