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## The Development of Arts in the Context of the Stroganovs' Activity as Ktitors and Art Patrons in the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> Centuries

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**Abstract.** The Stroganovs, known in the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries as merchants, industrialists and landowners, left a deep mark in the history of not only the economy, but also of the culture of Russia. There is the vast scientific literature covering various aspects of the family members' life, but their ktitor (founder and donator of church building) and art patronage activities of that time were not specifically studied. Only certain aspects were considered in the context of scientific searches in the field of art history. The authors of the article show that primarily the ktitor activity of the Stroganovs was consisted in the construction of numerous parish churches at their own expense during the development of the vast Ural-Pomor lands. This activity acquires great spiritual and cultural significance with the construction of magnificent stone Cathedrals (Sol'vychevodsk, Nizhny Novgorod, etc.), especially the family Blagoveshchensky (Annunciation) Cathedral (1560-1584) in Sol'vychevodsk, in which even a ktitor's place was arranged. Concerns about providing the churches with everything necessary led to the foundation by the Stroganovs icon painting and book-writing workshops, decorative needlework and silver jewellery making, and the support of the Usol'e (Stroganov) masters of chanting. With a certain degree of conventionality for that time, the Stroganovs can be called not only ktitors, but also patrons of the arts. The theme of patronage of art and culture development by individuals in certain historical periods is often found in world science, but as a rule, on the examples of the Modern Age period. A few works are known about medieval patronage (about European rulers mainly). Therefore, the presented work highlighting the rare theme of patronage in Russia in the late Middle Ages complements the data of this issue at the world level. Thus, the purpose of the researching is to present in a generalized form the phenomenon of the flourishing of arts in the Stroganovs' possessions precisely in the context of the formation and development of their activity as founders and donators of church building and art patrons in the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries. This multifaceted activity is interpreted as the basis for the development of arts in the period under review. On the basis of the available scientific data, including one belonging to the authors, as well as with the involvement of new materials, a generalizing analysis of Stroganov masters' works of art is also presented. The most significant scientific approaches are the complexity and interdisciplinary of the study. The results of solving the posed issue complement the

modern scientific knowledge about the ways of development of art and ecclesiastical culture of Russia.

**Keywords:** Russian culture and art of the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries, clan of the Stroganovs, ktitor, patronage activities, outstanding works of art and architecture, late Russian Middle Ages.

Research area: theory and history of art.

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In the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century small settlements on the trade routes to Siberia are appeared. They were founded by the people from Novgorod and Suzdal' and were called Chernigov, Vybor, Sol'vychegodsk (Usol'e Vychegodskoe). The trading opportunities and setting up new ventures attracted numerous men of business. Thus, Feodor Stroganov settled down in the suburbs of Sol'vychegodsk and by the end of the century had two houses here (Vvedensky, 1962: 17). After Feodor's death his sons took up salt production. The youngest son Anika (born in November 1497) became the founder of the powerful branch in the Stroganovs' family – the clan of eminent merchants and manufacturers from Sol'vychegodsk. The Usol'e (the place for salt production) Vychegodskoe (on Vychegda River) became the family nest for many decades. Founded as a trading and manufacturing centre it turned into a rapidly developing town in the course of time. Anika got his father's house in Usol'e and in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century he was already a landowner. Half of the suburb land was belonged to him (Vvedensky, 1922: 93). It is here, on the banks of the Vychegda River where the special Stroganovs' world was created.

In accordance with his social status Anika Stroganov finished building his new spacious Chambers in 1565. Near the Chambers there were numerous household buildings; in 1560 Anika laid the foundation of the stone Blagoveshensky (Annunciation) Cathedral on the bank of the river. Its construction was finished after the Anika Stroganov's death (September, 2, 1569). His sons Yakov, Grigory and Semyon

continued their father's business. In spite of the formal division of their property the Stroganovs always were united and defended the interests of the clan. Each of their houses presented a complicated household with a great number of buildings and living spaces for the masters and servants. In the early 17<sup>th</sup> century walls, towers and gates fortified the Stroganovs' Chambers, Cathedral, buildings and workshops. Hard work was going on behind reliable walls, high art was born.

The economic and financial power of the manufacturers grew due their competence in the salt production business, which was concentrated in their hands. The most important income item was also fur trading which expanded after the Stroganovs got the Perm' lands. According to the Tsar's letter the Stroganovs delivered the most precious goods to the court. For executing trade operations on a regular basis they built their residences in numerous towns of Russia. Anika Stroganov was the first representative of family who started purchasing land in Moscow (Vvedensky, 1962: 232, 275).

The multiplication of the Stroganovs' riches started with the exploration of the Prīkam'e (territories along the Kama River) or Velikopermskie (Perm' the Great) lands. The first letter patent issued by the Tsar Ivan IV in April, 4, 1558 was given to Anika's son Grigory Stroganov. It allotted him the territories on both banks of the Kama River and all other rivers and rivulets flowing into it. In the following years the Stroganovs managed to get new letter patents for lands and benefits in Perm' the Great

(1564, 1568, 1597, 1615 etc.). By the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the Stroganovs' lands occupied the half of Prikam'e territories explored by Russian people. Grigory and Yakov stayed in these places for a long time developing their towns – Orel and Nizhne-Chusovskoy. Initially their father Anika frequently visited these lands helping to put everything in order. Approximately in 1560 he founded the Spaso-Preobrazhensky (Savior Transfiguration) Monastery on the Pyskorka River where before his death he took the monastic vow (Dmitriev, 1889: 109).

The Stroganovs' Pomorskie and Velikopermskie lands were gaining more and more weight in Russia's economy. The Stroganovs became regular court suppliers. During the Livonian war the Tsar demanded money credits. In the following years the Stroganovs often provided the financial support to the government (Vvedensky, 1962: 34, 125, 130). For outstanding public service Anika's grandchildren were the only ones in Russia who were granted with the title of "eminent people" ("imenitye lyudi") in 1610. Since then the Stroganovs' names like the boyars' ones were written with the full patronymic (*Yakovlevich*, *Grigorevich*, *Semyonovich*).

The Stroganovs' activities in the development of the Urals and Siberia corresponded to the far-sighted policy of Tsar Ivan the Terrible and were supported, including by the Russian Orthodox Church. It was deeply rooted in society, determined the spiritual world of both the Stroganovs themselves and their workers. Gradually, the local population through Christianization was included in the household structure of the Stroganovs' patrimonies, which ensured economic growth in the conditions of peaceful coexistence of different ethnic groups.

The exploration of new lands was accompanied with building churches for satisfying the religious needs of the Russian people and adaptation of the locals (those who were involved in salt production and other manufactures) to Christianity. Thus, in April 1559 Makary, the Metropolitan of all the Russia, gave Grigory Stroganov a permission to build churches in new lands and employ the necessary clergy of a parish; these churches were freed from "the metropolitan's contribution" and all other du-

ties. In May 1565 the Stroganovs in response to their petition received the Metropolitan's "blessing letter": the Stroganovs' Father superiors and priests were given the right to baptize coming foreigners, unbaptized people according to the Church Charter (Vvedensky, 1962: 42–43).

The Stroganovs were not the first to erect cathedrals in their possessions at their own expense. At the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the Nagiy family built the Annunciation Church near Vladimir, and the Golokhvastovs – the Church of the Nativity of Christ in Yurkin (Moscow Region). A striking example of patrimonial the churches of the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century are the Cathedrals erected on the initiative of Boris Godunov, the Sheremetevs family. But the activity of the Stroganovs as founders and donators of church building, which encompassed a vast territory in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries, is notable for its extraordinary scope. On the expenses of their possessions they erected many parish wooden churches. The unique drawings have been preserved that testify to their construction in the hipped roof church style (Vvedensky, 1962: 198). The beginning of stone church building at Stroganovs concerns to 1560, time of the starting of a construction of their Blagoveshchensky (Annunciation) Cathedral, consecrated in 1584 (Fig. 1). The massive Cathedral was crowned with five bulbous domes. Moscow masters Feodor Savin and Stefan Aref'ev created its frescoes: (Preobrazhensky, 2017: 156–231).

The Stroganovs ordered the icons to the best masters of the Tsar's Armory – Prokopy Chirin, Istoma Savin, Nazary Istomin. The exterior and interior of the Cathedral correspond to the ancient Moscow traditions of architecture, which follows from the general design solution, the volume of semi-circular apses, the partitioning of facades and combination of a severe monolithic, almost devoid of decor exterior with a spacious interior.

Heir of the Stroganov Empire, a powerful ally of Peter the Great, the Eminent Man Grigory Dmitrievich Stroganov continued the church building activity of the family and erected in Sol'vychegodsk no less majestic Cathedral –

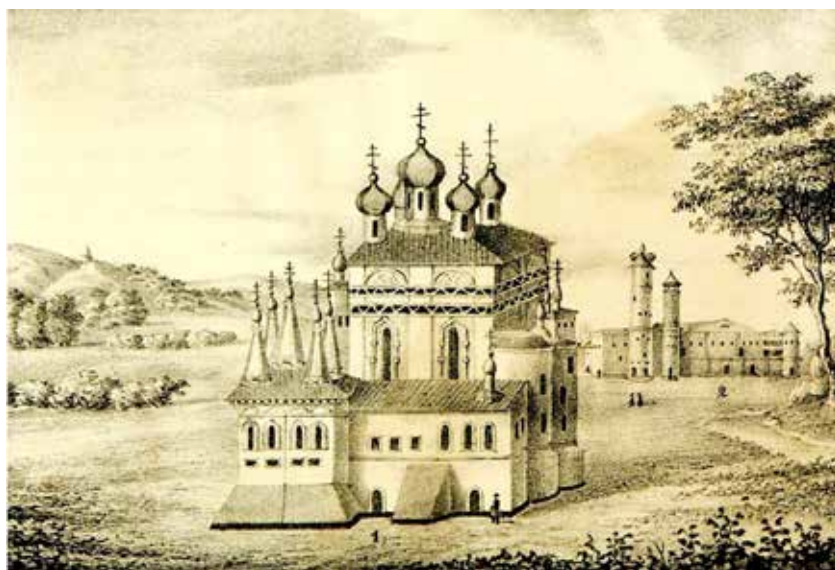


Fig. 1. Stroganovs' Cathedral of Annunciation and Chambers in Sol'vyhegodsk. Engraving of the 19th century

Vvedensky (Introduction of the Virgin to the Temple) in 1689–1693. It is close to Blagoveshchensky Cathedral in its size and volume, the main compositional features. But it reflected a new stylistic direction in architecture – the Russian Baroque (Braytseva, 1977: 25)<sup>1</sup>.

New churches demanded necessary equipment for divine services – icons, books, silver cups etc., which cost a lot. Possessing a great fortune the Stroganovs could employ and keep the best masters, create the own art workshops. Their lands, which were a state within a state, gave rise to the development of art as well. The Stroganovs could easily keep up with the capital feudal aristocracy in matters of spiritual needs. The family started to support arts since the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Initially it was triggered by practical reasons mostly.

The construction of new churches in developing lands, the erection of the Blagoveshchensky Cathedral, monasteries and living separate Chambers for each family of the clan led to increase in the number of icon-painters among

the house-bonded people and serfs. There were other icon painters as well hired for temporary contracts. According to the documentary sources the Stroganovs opened their own icon workshops in the 1580s. The description of Nikita Grigorevich's place of living says that near the master's Chambers there were "people's rooms" located between "the icon workshop and a big log house"; at the back yard there was a place for eating near the icon chamber. Maxim Yakovlevich, Nikita's cousin, among his possessions kept icon equipment, boxes with icon paints and different ochres (Vvedensky, 1924: 23–24, 32).

The most active period of the Stroganovs' icon painting fell on the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> – the first quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The greater part of these icons was kept in the treasury under the Cathedral in two storage rooms (Vvedensky, 1962: 187). The collection includes hundreds of icons made for different churches, donations, gifts and for sale. The most expensive icons were created by the hired best masters (sometimes by the Tsar's icon painters) and were meant for the masters' Chambers.

Russian scholars of the 19<sup>th</sup> century introduced the concept of "Stroganov icon painting school" (Rovinsky, 1856). Its stylistic origin

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that the sons of Grigory Dmitrievich, barons Stroganovs continued his father's ktitor activity. At their expense in the Perm possessions by the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the churches were built in Novy Usolye, Orel-town, Dedyukhin, Zyryansky, etc.

was widely debated (Parfentiev, 2004: 5–10). Modern science considers the Stroganov icon painting as one of the stylistic directions in the Russian art of the late 16<sup>th</sup> – early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, characterized by refinement and detailing. This provision was most definitely formulated by I.N. Dmitriev. The scholar conditionally defined this style as a “school” as far as its icons created by the local and the tsar’s masters differ from other works, including those ones created in the tsarist workshops. The Stroganovs should be given credit for supporting this style, contributing to its development and keeping the samples (Dmitriev, 1955: 646, 650). Some modern scholars accept this term “Stroganov school”, others, on the contrary, are against it.

The sources fall into two groups of Russian icon painting connected with the Stroganovs’ family. The first group is the biggest one – these are icons made in the workshops of Sol’vychevodsk. The best samples were left in the Stroganovs’ family and were signed by their icon painters whose names became thus known. The masters’ activities were supervised and totally controlled by the Stroganovs. Their icon painters formed own traditions, which passed from generation to generation (“made by Ivan, Sobolev’s pupil”). At present there is too little information about it; on the whole the masters did not work out their own universal style (Vlasova, 1992). Apparently, it can be explained by the large-scale projects, which were to be performed during short periods of time (a great amount of icons for new churches in the developing lands). The icons of various origins could serve as samples for the Stroganovs’ masters: old works of archaic Byzantine and Dionysius’ traditions, of Novgorod and Moscow schools (Vlasova, 1994: 136). As a result, each master formed his own style of icon painting. At the same time it should be noted that no matter however different in these styles works of Stroganovs’ masters could seem, all of them originated from one and the same centre.

Among Stroganovs’ painters of the late 16<sup>th</sup> – early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries there was a prominent master Persha, Maxim Yakovlevich’s serf. Some of his icons are still preserved (e.g. “The week of the Holy Fathers”, “The Laying in the Tomb”, “The Mother of God”). Alongside

Persha there was Pervusha, a pupil of master Prokopy Chirin, also Maxim Yakovlevich’s serf (e.g. “The Slaughter of the Holy Fathers” et al). At times Persha and Pervusha worked together (e.g. “Deisis”). There was one more master – Mikhailo (e.g. “The Entering in the Jerusalem”, “The Holy Wives”, “The Intercession”, “The Crucifixion”, “The Assumption of Virgin Mary”, “The Last Supper”). His son Terenty with wife is mentioned in the 17<sup>th</sup> century list of the Stroganovs’ people (Vvedensky, 1922a: 69). Martem’an Elizariiev’s icons (e.g. “The Raising of Lazarus”, “The Healing of the Blind Man”) (Dmitriev, 1955: 664–665), apparently, reminded the contemporaries of master Istoma Savin’s works. Most probably this was the reason why Martem’an got his nickname – Istoma. At the turn of the centuries there was one more master in Nikita Stroganov’s icon chambers – Semyon Borozdin (e.g. “The Beginning of the Indiction”, “The Our Lady of Bogolubov”, “Koz’ma and Damian”, “The Birth of Nikola”, “The Seventh Ecumenical Council”). Some of his icons Nikita Grigorevich presented to the Blagoveshensky Cathedral (1601). The Stroganovs’ icon painters also include Emel’an Moskvitin (“The Council of Apostles”, “The Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace”, “In Thee We Rejoice”) (Taktashova, 1981: 7–8). Judging by his nickname, Emel’yan was from Moscow and in Sol’vychevodsk he became dependent on the Stroganovs<sup>2</sup>. The hired master could quickly turn into a serf; the documents concerning the icon painter Feodor Snazin prove it: in 1638 Feodor Snazin was to paint icons for five churches (Vvedensky, 1962: 202–203).

The icons, made by the Moscow masters and the tsar’s icon painters who happened to stay at the Stroganovs’ place in Sol’vychevodsk (e.g. Prokopy Chirin during the Time of Troubles) and executed their commissions, presented the second group. The scholars state that there was a limited amount of masters as far as the Stroganovs applied only to those masters who could suit their wishes and tastes. Alongside the above-mentioned prominent icons of the Stroganovs’ masters the works of Moscow

<sup>2</sup> Obviously, this nickname Emel’yan received while living in Sol’vychevodsk. He would not have been so called in his hometown.

icon painters comprise the well-known masterpieces. They gave rise to the mainstream, which was supported and encouraged by the Stroganovs. They took great care of these works, signed them and used them later as samples.

The Stroganov style demanded great technical mastery. At the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century one of the masters, Istoma Savin, started to perform the Stroganovs' orders: first, Semyon Anikievich's order ("Our Lady of the Don"), then Maxim Yakovlevich's order ("The Saviour", "Peter the Metropolitan with Life", "The origin of the Precious Wood of the Life-giving Cross of the Lord" et al). The style of these icons belongs to the court painting of the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, though the technique is much subtler and more sophisticated (Taktashova, 1981a: 6). The master's sons – Nazary and Nikiphor – continued this tradition greatly encouraged by the Stroganovs. Some early works by Nazary Savin (1614–1616) were painted for Nikita Grigorevich often for free ("The Guardian Angel", "The Tsar of Glory" et al). In 1622 according to Andrey Semyonovich's order Nazary painted the icon "Tsarevitch Dmitry". In the 1620s, enlisted in the tsar's icon painters, he also worked for Patriarch Philaret. His brother Nikiphor Savin became famous as a master of miniature painting ("The Paternity", "St. George and the Dragon", "The Icon of the Mother of God of the Kiev Caves", "Konstantin and Elena", "Nikita the Warrior" et al).

During the Time of Troubles in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century the tsar's icon painter Ivan's son Prokopy Chirin was staying in Sol'vychevodsk (till 1616) to execute the Stroganovs' orders ("Nikita the Exorcist", "The Virgin of Vladimir with Holidays and Saints" et al). Here the master was teaching the Stroganovs' serf Pervusha. On coming back to Moscow Chirin continued his service as the tsar's icon painter. Some other Moscow masters made icons for the Stroganovs: Semyon Khromoy ("The Virgin Hodigitria of Palestine"), Stephan Aref'ev ("The Saviour Not-made-by-hands", "The Creation of the World" et al), Feodor Savin ("The Veneration of the Chains of St. Peter", "The Beginning of the Indiction". In 1600 Feodor Savin and Stephan Aref'ev stayed in Sol'vychevodsk working in the Blagoveshensky Ca-

thedral, what is reported in the graffiti of the Cathedral (Makarenko, 1918: 47).

Thus, the Stroganovs, possessing a great fortune, not only had their own icon chambers with icon painters but also hired the most outstanding Moscow masters. Their artistic preferences and stylistic peculiarities influenced other painters who did not work out any common style, though. There can be distinguished two groups or two layers of these works. The first one is the elite, the "classical" layer that was compiled by the landowners themselves by means of the local and Moscow masters collections. The Stroganovs supported and encouraged a special style, which formed a new trend in Russian icon painting of the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries (taking into account individual peculiarities of some icon painters as well). The second layer was created by the local masters and was aimed at imitating the old technique of icon painting<sup>3</sup>. It is quite evident that both artistic directions form a unique phenomenon closely connected with the Stroganovs' names – "the Stroganov icon".

One more kind of arts developed in the Stroganovs' lands at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> – throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century was decorative needlework. It is called sometimes "needle painting". Since Old Russian times the works of this craft were used in divine services and in the church decorations. These were the covers for the altar thrones and tombs of saints, hanging sheets for the icons, large veils, covers of church vessels, the clothes of clergymen (felon', saccos, surplice, etc.), intended for the solemn rites of the shroud and gonfalon. Needlework was one of the main occupations for the medieval woman. The prince and boyar courts as well as some other wealthy people had their own workshops or "svetlitsas" (attics) where their wives and daughters alongside professional embroideresses worked.

The sources provide evidence that Stroganov needlework began at the time of Anika Feodorovich and was developed by his sons, grandsons and great grandsons. Semyon Anikievich's wife – Evdokiya Nesterovna – and

<sup>3</sup> In later times, the Stroganovs also demanded that their icon painters adhere strictly to ancient iconography (Kazarinova, 1992: 83).

Peter Semyonovich's wife – Matrena Ivanovna – worked in one of these “svetlitsas”. Dmitry Stroganov's wife – Anna Ivanovna performed a great amount of works. These women worked together with house female-serfs and hired workers (e.g. the steward Alexey Agapov's wife etc.) (Georgievskaya-Druzhinina, 1929: 127).

The Stroganov needlework is famous for its sophisticated technique. The works of the late 16<sup>th</sup> – early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries present colourful pictures embroidered with bright silk and moderate use of gold (gilded) threads, giving images a golden glow, which made them resemble the icon painting. In the following years the gold threads start to dominate. It is already a genuine gold needlework, which imitates an icon in precious setting. The majority of scholars claim that icon painters took part in creation of these works. After a special silk fabric was chosen – satin or taffeta – painters started their work and drew a picture on this fabric. Then embroideresses started their work using various silk as well as gold and silver threads and precious stones. One of the most favourite materials was pearl. Previously strung on a thread pearl seeds were attached to the fabric according to the contour of the drawing. The Stroganovs' lands were also famous for pearl industry. Near Sol'vychevodsk on the Iksa River the Stroganovs' people were growing and producing pearly bodies (Vvedensky, 1962: 182). These pearls decorated the setting of icons and were used in needlework.

As far as all needlework was meant for churches, the pictures were devoted to those holidays and saints in whose honour they were built. E.g., Nikita Stroganov presented gonfalon “The Annunciation” made with the help of gold, silver and silk threads to the Blagoveshensky (Annunciation) cathedral. The twelve names of the saints were embroidered on the margins of this church banner; their names were given to the side-chapels of the Cathedral: St. John the Evangelist, St. Simeon Stolpnik (Stylites), St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Aleksey the Metropolitan of all Russia and others (Silkin, 1984: 42). Frequently the needlework was created for contribution to monasteries. In such cases it depicted the saints

of the corresponding cloister. Anna Ivanovna Stroganova's workshop in 1658–1661 produced the epigonation (part of the clergy's garment) and two veils depicting the miracle-workers from the Solovetsky Monastery – Zosima and Savvaty. All these works were contributed to the Solovki from the Stroganov family. For the Troitse-Sergiev (Trinity-Sergius) monastery Anna Ivanovna, being a widow already, chose a veil “St. Sergius of Radonezh” (1671). According to the traditions of that time the Stroganovs also practiced embroidering of the names of their saints. In October, 1656 Anna Ivanovna's workshop produced a veil “The Tsarevich Dmitry with the saints”. Among the most worshipped saints one can also find women-martyrs Anna and Pelageya (eponymouses of the mother Anna and her daughter) and Tsarevich Dmitry (Dmitry Andreevich's (the father) namesake).

Not breaking with the traditions of the past the Stroganovs' needlework craftsmen worked out their own artistic peculiarities, which became prominent in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The features of the saints' faces, which were depicted in two dimensions without shading shading, were first outlined in black thread and later differed in a certain pattern with subtle contrasting shadows. In the majority of works there was a specific technique of eyes drawing resembling the glasses. Figures and folds of clothes were depicted with salient silver contours. In some works elongation of figures, the affectation manner of movements and gestures, which have passed from icon painting, are observed. But in mature works of the Stroganov style, figures are squat, with shortened proportions.

The veils, covers, shrouds had a wide borders where the saints were depicted or inscriptions in Old Slavonic lettering, which acquired the character of ornament. The background, which was done by means of gold threads, turned into a precious setting. All this was accompanied by great thoroughness and virtuosity. The peak of Stroganov needlework and the creation of a unique style dated back to the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Georgievskaya-Druzhinina, 1929: 121, 128; Svirin, 1963: 120–122).

At present the scholars have found about 50 works made in the Stroganovs' "svetlitsas" (needlework chambers). The available documentary sources also dwell upon approximately the same number (Silkin, 1984: 42, 45). Besides the above-mentioned works one should single out one of the oldest pieces of art – "The Laying in the Tomb", the shroud of Christ, which was granted in 1591/92 by Nikita Stroganov to the Blagoveshensky Cathedral. This work is well preserved and marks the initial stage in the development of Stroganov needlework (Likhacheva, 1987: 119). In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, especially since its middle, the amount of works is on the increase, their size is also growing. The big pyle (veil) from Anna Ivanovna's workshop depicts Tsarevich Dmitry who was a patron saint of Dmitry Stroganov, her husband. The pyle of 1651 contributed to the Blagoveshensky Cathedral by Dmitry Andreevich himself (1654) is of special importance. The inscription says that nun Marfa, called Veselka, and Anna Ivanovna made it (Georgievskaya-Druzhinina, 1929: 122).

It should be mentioned that alongside laywomen there was a nun in the workshop. Among the goods made in the Stroganov "svetlitsas" there were double-sided ones (having a mirror image on the inner side). Such technique is extremely sophisticated and is mainly applied for gonfalons. The church banners of the 17<sup>th</sup> century – "The Saviour Not-made-by-hands", "The Transfiguration of Christ", "The Archangel Michael" – are well preserved (Silkin, 1984: 45). As we can see, "Stroganov needlework" developed into a complicated, impressive and original art.

The decoration of new churches demanded the iconostasis design, the production of divine crosses and cups, icon and book frames, lanterns and other things connected with the silversmiths' craft. The living chambers also needed silver utensils. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century Anika Stroganov had silversmiths among his people who were after his death "divided" by his sons (Vvedensky 1962: 38). Besides these serfs the landowners also employed the craftsmen from Sol'vychevodsk and other places. Thus, the Stroganovs' masters got interconnected with various trends and grasped the achieve-

ments of other artistic centres. By the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the silversmiths from Sol'vychevodsk got recognition throughout Russia. In 1653 several Stroganovs' people and Usol'e craftsmen from townspeople were sent to Moscow to work at the design of the iconostasis frames for the Assumption Cathedral of the Kremlin (Pomerantsev, 1925: 104). A great amount of works done by the Stroganovs' silversmiths gives evidence of the real workshop, which they formed.

The documentary sources also present some data about the variety of precious things, which were kept in the Stroganovs' chambers. Maxim Stroganov, for example, had "silver and gold crosses", "gold panagia with rubies and pearls", "silver and gold panagia", folding icons in precious frames etc. (Vvedensky, 1962: 187–188). At present there exist a cup and a ladle made at the turn of 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries, which belonged to Maxim Stroganov. The cup is decorated with antique and Russian herbal ornamental patterns. Nikita Stroganov granted such cups to the vestries of different Cathedrals (Pleshanova, 1987: 105). Probably they were produced in one and the same workshop. The small ladle, which belonged to Maxim Yakovlevich, was decorated with carved inscription. The masters had a good taste and sense of harmony.

The Stroganovs donated the great amount of goods to the monasteries. They also brought silver cups, crosses and icon settings from the Usol'e to Perm lands (Vvedensky, 1962: 45, 200; Bobrovnitskaya, 1983: 62–63). The interior of the Blagoveshensky Cathedral was of great importance for the whole family. The preserved icon settings are similar in style and have a rather fractional drawing of minted patterns. As a rule the settings were decorated with crowns, stones or pearls. Some scholars assume that all of them came from the same workshop, which was likely to belong to Nikita Grigorevich (Pleshanova, 1987: 104).

The Cathedral inventory mentions "three blessed crosses framed with silver and gold", "five blessed crosses from the coffins of Yaroslav! Miracle-Workers" (Savvaitov, 1886: 40). One of the last five relics is preserved. This is an eight-pointed cross with silver and gold tips



decorated with turquoise; it is put on the wooden base and covered with gold ornament. The elements of this cross are made of the saints' coffins (Saint Princes Vasily and Konstantin of Yaroslavl'). In 1609/10 Nikita Stroganov brought this cross to the Blagoveshensky Cathedral. A bit earlier in 1605 Nikita Grigorevich donated a silver cup to the Cathedral, in 1607 – a wine bowl with a special chased ornament, characteristic to the Cathedral icon frames (Pleshanova, 1987: 104, 105).

The luxurious silver objects, made by Stroganovs' masters, are decorated by jewellery techniques: scan (filigree), chasing, carving and blackening. The ornamentation of such items is closely connected with the ancient traditions of Russian silver jewellery making. They are somewhat different from the elite works of Moscow masters of the late 16<sup>th</sup> – early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, having exquisitely sophisticated forms, aristocratic, refined decor. The Stroganovs, having a peculiar artistic taste, pointed out to the masters the best examples of church art that needed to be followed. Therefore, the pieces of silver made in their workshops are united by a single bright artistic style, which can be called "Stroganov" (Igoshev, 2017: 21–22).

In the late 17<sup>th</sup> century the Sol'vichegodsk silversmiths elaborated a new filigree technique – coloured enamels (enamel). It was used for producing everyday utensils – cups, glasses, knives and forks, boxes etc. Sometimes it was used for church decorations – icon settings, frameworks for the altar Gospels. The Usol'e enamel was characterized by vivid colour scheme on the white background. It depicted various things – birds and animals, heads of young people, biblical and genre scenes. The most typical feature was a decorative vegetative ornament – broad leaves and flowers with bending petals, which were three-dimensional. The contemporaries greatly appreciated the masters' art.

There is no doubt that Sol'vichegodsk was the centre of the Usol'e enamel. But was this art really connected with the Stroganovs' masters? Scholars are divided into two viewpoints in this matter. The first viewpoint, which connected the Usol'e enamel with the Stroganovs, was formulated by N. Pomerantsev (1925) and

became a well-spread one. The second viewpoint expressed by I. Bobrovnitskaya (1983) questioned the participation of the Stroganov family in the development of this art. I. Bobrovnitskaya states that the available documents have not confirmed the first theory yet, moreover, the Stroganovs themselves bought the enamel goods at the Sol'vychegodsk market (Bobrovnitskaya, 1983: 59–63).

Each church that belonged to the Stroganovs needed the books for divine services. They were in great demand at that time and even the book printing, which was launched in the 1550s, could not satisfy the needs for books. Till the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the books produced by Moscow and other publishing houses were as costly as manuscript books. The country experienced the constant shortage of divine books as well which gave rise to the popularity of Ukrainian and White Russian (Lithuanian) editions and led to the production of manuscript books. Under these circumstances the Stroganovs' book collection presented a great book storehouse with several copies of the same book. Later they were sent to different family churches, cathedrals and monasteries or donated as monastery funeral gifts.

Apparently, this collection developed into a famous Stroganov library even under Anika Feodorovich. It housed a great number of different books that reflected the worldview and the emerging reading tastes of the owners. The library, which belonged to Anika Stroganov and his sons by 1578 (the year when it was divided among the family members), numbered 215 books (dozens of books were donated to churches and monasteries including the Blagoveshensky Cathedral). It was one of the biggest private libraries of Russia in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and contained mainly liturgical books. One can also find in this collection moral tales for "soul instructing" reading (Margarit, Mirror, Bee etc.) as well books on the world and Russian history (Chronicles of Georgy Amartol, Chronographs, Russian Chronicler, Chronicler of Stefan Permsky etc.). One third part of the library presented printed books, which included the Frantsisk Skorina's, Moscow anonymous publishing house editions, the books of Russian print workers Ivan Feodorov and Pe-

ter Mstislavets, Andronik Nevezha and others (Mudrova, 2015: 50-74).

Anika Feodorovich's grandsons also possessed great library funds. Nikita Grigorevich got 73 books from his grandfather's collection and increased their amount to over 360 books. This collection contained liturgical and patristic books, hagiography, books on the state structure of Russia (Sudebnik, Stoglav), on ideology (The Story about Babylon, The Tale about the White Klobuk, Enlightener by Isosif Volotsky, The Book about Feodosy the Squint-eyed by Maxim Greek), on education (ABCs, Grammar books, Arithmetic), on icon painting, as well as musical chant books and others. The manuscript books there were the greater part of them. The library of Maxim Yakovlevich (another grandson of Anika Feodorovich) also numbered more than 300 books. It had the same kinds of books. Interestingly enough, Maxim Yakovlevich during his trips took "travel" books (Mudrova, 2015: 95–113).

The traditions of collecting books were passed on to the next generations of the Stroganov family. The books were kept in the living chambers and in the underground store-rooms of the Blagoveshensky Cathedral in different boxes. These collections were famous all over Russia. While compiling *The Book of Degrees* in the 1650-s in Moscow diak Grigory Kunakov even suggested making use of the Stroganovs' books (Belokurov, 1902: 78). The Stroganovs also donated a great number of books to churches and monasteries.

The formation of family libraries and book donations urged the Stroganovs to buy other expensive manuscript and printed books, hire scribes and search for new ways of solving this problem. Apparently in the early 1580-s the landowners created their own scriptorium in the Sol'vychevodsk residence and hired the first-class scribes who specialized in different things (Parfentiev, 2008). Since that time the Stroganov libraries, the Blagoveshensky and other churches started to get constant supply of chant books (it will be dwelt upon in detail further on). The close study of those manuscripts proves that often they were a collaborative work of several scribes. The names of the best masters, which have reached us, are the follow-

ing: Feodor Basov, Grigory Bazykin, Konstantin Tikhov and others.

By the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Stroganovs' scriptorium developed its own traditions of book writing and designing. Nikita Grigorevich Stroganov closely watched the whole process and managed the activities of the workshop. After his death (1616) Andrey Semyonovich took this position. Thus, great demand for books made the Stroganovs organize their own manufacture in the simplest way – by means of copying books. The family libraries mainly contained manuscripts. The Stroganovs' churches also possessed the collections of manuscript books. The inventory of the Blagoveshensky Cathedral (1606) states the church library housed no less than 195 books and only the fifth part of them was printed books (Sapunov, 1975: 40). Most probably the greater part of all the manuscripts was produced in the Usol'e scriptorium.

Particular attention is drawn to the works of brothers Stefan and Feodor Basov, made for Nikita Stroganov. Being masters of manuscript art, the brothers settled in Moscow by the middle of the 1580s. Here they formed a kind of artel (workshop), carrying out orders of "different rank of people". Obviously, the first Stroganov orders in the late 80s – early 90s Stefan and Feodor performed while living in Moscow. With the increase in these orders, they could even settle in the Moscow Stroganov's residence, forming their workshop there. But Nikita Grigorevich himself constantly lived in Sol'vychevodsk and could not leave his vast economy for a long time. Therefore, we can assume that in the second half of the 1590s and both brothers – outstanding scribes and drawing-artists – moved here, since it was then that the large artistically decorated church-singing collections were appeared (Parfentiev, 2008).

The decoration of the best and most significant Stroganov singing collections was entrusted to Feodor Basov. Often, the master decorated the manuscripts with traditional headpieces with elements dating back to popular printed books (primarily to the Apostle of Ivan Feodorov). However, often these were new, original compositions, sometimes even with the inclusion of an image of a beast (lion).

For the first time in collections, at the beginning of a book or in front of large sections, pages appear, completely filled with various images of a tree composed of elements of the same old-printed ornament. Sometimes these images are also enlivened by the location of animals and birds around them. Similar frontispieces were not found in the handwritten books of other masters and scriptoriums<sup>4</sup>.

Thus, the acquaintance of N.G. Stroganov with scribes and drawing-artists the brothers Basovs in the late 1580s turned out to be for the masters of the fact that in the early 1590s they began to perform voluminous orders of the owner of fiefdom (sets of volumes of Prologue, Menaion), and in the early 17 century actually worked only for him (Parfentiev, 2008; Sherstobitova, 2016, 2017). We also note an interesting feature that manifested itself after the brothers began to fulfil Stroganov's orders. Thanksgiving afterwords, addressed to the customer as the art patron, disappeared from their handwritten books. Most likely, the nature of the brothers' relationship with him has changed. Probably, he became their host and they worked now in his workshop.

At the same time, Feodor created the Book-Written Podlinnik (a collection of samples), which more than once attracted the attention of researchers. Other masters, including Sol'vychevodsk scribe nicknamed "Varluk", took part in the writing of this book also. They completed the manuscript in November 1604, creating a real masterpiece of Russian book-handwritten art. It obviously was to serve as a model for both young and experienced scribes of the Stroganov workshop. All the decorations in the Podlinnik were made unusually thinly and confidently, appear as quite established and finished (Parfentiev, 2008).

Thus, the Stroganovs' economic power and enormous riches created favourable conditions for keeping the best masters in different arts. The landowners themselves took part in the development of certain artistic peculiarities. All this gave rise to the formation and

development of local church musical school of "raspevshiks" (composers) and didascaloi (teachers). One of the brightest phenomenon in the Russian music of the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries was a special artistic direction called by the oldest chant masters as "Usol'skoe masteropenie" (Usol'e master singing) (Mezenets, 1996) and known in the modern science as the Usol'e or Stroganov school of church chanting. During a short period of time the Usol'e masters gained recognition along with the outstanding masters from the Moscow and Novgorod schools and other professional chanting centres.

The first records of the Usol'e masters' activity appeared in 1846 when was published the "Preface, where and since when the church eight-modes singing was appeared in Russia" (the first Russian musical and historical treatise) (Undolsky, 1846: 19–23). This document became the main source in the researches devoted to the Usol'e singing centre, which was located "in the Stroganov place". The information from the "Preface" was quoted by various scholars and used in many studies.

Gradually other sources besides the "Preface" appeared. D. V. Razumovsky found the chant collection, which belonged to the outstanding Usol'e master Ivan Lukoshkov and contained some biographical information about him (Razumovsky, 1863: 65–66). The old manuscripts also contained some raspevs (musical interpretations) of the Usol'e chant masters, which proved that the Usol'e centre mentioned in the "Preface" existed really. Among the Usol'e chants one can find the anonymous works and raspevs, created by Ivan Lukoshkov and Faddey Subotin. If we add the numerous interpretations of the separate neumas and znamennaya (neumatic) formulae, there will appear the process of intensive creative work done by the Usol'e chanters (Parfentiev, Parfentjeva, 1993).

The Stroganov singers of the church choir were taught by a didascalos who mastered the art of singing in Novgorod the Great. The "Preface" mentions some facts obtained from the pupils of Moscow chant master Feodor Krest'anin. He told them that in Novgorod the Great there were masters Savva Rogov and his brother Vasyly and that this Savva taught not

<sup>4</sup> Their researching shows that Feodor knew not only the "Large uppercase alphabet" by Dutch artist and engraver I. van Meckenem (late 15<sup>th</sup> century), but also the great Albrecht Durer's engravings (early 16<sup>th</sup> century) (Parfentiev, 2019).

only Krest'anin but also other masters – Ivan Nos, Stefan Golysh. While Feodor Krest'anin and Ivan Nos were serving at the Tsar's court in Alexandrovskaya Sloboda Stefan “was teaching different pupils in the Ussol'e land at the Stroganovs', for example, he had a pupil Ioann Lukoshkov who later took the monastic vow and the name Isaiah” (RNB. Q.I.1101: 194–202).

As we can see this documentary source mentions one more tradition that appeared in the Russian medieval music – the Ussol'e master singing, which is also of great importance like Moscow and Novgorod chanting schools. It was Stefan Golysh who is closely associated with the development of this singing centre. Here the question arises: where did this master work, what does the Ussol'e land mean? The researchers did not pay special attention to this question and usually spoke about North-Eastern part of Russia or Perm and Vologda regions, towns Ust'-Sysolsk, Solikamsk, Novoe Ussol'e etc. Studying this issue in particular we proved that Golysh's activity was closely connected with the Ussol'e art of singing in the Stroganovs' lands in Sol'vychevodsk (Parfentiev, Parfentieva, 1993: 45–47 etc.). It was the town that gave rise to the development of a new artistic musical direction in the North-East of Russia. Thanks to the Stroganovs' vital energy and wealth as well as to the talented local masters Sol'vychevodsk became a unique cultural centre of Pomor'e and the whole medieval Russia. Thus, the formation one of the leading schools of old-Russian musical art here is not accidental.

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century the Stroganovs founded not only the Blagoveshensky Cathedral but also Vvedensky Monastery. Similar to the Pyskorsky Monastery, founded by Anika Stroganov in Prikam'e, the Vvedensky Monastery in Sol'vychevodsk was a matter of high concern for the Stroganovs. They donated for it not only icons and books but also their settlements and lands. Like all Russian monasteries the Stroganovs' cloisters were greatly independent. The landowners had to write special letters in the form of contracts where they put forward some certain conditions (Dmitriev, 1889: 195–197). There are also records of lawsuits between

the Pyskorsky Monastery and the Stroganovs themselves (Dmitriev, 1890: 43).

The family Blagoveshensky Cathedral was another matter. Being for a long time the only stone construction of the Ussol'e land the Cathedral was the Stroganovs' pride and joy. The rooms underneath the Cathedral housed the family archives. Near the Cathedral there was the burial place of the family members that made the Cathedral sacred. The best samples from the icon painting and needlework chambers, silver workshops and scriptorium were collected in it. There was the place where the landowners organized their choir, which later turned into the centre of a new singing school. The most outstanding master of it (“the Ussol'e priest”) Ivan Lukoshkov worked in this Cathedral. All members of the Stroganov family (especially Nikita Grigorevich) donated a great number of chanting handwritten books for the Cathedral library.

Following data also prove in favour of the hypothesis about the emergence of “Ussol'e master-singing” at Sol'vychevodsk Blagoveshensky Cathedral. P.I. Savvaitov published the Inventory of the Cathedral compiled some years after the fire in 1579 where the name of Ivan Lukoshkov appeared several times. Thus, enumerating the mirrors, dishes and cups the author of Inventory mentions a costly china cup, which was granted by Ivan Trofimov's son Lukoshkov (Savvaitov, 1886: 77). This record contains the full name of the famous chanting master and connects him with the Blagoveshensky Cathedral: “contribution of priest Ivan Trofimov's son Lukoshkov”. If representatives of other churches or monasteries made the contribution, this fact was necessarily indicated in the Inventory. One more record proves that Lukoshkov lived near the Blagoveshensky Cathedral – a document dated December 1614 and compiled by Andrey and Peter Stroganovs according to which the old residence near the Cathedral was divided between the brothers. This paper states that Andrey got the part of the territory with the Lukoshkov's place. Further on it was mentioned as Lukoshkov's yard (RGADA. F. 1278. № 25:1). Similar data can be found in the documents of the 1620s, though at this time (like in 1614) the chanter and the

members of his family already left Sol'vyche-godsk.

There is one more peculiar reference. D. V. Razumovsky managed to find a handwritten chant book, which belonged to Lukoshkov the Archimandrite (Razumovsky, 1863: 65). "Belongs to Isaiah Lukoshkov" is written twice on the first page of the book and on each page contains such footnote: "On March, 25, 1615 this chant book belonging to Archimandrite Isaiah was donated to the stone Cathedral of Blagoveshenie (the Annunciation of the Most Holy Theotokos)" (GIM. Synod. № 819: 1–28). Being the Archimandrite of one of the most significant monasteries (Nativity Monastery in Vladimir) Lukoshkov decided to grant a chant book to the Cathedral of Sol'vychegodsk "to commemorate for himself and for his parents". What could connect him with this Cathedral? Taking into consideration all these facts we can claim that here he became the outstanding master of chanting and didascalos and started his career.

Thus, in the late 1560s – early 1570s when Feodor Krest'anin and Ivan Nos stayed at the Tsar's court in Alexandrovskaya Sloboda Stefan Golysh was living and teaching pupils in Sol'vychegodsk. At the same time he could grasp the local traditions of singing art. Stefan Golysh proved to be an outstanding chant master and got recognition in the Usol'e land. In July 1584 the Blagoveshensky Cathedral was consecrated and started to perform its functions<sup>5</sup>. The choir of chanters must have existed already. Apparently it was formed during the 1570s. It should be noted that the appearance of the choir that belonged to the prominent landowners was a common practice. The representatives of the Moscow feudal aristocracy had even their own choirs of singing and krestovye diaki<sup>6</sup>. The Stroganovs invited Stefan Golysh to teach their chanters. The master paid special attention to his most talented pupil Ivan Lukoshkov and taught him

<sup>5</sup> It is possible that some chapels of the church been in force before, since the Inventory of the Cathedral property appeared in 1579.

<sup>6</sup> For example, on December 27, 1585, the krestovye diaki of D.I. Godunov, B.F. Godunov, A.Y. Shchelkalov and V.Y. Shchelkalov came to the Chudov monastery to praise (RGADA. F. 196. № 273: 122–123).

the composition techniques, learned by himself in Novgorod.

According to the "Preface" Golysh, Lukoshkov's didascalos, at the Stroganovs interpreted a lot of chants and created his own works (RNB. Q.I.1101: 202). As far as there are no chants marked with Golysh's name (which was a typical feature of that time) we can only assume that there are some of his works in the Stroganov scriptorium books of the 16<sup>th</sup> century or among some anonymous Ussol'e chants in other collections. Like Feodor Krest'anin in Moscow, Stefan Golysh learnt and fixed some local traditions in Ussol'e thus establishing the foundation for the future activities of Ussol'e masters in the framework of the Usol'e tradition. Stroganov choir of the Blagoveshensky Cathedral in Sol'vychegodsk became its centre. The appearance of the highly professional masters also attracted the Stroganovs' interest to the art of church singing. Certain representatives of this family (Nikita Grigorevich, Maxim Yakovlevich, Andrey Semyonovich) loved this art and greatly contributed to its development. The scribes of the Stroganov scriptorium also started to copy numerous chant books. Some of the preserved manuscripts give us an idea of their design, composition and content (Parfentiev, 2008; Seregina, 1987). They testify that the Stroganov masters made an outstanding contribution to the development of old Russian church singing and book handwriting arts.

So, in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries Sol'vychegodsk, being the family nest of the Stroganov trade-industrial dynasty, became the centre of the formation and development of their activity as founders-donators of church building and art patrons. This led to the subsequent emergence and development of arts and crafts, which were called the Stroganov ones (architecture and icon painting, needle-working, book writing, silver jewellery and church singing art). The ktitor activity of family members manifested itself in the foundation and construction of monasteries, cathedrals and parish churches, the maintenance and provision of everything necessary for worship at their own expense. The consequence of this activity was the formation of

the needs of the founders and donators in the development of crafts and arts. If initially the Stroganovs had to purchase all the necessary church items for worship, then they organized and maintained the own icon painting, book-writing and other art workshops in their possessions. The decision to invite the leading masters of their time to form the arts was strategically correct. The tsar's icon painters, including the famous Procopy Chirin, worked for them in Sol'vychevodsk. The Stroganov school of church singing art was founded by the master Stefan Golysh, a pupil of Savva Rogov, who in Novgorod taught the masters, served at the court of Ivan the Terrible and subsequent tsars. The prominent scribes and drawing-artists, masters of manuscript art, the brothers Basovs worked for the Stroganovs.

As a result, the works of the Stroganovs' workshops began to be distinguished by a high level of artistic skill. With a certain degree of conventionality for that time, the Stroganovs can be called not only ktitors, but also patrons of the arts. Representatives of the dynasty were not just customers; they financially supported and formed schools as directions in art, reflecting their ideas and tastes. Being enlightened people (the Stroganovs had one of the largest library collections of the time) they not only gave commissions to already known masters, but also attracted them to teach young talented people of their own region, contributing to professional development of them. Thus the Stroganov schools arose as the leading directions of Russian art of the time in question.

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BRAN – Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences (St. Petersburg)

GIM – State Historical Museum (Moscow)

IRLI – Institute of Russian Literature (Pushkin House) of the Russian Academy of Sciences (St. Petersburg)

RGADA – Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (Moscow)

RNB – Russian National Library (St. Petersburg)



## Развитие искусств в контексте ктиторской и меценатской деятельности Строгановых в XVI–XVII вв.

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**Аннотация.** Род Строгановых, известных в XVI–XVII вв. промышленников и землевладельцев-вотчинников, оставил глубочайший след в истории развития не только экономики, но и культуры России. При наличии обширной научной литературы, освещающей различные стороны жизни и деятельности этого рода, их ктиторская и меценатская деятельность того времени специально не изучалась. Рассматривались лишь отдельные аспекты ее проявления в контексте научных поисков в области искусствознания. Ктиторская деятельность вотчинников проявлялась прежде всего в строительстве на средства Строгановых многочисленных приходских церквей в ходе освоения обширных урало-поморских земель. Огромное духовно-культурное значение эта деятельность приобретает с возведением ими великолепных соборов (Сольвычегодск, Нижний Новгород и др.), в особенности домового сольвычегодского Благовещенского собора (1560–1584), в котором было устроено даже ктиторское место. Заботы об обеспечении храмов всем необходимым привели к основанию Строгановыми деятельности иконописной и книгописной мастерских, производству лицевого шитья и художественного серебра, поддержке творчества мастеров «усольского мастеропения». С некоторой долей условности для той эпохи можно назвать Строгановых не только ктиторами, но и меценатами, покровителями искусств. Тема покровительства отдельными личностями развития искусства и культуры в те или иные исторические периоды достаточно часто встречается в мировой науке, но, как правило, на примере Нового времени. О средневековом меценатстве (главным образом европейских правителей) известны немногочисленные труды. Поэтому публикуемый труд освещает редкую для Руси проблему меценатства в эпоху Позднего Средневековья и дополняет разработку данной проблематики на мировом уровне.

Таким образом, цель статьи – представить в обобщенном виде феномен расцвета искусств в строгановских владениях именно в контексте становления и развития ктиторской и меценатской деятельности знаменитых предпринимателей. Эта многогранная деятельность осмысливается как основа для развития искусств в исследуемую эпоху. На основе имеющихся научных данных, в том числе принадлежащих авторам, и с привлечением новых материалов представлен также обобщающий анализ произведений строгановского искусства. Одним из значимых научных подходов является комплексность и междисциплинарность исследования. Результаты решения поставленной проблемы дополняют современные научные представления о путях развития искусства и духовной культуры России.

**Ключевые слова:** Русская культура XVI–XVII вв., род Строгановых, ктиторская и меценатская деятельность, выдающиеся произведения искусства и архитектуры.

Научная специальность: 17.00.09 – теория и история искусства.

Appendix 1



Stroganov Blagoveshchensky Cathedral in Sol'vychevodsk (1560–1584)



Stroganov Vvedensky Cathedral in Sol'vychevodsk (1688–1693)



Stroganov Blagoveshchensky Cathedral in Sol'vychevodsk. Iconostasis (17th century)



Stroganov Blagoveshchensky Cathedral in Sol'vychevodsk. Kitor's place (1694)

Appendix 2



Entering of the Stroganovs in the church. Fragment of the icon "Holy Mass".  
The second half of the 16th century (before 1579)



Nikita is a warrior. Procopy Chirin.  
The beginning of the 17th century



Tsarevich Dmitry is praying.  
Nazary Istomin Savin (1621/22)

Appendix 3



The laying in the Tomb. Shroud (1592)

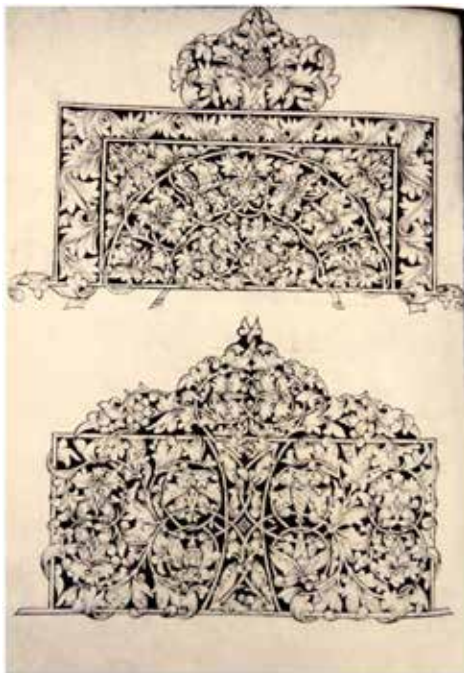


"Ustyug Annunciation". Pyle.  
The first third of the 17th century



Tsarevich Dmitry with the Saints.  
Pyle (1656)

Appendix 4



Book-written Podlinnik. Headpieces of the manuscript. Feodor Basov. About 1604



Sticheraria. Frontispiece. Feodor Basov. Early of the 17<sup>th</sup> century



Sample of book handwriting and headpieces. Stefan Basov. The beginning of the the 17<sup>th</sup> century



Sample of book headpieces decoration. Feodor Basov. The beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century