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**THE ICON BY SIMON USHAKOV AND THE GENEALOGICAL
TREE OF RUSSIAN TSARS**

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Abstract

The article deals with the problem of the origin of the genealogical trees of the Russian tsars. They are important monuments of the state ideology of Russia in the 17th and 18th centuries. The most famous genealogical tree of the Russian tsars is represented in the icon by Simon Ushakov named "The Tree of the Muscovite State" (1663). It was created by the famous Moscow icon painter Simon Ushakov for the Church of the Holy Trinity in Nikitniki (in the center of Moscow). Researchers have doubts about the place of this icon in the context of the Russian culture of the second half of the 17th century. The author analyzes not only the icon by Simon Ushakov, but also the book-miniature tradition. There are two more examples of a similar composition in the book miniature. The first composition in the manuscript of the Book of Degrees (1670): Russian State Library, Fund 178, number 4288. The second composition is in the Synodic (Obituary or a list of dead persons who should be prayed for), belonged to Princess Tatiana Mikhailovna, the daughter of Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich (1676–1682): State Historical Museum, Resurrection Monastery Collection, number 66. The main conclusion of the paper is that three compositions of the genealogical Trees of Russian tsars appeared in the 1660s. The author argues that the earliest of them should be dated 1661.

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1. Introduction

The presentation of the supreme power was the most important ideological task in different countries of the Middle Ages and Modern Times. Since the people of that time considered the dynastic principle of the inheritance of power to be the most legitimate, the topic of the ruling dynasty and its genealogy was for a long time one of the central ones. The genealogical trees of the ruling dynasties are a special topic in the cultural history of different European countries, especially during the late Middle Ages and early modern times. The genealogical trees of the rulers of antiquity are of interest to the modern researcher for studying genealogy, ideology and politics, and are also often works of art. In Russia, tsarist genealogical trees appeared only in the 17th century. The paradox is that a new Romanov dynasty was then on the Russian throne, and the family trees had to prove its continuity with the Rurik dynasty, which did not correspond to reality. The way out was found in the perception of the family tree not in the genealogical sense, but in the allegorical one, following the ideas of the Baroque era that reigned in Europe at that time.

The tradition of genealogical trees in Russia came from the Ukrainian lands, where, in accordance with the Western European tradition, the composition of the genealogical tree was used to design the title page of publications. In the middle of the 17th century, several books were published in the printing house of the Kiev Monastery of the Caves, in which the allegorical tree on the title page was filled with content and interpreted in accordance with the subject of the book. So, in the collection of akathists for the Kiev Pechersk Lavra saints, published in 1661, the holy elders of the Kiev Monastery of the Caves are represented on the tree (the author is the famous Kiev engraver of that time Ilya). Anthony and Theodosius of the Kiev Pechersk Lavra are shown as the founders of the tree, and one of them digs into the base of the tree with a shovel, and the other waters the tree from a jug. There is also an inscription "Fundatore", i.e. "founders". A tree similar in content is presented on the title page of the Kiev-Pechersk Patericon in 1661. This approach to depicting the characters of Old Russian history was in demand in Russian lands as well. There are several icons of the Kiev Pechersk saints, where the composition is built in the form of an allegorical tree (Gorstka, 2000). Finally, it is to the title page of the Akathistnik that the icon under consideration "The Tree of the Muscovite State" (Chubinskaya, 1985) goes back. It was painted by Simon Ushakov in 1663 for the Trinity Church in Nikitniki, where the icon painter was a parishioner.

The tree depicted by Simon Ushakov symbolizes the Russian state in the form that took shape by the middle of the 17th century. It should be noted that the icon declares the beginning of Russian statehood. This is not Kievan Rus and not even the Vladimir-Suzdal principality, but the principality of Moscow. Pre-Mongol history is not considered here as an integral part of the history of the Russian state.

In addition to the icon of Simon Ushakov, in the second half of the 17th century, there were also several images of the genealogical tree of the Russian tsars: miniatures of the Book of Degrees, the Obituary of the Resurrection New Jerusalem Monastery, and an engraving from Lazar Baranovich's book "The Spiritual Sword". They did not receive such fame as the icon by Simon Ushakov, but for their time, they may have been of no less importance.

2. Problem Statement

The genealogies of the trees of the Russian tsars of the 17th century, whose iconography goes back to the traditions of Ukrainian book engraving, were not considered separately. As a rule, researchers study the icon by Simon Ushakov in the context of this icon painter's works. The engraving from the book by Lazar Baranovich is examined together with its reception in the murals of the Yaroslavl Church of Elijah the Prophet and the genealogical tree on the vault of the gallery of the Novospassky Monastery cathedral, which, in turn, is associated with the medieval iconography of the Tree of Jesse. It is necessary to specially consider those genealogical trees of the Russian tsars, which go back to the Ukrainian book engraving, and determine the place in this row of the famous icon by Simon Ushakov.

3. Research Questions

Within the framework of this topic, it is planned to determine the origins and sources of the visual representation of monarchical power in Russia in the 17th century.

3.1. The famous icon by Simon Ushakov, "The Tree of the Muscovite State", should be entered into the historical and cultural context, the possible sources of its iconography, the goals and circumstances of the creation of this outstanding monument of the state ideology of Russia should be determined.

3.2. It is necessary to determine the links between the early genealogical trees of the rulers of Russia and the iconographic tradition of Ukrainian engraving, to understand what is behind the obvious external similarity of Russian and Ukrainian monuments.

4. Purpose of the Study

The genealogies of the trees of the Russian tsars of the 17th century, whose iconography goes back to the traditions of Ukrainian book engraving, were not considered separately. As a rule, researchers study the icon by Simon Ushakov in the context of this icon painter's works. The engraving from the book by Lazar Baranovich is examined together with its reception in the murals of the Yaroslavl Church of Elijah the Prophet and the genealogical tree on the vault of the gallery of the Novospassky Monastery cathedral, which, in turn, is associated with the medieval iconography of the Tree of Jesse. It is necessary to specially consider those genealogical trees of the Russian tsars, which go back to the Ukrainian book engraving, and determine the place in this row of the famous icon by Simon Ushakov.

5. Research Methods

The genealogies of the Russian tsars created in the 17th century and selected as the object of research in this article are made in different techniques: icon painting, book engraving, and miniature. Accordingly, for their study, it is necessary to involve both methods of source study of written monuments and methods of studying works of fine art, among which the iconographic method takes the first place.

6. Findings

The icon "The Tree of the Muscovite State" by Simon Ushakov, also known as "Praise of Our Lady of Vladimir" and "Planting the Tree of the Muscovite State" was introduced into scientific circulation at the end of the 19th century, when it was in the iconostasis of the Moscow Trinity Church in Nikitniki (at the beginning of the 20th century It was also called the Church of the Georgian Icon of Our Lady after the side-altar (Filimonov, 1873; Trenev, 1903). After the revolution, the icon first appeared in the State Historical Museum (in its branch – St. Basil's Cathedral), and then, from 1930 to the present, it has been kept in the State Tretyakov Gallery. Unusual iconography invariably attracts the attention of specialists. The icon has been in a number of exhibitions, it has been published many times (Antonova & Mneva, 1963; Neresyan, 2015). Not a single study of the biography and work of Simon Ushakov can do without its detailed description. This is not surprising. In the creative heritage of even such a master as Simon Ushakov, such works were not known. From the signature on the icon, it became known that it was painted by Simon Ushakov in 7176 (1668). In the 50s – 60s of the 17th century, Simon Ushakov lived in the parish of the Trinity Church. There are other icons that he painted for this church. The churchwardens of the cathedral at that time were well-known Yaroslavl, and then Moscow merchants Nikitnikovs, who financed the construction of the existing stone church building around 1634. In the 60s, the decoration of the temple was financed by the Nikitnikovs' heir I.G. Bulgakov (Saenkova & Sverdlova, 2015). After the restoration of the icon in 2015, it was possible to establish that the image was painted not in 7176 (1668), but in 7171 (1663).¹ All these facts explain and clarify the circumstances of Ushakov's painting of the icon, but in no way reveal the origin of its complex iconographic program. The plot of the icon is thoroughly considered by V.G. Chubinskaya, who established that the composition of the icon by Simon Ushakov goes back to the title page of the Kiev edition of Akathistnik in 1661 (Chubinskaya, 1985). This engraving in 1558 was made by the famous Kiev engraver Ilya. It depicts the allegorical tree of holiness of the Kiev Pechersk Lavra, which grows from the Assumption Cathedral, and Anthony and Theodosius are watering and spudding it. In the icon by Simon Ushakov, instead of the Assumption Cathedral of the Kiev Monastery of the Caves, the Assumption Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin is depicted, and instead of Anthony and Theodosius of the Kiev Pechersk Lavra there are Ivan Kalita and Metropolitan Peter; the prince is pictured supporting the trunk, and the Metropolitan watering it from a jug. The center of the tree composition in both cases is the Mother of God. In the Akathistnik, this image is close to the Pechersk icon of Our Lady, and the icon of the Vladimir Mother of God is depicted in the icon by Simon Ushakov. She appears to be the main, most significant fruit of the tree planted by Ivan Kalita and Metropolitan Peter, the first Grand Duke and the first Metropolitan who lived in Moscow.

On both sides of this group is the family of Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich: the Tsar himself, his wife Maria Ilyinichna Miloslavskaya and their elder sons Alexei and Fyodor. Each of them holds a scroll with a dictum. Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich has the quote from the Troparion to the Cross on the scroll: "O Lord, save Thy people and bless Thine inheritance", tsarina Maria Ilyinichna has the quote from the irmos of the ninth canon of the second canon of Matins of Pentecost: "Hail, Queen, glory of virgins and mothers!"

¹The later entry changed the last Cyrillic digit of the date: instead of the letter "az", the letter "zelo" was written (Saenkova & Sverdlova, 2015).

Tsarevich Alexei Alekseevich has the quote from the preface to the Kiev edition of the Kiev Pechersky Patericon in 1661: “This bunch and flower is brought to You, the vine of heavenly grapes“ (Neresyan, 2015, p. 112). In the hands of Tsarevich Fyodor Alekseevich there is no scroll with the text. The group of those depicted at the foot of the tree, including the primates, is surrounded by a Kremlin wall with towers.

The tree depicts portraits of Russian tsars, saints, monks and holy fools in the form of fruits. They surround the central medallion depicting the icon of Our Lady of Vladimir. Above the figure of the Mother of God in the segment of the sky, Jesus Christ is depicted holding the tsarist crown in one hand, and the robe in the other, which is confirmed by a quote from the Apocalypse written above the figure of Christ: “He that overcometh shall thus be arrayed in white garments; and I will in no wise blot his name out of the book of life” (Rev. 3: 5).² In the image of the “white garments”, researchers see an indication of the robe of Christ – an ancient Christian relic transferred to the Russian tsar by the Persian Shah Abbas in 1625 and kept in the Moscow Assumption Cathedral (Neresyan, 2015, p. 112). Let us note that neither V.G. Chubinskaya nor subsequent researchers raised the question of the authorship of this iconographic program, believing by default that it belongs to Simon Ushakov (Chubinskaya, 1985).

In 2017, the catalog of the exhibition “Iconography of the Armory Chamber: From Private Collections” published an outline drawing of icon of similar iconography. It dates from the late 17th – early 18th century and comes from the collection of icon samples of the Peshekhonovs icon painters (now in the collection of M.V. Byvshev). “Of Stepan Repyev” is written on the back in 17th century cursive writing. The authors of the description of the outline drawing in the catalog of N. I. Komashko and O. R. Khromov note that several Repyevs are known among the icon painters of the Armory at the turn of the century, but Stepan is not among them. Researchers note the Yaroslavl style of a number of outline drawings from the Peshekhonovs' collection and do not exclude the Yaroslavl origin of the entire complex and the outline drawing under consideration in particular (as cited in Dudochkin, 2017, p. 156).

Let's pay attention to the much smaller dimensions of the outline drawing from the Repyevs' archive relative to the icon by Simon Ushakov: 32.8x27.3 cm (outline) and 105x62 cm (icon). The outline drawing is made by the tack-free method. In this case, the drawing on the icon was outlined with ink or paint with the addition of glue, so that the outline adhered to a sheet of paper, which was superimposed on the original marked in this way. Therefore, the original of the outline drawing was an icon of the same size. Obviously, the outline drawing was done only from the centerpiece. Taking into account the size of the margins, the original icon was approximately 43x38 cm.

The outline drawing shows the same composition as on the icon by Simon Ushakov. There are, however, significant differences. Judging by the characteristic architectural details (shells in the zakomars), the outline drawing shows not the Assumption, but the Archangel Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin, which testifies to a slightly different interpretation of the history of the Russian state than that of Simon Ushakov. In the composition under consideration, the emphasis is on the dynastic component. The tree grows from the Archangel Cathedral, which is the necropolis of both the Rurikids and Romanovs. Other persons depicted as the fruits of this allegorical tree are also noteworthy. Their selection and location constitute the main difference between the composition of the drawing and the icon. The attribution of the depicted persons is significantly hampered by the absence of signatures on the traces, but it can be argued that the

²All inscriptions on the icon are given in its description (Sirenov, 2018, pp. 40-45).

composition of the tree itself is built more clearly. So, the branch of the tree growing over Ivan Kalita, in the form of fruits, has images of the great princes and tsars (Alexander Nevsky, Mikhail of Chernigov (?), Fedor Ivanovich, Tsarevich Dimitri, Mikhail Fedorovich), as well as the reverends (Sergius and Nikon of Radonezh) and the blessed (Ioannes the Big Cap, Maxim and Vasily). The branch that goes from Metropolitan Peter has in the form of fruits only images of saints. By analogy with the icon of Simon Ushakov, one can identify the metropolitans Alexy, Cyprian, Photius, Jonah, Philip Kolychev, the patriarchs Job and Philaret. Three more saints remain unidentified, in one of which, depicted in a klobuk, one can see Patriarch Hermogenes, whose relics were solemnly transferred to the Kremlin's Assumption Cathedral in 1652.³ Thus, the rulers are represented in the host of the monks and the blessed. In the icon by Simon Ushakov, the fruits of the tree are distributed differently. The branch emanating from Metropolitan Peter includes images of saints (Metropolitans Alexy, Cyprian, Photius, Jonah, Philip Kolychev, Patriarchs Job and Philaret) and rulers (Tsar Fyodor Ivanovich, Tsarevich Dimitri and Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich), and the branch, emanating from Ivan Kalita, – the reverends (Alexander Nevsky, Sergius, Nikon and Simon of Radonezh, Savva Storozhevsky, Pafnutiy Borovsky, Andronik) and the blessed (Maxim, Ioannes the Big Cap, Vasily).

It is noteworthy that Alexander Nevsky is classified as a saint, since he is depicted in accordance with his medieval iconography, in the form of a monk. Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich, as living at the time of the painting of the icon, in both versions is depicted in the rank of forthcoming, together with his wife Maria Ilyinichna Miloslavskaya. In the icon, next to the queen are two eldest sons Alexei (1654-1670) and Fedor (1661-1682). There is only one tsarevich on the outline drawing. N.I. Komashko and O. R. Khromov believe that the outline drawing was made from an icon that goes back to the icon by Simon Ushakov. The number of tsarevichs was reduced due to the small size of the icon (as cited in Dudochkin, 2017, p. 156). Indeed, the icon, which served as the source of the drawing, dates back to a later time than the icon by Simon Ushakov, as indicated by the appearance of the Kremlin tower located between the Spasskaya and Nikolskaya towers (in the 18th century it was called the Senate tower). In 1680, this tower was built on with a hipped roof, which is reflected in the outline drawing, but which is not in the icon by Simon Ushakov – in it the tower is crowned with a four-pitched roof (Posohin, 1983, p. 314).

It is quite possible that the Yaroslavl origin of the original icon of the outline drawing is possible. In the Yaroslavl art of the late 17th - early 18th centuries, the theme of the tsarist family tree sounds very distinctly (Abramenko, 2015; Turcova, 1989, pp. 360-361). Thus, a seemingly consistent picture of the existence of the plot "The Tree of the Muscovite State" is emerging. In 1663, Simon Ushakov for his parish church composes a complex iconographic composition reflecting the idea of the genesis of the supreme power and statehood in Russia. To do this, he attracts the Kiev editions of 1661: Akathistnik and Kiev-Pechersk Patericon. From the first (from the title page), he borrows the general composition, and from the second – individual design elements (scrolls with dictums in the hands of the characters) and a quote from the preface. More than 20 years later (after 1680), on the basis of the icon by Simon Ushakov, which was in the The Church of the Holy Trinity in Nikitniki, another icon painter made his own version of the "Tree

³N.I. Komashko and O. R. Khromov suggested that the saint without a headdress in the top row is Basil the Great. His presence can be explained by the fact that such a name was borne by the customer of the icon from which the cut was made (Ikonopis' Oruzhejnoj palaty, 2017, p. 156).

of the Muscovite State". At the same time, for reasons of space saving, he reduces the number of tsarevichs from two to one. In addition, along the way, he streamlines the arrangement of secular and ecclesiastical rulers on the tree.

It is impossible not to call such a reconstruction contradictory. First of all, it is unlikely that an icon painter would arbitrarily reduce the number of tsarevichs in an icon. Let us note that in the icon by Simon Ushakov, Tsarevich Fyodor is the only one from the tsarist family, depicted without a scroll with a dictum written on it. It is this figure that is absent in the outline drawing, and we believe that it is no coincidence. In the composition, where each character has a scroll with text in his hands, the absence of such text in the icon by Simon Ushakov requires an explanation. We believe that Tsarevich Fyodor was absent in the original and appeared only in the icon by Ushakov. And this happened for a simple reason: when the iconographic composition in question was created, Fyodor was not yet born, and by the time Simon Ushakov painted the icon, that is, in 1663, he already existed (born May 30, 1661), and Simon Ushakov had to insert him into the composition.

If our assumption is correct, then the archetype of the icon by Simon Ushakov and the outline drawing should be dated to the first half of 1661, more precisely, the time between the publication of *Akathistnik* (May 21, 1661) and the birth of Tsarevich Fyodor (May 30, 1661). However, in nine days it was hardly possible to deliver the book from Kiev to Moscow and to compose the composition in question. The chronological framework can be somewhat expanded. The engraving for the title page of *Akathistnik* was made by the Kiev engraver Ilya, judging by the inscription on the engraving itself, January 31, 1658. As the source of one of the inscriptions, the preface to the Kiev-Pechersk Patericon edition of 1661 was used, therefore the creation of the iconography of the "Tree of the Muscovite State" should be attributed by the time not earlier than 1661. The engraving of the title page of the Kiev-Pechersk Patericon, made by the same master Ilya on July 31, 1660, also served as the source of the tsarist family tree. Scrolls with dictums were borrowed from it.

On May 4 or 5, 1661, the locum tenens of the patriarchal throne, Pitirim, in Moscow appointed Archpriest Maxim Filimonovich of Nezhin as Bishop of Mstislav and Orsha, who became Methodius upon the adoption of monasticism (Makarij (Bulgakov), *mitr.*, 1996, p. 273).⁴ Since there was no metropolitan in Kiev at that time (Metropolitan Dionysius Balaban lived in Poland), Methodius had to fulfill his functions, replacing the then locum tenens of the Chernigov bishop Lazar Baranovich (Harlampovich, 1914, p. 185). Three weeks after being ordained bishop, Methodius left Moscow for Kiev, taking with him the rich tsarist gifts (Morozov, 2000, pp. 63-64). Maxim-Methodius Filimonovich could have brought to Moscow, if not copies of publications, but engraved sheets and texts, which by the time of his trip to Moscow were already in circulation in Kiev and were of undoubted value for Russian-Ukrainian church relations. If our assumption is correct, then the development of the iconography of the icon "The Tree of the Muscovite State" should be dated April-May 1661. It was not necessarily an icon. In 1661, Simon Ushakov served as a flag bearer in the Gold and Silver Chambers. There he had to draw maps and perform various works, sometimes very far from icon painting. So, in February 1661 he was busy with drawings for coins at the Kazenny Dvor, and in March 1661 he produced a map of the Don River and a map of Sweden.

⁴As Met. Makariy (Bulgakov), in different sources the date of delivery is shown in different ways: May 4 (Stroev, 1844, p. 355) or May 5 (Dopolneniya, 1854, p. 263).

We believe that at the same time he made a drawing (one or more) of a genealogical tree, the composition of which was developed on the basis of engravings brought from Kiev, intended for the publication of Akathistnik and the Kiev-Pechersk Patericon. A family tree could be drawn on a piece of paper. In the list of works by Simon Ushakov, produced by him from June 1661 to February 1662, it is stated: "He celebrated German and Russian persons on many sheets and colored them on paper, the sovereign upward ..." (Kochetkov, 2009, p. 686). Perhaps, he meant, among other things, the drawing of the tsarist family tree. This is how it seems possible to explain the fact of drawing on many sheets of "Russian persons". Two years later, in 1663, the icon painter repeated this composition in a slightly modified form for his parish church – The Church of the Holy Trinity in Nikitniki. He had to replenish the composition of the royal family by placing Tsarevich Fyodor in the icon. The fact that the figure of Fyodor appeared without a scroll with a dictum may indicate that Simon Ushakov was not involved in the development of the iconographic scheme. Let's make a reservation that he could participate in the creation of the family tree as an artist, but the ideas and selection of texts belong to another person (or persons).

In the 60s and 70s, a composition depicting the family tree of the Rurikids and Romanovs gained some popularity in Moscow. Its replicas have survived in two manuscripts: the list of the Book of Degrees in 1670 (RGB, n.d., 4288; Sirenov, 2010, p. 320) and the Obituary of the Resurrection New Jerusalem Monastery of 1676–1682. (GIM, n.d., 66; Gribov, 1999). Both miniatures date back to the same protograph, which, most likely, was a drawn sheet. An orientation towards engravings of Kiev editions is also present here. In addition to the characteristic iconography, attention is drawn to the inscriptions on the miniature of the Book of Degrees, executed by the Ukrainian semi-ustav of the 17th century: "Both the Son and the Holy Spirit, the Father" and "The Image of the Degrees" (Sirenov, 2018, p. 52-53).

Finally, Lazar Baranovich proposed his own version of the family tree of the Russian tsars, placing the corresponding engraving in the book "The Spiritual Sword", published in 1666 at the expense of Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich and reflecting the ideological ideas of the Russian state. The engraving is named with a quote from Psalm 111: "The race of the right will be blessed" ("Sought out of all them that have pleasure therein" – ASV) (Abramenko, 2015). Since by the time the book was published, another tsarevich, Simeon, was born in the tsarist family, his image was also included in the composition of the engraving. Only one of its replicas is known – in the painting of galleries in 1716 in the Yaroslavl Church of Elijah the Prophet. However, it is possible that the Yaroslavl mural painting is oriented not towards engraving itself, but towards some monument of Moscow art of the second half of the 17th century that has not come down to us.

7. Conclusion

So, the first tsarist genealogical trees appeared in Russia in the 60s of the 17th century. The source for them was the publications of the Kiev Monastery of the Caves of that time. The trees themselves were probably painted drawings on paper and were intended to decorate palace interiors. We believe that the first experiments of the tsarist genealogical trees appeared in the spring of 1661. They were based on the materials brought to Moscow by the Nezhinsky Archpriest Maxim-Methodius Filimonovic, who arrived to be the ordained bishop of Mstislav and Orsha. To make the drawing (one or several), Simon Ushakov was involved, who could participate in this business as an artist. However, the general concept and selection of

quotations belongs to others. The participation of Kiev scribes is quite likely here. Apparently, another tsarist family tree, known from replicas in miniatures of the Book of Degrees in 1670 and the Obituary of the Resurrection New Jerusalem Monastery, has the same origin. It was also produced with a focus on Kiev publications and with the participation of Ukrainian scribes. It is not yet possible to determine the exact time of the appearance of this composition. Let us make an assumption that the tsarist genealogical trees of the 60s of the 17th century in the form of drawings decorated the palace interiors of Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich.

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