

**THE SPREAD OF ORTHODOXY AND
THE ARCHITECTURE OF CHURCHES
IN THE BALTICS OF THE 1840s–1917**

ACTA UNIVERSITATIS TALLINNENSIS

Artes

EDITORIAL BOARD

Heili Einasto (Tallinn University)

Krista Kodres (Estonian Academy of Arts)

Andres Kurg (Estonian Academy of Arts)

Kersti Markus (Tallinn University)

Anu Mänd (University of Tartu)

Virve Sarapik (Estonian Academy of Arts)

Toomas Siitan (Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre)

Teet Teinemaa (Tallinn University)

Heie Treier (Tallinn University)

Tallinn University

Alexander Bertash

**THE SPREAD OF ORTHODOXY
AND THE ARCHITECTURE OF
CHURCHES IN THE BALTICS
OF THE 1840s–1917**

TLU Press
Tallinn 2024



ACTA Universitatis Tallinnensis

Acta Universitatis Tallinnensis. Artes
Alexander Bertash
The Spread of Orthodoxy and the Architecture of Churches
in the Baltics of the 1840s–1917

The publication of the book has been supported
by Cultural Endowment of Estonia

The author wishes to give a special thanks to Sofia Rongonen
Editor: Toomas Schvak
Copyediting and proofreading: Daniel Allen, Daniel Warren
Layout: Sirje Ratso
Maquette: Rakett

Front cover: The Church of the Entrance of the Lord to Jerusalem (Rannu).
Photo Vaido Otsar, 2023 (Wikimedia Commons)

Copyright: Alexander Bertash, 2024
Copyright: Tallinn University Press, 2024

ISSN 2228-3412
ISBN 978-9985-58-971-7

TLU Press
Narva mnt 25
10120 Tallinn
www.tlupress.com

Print: Printon

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword	7
Editors' remarks	49
Chapter 1	
Influence within a pan-European context of Russian church architecture of the mid-19 th – early 20 th centuries on the design and construction of churches in the Baltics.	53
Chapter 2	
The emergence of Orthodox parishes and the construction of churches in the Baltic provinces in the 1840s–1881 (Latvia, Estonia)	120
Chapter 3	
Organisation of Orthodox parishes and construction of churches in the Baltic provinces during the 1880s–1910s (Latvia, Estonia)	242
Chapter 4	
Orthodoxy and Church-Building in the Territory of Modern Lithuania in the 1840s–1910s	395
Illustrations	481
Afterword	753
Index of place names	771

FOREWORD

The spread of Orthodoxy, the construction of churches, monasteries and other church buildings in the Baltics from the 1840^s until 1917, before the formation of the independent Baltic states (history, architecture, artistic, stylistic and construction features of churches) are the subject of this monograph. The missionary activity of the Russian Orthodox Church included construction of churches, which gave believers the opportunity for church life and transformed the landscape, introducing a sacral element. Particular attention is paid in the monograph to stone construction, wooden church architecture of the 19th century, in particular, in this region, being secondary: the evolution of forms and technological innovations touched it to a much lesser extent.

Church construction of this period was of a large scale: most of the churches in the Baltics that have come down to us were built in the years under consideration, when the Orthodox Church, along with the Lutheran and in some regions Catholic Church, played an important historical and cultural role in the territory of modern Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, where a phenomenon of mass conversion of Estonians and Latvians to Orthodoxy occurred from the 1840^s. This book answers questions about “who?”, “for whom?”, “with what funds?”, and on that basis, “which churches were built and how well have they been preserved?” At the present time in the Baltic States, the churches that suffered under the Communist regime are gradually being restored. The purpose of this book is the collection and interpretation of graphic and textual materials, the study of church construction, standard (exemplary) projects and analogues of church buildings in the Russian architectural style¹, the most common in this period, especially in cases of

¹ The architectural style is rightly defined as “a set of the main features and characteristics of the architecture of a given time and a given people, manifested in the features of its functional, constructive and artistic sides” (*Барте́нев И. А., Бата́жкова В. Н. Очерки истории архитектурных стилей. М., 1983. С. 8*).

loss of historical graphics. All this is a necessary part of restoration and reconstruction projects.

It should be noted that due to their aesthetic expressiveness and functionality, historical projects may well be used to inform new church construction, which is still being carried out in the Baltics, albeit on a small scale. Thus, the diversity of historical architectural forms and their regional specificity will be taken into account.

The chronology of the study is from the 1840s to 1917. The 1840s, on the one hand, was the time of the formation of new parishes on the territory of Latvia and Estonia in connection with the mass conversion of Latvian and Estonian peasants to Orthodoxy, hence the need for intensive church construction. The periods after the “Polish uprisings”, especially 1863, became a time of confiscation of the lands of the participants in these uprisings: landowners and leaders of the Catholic Church and their settlement by Orthodox Russian, Belarusian and Ukrainian peasants.

On the other hand, it was during this period that a change in architectural styles took place within the entire Russian Empire: classicism was replaced by eclecticism (historicism), and in church construction – its own version, the Russian style. The final boundary of the study is the period of the First World War, revolutionary cataclysms and the formation of independent Baltic States. This was associated with the cessation of the activities of Russian institutions in the Baltic States and the financing of church construction, the gradual halt of all construction work, which was resumed in the 1920s, but on a different scale and with different principles of organisation and financing. From the point of view of architecture, the beginning of the twentieth century – the period of the rise and fall of Art Nouveau (Jugendstil), which in the church construction of the Russian Empire was reflected in the phenomenon of the neo-Russian style. Geographically, the study covers the territories of Latvia, Estonia², which in the imperial period

² The territory of modern Latvia is made up of the southern part of Livland Province (Cēsis, Valmiera and Valka counties, provincial capital Riga); almost all (except for the westernmost part – Palanga) of Kurland Province (provincial capital Jelgava); and four areas of Vitsyebsk Province (former Polatsk Province, in the south-east of the region,

belonged to the Baltic region³ (Baltic provinces), had a single administration in the form of a general governorate (until 1876), a single system of regional self-government headed by the local German nobility as well as land ownership⁴. This system largely determined the possibilities of church construction. From 1836, this territory corresponded to the Riga vicariate of the Pskov Orthodox eparchy, after 1850 – to the independent Riga Orthodox eparchy.

Lithuania, along with modern Belarus and the north-eastern regions of modern Poland, belonged to the Western (North-western) Territory⁵. The territory of the modern Republic of Lithuania was formed by a large part of the Kaunas Province, most of the Suwałki Province formed in 1867 (without the former provincial city), part of

Latgale): Daugavpils, Ludza and Rēzekne counties, Piedruja and Robežnieki secular parishes (volosts) of Verkhnyadzvinsk County. Kurland Province included the following counties: Bauska, Ventspils, Aizpute, Kuldīga, Grobiņa, Ilūkste, Dobele/Jelgava, Talsi, Tukums, and Jaunjelgava. The territory of modern Estonia was formed from Estland Province and the northern part of Livland Province – the so-called “Estonian Livland”. Estland Province formed the northern part of the country: Harju/Tallinn, Viru/Rakvere, Järva/Paide, and Lääne/Haapsalu counties. The northern part of Livland Province made up the southern part of modern Estonia: Tartu, Saaremaa/Kuressaare, Pärnu, Viljandi, and Võru counties, as well as part of the Valka/Valga County. In 1944, the city of Pytalovo (1920–1938 Jaunlatgale, 1938–1944 Abrene) and six volosts in the eastern part of Abrene County, which had previously been part of Latvia on the basis of the Riga Peace Treaty of 1920, were included in Pskov Region of the Russian SFSR. In 1944–1945, the former Pechory (1920–1944 Petseri) County and territory beyond Narva River with Ivangorod (1920–1945 Jaanilinn), which since 1920 had been part of Estonia under the terms of the Tartu Peace Treaty, were included, respectively, in Pskov and Leningrad Region.

³ Чешихин Е.В. Краткая история Прибалтийского края. Рига, 1894. С. 1.

⁴ A certain unity of the territories of modern Latvia and Estonia and neighboring regions as part of the Empire is emphasised by the fact that in 1870 a part of the Riga military district (Estland Province) that had existed for only six years was attached to the St. Petersburg military district formed in 1864, and in 1905 – the Finland military district. Most of this affected the organisation of the construction of military churches until 1914, when the Vilnius military district was disbanded and the Daugavpils military district was formed.

⁵ In the Russian Empire, Northwestern Territory meant different regions than it does now: part of the Russian Empire's Western Territory, namely six provinces of the Lithuania Governorate-General and the Belarus Governorate-General (often referred to as “Belarus and Lithuania”): Vilnius, Kaunas, Hrodna, Minsk, Mahilyow and Vitsyebsk provinces, which were formed on the territory of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania (see: Памяти графа Михаила Николаевича Муравьёва. Вильна, 1898). From 1870, the last three began to be officially called “Belarusian”.

the Vilnius Province, a small fragment of the north-eastern part of Hrodna Province (all were part of the Russian Empire), and by the areas around Klaipėda (then Memel) in East Prussia (part of Germany until 1919). The Old Believer churches are not considered in this work⁶.

Biblio- and archaeographic review

For this work a significant array of archival materials (more than 540 cases) from the storage facilities of St. Petersburg, Tartu, Riga, Tallinn, Moscow, Vilnius, and Kaunas were used. Most of the cases were introduced into the scientific literature for the first time, which was not specifically stipulated.

The documents of the state historical archives of the Baltic States, reflecting mainly the period before 1917, were identified in the collections of the following: the National Archives of Estonia (Rahvusarhiiv – RA), including Tartu uurimissaal – Eesti Ajalooarhiiv (National Archives in Tartu, Estonian Historical Archives – EAA), with documents mainly spanning until 1940; Tallinn uurimissaal – Eesti Riigiarhiiv (National Archives in Tallinn, Estonian State Archives – ERA, ERAF), with documents mostly after 1940; Latvijas Valsts Vēstures arhīvs – Latvian State Historical Archives (LVVA – LGIA, Riga); Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas – Lithuanian State Historical Archives (Vilnius); Tallinna Linnaarhiiv – Tallinn City Archives (TLA) and Kauno regioninis (apskritis) valstybės archyvas – Kaunas Regional (County) Archives (KRVA); as well as the following archives of state institutions for the protection of cultural heritage: Muinsuskaitseameti projektdokumentide arhiiv – Archive of the National Heritage Board of Estonia (Tallinn) and Valsts kultūras pieminekļu aizsardzības inspekcijas Pieminekļu dokumentācijas centrs – Monument Documentation Centre of the State Inspection for Heritage Protection of Latvia (Riga).

Documents from the central state repositories of the Russian Federation were used: the Russian State Historical Archive (РГИА, St. Petersburg); the State Archive of the Russian Federation (ГАРФ,

⁶ В Эстонии см.: *Plaat J. Vene vanausulised ja nende pühakojad Eestis*. Tallinn, 2017.

Moscow), Russian State Military Historical Archive (РГВИА, Moscow); the Russian State Archive of the Navy in the St. Petersburg, РГА ВМФ, provided materials on the construction of the Naval Cathedral in Liepāja Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (РГАДА, Moscow); Central State Historical Archive of St. Petersburg (ЦГИА СПб); as well as the scientific archive of the St. Petersburg Institute of the History of Material Culture of the Russian Academy of Sciences (ИИМК, manuscript department); handwritten and illustrative materials of the Russian National Library, St. Petersburg (РНБ): Department of Manuscripts, Department of Prints; Russian State Library, Moscow (РГБ): Department of Manuscripts.

In РГИА, I mainly studied the documents of the central authorities of the Russian Empire, devoted to the construction of churches of the Orthodox faith, church–state relations and, in particular, the state strategy for church construction, including in the Baltic provinces. They are predominantly general and regulatory, have little connection with specific churches, except for cathedrals of general imperial significance in provincial cities. Church construction was regulated mainly by two ministries: the Ministry of Internal Affairs (f. 1284: Department of General Affairs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs; f. 1293: Technical and Construction Committee, etc.) and the Main Directorate of Transport Routes and Public Buildings (f. 216: Second Department; f. 217: Department of Economic Affairs; f. 218: Department of art affairs, including projects of public and government buildings; f. 220: Department of projects and estimates). The topic under consideration is informed by archiving from f. 1284, op. 225–227: “Church construction part – about the construction of Orthodox churches in the Western and Baltic provinces”. However, the vast majority of these archives were destroyed in 1935, which makes it impossible to fully present the picture of state regulation of the process. The collection of the Technical and Construction Committee has circular instructions and rules regarding the requirements for the content and design of architectural and construction documentation, the procedure for compiling, reviewing and approving projects. For this work, in particular, materials were used according to the procedure for coordinating exemplary

projects of church buildings. Correspondence is rarely accompanied by graphic materials and is characterised by excessive detail, but has an objective character.

Documents about the largest number of cases were found in the collections of the ecclesiastical administration of the Orthodox Church – the Synod: the collections of the office of the Governing Synod (f. 796) and the office of the Chief Procurator of the Synod (f. 797, from 1836) are the most informative, but are partially duplicated due to lack of separation of functions between the two bureaucratic structures. Additional value is provided by the documents on the affairs of the economic administration of the Synod (f. 799, from 1836), in particular, the insurance estimates of church buildings compiled in the 1910s, containing their dating and technical description. The synodal collections contain also other materials: texts – in f. 834 (manuscripts of the Synod, including inventories of churches and monasteries); graphic images, including projects and photos of churches in Russia – in f. 835 (building plans and photographs of the Synod). The matters of building military and naval churches were managed by a board under the archpriest of the military and naval clergy (f. 806). Documents on the construction in the imperial estates were deposited in f. 515 – the main department of appanages. However, the collections contain only a few documents on the Baltic provinces because an insignificant number of churches were built there by these departments.

The most informative sources are those representing local civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Priority was given to the archives in the Baltic States. EAA, former Estonian Historical Archive, now part of the National Archives of Estonia, contains the most complete and little-studied collection of documents on church activities and church-building in the Baltic provinces: Estland and partly Livland, as well as in the Pechory region and Narva. In the LVVA, whose collections were evacuated and lost in 1915, significantly fewer documents on church building have been preserved than in the EAA. Both archives suffered as a result of wars and the “writing off” of documents during the Soviet period. With the almost complete loss during the Communist regime of graphic and textual materials in the archives of the Orthodox Church

and its congregations (except for registers of births), the documents in the state archives, primarily the EAA, make it possible to reconstruct the evolution of the forms of church architecture; connection of church construction with the demand and commissioning, individual features of the work of church and eparchial architects. Some materials here intersect with the ПГИА (for example, the correspondence of local bishops with the Synod), but most of them are unique. A number of specific documents have been identified and studied in these repositories: the correspondence of various responsible persons with the Synod, reflecting the situation in the entire region, in particular, the problems of Estonians and Latvians converting to Orthodoxy, the activities of brotherhoods and other institutions involved in church building (Tallinn Supervisory Committee, etc.); estimates for the construction of churches in rural areas, especially in the 1970s and 1980s.

The array of documents studied can be divided into three groups: 1. sources related to church government (archives of church authorities at the eparchy level – consistories, individual churches and monasteries); 2. archives of local civil authorities (provincial boards); 3. personal archives and archives of individual institutions.

The 1st group includes: collections of the Synod of the Latvian Orthodox Church (f. 7469 LVVA) and of the Synod of the Estonian Apostolic Orthodox Church (f. 1655 EAA, well preserved), which include earlier files of the Pskov and Riga consistories, the Baltic Orthodox Brotherhood, a supervisory committee for overseeing the construction of Orthodox churches in the city of Tallinn; and collections of the Riga Orthodox Consistory (f. 4754 LVVA). They are complemented by collections of the St. Petersburg Orthodox Consistory (f. 19 ЦГИА СПб), which contain materials about the churches of Estland Province before 1865.

The collections of individual Orthodox churches and monasteries have different informational value. For example, EAA materials: the collection of Tallinn St. Alexander Nevsky Cathedral includes files of the committee for the construction of the cathedral (f. 1906), collections of the Pühtitsa Convent (f. 2001) and other churches are distinguished

by a relative variety of materials, although they are insufficiently complete. The same applies to brotherhoods: f. 4950 – the Baltic Orthodox Brotherhood (note that the collection of the same brotherhood in РГИА is more complete – f. 812, 534 files), f. 4951 – branch of the Baltic Orthodox Brotherhood in Jõhvi, and others.

The contents of the well-preserved f. 1883 ЦГИА СПб (Riga Trinity-Sergius Convent) goes beyond monastic issues and sometimes duplicates consistory documents. In the Tallinn City Archives, the collections of individual Orthodox churches in Tallinn contain almost exclusively parish registers and clerical records and are not of particular interest for this study: f. 1410 – St. Alexander Nevsky Church, f. 1412 – Church of the Kazan Icon of the Mother of God, f. 1415 – Vladimir Icon of the Mother of God Estonian and Transfiguration Churches, f. 1414 – St. Nicholas Church, f. 1413 – Church of Sts. Simeon and Anne, f. 1445 – Church of the 95th Dvinsk Regiment, f. 1472 – St. Nicholas Church in Kopli; f. 1477 – church of the Tallinn Military Hospital, etc. The only exceptions are five cases in f. 1339 (parish patronage of the Transfiguration and St. Alexander Nevsky Cathedrals, which include the affairs of the building committee, the committee for collecting donations for the construction of the cathedral church and supplementing the data of f. 1906 in the EAA). The same applies to the collections of individual churches of the LVIA (f. 1335 – St. Michael's Church in Biržai, f. 1365 – St. Demetrius Church of the 106th Ufa Regiment, f. 1383 – St. Sergius Church in Viekšniai, f. 1404 – Church of the Transfiguration of the Lord in Jurbarkas, f. 1483 – Church of St. Nicholas in Telšiai, f. 1504 – Church of St. Alexander Nevsky in Užusaliai, f. 1538 – Church of St. Vladimir in Kretinga). The collection of the Vilnius Holy Spirit Monastery in LVIA contains practically no information on construction works (f. 610). The archives on church-building have been lost almost completely: the collections of the committee for setting up the Orthodox church in the Kybartai settlement of the Suwałki province and the especially important collection of the Vilnius provincial office for church construction contain only one case. Unique for the archives of the Baltic States is the relatively good preservation of the collection of the Kaunas Committee on the Organisation of Churches

(provincial church-building committee), the files of which are well preserved in the Kaunas Regional Archive (KRVA; f. I-65).

The files of other LVVA church collections reviewed are also not very informative for this work: Polatsk Orthodox Consistory (f. 6550), Office of the Orthodox Bishop of Riga and Mītava (f. 7462), Riga Theological Seminary (f. 7416), Riga Theological School (f. 5723), Riga eparchial committee for the assistance of poor clergy (f. 7417). A significant drawback regarding the sources of both higher and local church administration is the almost complete absence of a narrative regarding the choice of the architectural style of the churches under construction and, in general, artistic issues, except for the general characteristics themselves. Official documentation also does not allow us to trace the personal motivation of customers in the church-building business.

Particularly numerous materials are contained in the collections of the 2nd group: local governmental bodies. They can be divided into collections of general governmental bodies and collections of departments dealing with construction issues. The former include a number of archives of the Baltic Governorate-General and Livland Province, which are divided on a territorial basis between the EAA (Estonia) and LVVA (Latvia). For example, in the EAA, there are collections f. 291 (Baltic Governor-General); f. 296 (Office of the Governor of Livland); f. 297 (Livland Provincial Government); in LVVA – f. 1 (Office of the Baltic Governor-General). Official documents of the Estland Province are concentrated in the EAA (f. 29 – Office of the Governor of Estland; f. 30 – Estland Provincial Government).

The collections of construction departments are also divided on a territorial basis. In the EAA, there are f. 33 – Estland Provincial Construction and Road Commission, f. 298 – the construction department of the Livland Provincial Government (contains more original designs than other collections); in the LVVA – f. 10 – the construction department of the Livland Provincial Government (the most informative in the archive, especially op. 4), and f. 656 – construction department of the Vitsyebesk Provincial Government. There are similar collections also in other archives: In ЦГИА СПб, f. 256 – the construction department of the St. Petersburg Provincial Government; in the Lithuanian

State Historical Archives, f. 382 – construction department of the Vilnius Provincial Government; in KRVA, f. I-473 – Kaunas provincial construction commission. They reflect the main design materials for church construction.

An analysis of the materials shows that some of the documents on churches in Latvia ended up in the EAA, especially in cases where the construction of churches on the territory of modern Latvia and Estonia was carried out according to the same project or using the same tranche of money. Some of the material on the “Livland part of Estonia” is in LVVA.⁷ This is the reason that these materials were not widely used by researchers.

Documents of the 3rd group usually contain additional information on the topic under consideration, for example, in LVVA: f. 7363 – a collection of handwritten materials on the history of the Baltics, f. 6828 – a collection of maps and plans, f. 7474 – Pyotr Albedinsky, f. 5562 – Aleksandr Suvorov-Rymniksky; in LVIA: f. 439 – an interesting, but fragmentarily preserved archive of the museum of Count Mikhail Muravyov, including graphic materials; in the department of manuscripts National Library of Russia: f. 16 – Pyotr Albedinsky, f. 573 – St. Petersburg Theological Academy, f. 708 – Nikolay Sobko, f. 757 – Nikolay Sultanov; in the Central State Institute of Arts St. Petersburg: f. 184 – Institute of Civil Engineers, personal files of architects.

An important source is f. 4 (Moscow Archaeological Society) in the manuscript department of the Scientific Archive of the St. Petersburg Institute of the History of Material Culture of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The files contain detailed, free-form reports of the clergy of 65 parishes, mainly in Livland, but also in Estland and Kurland provinces (Nos. 943–1006). These materials are especially valuable because archaeological societies usually dealt with ancient monuments, but here we are talking about newly formed parishes. The reports have been prepared with varying degrees of detail. In the publication based on them, “A selection from the information delivered to the Moscow Archaeological Society by the Orthodox clergy by order of the

⁷ ЦГИА Латвийской ССР. Краткий справочник. Рига, 1980.

Archbishop of Riga Arseny” (Moscow, 1896), unfortunately, almost all information was discarded, except for the ancient history of the locality of the parishes.

The State Inspection for Heritage Protection of Latvia studied 38 cases of individual churches at the Monuments Documentation Centre. They contain post-war questionnaires and passports for churches and icons, planning materials, photographic recordings, especially of interiors, press clippings, extracts, brief historical references, restoration projects (Ilzeskalns, Vecstāmeriena).

The collections of the National Heritage Board of Estonia contain post-war materials on individual churches. I studied 25 folders on the regions of Estonia, which contain the results of the inventory (questionnaires) of churches, drawings of Orthodox churches, and especially photographic materials, including both photographic fixation of monuments from different years, and re-shooting of archival materials, including some lost monuments (Pühitisa metochion in Tallinn, churches in Viljandi, Paide, etc.). There are no detailed historical references in the collections of the churches.

The following collections were also examined: the private archive of collector Aleksandr Dormidontov (Tallinn), first of all, historical photographs; a number of materials from the Russian State Military Historical Archive (РГВИА, Moscow) on military churches (f. 349 – a collection of maps and plans, f. 400, op. 36 – Commission on Religious and Moral Needs of the Army, f. 846 – military scientist archive, f. 1296 – Livland engineering district, f. 15261 – military-historical maps, plans and diagrams, etc., files on military churches in Daugavpils, Narva, Tallinn); collections of architects, public and state organisations (f. 680 – Moscow School of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture) in the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (РГАЛИ, Moscow); Shchusev Museum of Architecture (ГНИМА, Moscow). The РГВИА revealed mainly conciliatory correspondence, in the other aforementioned repositories no materials on the Baltic churches of this period were found.

Materials on this topic are also available in the repositories of the National Archives of Estonia in Tallinn (ERA) – these documents

mainly refer to a time beyond the scope of the project (after 1918) but contain some historical information about Estonian churches and parishes, for example, in collections R-1961, R-1989 – Commissioner for Religious Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the ESSR. The archive library of the Literary Museum in Tartu contains Russian periodicals of the interwar period.

Thus, among the most informative unpublished sources are official documents of civil and ecclesiastical, state and regional authorities, concerning both issues of national policy (the attitude towards the conversion of Latvians and Estonians to Orthodoxy, financing and forms of their support), and specific tasks: correspondence about coordination of projects and the construction of churches, the projects themselves, estimates and contracts with contractors, reports of responsible persons, correspondence from the eparchial administration, clergy statements, etc.

In preparing this work, numerous (more than 820) publications were studied, which can be divided according to chronology (published before and after 1917) and topic (church history, local history, art history). Architectural and construction publications before 1917 include albums and atlases of church projects, separate publications with projects. Most provincial churches, in particular, in the territory of modern Latvia and Estonia, were built on the basis of single, but very widespread, exemplary (“typical”) church projects in the albums of Konstantin Thon from 1838 and 1844. Architectural and construction publications make it possible to present the “primary sources” that were used in church construction in the Baltic provinces and the extreme variety of their interpretations in design and construction.

Literature after 1917 includes publications on the history of architecture of a general nature, the period of eclecticism and Art Nouveau; about individual architects; works on art history, the history of Orthodoxy in the regions; encyclopaedic and reference publications: architectural and orthodox encyclopaedias and catalogues of monuments; albums, local history and popular science publications, including monographs, collections of scientific reports and articles.

The greatest number of publications is on the modern history of Russian church architecture. The gradual formation in Russia of architectural criticism and a scientific approach to the development of architectural heritage dates back to the 1840s, the time of the formation of the Russian style and the heyday of the work of its founder Konstantin Thon. Thon's student, Ivan Sviyazev, showed his role in the revival of the leading role of Orthodox church-building on the basis of ancient Russian traditions.⁸ However, from the 1860s onward, the Russian style of Thon was increasingly criticised as not an artistic, but an ideological phenomenon associated with imperial power and the Church, through the prism of an oppositional and secular worldview (Vladimir Stasov and others).⁹ The ideological assessment did not take into account the historical context, the artistic and constructive merits of the structures. The same negative attitude, but from the standpoint of "retro-aestheticism", a subjective-emotional approach to both Thon's and later "national" architecture (on the example of the Church of the Saviour on Spilled Blood) and eclecticism in general, can be traced in the criticism of the Russian style by a new generation of art critics of the early 20th century, primarily the corporation "World of Art".¹⁰

More balanced assessments of Russian church architecture were present in professional periodicals (magazines "Строитель" ("Builder"), "Зодчий" ("Architect"), "Неделя Строителя" ("Builder's Week"), collections from "Труды съездов русских зодчих" ("Works of Congresses of Russian Architects") (I–IV Congresses), and

⁸ Свиязев И.И. Практические чертежи по устройству церкви Введения ... в Семёновском полку в С.- Петербурге, составленные ... К. Тоном. М., 1845; Славина Т. А. Константин Тон. Л., 1989. С. 42.

⁹ Стасов В. В. Двадцать пять лет русского искусства. Наша архитектура // Избранные сочинения в трех томах. Т.2. М., 1952. С. 499–521; critical references to Thon's architecture by Aleksandr Herzen, Ivan. Zabelin, Taras Shevchenko. See also: Кириченко Е. И. Русский стиль. М., 1997. С. 132.

¹⁰ Бенуа А.Н. Мои воспоминания. М., 1980. Т. 1. С. 101; Курбатов В. Я. О русском стиле для современных построек // Зодчий. 1909. № 30. С. 310–312; articles by S. K. Makovsky, A. A. Rostislavov and others. See also: Заварихин С.П. Русская архитектурная критика. Л., 1989; Кириченко Е. И. Архитектурные теории XIX в. в России. М., 1986.

publications of such major architects and architectural theorists as Leon Benois and Nikolay Sultanov. At the turn of the 19th–20th centuries, monographs appeared about specific churches with detailed architectural, artistic and technical information.¹¹ In most special publications at the end of the 19th century (the era of “realism”) and the beginning of the 20th century, the focus was still on technical issues (issues of structures, heating, heat supply, capacity of buildings) and on the representation of the building process, but not on the style or the artistic component in general¹², even less so – on the symbolism and spiritual importance of church building. Civil engineer, publisher Gavriil Baranovsky (1860–1920) in 1902 also noted “the incomprehensible indifference of the majority of Russian architects to literary enterprises”.¹³ The few publications of architects or critics on this topic most often do not differ in a clear interpretation of architectural forms, are contradictory and subjective, even when trying to go beyond technical issues.¹⁴

The latter, without taking into account regional peculiarities, is also characteristic of the normative and legislative collections regulating the church-building business in the Russian Empire: “Полное Собрание законов Российской империи” (“The Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire”), and the Construction Charter (various editions with additions, starting from 1842). Construction legislation has been analysed in a number of reference publications, mainly pre-revolutionary ones.¹⁵ It should also be noted that, firstly, the

¹¹ Парланд А. А. Храм Воскресения Христова. СПб., 1907; Смирнов С. Н. Храм-памятник морякам, погибшим в войну с Японией. Пг., 1915, etc.

¹² Щенков А. С. О художественных проблемах храмостроения рубежа XIX и XX веков // Архитектурное наследство. Вып. 45. М., 2005. С. 220.

¹³ Барановский Г.В. Архитектурная энциклопедия второй половины XIX века. Т. I. Архитектура исповеданий. СПб., 1902. С. VII.

¹⁴ Шусев А. В. Мысли о свободе творчества в религиозной архитектуре // Зодчий. 1905. № 11. С. 132–134; Анлаксин А. П. Русское церковное искусство и его современные задачи. СПб., 1911. С. 77–90 and others.

¹⁵ Шкларевич А. Г. Строительные постановления для г. С.-Петербурга. СПб., 1868; Ануриев Иоанн, свящ. Вспомогательная книга при возведении каменных и деревянных зданий. Вологда, 1895; Шрамченко М. П. Устав строительный. СПб., 1911; Тилинский А. И. Практическая строительная памятная книжка. СПб., 1914; Дикан-