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This book introduces to the western reader a major topic which has, so far, attracted little attention: the simultaneous perception of medieval Russian icons and of Early Renaissance painting as *pure art* in the cultural context of pre-war Europe. There is a fairly substantial literature addressing the discovery of the Italian 'primitives', and likewise a string of significant publications providing an overview of Byzantine and post-Byzantine icons.¹ Consequently, the reader will welcome acquaintance

¹ Italian scholarship reveals that the Italians were the first to become interested in collecting 'primitives'. While the occasional scholar paid attention to them during the Reformation era, others examined them during the Enlightenment and Romantic eras. See F. Zeri, 'Qualche appunto sul Daddi', in F. Zeri, Giorno per giorno nella pittura. Scritti sull arte Toscana dal Trecento al primo Cinquecento (Turin: Allemandi, 1991), pp. 19–23; L. Venturi, Il gusto dei primitivi (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1926); G. Previtali, La fortuna dei primitivi: dal Vasari al Neoclassicismo (Turin: Einaudi, 1964). Analysing Previtali's book, Mario Praz highlighted the significance of eighteenth-century anti-Baroque polemics for the study of 'primitives', and of Romantic interest in folklife and folk religion (M. Praz, Il patto col serpent (Milan: Adelphi, 2013), pp. 131–39). These ideas were reflected in the landmark catalogue of an exhibition on the 'primitives' in Italy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, held in 2014 at the Gallery of the Academy of Fine Arts in Florence (A. Tartuferi and G. Tormen, La fortuna dei primitivi. Tesori d'arte dalle collezioni italiane fra Sette e Ottocento. Firenze, Galleria dell'Academia, 24 giugno–8 dicembre 2014 (Florence: Giunti, 2014)). For their part, English authors argue that historical interest in Italian 'primitives' may be observed primarily from the mid-nineteenth century onwards (see F. Haskell, Rediscoveries in Art. Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1976), pp. 21, 82; see also E. H. Gombrich, The Preference for the Primitive. Episodes in the History of Western Taste and Art (London: Phaidon, 2002), pp. 154–55). Further works of relevance include K. M. Muratova, 'Ital'ianskoe iskusstvo XIII i XIV vekov v russkoi kritike: sviazi, vzaimovliianiia, sud"by', in In Christo. Vo Khriste. Obmen khudozhestvennymi i dukhovnymi shedevrami mezhdu Rossiei i Italiei, ed. A. Melloni (Rome: Treccani, 2011), pp. 521–68; S. Moretti, Roma bizantina. Opere d'arte dall' impero di Costantinopoli nelle collezioni romane (Rome: Campisano, 2014). Among other general works, see V. Lazarev, L'arte russa delle icone dalle origini all'inizio del XVI secolo, ed. G. I. Vzdornov (Milan: Jaca Book, 1996); T. Velmans, ed., L'arte dell'icona (Milan: Jaca Book, 2013); T. Velmans, ed., Icone. Il grande viaggio (Milan: Jaca Book, 2015).

with the history of the rediscovery and study of medieval Russian icons, which represent a significant branch of Byzantine and post-Byzantine painting. An understanding of medieval icons and 'primitives' as a special type of art was finally affirmed in the key era of the *Belle Époque* (c. 1871–1914) – but, to this day, this perspective is still, occasionally, questioned. This work aims, therefore, to demonstrate that the creative output of Byzantine, medieval Russian and early Italian masters is genuine art, based on its own rhetorical schemas and the specificities of the creative imagination.

The book consists of four essays, written for a broad audience. Their shared theme is the Formalist theory of art, connoisseurship and the influence these had on the study and collection of medieval Russian icons and the works of Early Renaissance artists in the years of the *Belle Époque*. Art history took shape as an independent academic discipline only in the middle of the nineteenth century. However, it is precisely on the threshold between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that the artistic form of an artwork is singled out from other questions of aesthetics, and becomes a separate topic pondered by scholars, art critics and artists. The main personages on our stage, then, are those art historians and collectors famous in their day: Bernard Berenson (1865-1959), Pavel Muratov (1881-1950), Ilya Ostroukhov (1858–1929), Pavel Florenskii (1882–1937) and several others. They will appear before us together with their different fates, their diverse interests and their, at times, diametrically opposed academic predilections. However, we will easily identify that which unites them - a previously unseen interest in painting 'on golden backgrounds' and, more precisely, in the artistic forms of medieval icons and early Italian art of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In their eyes, that which had long been considered 'primitive' and unskilled suddenly acquired the status of unique artwork.

The term 'primitive', which arose in the Enlightenment era and became widespread in nineteenth-century art criticism, was clearly connected with determining the boundaries of art from the very beginning. All the art of the 'primitive', colonized peoples of Asia, Africa and America lay beyond these bounds, due to the Eurocentrism of the times, while the works of Byzantine, early Rus' and Western European artists of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries provided the classic models of the

'primitive'. Occasionally, artists of the Belle Époque themselves were deemed 'primitives'. From the end of the 1890s, the term 'primitive' began to lose its original meaning, although it continued to be used to describe Early Renaissance art. Up until the birth of Cubism in 1907, any divergence from the rules of linear perspective was viewed as incompetence. The discovery, in that same year, of reverse perspective as an independent system for the composition of artistic space prompted an aesthetic re-evaluation of early icons ('primitives') by analogy with Renaissance painting. The orientation of linear perspective on the external viewer's point of view was called into question. The ancient, 'primitive' image, a construction of artistic space that suggested several viewpoints simultaneously, was put forward for consideration in place of the Renaissance painting. This is why artists of the Russian and European avant-garde, together with scholars, may rightly be considered pioneers of the new aesthetic knowledge of medieval art. In other words, Byzantine and medieval Russian icons, Italian 'primitives' of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Gothic stained glass and African sculpture were all incorporated into the orbit of the highest artistic values and reinterpreted in both new works on the history and theory of art, and in the new developments of avant-garde painting, beginning with Cubism, Futurism and Neoprimitivism.

Moreover, it was not only a new style of art that was consolidated in the *Belle Époque*. A new way of understanding the world connected with the cult of art – that last flowering of the religion of beauty which brought significant shifts in Western European and Russian culture – was also established. Aestheticism and the Nietzschean 'death of God' led to affirmation of a multiplicity of points of view on the world. It would therefore hardly be an exaggeration to say that the particular worldview which, to this day, determines the basic dimensions of our picture of the world was, to a great extent, shaped in those very years of the *Belle Époque*.

A fair amount has been written about Berenson and his activity as an art critic and private art dealer, as well as his connections with major scholars, museums and collectors. This famous American researcher and connoisseur was distinguished by his brilliant literary language and compared the icons of Duccio (c. 1255/60–c. 1318/19) with the works of Raphael (1483–1520) in their magnificence of colour and

'feeling' of space. Genuine art 'produces life-enhancement' according to his theories, which were grounded in the psychology of vision.² After Berenson settled in the Villa I Tatti near Florence in 1901, his house became a meeting place for American millionaires, major international antiquarians and also the owners of local antiquarian-restoration establishments frequented by middlemen in search of masterpieces of Italian painting. Isabella Stewart Gardner (1840–1924), Frederick Mason Perkins (1874–1955), Philip Lehman (1861–1947) and Robert Lehman (1891–1969), Robert Langton Douglas (1864–1951), Helen Clay Frick (1888–1984), Sir Joseph Duveen (1869–1939), Stefano Bardini (1836–1922) and many others visited the villa on more than one occasion. Today, the villa houses the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies (I Tatti), which has recently prepared a seminal catalogue of the scholar's collection.³

Meanwhile, the Russian art historian and writer Muratov is comparatively less well known to a western audience, although it was in fact Muratov who laid the foundations for the stylistic analysis of medieval Russian icons and wrote a great deal on the Italian 'primitives'. Nevertheless, his contribution to introducing the western reader to the aesthetics of early Russian painting is unquestionable.⁴ It is appropriate

² B. Berenson, *The Italian Painters in the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 199.

³ See The Bernard and Mary Berenson Collection of European Paintings at I Tatti, ed. C. D. Strehlke and M. B. Israels (Florence: Villa I Tatti, 2015). See also the overviews by E. Samuels, Bernard Berenson. The Making of a Connoisseur (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979); E. Samuels, Bernard Berenson. The Making of a Legend (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979); W. Weaver, A Legacy of Excellence: The Story of Villa I Tatti (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1997); R. Cohen, Bernhard Berenson: A Life in the Picture Trade (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013); for an Italian translation of this book, see R. Cohen, Bernard Berenson: da Boston a Firenze, trans. M. Gini (Milan: Adelphi, 2017).

⁴ P. Deotto, 'Pavel Muratov', in *Dictionary of Literary Biography: Russian Émigré Writers of the Twentieth Century*, ed. M. Rubins (Washington, DC: Thomson Gale, 2005), pp. 237–47. Muratov's new approaches to the study of medieval Russian painting are touched upon in Ivan Foletti's book on the famous Russian Byzantinist Nikodim Kondakov: I. Foletti, *From Byzantium to Holy Russia. Nikodim Kondakov* (1844–1925) and the Invention of the Icon, trans. S. Melker (Rome: Viella, 2011). See also K. M. Muratova, 'Pavel Muratov historien d'art en Occident', in *La Russie et l'Occident. Relations intellectuelles et artistiques au temps des révolutions russes*, ed. I. Foletti (Rome: Viella, 2010), pp. 65–95. Muratov's important work, *Obrazy Italii*, has recently appeared in Italian translation: P. Muratov, *Immagini dell'Italia*, ed. R. Giuliani, trans. A. Romano, 2 vols. (Milan: Adelphi, 2019–21).

to note, too, the influence of Berenson's works on Muratov, with whom he was personally acquainted. Federico Zeri (1921–98) once highlighted the significance of Henri Matisse's (1869–1954) perspective on the Russian icons he encountered during his 1911 trip to Moscow:

It is necessary to emphasize one single thing. Matisse was a big fan of icon-painting from his youth. Icon-painting in the West as a whole is not perceived as art, so in Italy there has long been a tradition to consider icons not as works of painting, but only as 'a semblance of art'. However, Matisse thought differently: his passion for pure color, of course, to some extent comes from icons, which sometimes have dazzling coloristic intonations. This explains the artist's rapid success in the Russian cultural environment.⁶

Muratov continued the work of Matisse in acquainting the western observer with the aesthetics of early Russian icons. His 1925 monograph, *Drevnerusskaia zhivopis'* [*Russian Medieval Painting*], was first published in Western Europe in Italian.⁷ In short, this was the first book in which the new methods of stylistic analysis of medieval Russian icons were employed. Recalling this translation, the Italian Slavicist Ettore Lo Gatto (1890–1983) said: 'My most important meeting with Pavel Pavlovich [Muratov] was related to "La pittura russa antica" – at that point the fashion for icons, which was followed by the publication of a series of superbly produced works in various European languages, had not yet arrived in the West'.⁸ Muratov's book was next translated into French, with the inclusion of new material.⁹ 'His French book on the Russian icon', as a contemporary wrote about the publication of *Les icones russes* [*Russian Icons*],

⁵ At the beginning of the 1920s, Muratov translated Berenson's essays on Florentine Renaissance paintings (published as a stand-alone edition) from English into Russian. He also translated a large extract from the American researcher's book *Critical Essays on Italian Art*, published in the first issue of the journal *Sofiia*, of which he was the chief editor. See B. Berenson, *Florentiiskie zhivopistsy Vozrozhdeniia*, trans. with an introduction by P. P. Muratov (Moscow: S. I. Sakharov, 1923); B. Berenson, 'Osnovy khudozhestvennogo raspoznavaniia', *Sofiia*, 1 (1914),

⁶ F. Zeri, Abecedario pittorico (Milan: Longanesi, 2008), p. 142.

⁷ P. P. Muratov, *La pittura russa antica*, trans. E. Lo Gatto (Rome: A. Stock, 1925).

⁸ E. Lo Gatto, *I miei incontri con la Russia* (Milan: Mursia, 1976), pp. 56–59.

⁹ P. P. Muratov, Les icones russes (Paris: Schiffrin, 1927).

became something of an event [...] a whole sphere of art, which had remained not only undervalued but simply unknown, was revealed to the foreign reader. In those days, who had heard the name of Andrei Rublev, or Theophanes the Greek? What museum curator could distinguish an icon in the Novgorod tradition from others? The desire to collect icons, which continues to grow to this day, was largely generated thanks to Muratov.¹⁰

Alfred Barr (1902–81), the founder and first director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York, noted in his diary that, in Moscow in January 1928, he read Muratov's book *Les icones russes* in French, which had been lent him by the artist and collector Ostroukhov. After visiting Ostroukhov's Museum of Medieval Russian Painting, he was 'finally conquered by Russian icons', as Matisse had been earlier. At the same time, Barr was studying medieval art and comparing early icons with Russian and western Modernist compositions. In other words, Muratov's books in Italian and French may be seen as the first serious attempt in the West to interpret the Russian icon as a distinct world of artistic forms. After Muratov emigrated to the West in 1922, his name was erased in Soviet Russia. His scholarly works on the history of Italian culture and medieval Russian painting were not republished until the arrival of perestroika in the USSR in the 1980s, alongside increased interest in his intellectual legacy. 12

¹⁰ A. Bakhrakh, "Evropeets" s Arbata', in Vozvrashchenie Muratova. Ot 'Obrazov Italii' do 'Istorii kavkazskikh voin'. Po materialam vystavki 'Pavel Muratov – chelovek Serebrianogo veka' v Gos. Muzee izovrazitel'nykh iskusstv imeni A. S. Pushkina 3 marta–20 aprelia 2008 goda, ed. G. I. Vzdornov and K. M. Muratova (Moscow: Indrik, 2008), pp. 158–59 (p. 159).

¹¹ See S. G. Kantor, Alfred H. Barr, Jr. and the Intellectual Origins of the Museum of Modern Art (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press 2002), p. 165.

¹² In 2008, the first exhibition of its kind, 'Pavel Muratov – A Man of the Silver Age', was held in the Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow. See *Vozvrashchenie Muratova*. Ot 'Obrazov Italii' do 'Istorii kavkazskikh voin', ed. Vzdornov and Muratova. Art historian Ksenia Muratova created the International 'Pavel Muratov' Study Centre in Rome in 2012 (Centro Internazionale di Studi Paolo Muratov, https://www.pavelmuratovcentre.org/it), which welcomes European and American writers, artists, art historians and patrons with the aim of preserving and disseminating Muratov's artistic and intellectual heritage. The third international conference organized by the Centre was held in Naples in September 2017. See Letture Muratoviane III. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale (Napoli, 28–30 settembre 2017). Studi in memoria di Xenia Muratova, ed. R. Giuliani (Rome: Lithos, 2021). See also O. Tarasov, 'Pavel Muratov, i "primitivi" italiani e le icone russe antiche', in Letture Muratoviane III, ed. Giuliani, pp. 247–55; M. Bernabo, 'Pavel Muratov sull'arte

The collection of the artist and social activist Ostroukhov, considered in Russia a pioneer of the new collecting of early icons as masterpieces of painting, offers insights into important general trends in both the study of the artistic forms of icons and 'primitives', and in their collection and the reshaping of the art market. Entirely in the spirit of *Belle Époque* aestheticism, Prince Sergei Shcherbatov (1874–1962) – an active figure in the art world at the start of the twentieth century – spoke of Ostroukhov as a collector who created 'the atmosphere of an icon cult' in Moscow of the 1910s, while Ostroukhov's new private Museum of Medieval Russian Painting called to mind a new church of the 'aesthetic religion'. ¹³ In essence, it was this same taste for 'primitives on golden backgrounds' that was instilled in the American millionaire Berenson from at least the end of the nineteenth century.

If Muratov examined the icon from the point of view of the development of style, the Russian philosopher and theologian Florenskii was the first to explore the medieval icon's profound philosophical meaning and how it is constructed within a system of reverse perspective. Since Florenskii paid particular attention to the construction of the religious image's artistic space, analysis of his texts is key in establishing the icon as a work of high art. In this regard, Florenskii's view on the metaphysics of the icon may be of particular interest to the reader. For Berenson, for example, real art should produce 'a sense of heightened vitality'. For Florenskii, in contrast, genuine art must direct the gaze beyond the bounds of the reality that surrounds us. It always creates a special aura and a sensation of distance. In this respect, the ideas of the Russian philosopher to some extent corresponded with the thinking of members of the Russian and western avant-garde. In essence, the complex language of the icon, distinguished by unusual expressiveness, is far from 'Primitivism' and is explained by the epoch's characteristic

bizantina e russa e sui primitivi italiani (1924–1928)', in *Letture Muratoviane III*, ed. Giuliani, pp. 257–69.

¹³ S. Shcherbatov, *Khudozhnik v ushedshei Rossii* (Moscow: Soglasie 2000), pp. 210–11. Shcherbatov was a well-known Moscow patron, artist and collector. He emigrated in 1919 and lived in France (in his Cannes villa), the United States of America and Italy. In 1927, he became one of the founders of the Icon Society in Paris. He moved to Rome in 1953 and is buried in the Testaccio cemetery.

¹⁴ B. Berenson, *The Italian Painters of the Renaissance* (London: Phaidon, 1959), p. 54.

worldview rather than by 'mistakes' in the construction of linear perspective.

Florenskii's name, and his works on the icon, remained unknown for many years. Italian researcher Elémire Zolla (1926–2002) laid the foundations for their study in Western Europe back in 1977, publishing 'Ikonostas' ['*Iconostasis*'] – Florenskii's most famous essay on the icon – in Italian. Since then, interest in the works of the 'Russian Leonardo' has only grown, with conferences and a large body of literature dedicated to Florenskii, and his works republished and translated into foreign languages. ¹⁵ A portrait of Florenskii appeared in the papal Redemptoris Mater Chapel, in the Vatican, in 1999.

See P. A. Florenskii, Le porte regali. Saggio sull' icona, ed. E. Zolla (Milan: Adelphi, 1977); an English abridged translation of *Iconostasis* edited with a foreword by J. L. Opie was published in 1976. See P. A. Florenskii, 'On the Icon', Eastern Churches Review, 8.1 (1976), 11–37. For a full English translation, see P. A. Florenskii, Iconostasis, trans. D. Sheehan and O. Andrejev (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1996). Works in English on Florenskii of particular note include: R. Slesinski, Pavel Florensky: A Metaphysics of Love (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1984); V. Bychkov, The Aesthetic Face of Being: Art in the Theology of Pavel Florensky (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1993); C. Antonova, Visual Thought in Russian Religious Philosophy. Pavel Florensky's Theory of the Icon (New York: Routledge, 2020). For a bibliography of works in Italian on Florenskii, see N. Valentini, 'Bibliografia', in P. A. Florenskii, La mistica e l'anima russa, ed. N. Valentini and L. Zak (Milan: Edizioni San Paolo, 2006), pp. 51–54. On early studies of Florenskii's works on the icon, see J. L. Opie, Nel mondo delle icone. Dall'India a Bisanzio (Milan: Jaca Book, 2014), pp. 167-72; P. A. Florenskij e la cultura della sua epoca, ed. N. Kauchtschischwili and M. Hagemeister (Marburg: Blaue Hörner Verlag, 1995). Florenskii's article 'Reverse Perspective' was first published in Russian in 1967 by Boris Uspenskii, the renowned representative of the Moscow-Tartu Semiotic School (P. A. Florenskii, 'Obratnaia perspektiva', Trudy po znakovym sistemam, 3 (1967), 381–416). The first English translation of this text (together with several of Florenskii's articles on art) was published in 2002. See P. A. Florenskii, Beyond Vision. Essays on the Perception of Art, ed. N. Misler, trans. W. Salmond (London: Reaktion, 2002). See also O. Tarasov, 'Florensky and "Reverse Perspective": Investigating the History of a Term', Sobornost/Eastern Churches Review, 43.1 (2021), 7–37. Archival materials relating to the 'Analysis of Perspective', the lecture cycle that Florenskii delivered in Moscow in 1921-24, have also recently been published in Russian. See P. A. Florenskii, Istoriia i filosofiia iskusstva. Sbornik tekstov, ed. A. Trubachev et al. (Moscow: Akademicheskij proekt, 2017). This volume brings together, for the first time, corrected and supplemented texts in Russian of works such as 'Ikonostas' (1919-22), 'Obratnaia perspektiva' (1919), 'Analiz prostranstvennosti i vremeni v khudozhestvenno-izobrazitel'nykh proizvedeniiakh' (1924), and also articles on art from 1918-25. I draw primarily on this volume (henceforth Florenskii, Istoriia i filosofiia iskusstva) when quoting these works. Florenskii's family, and above all the hegumen Andronik (Aleksandr)

Today, significant museum collections of Byzantine, Italo-Greek and Russian icons, not to mention collections of the works of early Italian artists, may be found in Western Europe and the USA. These are all exhibited, discussed by respected scholars and presented in seminal catalogues. This evolution highlights how the foundations of many contemporary historico-cultural practices were laid in the years of the *Belle Époque*. The displaying of these early icons began to change the perception of them as works of art, leading to new illustrations, advertisements and to a new design of books and magazines, placing the compositions of Byzantine and post-Byzantine masters on a par with the works of modern European artists.

Trubachev and Mariia Trubacheva played a key role in preserving and promoting Florenskii's creative legacy.

See, in particular, J. Durand, ed., Byzance. L'art byzantine dans les collections publiques françaises (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1992); N. Chatzidakis, Icons. The Velimezis Collection. Catalogue raisonne (Thessaloniki: The Benaki Museum, 1997); A. A. Karakatsanis, ed., Treasures of Mount Athos (Thessaloniki: Museum of Byzantine Culture, 1999); M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, Icons of the Byzantine Museum of Athens (Athens: Ministry of Culture, Archaeological Receipts Fund, 1998); E. Haustein-Bartsch and I. Bentchev, Ikonen-Museum Recklinghausen (Moscow: Ikonen-Museum Recklinghausen, 2008); P. Zachauk, ed., Icons. Icon Museum Frankfurt am Main (Frankfurt: Ikonenmuseum der Stadt Frankfurt am Main, 2005); R. Cormack, ed., Icons (London: The British Museum Press, 2007); W. Salmond, Russian Icons at Hillwood (Washington, DC: Hillwood Museum and Gardens, 1998); A. W. Carr, ed., Imprinting the Divine: Byzantine and Russian Icons from the Menil Collection (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011). In Italy, there are significant collections of icons including at the Pinacoteca Vaticana, the Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and post-Byzantine Studies in Venice, the Florentine Academy of Arts, and the Intesa Bank's collection of Russian icons at the Palazzo Leoni Montanari in Vicenza. See G. Pavan, ed., Icone dalle collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Ravenna (Ravenna: Il Museo, 1979); M. F. Fiorin, Catalogo della Pinacoteca Vaticana. Vol. 4: Icone della Pinacoteca Vaticana (Vatican City: Edizioni Musei Vaticani, 1995); V. Conticelli and D. Parenti, eds., Icone russe in mostra alla Galleria degli Uffizi. Catalogo. Galleria degli Uffizzi (Florence: Sillabe, 2014); C. Pirovano, Icone russe. Collezione banca Intesa (Milan: Electa, 2003). The major Italian exhibitions of early Russian icons and the accompanying catalogues edited by C. Pirovano are particularly noteworthy: Fondazione Giorgio Chini, L'immagine dello spirito. Icone dalle terre russe, collezione Ambroveneto (Milan: Electa, 1996); C. Pirovano, ed., Icone russe. Gallerie di Palazzo Leoni Montanari (Milan: Electa, 1999); C. Pirovano, ed., Arte e Sacro Mistero. Tesori dal Museo Russo di San Pietroburgo (Milan: Electa, 2000); M. Kazanaki-Lappa, ed., Nasledie Vizantii: Muzei ikon Grecheskogo instituta vizantiiskikh i postvizantiiskikh issledovanii v Venetsii (Moscow: Grand-Kholding, 2009).