

*The Painter Grigorie Popovici and His Master Jovan Contacts Between East and West During the Second Half of the 18th Century*¹

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RÉSUMÉ : Grégoire *Zugravul* ('le Peintre'), connu toute sa vie comme Paphodor, Popovici et Frujinescu, a été l'un des peintres les plus importants de la Valachie à la fin du XVIII^e siècle et l'initiateur du courant d'occidentalisation dans l'art local. Constantin Săndulescu-Verna a découvert dans un carnet de croquis ayant appartenu au peintre que Grégoire est né près de Bucarest, dans le village de Frunzânești, au sein de la famille du prêtre peintre Tudor, et qu'il a fait son apprentissage en 1766, à la l'âge de 16 ans, auprès d'un certain maître Jean / *kir Iancu*. Ensemble, les deux hommes ont voyagé pendant dix ans sur le territoire de l'Empire des Habsbourg et ont signé ensemble l'iconostase du monastère de Lepavina en Croatie, ainsi que celui de l'église de la Nativité de Saint-Jean-Baptiste à Székesfehérvár, en Hongrie. De retour en 1777, Grégoire a commencé une carrière prolifique en tant que peintre d'icônes ; mais il a également peint les fresques de l'Église de l'icône (*Biserica Icoanei*) à Bucarest, des enluminures de manuscrits et des peintures à l'huile, y compris la vaste composition historique représentant Nicolas Mavrogheni distribuant des récompenses aux soldats qui avaient participé aux combats contre les Autrichiens (1789), aujourd'hui dans les collections du Musée National d'Art de Roumanie, à Bucarest. Jusqu'à présent, cependant, l'identité de Maître Jean et la portée européenne de la carrière de Grégoire n'étaient pas connues en Roumanie. On considérait à tort que Jean devait être un peintre local, identifié soit au maître de l'école de peinture de l'évêché de Râmnic, soit à Ivan 'le Russe' (*Rusul*), maître de l'école de peinture du monastère de Căldărușani. Plus récemment, C. Săndulescu-Verna et M. Sabados ont supposé qu'il pouvait être d'origine balkanique, mais sans réussir à repérer son identité précise : peut-être un peintre grec ou macédo-valaque. La présente étude relie pour la première fois les recherches roumaines sur ce sujet à celles menées en Serbie (Aleksandra Kučeković), Bulgarie (Emmanuel Moutafov) et Bosnie-Herzégovine (Ljiljana Ševo). Les documents permettent d'identifier 'kir Iancu' avec Jovan Četirević Grabovan, aroumain d'Albanie, auteur de fresques du sanctuaire et de la nef de la cathédrale épiscopale de Roman (Moldavie). La carrière de ce dernier est jalonnée par les étapes d'un parcours remarquable pour cette époque. Ses voyages relient littéralement l'Occident à l'Europe de l'Est, de la Croatie en Russie à travers Buda et Bucarest, et dessinent une perspective entièrement nouvelle sur les relations qui animaient le milieu culturel des peintres valaques du XVIII^e siècle. Comme Jovan, son élève Grégoire a joué également le rôle d'un 'véhicule' exemplaire des transferts culturels entre Occident et Orient, maillon d'un grand réseau commercial et politique développé à l'intersection des trois grands Empires : ottoman, russe et autrichien. Il a influencé de manière décisive l'évolution de l'atelier de peinture du monastère de Cernica et s'est imposé comme une figure clé de la scène artistique locale ; il a été l'un des premiers peintres à moderniser l'art local. Par-delà les éclaircissements qu'elle apporte sur l'apprentissage de Grégoire Popovici, cette étude permet aussi d'attribuer les icônes de l'iconostase de l'Église Manea Brutaru de Bucarest au peintre Jovan Četirević Grabovan, et d'identifier dix nouvelles œuvres du peintre Grégoire, y compris les fresques de l'Église de l'icône à Bucarest. Elle transcrit sept inscriptions inédites des icônes de cette église et identifie les sources artistiques du cahier de modèles du peintre et des icônes de l'iconostase de la chapelle dédiée à Saint Lazare au monastère de Cernica dans un exemplaire de la *Bible Ectypa* ayant appartenu au même Maître Jean.

MOTS-CLÉS : icônes ; iconostases ; occidentalisation ; influence russe ; peintres itinérants.

REZUMAT: Grigorie Zugravul, cunoscut de-a lungul vieții sale sub numele de Paphodor, Popovici și Frujinescu, a fost unul dintre cei mai importanți pictori ai Țării Românești de la finalul secolului al XVIII-lea și inițiator al curentului de occidentalizare a artei locale. Conform datelor descoperite de Constantin Săndulescu-Verna într-un caiet de schițe care i-a aparținut pictorului, Grigorie s-a născut lângă București, în satul Frunzânești, în familia preotului zugrav Tudor, și a fost dat la ucenicie în 1766, la vârsta de 16 ani, unui anume maestru Ioan / kir Iancu. Împreună, cei doi au călătorit timp de zece ani pe teritoriul Imperiului Habsburgic și au semnat împreună iconostasul mănăstirii Lepavina din Croația și pe cel al bisericii cu hramul Nașterea Sfântului Ioan Botezătorul din Székesfehérvár, Ungaria. Revenit în țară, în 1777, Grigorie a început o carieră prolifică de zugrav de icoane, lucrând, în același timp, pictură în frescă, la Biserica Icoanei din București, miniatură de manuscris și tablouri în ulei, ca de exemplu ampla compoziție istorică reprezentându-l pe *Nicolae Mavrogheni împărțind daruri oștenilor participanți la luptele împotriva austrieșilor* (1789), expusă la Muzeul Național de Artă al României. Până acum, însă, identitatea maestrului Ioan și anvergura europeană a carierei lui Grigorie nu au fost cunoscute în spațiul românesc. Istoriografia mai veche l-a considerat în mod greșit pe Ioan un zugrav local, identificându-l fie cu șe-

ful școlii de pictură de la Episcopia Râmnicului, fie cu Ivan Rusul, conducătorul școlii de pictură de la mănăstirea Căldărușani. Ceva mai recent, C. Sândulescu-Verna și Marina Sabados au avut intuiția originii sale balcanice și au presupus că este un pictor grec sau macedo-vlah, dar nu au reușit să îi descopere precis identitatea. Acest studiu pune pentru prima dată în legătură cercetările românești despre acest subiect cu cele publicate în Serbia (Aleksandra Kučeković), Bulgaria (Emmanuel Moutafov) și Bosnia-Herțegovina (Ljiljana Ševo), identificându-l prin argumente documentare pe „kir Iancu” cu Jovan Četirević Grabovan, aromân originar din Albania, autorul frescelor din altarul și naosul Catedralei Episcopale din Roman. Cariera acestuia a avut un traseu cu adevărat remarcabil pentru epoca respectivă, legând la propriu Occidentul cu Răsăritul Europei prin călătoriile sale între Croația și Marea Rusie via Buda și București, aspect ce oferă o perspectivă cu totul nouă asupra relațiilor culturale care animau mediul pictorial valahi în veacul al XVIII-lea. Asemenea lui Jovan, și elevul său Grigorie s-a dovedit a fi un vehicul exemplar al transferurilor culturale între Vest și Est, o verigă într-o mare rețea comercială și politică, dezvoltată la intersecția celor trei mari Imperii: Otoman, Rus și Austriac. Totodată, el a influențat în mod decisiv evoluția școlii de pictură de la Mănăstirea Cernica și s-a afirmat ca o figură-cheie pentru scena artistică locală, datorită meritului de a fi unul dintre primii pictori care au modernizat arta românească. Pe lângă clarificările importante pe care acest studiu le aduce asupra perioadei de ucenicie a lui Grigorie Popovici, el îmbogățește nivelul cercetărilor și prin atribuirea icoanelor din iconostasul bisericii Manea Brutaru din București lui Jovan Četirević Grabovan, prin descoperirea a zece noi lucrări ale zugravului Grigorie, incluzând atribuirea picturii murale de la Biserica Icoanei din București, prin transcrierea a șapte inscripții inedite de pe icoanele acestuia, respectiv prin identificarea câtorva pagini din caietul său de modele și stabilirea legăturii între aceste desene, exemplarul *Bibliei Ectypa* care i-a aparținut maestrului Ioan și icoanele din iconostasul capelei cu hramul Sfântul Lazăr de la Mănăstirea Cernica.

CUVINTE CHEIE: icoane; iconostase; occidentalizare; influență rusească; pictori itineranți.



CONTRASTS

VISUAL CULTURE, PIETY
AND PROPAGANDA:
TRANSFER AND RECEPTION OF
RUSSIAN RELIGIOUS ART IN THE BALKANS
AND THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN
(16TH TO EARLY 20TH CENTURY)

In the late 18th century, Grigorie Popovici, also known as Frujinescu or Papatodor, was one of the most remarkable painters active in Wallachia. During a prominent career that lasted at least 30 years, he painted icons, churches, historical portraits, and illuminated manuscripts in the service of princes, high hierarchs, abbots, nobles (high boyars), and wealthy merchants. His artistic skills involved traditional post-Byzantine painting on wooden panels, fresco, oil painting on canvas and brass, writing and illustrating manuscripts, and even composing poems, a wide expertise, unmatched in contemporary Wallachia. His work made him the first known artist who introduced elements of modernity in Romanian art.

Today, Popovici is undervalued and hardly known—even among Romanian historiographers. Just recently, his name came to light again for the virtue of being an exemplary vehicle of cultural transfers between Western and Eastern Europe, a link in a network that connects a great cultural commonwealth extending from Moscow to Venice and from Lviv to Crete and Antioch. Grigorie Popovici, together with his master Jovan, may reveal the story of an open world, a Europe united by art, culture, and trade, extending beyond politics.

Moreover, as the Romanian authors who have studied Popovici's work point out, Grigorie is a key figure for the local scene due to the merit of being one of the first painters to modernize Romanian art,² and to overcome the anonymity of the medieval craftsman by becoming an 'author' in the modern sense of the term. If his activity was better known, then it would have changed the stereotypes about the Romanian society a few centuries ago, which unfortunately still exist today in the mentality of Romanian intellectuals. Due to ideological reasons, from the end of the 19th century until the 1980s, the idea that the 18th century was still an undeveloped period in the Roma-

nian principalities, and also an era of decadence, corruption, and confusion, which did not lead to great cultural achievements, has been intensely promoted.

The rediscovery of Grigorie Popovici and the attempt to characterize him as 'initiator' or 'forerunner' of modern Romanian painting is a late and marginal phenomenon compared to the central, classical discourse of art historiography in Romania, which established and consolidated the authors responsible for the modernization of local art, a canon of which Frujinescu was never part. His name is missing from almost all the books that present Romanian art and from most Romanian art dictionaries. It is also absent from the curriculum of art history courses. Also, no monographic album is dedicated to Popovici in Romania, and the articles about him were published in non-academic and obscure journals. Unlike Pârveu Mutu, Nicolae Polcovnicul, Eustatie Altini, and the so-called 'primitives' of modern Romanian painting,³ those foreign painters travelled in the Romanian principalities in the first half of the 19th century.⁴ Their contribution to the modernization (*i.e.*, westernization) of Romanian art has often been credited. The similar role Grigorie played was never fully recognized and his status as a pioneer was never correctly understood. These shortcomings have occurred primarily due to the fact that in the Romanian art history papers until the 1980s, the 18th century is considered an obscure period, less known even than the Middle Ages. It is regarded as a decadent period devoid of originality and artistic values, marked by foreign, Turkish and Greek influences,⁵ which were considered to be harmful to the "Romanian specificity," because they corrupted it. Secondly, the evolution of Grigorie's style over time and the fact that he signed his works under three different names, have caused confusion and insecurity among scholars, who often fail to find his correct identity. Thirdly, and

maybe the most important reason for ignoring Popovici, was the change of mentality that took place in the Romanian Orthodox Church after 1990, when there was a purge of ideas considered to be uncanonical and a radical return to what was believed to be the true Byzantine tradition, that is, the painting from the 12th to 14th centuries. That is why the “westernizing” religious painting practiced by Grigorie became less appreciated, even rejected. Therefore, Frujinescu remained “no more than an old icon craftsman”,⁶ a minor master associated with the painting school in Cernica and Căldărușani.⁷

The state of research on Popovici

Although the name of the painter Grigorie had been identified in the repertoire of inscriptions since the early 20th century,⁸ these disparate mentions did not outline a visible artistic personality because the names collected by various authors were not associated with each other. Therefore, he remained ‘almost anonymous’⁹ until the great discovery of Constantin Săndulescu-Verna¹⁰ in 1937, when he found a sketchbook that belonged to the 18th century painter Grigorie in the possession of an old family of church painters in Sibiciu de Jos, Buzău County. He reported the discovery in a short note entitled “Painter Grigorie the Beginner of the Realist Trend in Romanian Painting”, published in the pages of *Biserica Ortodoxă Română* magazine.¹¹ It seems that at the time Săndulescu-Verna kept the notebook and continued the research on Popovici until the end of his life. It is the very epoch in Romanian historiography in which Radu Zugrăvescu’s¹² notebook and Pârvu Mutu’s *Life*,¹³ written by Ghenadie Pârvulescu, were also discovered and published, a moment when there was a widespread interest in identifying names of artists and discovering the biographical data for medieval painters in order to reconstruct a local artistic history based on modern authorship. The notebook Săndulescu discovered brings to light the first biographical elements about Popovici. He made the first compilation and contextualization of Grigorie’s list of works. Unfortunately, the article is not illustrated and includes some errors.¹⁴

In 1969, I. D. Ștefănescu briefly mentioned Frujinescu in his article, “The painting School in the Cernica and Căldărușani Monasteries, N. Grigorescu’s Apprenticeship”,¹⁵ as the author of some icons at Cernica Monastery, with no understanding of the importance Grigorie had in the development of that school of painting. Work on Popovici resumed only in 1977, when Ana Dobjanschi, curator at the Art Museum of the Socialist Republic of Romania at that time, published an article¹⁶ about various names of painters found in the collection of the Department of Ancient Romanian Art, including Master Grigorie, which she particularly noticed. Dobjanschi started then a monographic study about Popovici, which was supposedly written in the following years, but was never printed. The manuscript was destroyed by the museum fire during the 1989 Romanian Revolution. Her approach seems to be completely parallel to that of Săndulescu-Verna, since the curator does not mention the article from 1937. However, and paradoxically, the information regarding the origin of Frujinescu’s name that she published must have been taken from that source.

Meanwhile, in 1982, Radu Constantinescu also published in his book about Dionisie the Ecclesiarch¹⁷ a few lines about Popovici, discovering a new work of his, but unfortunately the research of the historian did not become known among art historians and was not integrated into subsequent publications by Săndulescu-Verna and

Ana Dobjanschi.

In 1992, after Săndulescu-Verna’s death, his family posthumously published in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română* magazine the extensive article “Grigorie Frujinescu, the Beginner of the Realist Trend in Romanian Painting”,¹⁸ which summarizes the author’s lifelong research into Grigorie Popovici. This time, the 1937 note is fully resumed and extended by adding transcripts of the inscriptions, identifying the supposed individual who taught Grigorie the craft of painting, completing the list of works, and revealing Popovici’s descendants. Until my study, this has been the most extensive and complete article on Popovici, which can be considered almost as a monograph, but unfortunately not illustrated.

Finally, in 1998, Ana Dobjanschi published her latest contribution about Frujinescu,¹⁹ trying to recover some of the information she had lost due to the fire. She made the most complete list of Popovici’s works since that time, totaling 11 pieces.

Most recently, Elisabeta Negrău²⁰ approached the subject following the official portraiture of Grigorie and the votive portrait from the Church of the Icon in Bucharest, and proposed the attribution of a previously unknown canvas to the painter.²¹

Fortunately, not only Romanian researchers have been interested in Frujinescu, but also those from Serbia,²² Bulgaria,²³ Hungary,²⁴ and Bosnia-Herzegovina.²⁵

It was mainly the meeting between the Serbian researcher Aleksandra Kučeković and I at the “Marginalia” colloquium, organized by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in Sofia, in 2018, that made it possible to discover the connection between Grigorie Popovici and Jovan Četirević. This point of return resumed the research on the two authors, both in Romania and in Serbia.

On that occasion, I delivered the paper “The Decline of Byzantine Tradition in Wallachia’s Religious Painting of Early Modern Times”.²⁶ In the paper, the case study of Grigorie Popovici had a significant role among other artists who facilitated artistic transfers between East and West. At that time, I had no idea who ‘Ioan’, Grigorie’s master, might have been, and I accepted the hypothesis that he could be of Greek origin. A year earlier, at the previous edition of the session, Aleksandra Kučeković had presented a paper on Jovan Četirević Grabovan, which was published in the proceedings of the colloquium for that year.²⁷ She obviously knew that Jovan had painted in Moldavia and Wallachia, and also that he had a disciple named Grigorie. However, she still did not have any information about the identity of this apprentice. Thus, together we managed to join the two parts of a complicated puzzle and, starting from that point, we both continued to further research our topics, consulting each other along the way.

As far as my own research is concerned, I followed up with two conference papers followed, first titled “Gregory the Painter and his Master John. Transit Routes between East and West in the late 18th Century” at the end of 2018, and the second titled “Traveling painters in the 18th Century Wallachia,” at the beginning of the following year.²⁸ Kučeković also published a new article about the relationship between the painters Jovan Četirević Grabovan and Grigorije Popović,²⁹ and now is preparing a monograph on Jovan Cetiri.

I believe that the identity of Jovan Četirević could not have been previously inferred by the Romanian authors nor that of Grigorie by the Serbian ones since neither Săndulescu-Verna’s, nor Moutafov’s studies are illustrated,

so no scholar was able to make the connection between the work of these two artists by using stylistic attribution, although many of their icons are strikingly similar. Not even the two texts by Ana Dobjanschi are very helpful from this point of view, because they show only nine small, black and white illustrations of poor quality. For this reason, I really wanted my study to be extensively illustrated. I am convinced that this visual support can open up the research, more than just some names would do. For an art historian, a simple name of a painter, without an indication of his style, means almost nothing, considering that in the 18th century in Wallachia and Moldavia there have been dozens of names of painters, including the at least three different Grigorie,³⁰ and so many 'Ioan'.

An updated biography of Grigorie the painter

Grigorie the painter, who signed in various periods of his life with the surname Papatodor, Popovici, and Frujinescu, is, without a doubt, the most important local representative of the Westernizing current in the art of Wallachia from the end of the 18th century. According to the notes discovered by Constantin Săndulescu-Verna,³¹ in the sketchbook that belonged to the painter, Grigorie was born near Bucharest, in the village of Frunzânești, in the family of the painter Tudor. In 1766, when he was 16 years old, he became a disciple of a certain master 'Ioan', also informally called by his young pupil *kir Iancu*. Together, the two traveled for ten years in the Habsburg Monarchy and signed several iconostases at the Lepavina Monastery in Croatia and the Church of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist in Székesfehérvár, Hungary.³² Back in his homeland, around 1777, Grigorie began a prolific career as an icon painter, working, at the same time, in fresco painting at the Church of the Icon in Bucharest, and in oil paintings, such as the large historical canvas depicting the prince of Wallachia *Nicolae Mavrogheni offering gifts to the soldiers who fought against the Austrian Army* (1789), exhibited at the National Museum of Art of Romania.

Until recently, however, the identity of Master 'Ioan' and the European extent of Grigorie's career have not been known in Romania. Older local publications have mistakenly identified Ioan with a Romanian painter, either with the head of the painting schools in Râmnicu-Vâlcea, or with Ivan Rusul ('the Russian'),³³ who was the first leader of the painting school of the Căldărușani Monastery. About 30 years ago, judging by his stylistic peculiarities, C. Săndulescu-Verna and Marina Sabados had a great intuition about his Aromanian ethnicity and correctly placed his origin in the Balkan area, but failed to discover his precise identity.³⁴ My research connects for the first time the Romanian historiography dedicated to Grigorie Popovici with recent studies from Serbia,³⁵ Bulgaria,³⁶ and Bosnia-Herzegovina,³⁷ succeeding through documentary arguments in the identification of *kir Iancu* with Jovan Četirević Grabovan, an Aromanian from Albania, the author of frescoes in the altar and nave of the Archdiocesan Cathedral St. Paraskevi in Roman (Moldavia). Jovan's career has a remarkable trajectory for that era, literally connecting the West and East, on the road between Ohrid and Moscow via Buda and Bucharest, and offers a whole new perspective on the cultural relations that unfolded in the community of Wallachian painters in the 18th century.

If the identity and biography of Grigorie Popovici did not represent a challenge for the Romanian authors, because they were known from the interwar period through the writings of Săndulescu-Verna, it was not the same

with the identification of master Ioan, for whom various hypotheses have been proposed.

Săndulescu-Verna says that 'Master Ioan, about whom we have little information, was not an ordinary painter, but he was a skilled man in new painting, better trained and with greater authority' than Grigorie's father, priest Tudor, who was also a painter. The author thought that 'Master Ioan was, most likely, one of the many anti-Ottoman Macedonian-Vlach Romanians, refugees under the authority of the Turks in Venice, who came from there, after 1750, to Wallachia and especially to Moldavia. 'Ioan' the painter, who had probably learned his craft in Venice, then settled in Bucharest where he began to be appreciated for his new, modern, way of painting and easily found his clients'.³⁸ The fairly clear idea that Ioan was Aromanian, which eventually proved to be correct, came to Săndulescu-Verna from the analysis of the support and client network that the two, master and apprentice, activated when they went to work in Hungary and Croatia. The specific names of the community the clients had, and the explanation offered several times by Grigorie in his notebook that 'they went to work for their people', strengthened Săndulescu-Verna's conviction. This was confirmed a few decades later by archival research carried out by Aleksandra Kučeković.³⁹ The opinion that 'Ioan' had come from or studied in the Venetian milieu was based on the few drawings he had found interpolated in Popovici's notebook, and which were made, in his opinion, in the 'naturalistic style of the Italian Renaissance'.⁴⁰ Unfortunately, Săndulescu-Verna did not know any of Jovan's paintings. Elsewhere, he risked a more precise identification and confused 'Ioan' with the teacher at the school in Râmnicu-Vâlcea Diocese.⁴¹

On the other hand, Marina Sabados, the author of the monograph of the Archdiocesan Cathedral St. Paraskevi in Roman, was also concerned, without being aware of this, with the identification of 'Ioan'. 'The second problem that we try to clarify concerns the artists who painted the bema and the nave', she says. 'Nevertheless, closely analyzing the stylistic techniques we got to the conclusion that there was an artistic thinking very much familiar with the techniques employed by the Western painting'.⁴² The fact that almost all the inscriptions of the scenes from Roman are in Greek, has led the author to the conclusion that the painters were not educated in Moldavia, but in a Greek environment. Demonstrating a very good intuition, Maria Sabados put the painting from Roman in connection with Grigorie Popovici, among other artists who painted in a Western-inspired style in Wallachia in the 18th century, such as Nicholas of Henos or Petrache the Logopath, noticing the similarity between the icon of the *Beheading of St. John the Baptist* (Fig. 58), exhibited at the National Museum of Art of Romania, and the composition of the *Parable of the poor Lazarus* (Fig. 3), painted in Roman.⁴³ However, Sabados never suspected that the resemblance between Popovici's painting and the frescoes from Roman meant that the painter 'Ioan' signed in the cathedral is one and the same with the master 'Ioan' from whom Grigorie learned his craft. Sabados concluded that it is possible that all the painters were Romanian, considering the analogies outlined above (except Nicholas of Henos) and that the leader of the work was educated in a Greek artistic milieu.

Jovan Četirević in the Romanian Principalities and his joint works with Grigorie Popovici

In order to make a correct contextualization of Grigorie's work, its research should in fact begin with the activity

of his Master John in the Romanian Principalities and his work at the time when Popovici was his disciple.

Thanks to the publication of the marginal notes on the *hermeneia*⁴⁴ that belonged to Jovan Četirević Grabovan, accomplished by Bransilav Todić, Emmanuel Moutafov, and Aleksandra Kučeković, we know today with precision that Jovan first arrived in Wallachia on August 25, 1750. He arrived after studying in 'Muscovy'. What Muscovy meant to him is still uncertain. Most authors have proposed that it could be Moscow itself, but more recently, Kučeković, suggested the hypothesis that this term could designate 'Greater Russia' (together with Ukraine), and that Jovan Grabovan's schooling would have taken place in the Kiev area, probably at the Lavra Pecerska to which he seems to be connected stylistically. We also know, from the same source, that Jovan painted the bema and the nave of the church of the Roman Archdiocese between September 8, 1754 and May 11, 1755 (Fig. 1-5). This precise date corrects the statements made by Marina Sabados in the monograph of the Roman Cathedral, which dated the painting around 1780.⁴⁵ On July 26, 1755, Jovan returned to his hometown of Grabovo, near Elbsan, in central Albania, to get married. Several notes from the books he owned attest to his presence in Bucharest in 1755 and 1757, where he bought them.⁴⁶ Then, after a period in which he made several round trips between Wallachia and his family in Grabovo, who had grown up with two sons, in 1776 he was again in Bucharest, where he took as a disciple the 16-years-old Grigorie. The apprenticeship agreement was made on June 18, 1776 for a period of 6 years. Together with Grigorie, he left Wallachia and traveled through the Habsburg Monarchy, settling for certain periods in Novi Sad around 1769 and then in Osijek around 1771. In 1771-1772, he painted, together with his cousin George,⁴⁷ the iconostasis in the Church of St. Archangel Gabriel in Sremski Molovin, now in Serbia, but in the 18th century it belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary (Fig. 27). In 1774-1775, they painted the iconostasis of Orahovica, Croatia (Fig. 30-34), where Popovici probably helped, without this being confirmed in the inscriptions. Eventually, Grigorie concluded his apprenticeship in 1776 and became Jovan's partner. The two collaborated, according to the signatures, for the iconostasis in Lepavina Monastery in Croatia, work that unfortunately was lost during the war time, and for the iconostasis in the Serbian Orthodox Church in Székesfehérvár (Stoni Beograd), Hungary, painted in 1775-1776 (Fig. 35-37).⁴⁸

Throughout this period, Grigorie noted and drew in his sketchbook which, unfortunately, was not published by Săndulescu Verna. As we know from a note by Ana Dobjanschi,⁴⁹ Săndulescu-Verna stated that the notebook was destroyed during the devastating earthquake in Bucharest in 1977, but as she remembered, he had made several photocopies of some pages from the notebook, which he showed her at the end of the 80's. Until very recently, it was not known that Săndulescu-Verna had published some of these photographs as illustrations⁵⁰ at the edition of *The Painting Book by Dionysius of Furna*, which he published in Timișoara in 1979.⁵¹ He mixed these images among other pages with models for religious painting, but did not indicate that they were from Popovici's notebook, which he owned, only mentioning them in the manuscript as 'notebook with old iconographic sources'.⁵²

Comparing some of these drawings (Fig. 44-45), I discovered that they are very similar to Popovici's style and that two pages representing prophets (Fig. 38-39) were used as a models for the iconostasis of the chapel of St.

Lazarus of Cernica, which he painted (Fig. 94). Furthermore, two of the drawings in the notebook, depicting scenes and details from the Apocalypse (Fig. 40, 42), were obviously copied from the *Ectypa Bible*, most likely directly from the copy that belonged to his master Jovan⁵³ and is now in the National Museum in Belgrade. Moreover, according to Săndulescu-Verna, Grigorie's notebook contained studies of ancient statues such as *The Farnese Hercules*, *The Apollo Belvedere*, or *The Hermes from the Vatican*, but also nature studies, which indicated the foundations of an early academic education. Unfortunately, all these pages, which could be a fabulous source of information, are inaccessible to researchers today.

The most challenging question regarding Jovan's work is: What did he paint for so many years during his stays in Moldova and Wallachia, beside the extant work in the Roman cathedral?

An inscription collected by Marina Sabados in 1986, when she was working at the Neamț Heritage Office, but which still remains in her notes, states that an icon from the Blebea Church in Târgu-Neamț was made by 'Ioan, painter from the Ohrid Diocese in 1755'. Unfortunately, the icon has not been found in the church today, but it is very plausible that Ioan was Jovan Grabovan, because at that time he was in Moldova, at Roman.

Also, at the Church of Manea Brutaru in Bucharest, on an iconostasis with Greek neo-Baroque sculpture that closely resembles that of Molovin, there is a set of 20 icons (Fig. 7-26), apostles and feasts, which are stylistically similar to the frescoes from Roman. Therefore, it may have been painted by Jovan or one of his associates. Unfortunately, this iconostasis was brought in the church at the end of the 19th century and it is not known where it came from and when it was made. As such, further research is required.

The work of Grigorie Popovici in the Romanian Principalities

As for Grigorie's work in the Romanian Principalities, the earliest work discovered so far, signed by his hand, is the icon of *The Mother of God with the Christ Child Enthroned* (Fig. 48),⁵⁴ from 1776, kept in the warehouse of the National Museum of Art of Romania.⁵⁵ At the bottom of the icon, on the pedestal of the Mother of God, is written in golden letters:

ΜΑΡΙΑ ΛΥ(Η) Γριγορίε Ποποβιτς Ζεγραβ(ς) 1776
(Made by the hand of Grigorie Popovici the painter 1776').⁵⁶

The back of icon is entirely covered with a handwritten inscription in black ink, dating from the 18th century, which is unfortunately impossible to read due to erosion. The composition and style of this early icon closely resembles Jovan's work, especially the royal icon of the Mother of God on the iconostasis at Székesfehérvár (Fig. 36).

The following work, in chronological order, is the icon showing *Saint Spiridon on the throne with Saints Charalambos and Stephen*⁵⁷ (Fig. 49), also kept at the National Museum of Art of Romania. It offers a composition similar to the previous one, signed in the same place, this time in Greek with black ink:

Δά χείρός Γρηγορίδ Ποποβίτς 1778
(Made by the hand of Grigorie Popovici 1778').⁵⁸

The back of the icon also carries an inscription, made in black ink in Romanian, by the painter himself:

1777 ΦΕΒΡ(ς)ΑΡΙΕ: 24

КѢН(А)? (...) ВАМЪ? [...] ⁵⁹
 А(М) АВЪТ ВРЕМѢ СЪ МЪ И(С)КЪЛЕ(С)[К]
 ('1777 February 24, When (?) [...] customs (?) // I had
 time to sign myself').⁶⁰

I believe that this inscription might be important because, as I presume, it records the exact moment when Grigorie Popovici returned to Wallachia. The moment when he had a plenty of time to sign would probably be the mandatory quarantine term for passing the country south border.

The third icon from Grigorie's early period, located at the National Museum of Art of Romania, is a feast icon with *The Crucifixion of the Lord* at its center, and nine other scenes around: *The Baptism of Christ, the Holy Trinity with the Coronation of the Virgin, the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the Mother of God with Child, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, the Beheading of St. John the Baptist, Jesus Christ the Great Emperor and Hierarch with Deësis, Saints George and Demetrius on horseback, Saint John Chrysostom, Saint John the Theologian (?), and Saint John the Baptist* (Fig. 50).⁶¹ Dated to 1779, the icon has, in addition to Grigorie's signature, a donor inscription, written in Greek, at the bottom:

ΔΕΗΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΝΗ
 ΔΙΑ ΧΕΙΡΟΣ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ Ποποβήτζ 1779

('The prayer of God's servant John // Made by the hand of Grigorie Popovici 1779').⁶²

The close similarities between the work of Grigorie and some icons of his master are visible even after Popovici returned to Romania and, at least in theory, was no longer part of Grabovan's team. This is the case, for example, in the iconostasis of Veliki Poganac (Fig. 46-47), made in 1778-1779. Could this mean that Popovici has briefly returned in the meantime to Croatia to help his former teacher? There are, indeed, many periods for which no works signed by Popovici have been found in Romania, and the hypothesis that he could have traveled abroad in the meantime is very plausible.

The years 1780-1781 seem to have been very productive for Grigorie, judging by the large number of extant icons, which are quite diverse. More than a third of the total works of Grigorie known in Romania are dated to this period. Considering their location, I believe this could be the moment when Grigorie gets to work in the ambiance of the painting school in Cernica, as most of the icons were found in monasteries from Ilfov county, that are affiliated to this main Lavra. This is not surprising given that Popovici was perhaps a relative of Matei Polcovnicul, the head of the painting school at that time.⁶³

Given their size and style, three of those icons belonged to the register of royal icons in various iconostases. One example is the icon of the *Transfiguration* (Fig. 51) from the Collection of Pasărea Monastery in Ilfov County,⁶⁴ signed and dated in the lower right corner—ιστορ(ι) αδή και αφιερόθη παρα γρηγορίδ Ποποβήτζ ζωγραφος 1780 ('painted and dedicated by Grigorie Popovici the painter 1780')⁶⁵—and the icon of *The Most Holy Trinity* (Fig. 52) from the Art Collection of the Romanian Patriarchate,⁶⁶ signed in the same year—Де Григоріе Зсґрав 1780 ('By Grigorie the painter 1780').⁶⁷ These icons have many elements in common, including the chromatic and the design of the title inscriptions. Also, the Museum of Pasărea Monastery holds the icon of *Saints Demetrius and George* (Fig. 53),⁶⁸ which, although not signed, I have ascribed to Grigorie on a stylistic basis and by analogy with the other two icons mentioned above.

In October 1994, the icon of *The blessing Jesus Christ* signed by Popovici was put up for sale at the Alis Auction House in Bucharest.⁶⁹ The entry for the icon in the auction catalog⁷⁰ records the existence of an inscription that mentions the year 1780: 'These holy icons were painted by Grigorie Popovici the Painter in Bucharest in 1780'.⁷¹ Unfortunately, this icon has not been tracked to date, and the auction house no longer keeps an image of the object in its archive. Therefore, we cannot confirm the formal and stylistic features of this image.

Among the most famous pieces of religious art executed by Popovici, there are the feast icons taken from the Văcărești Monastery and found today in the permanent exhibition of the National Museum of Art of Romania. Initially, there were 15 of them, as their dedicatory inscription states:

Αί παρῶσαι 15 εἰκόνας ἐγέναν δι ἐξόδων τῶ
 ἀρχιμανδρίτου ἡγμένου Γερμανδ ἀφιερῶσαν εἰς
 τιν ἱεράν μόνην τῆς Παναγίας Τριάδας Βακαρέστι,
 παρὰ γρηγορίδ ζωγραφῶδ 1781

('These 15 icons were made at the expense of the abbot Archimandrite Gherman and were dedicated to the holy monastery of the Most Holy Trinity of Văcărești // by Grigorie the painter 1781').⁷²

Only five small icons (painted in oil on brass, on both sides) remain:⁷³ *The Annunciation* and *The Holy 40 Martyrs of Sebaste* (Fig. 54-55),⁷⁴ *The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary* and *The Exaltation of the Holy Cross* (Fig. 56-57),⁷⁵ *The Beheading of St. John the Baptist* and *Saints George, Elijah, Pantelimon and the Emperors Constantine and Helen* (Fig. 58-59),⁷⁶ *The Pentecost* and *The Holy Trinity* (Fig. 60-61),⁷⁷ *Saints Stephen, Theodore, Athanasius, and Cyril and Saints Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, Gregory the Theologian, and Euthymius* (Fig. 62-63).⁷⁸ Since 1912, at the time when Virgil Drăghiceanu published the *Catalog of the Collection of the Historical Monuments Commission*, the first museum of religious art in Romania, later largely integrated into the National Museum of Art, only 6 icons still existed from this series.⁷⁹ The most interesting theme in the series of these feasts is *The Beheading of Saint John the Baptist*. Its composition is very similar to the schemes used by Jovan Četirević in the painting of the Roman Cathedral, probably inspired by the overlap of two episodes of the Cycle of Saint John the Baptist in the *Ectypa Bible* (Fig. 64).

Another icon painted on brass, with approximately the same dimensions as the feast icons from Văcărești, is located at Țigănești Monastery, a former metochion of Cernica Monastery. Depicting the *Mother of God Platytera Enthroned with the Christ Child, Holy Archangels and Saints Cosmas and Damian* (Fig. 65),⁸⁰ this icon is believed to be miraculous. At the bottom of the composition, the inscription of the donor was written—ΔΕΗΣΙΣ Τῶ ΔΟΥΛῶ Τῶ ΘΕΟΥ ΣΤΑΜΑΘ Σ[...]ΠΙΑ[...] 1781 ('The prayer of God's servant Stamate')⁸¹—now only partially preserved, and on the lower right, under the wooden frame added later, there is the painter's signature: παρὰ γρηγορίδ ποποβήτζ ('By Grigorie Popovici').⁸² The composition of this icon is specific to Grigorie's style and resembles his first known icon.

In the same year, Grigorie painted another icon of multiple saints for a different donor, Eustathius son of Constantine, who requested the *Holy Trinity with the Coronation of the Virgin, the Holy Emperors Constantine and Helen, St. Nicholas, and St. Paraskevi* (Fig. 66).⁸³ This icon, carefully painted on wooden panel, is kept in the Pasărea

Monastery Collection and it is signed and dated by the artist, next to the donation inscription:

ΔΕΗΣΙΣ ΤΩ ΔΔΛΩ ΤΩ ΘΕΩ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΩ
ΕΥΣΤΑΘΙΩ // παρά γρηγο[ρι]δ ποποβήτζ ζωγραφοδ
1781

(‘The prayer of God’s servant Eustathius son of Constantine // By Grigorie Popovici the painter 1781’).⁸⁴

One detail that draws attention to this icon and proves very useful in attributing another is the particular way in which the four symbols of the Tetramorph, which represents the Four Evangelists, are rendered. These details were treated in exactly the same way in the icon of *Jesus Christ the Great Emperor and Hierarch with the Apostles in branches* (Fig. 102) that was found in 1939 by Victor Brătulescu⁸⁵ in the Assumption church in Dascălu village, Ilfov county, together with its counterpart, the icon of the *Mother of God with Child Enthroned, surrounded by prophets* (Fig. 103). The strange story of these icons by Grigorie could not be fully reconstructed up to now. Their original provenance is unknown. We only know that in the interwar period they were in the new church from Vărăști, Dascălu, and supposedly came from an older church, which was demolished to build in 1817 the new foundation of the stolnic Grigorie Palade Victor Brătulescu considered, without knowing their author, that these icons are painted in a Greek style and would date from the middle of the 18th century. According to the parish priest Mihai Niculescu,⁸⁶ aged 76, who served for 55 years in the village of Vărăști, the icons were moved in 1982 to the old church in Vărăștii de Jos, where they stayed until 1986 when they were collected by the Office for Heritage and taken to Bucharest.⁸⁷ So far, I have tried to identify these icons in all the collections where they could have been sent—the National Museum of Art of Romania, the Museum of Bucharest and the Art Collection of the Romanian Patriarchate—but I have not been able to find them so far.

Another icon by Popovici known only from the literature, which could not be found to date, is the *Mother of God, The Source of Life* from 1782.⁸⁸ In 1998, Ana Dobjanschi identified this icon in the private collection of actress Marga Barbu and published a reproduction of it together with the identification data.⁸⁹ After the death of the actress in 2009, her property was inherited by some relatives and partially sold at auction. This icon, however, was not among the items sold, and its current location remains unknown.

An important moment in Grigorie Popovici’s career, which has not been fully clarified until this moment, is his contribution to the painting of the Church of the Icon in Bucharest. This church was built between 1784 and 1786 by Captain Panait Băbeanu on the site of an older church, from 1770, founded by his grandfather, Mihail Băbeanu, a secret advisor, who became a monk by the name of Misail. Before that, at the beginning of the 18th century, a wooden church of the *ceauș* David Corbea, adviser of the Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu and his messenger in the Russian Tsardom, stood on that site.⁹⁰

Damaged by the earthquake of 1838, the church was repaired by Pană Băbeanu, the nephew of Panait Băbeanu. In 1873, the church was restored by Elena Băbeanu according to the plans of the architect Alexandru Orăscu. On the initiative of Mihail Băbeanu II, in 1889 the church was repainted in oil, over the old fresco, by Mihail (Mihalache) Dragomirescu,⁹¹ a student of Gheorghe Tatta-

rescu. Between 2010 and 2017, this layer of painting was removed and the original frescoes have restored by the restorer Gabriela Ștefăniță and her team.⁹² On this occasion, the portrait of the Metropolitan of Ungrovlachia Gregory II was brought to light in the area dedicated to the votive painting, located in narthex. Unfortunately, this portrait, which shows exceptional aesthetic qualities, was the subject of a misinterpretation due to the considerations of the restorer Gabriela Ștefăniță, who, judging only by the oil technique, mistakenly dated the painting to 1873.⁹³

In the past, Romanian researchers never identified the author of the paintings in the Church of the Icon, although the painters left an inscription in the Proskomide. It was read during the restoration (1987-1989), being published by the restorers Teodora Ianculescu and Dan Mohanu.⁹⁴ They mentioned that the inscription was incomplete, and only a few names of painters could be reproduced: ‘Alexandru, Constantin Zugravul, and apprentices Filip (?) ... Fota...’. For a long time after that, it was thought that the inscription was completely erased, but following the recent restoration process, its traces reappeared and the text could be partially reconstructed (Fig. 68):

ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕ ΠΟΜΕΝΕ
ΣΙΕ ΠΡΕ ΡΟΒΙΝ ΛΩΝ
Λ[Σ]ΜΝΕΖΕ(Σ) ΑΛΕΞΑ
[...] ΚΟ[Ν]Ι(Ο)ΤΑ[Ν]ΙΔΙ(Ν) ΖΣΓ [...]

(‘Priest, mention your servants Alexa[...] and Constantine the painters’).⁹⁵

It is strange that, despite this inscription, in recent years the idea that the mural painting in the Church of the Icon belongs to the painter Grigorie began to spread, with no accurate reference.⁹⁶ My research has proved the definite connection between the painter Grigorie and the Church of the Icon. It was well known that in this church there is an icon of the *Mother of God of Sorrows* (Fig. 76-77),⁹⁷ signed by Grigorie⁹⁸—1780. Ιανν. 3. // ιστορειθή και αφιερόθη παρα γρηγοριδ ζωγραφοδ, 1788 φεβρ: 10 (‘Painted and donated by Grigorie the painter, 1788 February 10th’)⁹⁹—but it is a complete novelty that on the back of this icon there is an inscription of donation written by the painter himself (Fig. 78):

Ича(с)тъ сфи(н)тъ икѡа[н]ъ а(м) афieroсито // сф(н)те(и) висери(ч) ч(е) съ иѡмеще а лѡ(и) Дави(д) // каре акс(м) са(с) зиан(т) де ла донѡкъ асаръ де // дѡм[и]неалѡи: па(и) Панан(т) ви(в) ве(а) кап[и]тан] за лефеѡи // ка съ фи(и)е спре поменире: Григорие, Смара(г)да, Каса(и)дра // 1788: фе(в)[р]арне]. 10

(‘I donated this holy icon to the holy church, which is named after [its first founder] David, which was now built a second time by him: pan Panait, former great captain of mercenaries, to be remembered: Grigorie, Smaranda, Casandra, 1788: February 10’).¹⁰⁰

The composition of this icon reveals a model very well known in Mannerist and Baroque painting, spread from Western Europe to Central Europe and then to the Russian Tsardom. From the research done so far, it appears that this image was probably copied by Popovici, most likely as early as 1780,¹⁰¹ through some engraved reproductions, after one of the *Mater Dolorosa* (Fig. 79) created by the Italian painter Carlo Dolci. The inclination of the head, the expression of the face, the folds of the clothes, and even the blue-yellow chromatic of the maphorion in-

dicating a relationship to this model. It is significantly different from the Ukrainian version of the theme of *Our Lady of Sorrows Akhtyrskaya*, which was also present in the Romanian principalities at Putna, Neamț, and Căldărușani monasteries from the first half of the 18th century onward. Popovici's icon is the oldest of its kind discovered so far in Wallachia, and it was certainly the model for a very large number of subsequent copies, some almost identical, housed especially in the monasteries of Cernica, Căldărușani, Pasărea and Țigănești (Fig. 80).

It is unclear whether the relatively recent attribution of the mural at the Church of the Icon to Grigorie was made on the basis of the signature on the icon of *Our Lady of Sorrows*, or there is other evidence, unpublished so far. In any case, without the inscription on the back, the icon could not be linked in any way to the church of the Icon because it could have easily been brought from another place at some point. The inscription on the reverse clearly shows that Grigorie worked at the Church of the Icon, since he donated an icon in his own name, in memory of him and his relatives Smaranda and Cassandra. The latter could have been the painter's wife and daughter, or his mother and sister.

As such, what did Grigorie paint on the walls of the Church of the Icon and why is he not mentioned in the painters' dedicatory inscription? His absence from the Proskomide could have been caused by degradation of the inscription or by the fact that he was the leader of the team, the author of the iconographic program and almost certainly the one who had painted the votive portraits, so he could not stand among the ordinary fresco painters. Judging by the artistic quality and the modernity of the *Portrait of Metropolitan Grigorie II* (Fig. 71), I consider that it can be attributed to Popovici.¹⁰² Also, other areas of the mural painting share the qualities of Popovici's style. For example, the articulation of the figures and the drawing of the anatomical details of the faces are evident in the portraits of *Saint Emperor Constantine* (Fig. 69), and *Saint Roman the Archdeacon* or *Saint Sophia* (Fig. 70). This could mean either that Grigorie actually participated in the painting of the church, or that the other two painters, Alexandru and Constantin, tried to emulate his style, as they were probably his disciples.

Another intriguing fact at the Church of the Icon is the attribution of the iconostasis (Fig. 72). It has long been mistakenly thought to be a 19th-century work due to its pronounced Baroque character, which was not found in Wallachia before 1840. More recently, since the painting of the church was attributed to Grigorie, also the iconostasis was erroneously assigned to him, but fortunately, this time correctly dated to the late 18th century.¹⁰³ Although a slight resemblance to Grigorie's style is detected, the typology of the paintings of the iconostasis of the Church of the Icon do not belong to him. Instead, they are very similar to the work of the painter Teofan, who signed in 1791 the iconostasis in the church of the Nativity of the Virgin of Poiana Mărului Monastery (Fig. 73) in Buzău County. Comparing the portraits of the saints and the compositions of the feasts from Church of the Icon and Poiana Mărului Monastery (Fig. 74-75), a great resemblance appears among the distribution of the figures, decorations, architecture, and even the setting of the indoor scenes in the image.

An inscription on the iconostasis of the church of the Nativity of the Virgin from Poiana Mărului Monastery mentions that the royal icons were made with the con-

tribution of the monk Macarie from Bucharest in 1777 (probably the year when work on the iconostasis began). It is, therefore, possible that the painter Teofan had previously worked in Bucharest, at the Church of the Icon, which was a monastery at that time, and then reached Poiana Mărului through monk Macarie. The connection between Poiana Mărului Monastery, the former monastery of Băbeanu family in Bucharest and Cernica Monastery, where Grigorie worked extensively, is also mediated by the monastic revival of Ukrainian origin, initiated by Vasile from Poiana Mărului and Paisie Velicovschi, and later maintained by Gheorghe and Calinic from Cernica. The hypothesis of Grigorie's affiliation with the Paisian movement¹⁰⁴ as master of the painting school from Cernica and Căldărușani is a subject that must be further researched.

Another icon by Popovici, published several times already without being credited to the artist, is the unusual composition *Mother of God Pieta* (Fig. 81) from the National Museum of Art of Romania.¹⁰⁵ Its inscription:

ПОМЕНИЩЕ ДІОДМНЄ ПРЕ РОБѢ ТЯ ХРИСТИНА
ДѢ ГРИГОРІЕ 1798

('Lord, remember your servant Hristina // By Grigorie 1798')¹⁰⁶

was published by both Drăghiceanu¹⁰⁷ and Bălan,¹⁰⁸ but neither was aware of the fact that this icon has its counterpart in the icon of *Jesus Christ Pantocrator* (Fig. 82) in the Collection of Pasărea Monastery in Ilfov County.¹⁰⁹ On the back of both icons is written in black ink, at the end of the 19th century, the same place of origin, that is, the Măgureanu church in Bucharest, the well-known foundation of the Cantacuzino family. On the icon of Christ there is also an analogous dedicatory inscription, probably belonging to Hristina's husband, Constantin:

ПОМЕНИЩЕ ДОДМНЄ ПРЕ РОБѢЛ ТЪС
КѢ(Н)СТА(Н)ТИН(С)

('Lord, remember your servant Constantine').¹¹⁰

A significant part of Ana Dobjanschi's contribution to Popovici's study was her extensive analysis of his role as history painter, in which Grigorie can be truly considered a pioneer. He is the author of the oldest known historical painting in Romania, located at the National Museum of Art, representing *Prince Nicolae Mavrogheni offering gifts to the soldiers who fought against the Austrian Army* (Fig. 83).¹¹¹ The painting was copied several times through drawings, which were later reproduced in historical volumes dedicated to Nicolae Mavrogheni.¹¹² However, none of these drawings is the original sketch for the composition, made by Popovici's hand (an idea of Elisabeta Negrău).¹¹³ Dobjanschi also has the merit of correctly assigning to the artist, on a stylistic basis, the portrait of *Nicolae Mavrogheni* (Fig. 84),¹¹⁴ found until 2016 in the collection of the National Museum of Art. It bears the inscription, in Greek:

† ΙΓΩΑΝΝΗC ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟC ΠΙΕΤΡC ΜΑΥΡΟ[Γ]ΕΝΗ
ΒΟΕΒΟΔΑ ΑΥΘΕΝ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΠΑΣΕC
΄ΓΥΡΟ ΒΛΑΧΙΑC :

('Ioan Nicolae Petru Mavrogheni Lord and Master of all Ungrovlachia').¹¹⁵

A lesser-known side of Grigorie's work, probably related to his status as court painter, that we can assume he held in the last decades of the 18th century, is manuscript miniatures. The discovery was made by Radu Constantinescu,¹¹⁶ who following the activity of Dionisie the ecclesiarch, a copyist from Pietrari, Vâlcea County, found

that certain miniatures from the finance book of Cotroceni Monastery, written by Dionisie and painted by Răducanu Poenaru, were in fact, copied after the miniature on the first page of *The finance book (Conдика) of Radu Vodă Monastery* in Bucharest, made by Popovici.¹¹⁷ The color drawing (Fig. 85) is a *presentatio codicis* type composition, a kind of votive image with the founders of the Monastery Radu Vodă, Alexandru Moruzi, and Radu Mihnea, to whom the abbot Ignatie dedicates the book, in a sumptuous interior, decorated according to the taste of the 18th century. The composition is signed by Grigorie who also writes the dedicatory line:

1794: α(η)[ρμινε] 10: ΓΡΙΓ[ΟΡΝΕ] // † ΖΗΛΕΛΕ
 ΠΡΕ ΝΥΛΑΚΑΤΥΛΑΥΗ ΝΟ(Ε)ΤΡΥ Δ(Ο)ΜΝ
 ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΥ ΚΩΝΣΤ[ΑΝΤΙΝ] ΜΥΡΥΖ ΕΘΕΒΕΣΔ
 // ΗΓΥΜΕΝ ΦΙΙΝΔ [...] ΑΡΧΙΜ[ΑΝΔΡΙΤ]:
 ΙΓΝΑΤΙΕ

(‘1794: April 10th Grigorie // In the days of our highest lord Alexandru Constantin Moruzi Voievod, abbot being [...] Archimandrite Ignatius’).¹¹⁸

Moreover, other drawings from the finance book of Cotroceni seem to have been inspired by Grigorie’s style, for example the angel holding the banner with the title of the book,¹¹⁹ but Constantinescu could no longer identify their source.

Also, through Radu Constantinescu, another historical drawing, which could have been made by Grigorie Popovici was revealed, the *Portrait of the prince of Wallachia Alexandru Moruzi* (Fig. 86),¹²⁰ depicted on a charter from July 1, 1697 and now kept at the Bucharest Municipality Museum. The votive representation is found at the bottom of the scroll, containing the decision to establish the plague hospital in Dudești, near Bucharest, and shows the prince kneeling in prayer in front of the angel of death, who stops the pandemic. Vărtosu particularly remarks the detailed and delicate style of the watercolor, appreciating that it has very vivid touches and a modern manner, so different from how the illustrations in documents were made at that time. Consequently, by analogy with the other portrait of Moruzi, I consider this one could be attributed to Grigorie Popovici, too.

Victor Brătulescu mentions two more icons of Popovici that still existed in the middle of the 20th century in Cernica Monastery:¹²¹ an icon of the *Crucifixion*, which he read ‘It was painted and donated by Grigorie Popovici 1798’ and another with the *Mother of God* surrounded by ten medallions with prophets and 24 scenes from her life, unsigned and undated. None of these icons can be found on display in the monastery today.

The last part of Grigorie Popovici’s career, as we know it until now, develops in the first years of the 19th century at Cernica Monastery where the artist reaches the highest point in the development of his style. Here, worked two large devotional icons, exhibited today in the Church of St. George (built only in 1838-1842), the *Mother of God with Child* (Fig. 87) and *Jesus Christ the Pantocrator* (Fig. 88).¹²² They are inscribed with the following prayer—**ΑΛΕ ΤΑΛΕ ΛΙΝΤΡΥ ΑΛΕ ΤΑΛΕ // Δε Γριгоріе Фружинескѡ Ζ: 1800** (‘Thine own of Thine own // By Grigorie Frujinescu the painter 1800’).¹²³ This suggests that he could be the donor of the icons.

His most important work in Cernica, however, is the iconostasis of St. Lazarus Chapel of the cemetery, where he certainly worked the royal icons: *Mother of God with Child* (Fig. 89) signed: Παρά Γρηγορίω Φρζζινεσκς. 1802 (‘By Grigorio Frujinescu’),¹²⁴ *Jesus Christ Pantocrator* (Fig. 90), signed: Γρηγ[ορίω] 1802 (‘Greg 1802’),¹²⁵ *Resurrection of Lazarus* (Fig. 92), *Saints Nicholas and John the Baptist*

(Fig. 93), and the medallion with the *Holy Trinity* (Fig. 95) above the royal doors. The composition used for the *Holy Trinity* icon is identically depicted in an ink drawing made on the back of a sheet from the copy of the *Ectypa Bible* owned by Jovan Grabovan (Fig. 69). This fact further strengthens the idea that Grigorie remained faithful all his life to the models offered by his master John. An even more interesting detail is the ark that the holy Prophet Solomon carries in his hand in a medallion of the iconostasis of Cernica (Fig. 98), which describes a miniature church with a particular Gothic style. The same shape can be noticed in a drawing in his notebook (Fig. 38), in the representation of Prophet David on the top of the iconostasis at Stoni Beograd (Fig. 35), also in his image on the doors of Veliki Poganac (Fig. 47) and on the side of the icon of *Mother of God* from Dascălu (Fig. 102). This proves once again the connection between all these works.

The last known icons of Grigorie¹²⁶ are those from the church of St. Paraskevi¹²⁷ in the village of Orbeasca de Jos, Teleorman County, made in 1803 by order of the merchant and boyar Hagi Chiriac Arbut, a very influential figure in the economy of Wallachia in the late 18th century, and his wife Casandra.¹²⁸ Arbut, who came to Wallachia as a supply agent for the Ottoman army (*căpânlău / capanlău*), settled in Bucharest and was the owner of the first public pharmacy there,¹²⁹ which opened in 1776 inside the Șerban Vodă Inn. Then, around 1793-1803, he was the director (*epistat*) of the first cloth factory in Wallachia,¹³⁰ in Pociovaliște, near Afumați in Ilfov County. In order to reward his services to the reign, he was made a boyar with the rank of *medelnicer* by Prince Nicolae Mavrogheni. His origin is controversial. According to Iorga he was an Armenian¹³¹ from Chios,¹³² but the significance of his name and his daughter’s name,¹³³ the profile of his commercial activities, the business partners¹³⁴ he had, and the fact that he is Popovici’s sponsor, indicate that he was in fact of Aromanian ethnicity.

The three preserved icons, the *Mother of God with Child* (Fig. 100), signed and dated: **Δε Γριгоріе 1803** (‘By Grigorie 1803’),¹³⁵ *Jesus Christ Pantocrator* (Fig. 101), which received the dedicatory inscription: **ΡΟΥΤΥΧΥΝΕΑ ΡΟΥΣΛΣ(Η) ΛΣ(Η) Δ[Σ]ΜΝΕΖΕΣ ΧΑΥΗ ΚΥΡΙΑ(Κ) ΑΡΒΥΤ(Σ)** (‘The prayer of God’s servant Hagi¹³⁶ Chiriac Arbut’),¹³⁷ and *Saint Catherine*, although they suffered major reprintings and erosions, still prove the peak of Westernization reached by Popovici in the early years of the 19th century.

We do not know what happened to Grigorie Popovici after 1803. Săndulescu-Verna assumes that either he died, relatively young, or he became a monk and thus he changed his name.¹³⁸ However, this second variant is less plausible, because even if he had another name, his personal and unmistakable style could not go unnoticed and be anonymous. Also, given the popularity of his icons and the fame he had achieved, it is unlikely that once he took vows he gave up the craft of painting. My opinion is that apart from death, another option can be considered, that Grigorie moved to another country, as his master John had done.

Grigorie Popovici’s legacy in Romanian art did not consist only of his very special icons, but it was also one of blood line. As Săndulescu-Verna demonstrates through a long and complicated argument,¹³⁹ his grandson was the painter Nicolae Grigorescu, considered to be the most important modern painter in Romania, who also painted icons and churches in his youth.



◀ Fig. 1. Roman, Archdiocesan Cathedral St. Paraskevi, view from the north side of the nave, 1754-1755.
Credits: Fr. Silviu Cluci, Doxology, Iași.

▼ Fig. 2. 'The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Archdiocesan Cathedral St. Paraskevi in Roman, 1754-1755.
Credits: Fr. Silviu Cluci, Doxology, Iași.

▶ Fig. 3. 'The Parable of Poor Lazarus', Archdiocesan Cathedral St. Paraskevi in Roman, 1754-1755.
Source: Sabados 1990.

▲ Fig. 4. 'The Beheading of Saint John the Baptist', Archdiocesan Cathedral St. Paraskevi in Roman, 1754-1755.
Source: Sabados 1990.

► Fig. 5. 'Holy Hierarchs', Archdiocesan Cathedral St. Paraskevi in Roman, 1754-1755.
Credits: Ioan Popa.







◀ Fig. 6. View of the iconostasis, Manea Brutaru Church, Bucharest.
Credits: Cristina Cojocaru.

◀ Fig. 7-26. Feast icons and Holy Apostles, the iconostasis of Manea Brutaru Church, Bucharest.
Credits: Serioja Bocsook.



Fig. 7. The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary.



Fig. 8. *The Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.*



Fig. 9. *The Annunciation.*



Fig. 10. The Presentation of Christ at the Temple.



Fig. 11. *The Baptism of Christ.*



Fig. 12. *The Transfiguration.*



◀ Fig. 13. *The Last Supper.*



Fig. 14. *The Resurrection of Christ.*

Fig. 15. *The Ascension of Christ.*

Fig. 16. *The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.*







Fig. 17. Saint Peter the Apostle.



Fig. 19. Saint Matthew the Evangelist.

Fig. 20. Saint John the Evangelist.

◀ Fig. 18. Saint Paul the Apostle.





Fig. 21. *Saint Luke the Evangelist.*



Fig. 22. Saint Mark the Evangelist.



Fig. 23. *Saint James the Great.*

Fig. 24. *Saint Andrew the Apostle.*



ΟΙ ΑΝΤΙ,

ΑΝΤΙΣΤΗΝΑ





Fig. 25. Saint Simon the Apostle.

Fig. 26. Saint Thomas the Apostle.



◀ Fig. 27. View of the iconostasis, Church of St. Archangel Gabriel in Sremski Molovin, Serbia, 1771-1772.
Credits: Aleksandra Kučeković.

▶ Fig. 28. View of the iconostasis, Catholicon of Putna Monastery, 1771-1773.
Credits: Cristina Cojocaru.

▼ Fig. 29. 'Pilate's Judgement', detail from the iconostasis of the Catholicon of Putna Monastery, 1771-1773.
Credits: Cristina Cojocaru.

▶ Fig. 30. 'The Annunciation', icon from the iconostasis in Orahovica, Croatia, 1774-1775.
Credits: Museum of Serbian Orthodox Church, Belgrade.

▶ Fig. 31. 'The Ascension of the Lord', icon from the iconostasis in Orahovica, Croatia, 1774-1775.
Credits: Museum of Serbian Orthodox Church, Belgrade.

▲ Fig. 32a-b. View and detail from 'The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary', icon from the iconostasis in Orahovica, Croatia, 1774-1775, Gallery of Matica Srpska, Novi Sad.
Credits: Cristina Cojocaru.







▲ Fig. 33. 'Our Lady of the Sign', icon from the iconostasis in Orahovica, Croatia, 1774-1775.
Credits: Museum of Serbian Orthodox Church, Belgrade.

▶ Fig. 34. 'Saint Longinus', icon from the iconostasis in Orahovica, Croatia, 1774-1775.
Credits: Museum of Serbian Orthodox Church, Belgrade.

▼ Fig. 35. View of the iconostasis, Serbian Orthodox Church in Székesfehérvár, Hungary, 1775-1776.
Credits: Branislav Todić, Belgrade.

▶ Fig. 36. 'Mother of God with Child', royal icon in the iconostasis of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Székesfehérvár, Hungary, 1775-1776.
Credits: Branislav Todić, Belgrade.







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ПРИИДИТЕ ПИТЕ ОУГО
КТО СЛОЖИ ТОКА МОС
НИИ. О КАМ ПУТ
НА МОСКО КЕ О СЛО
НА СЛЫШЕ ШЕНА ПИ



◀ Fig. 37. 'Christ the Great High Priest', royal icon in the iconostasis of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Székesfehérvár, Hungary, 1775-1776.

Credits: Branislav Todić, Belgrade.

▲ Fig. 38-39. 'Holy Prophets', the model book of Grigorie Popovici.

Source: Erminia picturii bizantine 1979.

▼ Fig. 40. 'The xxii Vision from the Apocalypse of St. John', the model book of Grigorie Popovici.

Source: Erminia picturii bizantine 1979.

▶ Fig. 41. 'The Illustration for the Chapter xx of the Apocalypse of St. John', the copy of the Ectypa Bible which belonged to Jovan Četirević Grabovan.

Credits: National Museum, Belgrade.





▲ Fig. 42. 'The Angel of the Last Judgment', the model book of Grigorie Popovici.

Source: *Erminia picturii bizantine* 1979.



▼ Fig. 43. 'The Illustration for the Chapter IX of the Apocalypse of St. John', the copy of the Ectypa Bible which belonged to Jovan Četirević Grabovan.

Credits: National Museum, Belgrade.

▼ Fig. 44. 'Dešis to Christ the Judge', the model book of Grigorie Popovici.

Source: *Erminia picturii bizantine* 1979.

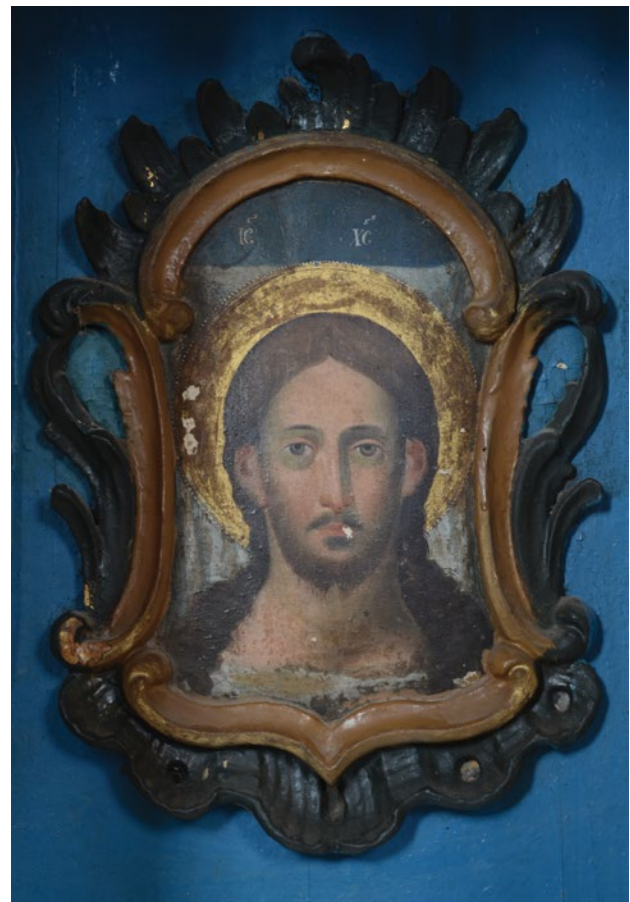
▲ Fig. 45. 'Jesus Christ the Bread of Life', the model book of Grigorie Popovici.

Source: *Erminia picturii bizantine* 1979.

▶ Fig. 46. 'Jesus Christ', royal icon from the iconostasis in Veliki Poganac, Croatia, 1778-1779. Credits: Srpsko kulturno društvo "Prosvjeta", Zagreb.

▶ Fig. 47. 'The royal door, the iconostasis of the church in Veliki Poganac, Croatia, 1778-1779.

Credits: Srpsko kulturno društvo "Prosvjeta", Zagreb.







ΜΗ, ΘΥ

ΙΣ, ΧΣ

ΜΑΡΙΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗΝ 1706



◀ Fig. 48. *Mother of God with Child*, Grigorie Popovici, 1776.
Credits: National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest.

▶ Fig. 49. *'Saint Spyridon enthroned with Saint Charalambos, and Saint Stephen'*, Grigorie Popovici, 1776.
Credits: National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest.



▲ Fig. 50. 'The Crucifixion of the Lord with feasts', Grigorie Popovici, 1779.
Credits: National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest.

▶ Fig. 51. 'The Transfiguration', Grigorie Popovici, 1780, Pasărea Monastery Museum, Ilfov County.
Credits: Serioja Bocsok.

Η ΜΕΤΑΜΟΡ

ΦΩΣΙΣ Θ̄ ΚΥ,



1780



▲ Fig. 52. 'The Holy Trinity', Grigorie Popovici, 1780, The Art Collection of the Romanian Patriarchate. Credits: The Centre for Cultural Heritage of the Romanian Patriarchate

► Fig. 53. 'Saints Demetrius and George, Grigorie Popovici, c. 1780, Pasărea Monastery Museum, Ilfov County. Credits: Serioja Bocsok.





▲ Fig. 54. 'The Annunciation'. Feast icon on brass that belonged to the Văcărești Monastery, Grigorie Popovici, 1781. Source: National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest.



▲ Fig. 55. 'The Holy 40 Martyrs of Sebaste'.
Feast icon on brass that belonged to the Văcărești Monastery,
Grigorie Popovici, 1781.
Source: National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest.



▲ Fig. 56. *'The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary'.*
Feast icon on brass that belonged to the Văcărești Monastery,
Grigorie Popovici, 1781.

Source: National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest.



▲ Fig. 57. 'The Exaltation of the Holy Cross'.
Feast icon on brass that belonged to the Văcărești Monastery,
Grigorie Popovici, 1781.
Source: National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest.



◀ Fig. 58. 'The Beheading of St. John the Baptist'. Feast icon on brass that belonged to the Văcărești Monastery, Grigorie Popovici, 1781.
Source: National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest.

▼ Fig. 59. 'Saints George, Elijah, Panteleimon and the Holy Emperors Constantine and Helen'. Feast icon on brass that belonged to the Văcărești Monastery, Grigorie Popovici, 1781.
Source: National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest.





▲ Fig. 60. 'The Pentecost'.
Feast icon on brass that belonged to the Văcărești Monastery,
Grigorie Popovici, 1781.
Source: National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest.

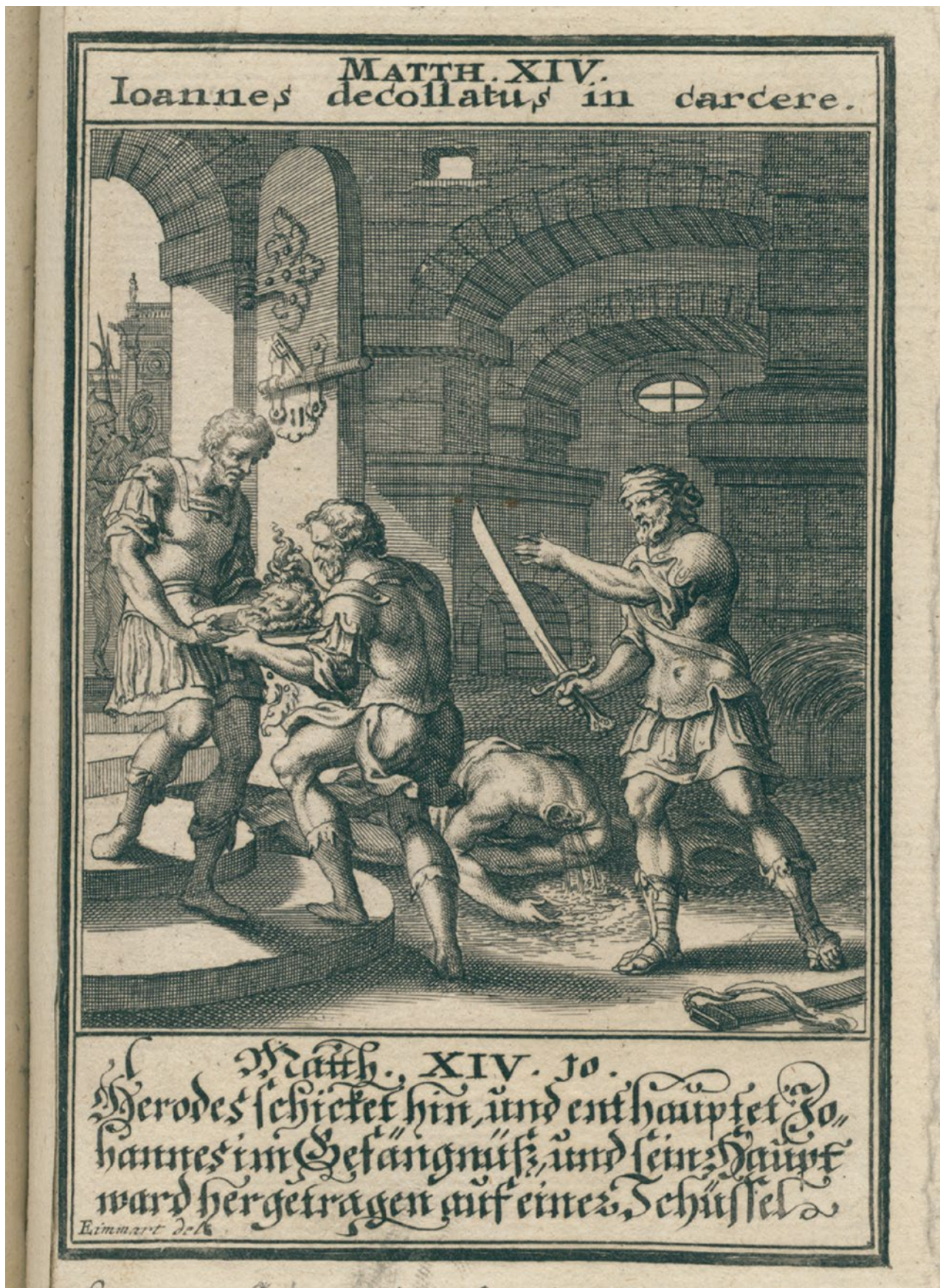


▲ Fig. 61. 'The Holy Trinity'.
Feast icon on brass that belonged to the Văcărești Monastery,
Grigorie Popovici, 1781.
Source: National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest.

▼ Fig. 62. 'Saints Stephen, Theodore, Athanasius, and Cyril'.
Feast icon on brass that belonged to the Văcărești Monastery,
Grigorie Popovici, 1781.
Source: National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest.

▼ Fig. 63. 'Saints Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, Gregory the Theologian and Euthymius'. Feast icon on brass that belonged to the Văcărești Monastery, Grigorie Popovici, 1781.
Source: National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest.





◆ Fig. 64a-b. 'The Beheading of St. John the Baptist' and 'The Receiving of the Head of St. John the Baptist', the copy of the Ectypa Bible which belonged to Jovan Cetirević Grabovan. Source: National Museum, Belgrade.

MATTH. XIV.
Attulit puella caput Ioānis, matri sua.



Matth. XIV. 11.
Johannis Haupt ward hergetragen in einer
Schüssel, und dem Mägdelein gegeben, und
sie bracht es ihrer Mutter

ἠγάπησε τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐν τρεφύλλῳ



▲ Fig. 65. 'Mother of God with Child and Saints Cosmas and Damian, Grigorie Popovici, 1781, Țigănești Monastery Museum, Ilfov County.

Credits: Serioja Bocsok.

▼ Fig. 66. 'The Holy Trinity with the Coronation of the Virgin, Holy Emperors Constantine and Helen, Saint Nicholas and Saint Paraskevi', Grigorie Popovici, 1781, Pasărea Monastery Museum, Ilfov county.

Credits: Serioja Bocsok.

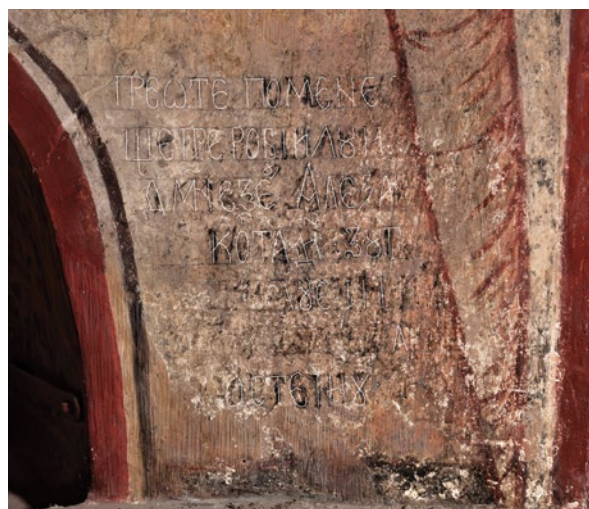
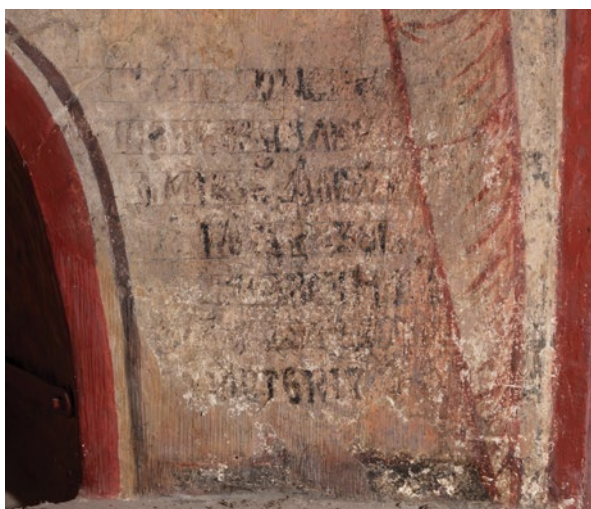
▶ Fig. 67. Church of the Icon, Bucharest, view from narthex, c. 1784-1786.

Credits: Serioja Bocsok.



▼ Fig. 68a-b. The signature of the painters at Proskomide, the Church of the Icon, Bucharest, c. 1784-1786.

Credits: Serioja Bocsok.





▲ Fig. 69. 'Saint Emperor Constantine', detail of the fresco in the Church of the Icon, Bucharest.
Credits: Serioja Bocsok.



▼ Fig. 70. 'Saint Martyr Sofia', detail of the fresco in the Church of the Icon, Bucharest.
Credits: Serioja Bocsok.

▼ Fig. 71. 'Portrait of the Metropolitan Gregory II of Ungrovlachia', detail of the fresco in the Church of the Icon, Bucharest.
Credits: Serioja Bocsok.

▶ Fig. 72. 'View of the iconostasis, Church of the Icon, Bucharest, c.1786.
Credits: Archdiocese of Bucharest.





► Fig. 73. View of the iconostasis, icons by painter Teofan, the Church of 'The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary' in Poiana Mărului Monastery, Buzău County, 1791. Credits: Cristina Cojocaru.

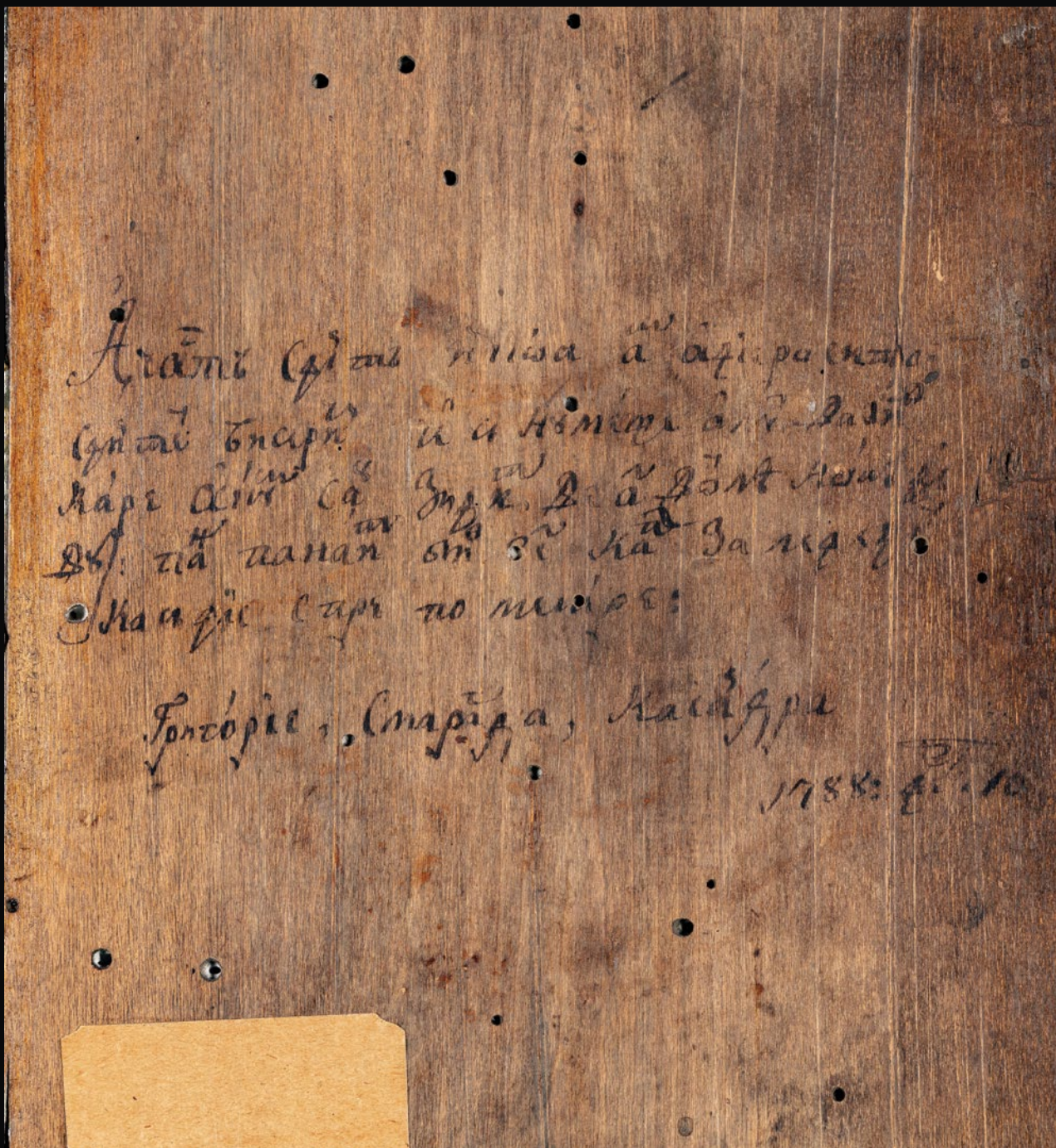
▲ Fig. 74. 'The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary', the iconostasis of the Church of the Icon, Bucharest, c. 1786. Credits: Cristina Cojocaru.

◄ Fig. 75. 'The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary', the iconostasis of the Church of The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Poiana Mărului Monastery, Buzău County, 1791. Credits: Cristina Cojocaru.



► Fig. 76. 'Our Lady of Sorrows', Grigorie Popovici, 1780-1788, the Church of the Icon, Bucharest. Credits: Serioja Bocsok.





▲ Fig. 77. The signature of the painter Grigorie Popovici, detail of the icon 'Our Lady of Sorrows', the Church of the Icon, Bucharest.
Credits: Serioja Bocsok.

▶ Fig. 78. The donor inscription of the painter Grigorie Popovici, detail on the back of the icon 'Our Lady of Sorrows', the Church of the Icon, Bucharest.
Credits: Serioja Bocsok.



▼ Fig. 79. *Mater Dolorosa*, Carlo Dolci (1616-1686).
Credits: Hampel Auction House, Munich.

▲ Fig. 80. *'Our Lady of Sorrows'*, 19th century, Căldărușani Monastery Museum, Ilfov County.
Credits: Cristina Cojocaru.

▼ Fig. 81. *'Our Lady of Sorrows'*, Grigorie Popovici, 1798, belonged to Măgureanu Church, Bucharest.
Credits: National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest.

♦ Fig. 82. *'Jesus Christ Pantocrator'*, Grigorie Popovici, [1798], belonged to Măgureanu Church, Bucharest, Pasărea Monastery Museum, Ilfov County.
Credits: Serioja Bocsok.

▼ Fig. 83. *'Prince Nicolae Mavrogheni offering gifts to the soldiers who fought against the Austrian Army'*, Grigorie Popovici, 1789.
Credits: National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest.





▲ Fig. 84. 'Portrait of Prince Nicolae Mavrogheni', assigned to Grigorie Popovici, c. 1786-1790, courtesy of Manu Family Collection, Bucharest. Credits: Artmark Auction House, Bucharest.



- ▼ Fig. 85. The front page of the finance book (condica) of Radu Vodă Monastery, Grigorie Popovici, 1794, National Archives of Romania, Central Fund, Manuscript Collection, mss. 166. Source: arhivamedievala.ro.
- ▲ Fig. 86. Drawing on a charter given by Prince Alexandru Moruzi on July 1, 1796, assigned to Grigorie Popovici, Bucharest Municipality Museum. Source: Vârtosu 1947.
- ▼ Fig. 87. 'Mother of God with Child Enthroned', Grigorie Popovici, [1800], the Church of St. George in Cernica Monastery, Ilfov County. Credits: Serioja Bocsok.
- ▼ Fig. 88. 'Jesus Christ Pantocrator', Grigorie Popovici, 1800, the Church of St. George in Cernica Monastery, Ilfov County. Credits: Serioja Bocsok.







Fig. 89. 'Mother of God with Child Enthroned', Grigorie Popovici, 1802, the Chapel of St. Lazarus in Cernica Monastery, Ilfov County. Credits: Serioja Bocsok.

Fig. 90. 'Jesus Christ Pantocrator', Grigorie Popovici, 1802, Chapel of St. Lazarus in Cernica Monastery, Ilfov County. Credits: Serioja Bocsok.

Fig. 91. The signature of Grigorie Popovici, detail of the icon 'Mother of God with Child Enthroned', 1802, the Chapel of St. Lazarus in Cernica Monastery, Ilfov County. Credits: Serioja Bocsok.

Fig. 92. 'The Resurrection of Lazarus', Grigorie Popovici, [1802], the Chapel of St. Lazarus in Cernica Monastery, Ilfov County. Credits: Serioja Bocsok.

Fig. 93. 'Saint Nicholas and Saint John the Baptist', Grigorie Popovici, [1802], the Chapel of St. Lazarus in Cernica Monastery, Ilfov County. Credits: Serioja Bocsok.

Fig. 94. View of the iconostasis, the Chapel of St. Lazarus in the Cernica Monastery, Ilfov County, 1802. Credits: Konstantinos Giakoumis.







► Fig. 95. 'The Holy Trinity', the Chapel of St. Lazarus in Cernica Monastery, Ilfov County.
Credits: Cristina Cojocaru.

◄ Fig. 96. 'The Holy Trinity', drawing on the back of a page from the 'Ectypa Bible' copy, which belonged to Jovan Četirević Grabovan.
Credits: National Museum, Belgrade.

▲ Fig. 97. 'Medallions with Holy Prophets', 1802, the Chapel of St. Lazarus in Cernica Monastery, Ilfov County.
Credits: Cristina Cojocaru.

► Fig. 98. 'Zacharias', 1802, the Chapel of St. Lazarus in Cernica Monastery, Ilfov county.
Credits: Cristina Cojocaru.



▼ Fig. 99. 'Saint Catherine', Grigorie Popovici, [1803], the Church of St. Paraskevi in Orbeasca de Jos, Teleorman County. Credits: Cristina Cojocaru.

► Fig. 100. 'Jesus Christ Pantocrator', Grigorie Popovici, [1803], the Church of St. Paraskevi in Orbeasca de Jos, Teleorman County. Credits: Cristina Cojocaru.

► Fig. 101. 'Mother of God with Child', Grigorie Popovici, 1803, the Church of St. Paraskevi in Orbeasca de Jos, Teleorman County. Credits: Cristina Cojocaru.





▼ Fig. 102. 'The Mother of God with Child Enthroned Surrounded by Prophets', the Church of The Assumption in Dascălu, Ilfov County.
Source: Brătulescu 1939.



▼ Fig. 103. 'Christ the Great High Priest Enthroned Surrounded by Apostles', the Church of The Assumption in Dascălu, Ilfov County.
Source: Brătulescu 1939.



Notes:

- 1 I dedicate this study to acad. Razvan Theodorescu since a shorter version of it should have been published in the volume compiled for his 80th birthday, but, because of the extensive illustration I have gathered, this was no longer technically possible. In the meantime, I had the chance to continue the research within the RICONTRANS project and to reconsider the text of the article in an extended form. Also, some parts of this paper were undertaken during the scholarship that I had at *Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica* in Venice in 2019. I would like to thank the director of the Institute, Mr. Grigore Popescu-Arbore. I also thank the Archdiocese of Bucharest, the Metropolis of Moldavia and Bukovina, and all the parish priests from the churches mentioned in the article for their precious support.
- 2 For Romanian art at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, modernization meant Westernization, a phenomenon that involved the use of some concepts, techniques and genres (using perspective, anatomy and naturalism, describing shadows, using oil painting technique, approaching new genres, emphasizing originality, raising of a personal style, emancipation of the artist), that are specific to certain styles in Western Europe starting with the Renaissance, instead of the old tradition of Byzantine painting. This change occurred, both at the initiative of painters and their commissioners and was strongly supported by some of the ecclesiastical authorities in the Romanian Principalities.
- 3 See Cornea 1980. Although in his volume Cornea criticizes the term 'primitives', used to describe the painters from the early 19th century, this phrase has become commonplace in Romanian art literature.
- 4 Giovanni Schiavoni, Mihail Töpler, Joseph August Schoefft, Carol Wallenstein, Anton Chladek, and so on.
- 5 Referred to by some authors as 'Phanariots'. See Musicescu 1974; Giurescu 1966; Popa, Iancovescu 2009, p. 15.
- 6 Busuioceanu 1929, p. 6.
- 7 At the initiative of Metropolitan Gregory II, the first official painting schools were organized in Walahia: the School of Cernica and the School of Căldărușani, both active from the end of the 18th century until the middle of the 19th century. These famous centers of painting organized in monasteries, but with lay teachers and students, trained painters capable to work both in the new style and techniques of oil painting, as well as in the traditional Byzantine style and fresco painting. According to I. D. Ștefănescu, the best hypothesis is that the Căldărușani School would have separated in 1793 or 1798, from the center of the Cernica Monastery, which had probably been established around 1781. The painters affiliated to this school, either as teachers or as students, they are Ivan Rusul, Grigore Frujinescu, Matei Polcovnicul, Evghenie Lazăr, Nicolae Polcovnicul, Nicolae Teodorescu, Gheorghe Fruginschie, David Zugravul, Adam Zugravul, Chiriță Zugravul, Costache Foçșeneanu, Ilie Ploieșteanu, Pantelimonescu, Anton Serafim, Nicolae Grigorescu. See Ștefănescu 1969, p. 364-392.
- 8 Drăghiceanu 1912, p. 38 and 87-88; Meteș 1929, p. 92-95; Busuioceanu 1929, p. 6.
- 9 Busuioceanu 1929, p. 6.
- 10 Constantin Săndulescu, born at the beginning of the 20th century in Vernești (Buzău County), village that inspired his second surname Verna, he was a Romanian clergyman and church painter, who died around 1990. Much of his life he lived in Lugoj where he served as a deacon or priest (?). He published many studies about the history of religious church painting in Romania, especially from Buzău his native area. In 1979 he republished in Timișoara the *Hermeneia* of Dionysius of Fournia. See *Erminia picturii bizantine* 1979.
- 11 Săndulescu-Verna 1937, p. 487-491.
- 12 Kogălniceanu 1883, p. 33-37; Greceanu 1947, p. 25-36. Also see Radu Zugravu 2018.
- 13 Bobulescu 1940; Voinescu 1955, p. 133-156.
- 14 For instance, a typographical error in Busuioceanu 1929, p. 6, according to which Grigorie would have painted 150 icons, instead of 15, as was correct in the transcribed inscription, is taken over by Săndulescu-Verna and then quoted by absolutely all Romanian authors who have written about Popovici so far, without any critical approach.
- 15 Ștefănescu 1969, p. 364-392.
- 16 Dobjanschi 1977, p. 57-63.
- 17 Constantinescu 1982.
- 18 Săndulescu-Verna 1992, p. 116-136.
- 19 Dobjanschi 1998, p. 185-198.
- 20 Negrău 2020, p. 119-142.
- 21 The author suggests that there are some similarities between the portrait of Metropolitan Gregory II from the Church of the Icon, which I attributed to Popovici, and the portrait of Prince Alexandru Ipsilanti from the National Museum of History in Bucharest (Negrău 2020, p. 124, fig. 11), but this possible new attribution still needs to be further investigated.
- 22 Тоџић 2010, p. 355-387. Kučeković 2018, p. 349-366.
- 23 Moutafov 2002, p. 217-228.
- 24 Nagy 1994.
- 25 Ševo 2011.
- 26 Cojocaru 2018a.
- 27 Kučeković 2018, p. 349-366.
- 28 Cojocaru 2018b; Cojocaru 2019.
- 29 Kučeković, 2020, p. 137-152.
- 30 A Grigore paints an icon at the church of the Holy Archangels Rufeni from Iași at 1766/1767. See Iorga 1905, p. 194, cat. 545. A painter, Grigorie, paints in Brancovan style a series of double-sided feasts at the church in Doicești, Dâmbovița County. See Drăghiceanu 1912, p. 82, cat. 572. Another Grigorie painted together with his son Ioan in 1759; see Meteș 1929, p. 70. A master Grigorie painted the Church of Râmnicu-Vâlcea Diocese in 1753; see Greceanu 2012, p. 141.
- 31 Săndulescu-Verna 1992, p. 116-136.
- 32 Ševo 2011, p. 1-254; Nagy 1994.
- 33 Ivan *Rusul* is a famous but little studied painter, about whom Basil Iorgulescu states that he has been in charge of the Căldărușani School since it was founded in 1798. He is also known to have died during the 1802 earthquake on the scaffolding of the church in Unguriu village, Măgura, Buzău County (quite close to the village where Popovici's notebook was discovered). No works of his are known, but at the Museum of Căldărușani Monastery there are four royal icons signed 'Ioannis the painter 1786', which could be his and which show some slight similarities with Popovici's style (I assume that this Ivan was a disciple of Popovici at Cernica). See Iorgulescu 1900-1901.
- 34 I use the term Aromanian as the equivalent of Vlach, Macedonian-Vlach, Greek-Vlach, *Čuṭovlah*, *Tintar*, *Morlac*, *Machidon*, in order to describe a particular ethnic group of the Latinophone population in the Balkans and Central Europe. Aromanians are different from Wallachians and Moldavians, as members of the same Latinophone family of languages. For details see Caragiu-Marioțeanu 2006; Tanașoca, Tanașoca 2004.
- 35 Kučeković 2018, p. 349-366.
- 36 Moutafov 2002, p. 217-228.
- 37 Ševo 2011.
- 38 Săndulescu-Verna 1992, p. 119.
- 39 Kučeković 2020, p. 137-152.
- 40 Săndulescu-Verna 1992, p. 122.
- 41 Brătulescu 1963, p. 859-871. This 'Ioan' is a very good, but

conservative painter, who resumes the Brancovan style of painting in the last decade of the 18th century. He signs the royal icons of the iconostasis in Cozia Monastery and others from the Museum of the Diocese of Argeş.

42 Sabados 1990, p. 104.

43 Sabados 1990, p. 107; Sabados misrepresents the year of the icon of the Beheading of St. John, published in 1977 by Dobjanschi, and misunderstands that Popovici was an apprentice in the Banat area.

44 It was originally kept in the library of the Orthodox municipality of Pest, but later found its way to the Orthodox community in Miskolc, while nowadays it is a part of the Orthodox parish house library in Nyiregyhaza in Hungary, see Kučeković 2020, p. 138.

45 Sabados 1990, p. 107.

46 In 1755, he wrote on p. 5 margin of a *Synaxarion*, now in Nyiregyháza, that he had bought it Bucharest, in Wallachia. In 1757 he bought another book in Bucharest, the *Hexabiblos* of Constantine Hermenopoulos, printed in Nikolaos Glykis Venetian printing house in 1744, according to the inscription on the margin of p. 4, cf. Kučeković 2020, p. 144. The author transcribes on the same page the inscription of the painters written at the Prothesis as follows: *Pomeneşte Doamne pe robul tău Ioan Zugrav şi cu tot neamul lui: Gheorghe, Iosif cu tot neamul lui, Mirăuţă cu tot neamul, Ioanu, Atanasie* ('Lord, remember Your servant John the painter with all his family: Gheorghe, Iosif with all his family, Mirăuţă with all his family, Ioanu, Atanasie'). Aleksandra Kučeković legitimately claims that Gheorghe from this inscription could be Jovan's cousin, his co-painter for the iconostasis from Sremski Molovin, the same George whom I suspect also painted the iconostasis from Putna Monastery. See Kučeković 2020, p. 146.

47 The same George, Jovan Grabovan's cousin, could be the author of the icons in the iconostasis of the Putna Monastery, which was signed by 'Geor. zugr. in 1771' on an icon made in a style very similar to that of the Grabovan family of painters (Fig. 28-29).

48 Nagy 1994.

49 Dobjanschi 1998, p. 190, note 1.

50 I thank Dr. Constantin Ciobanu, head of department at the Institute of Art History in Bucharest, for pointing out these illustrations, which in his opinion came from an unknown model notebook. For his opinion on Grigorie's notebook, see Ciobanu 2020.

51 *Erminia picturii bizantine* 1979.

52 *Erminia picturii bizantine* 1979, p. 490.

53 I am very grateful to Aleksandra Kučeković for providing me with images from this book that she is currently studying. I also thank Marina Sabados for letting me consult the still her yet unpublished information concerning the church in Blebea Târgu-Neamţ, which is discussed below.

54 The National Museum of Art of Romania inv. 585, tempera on wooden panel, 35 x 24 cm.

55 I would like to thank Dr. Emanuela Cernea, head of the Department of Ancient Romanian Art, for her support in this research, by providing me photos of all of Grigorie's works in National Museum of Art of Romania and by allowing me to personally investigate these works in the deposit.

56 Ro: *Mâna lui Grigorie Popovici Zugrav, 1776.*

57 The National Museum of Art of Romania, inv. 2319, tempera on wooden panel, 31 x 23 cm.

58 Ro: *De mâna lui Grigorie Popovici, 1778.*

59 Two barely visible lines.

60 Ro: *Când(?) [...] vama (?) // am avut vreme să mă iscălesc.*

61 The National Museum of Art of Romania, inv. 592, tempera on wooden panel, 42 x 30 cm.

62 Ro: *Rugăciunea robului lui Dumnezeu Ioan // De mâna lui Grigorie Popovici 1779.*

63 C. Săndulescu-Verna identifies Matei Polcovnicul cu with the logothete Matei Popovici, painter from Bucharest, son of master Nicolae the painter and nephew of Grigorie Popovici (Frujinescu); cf. Săndulescu-Verna 1992, p. 134 and 155.

64 Holy Monastery Pasărea, inv. 2912, 84,5 x 59 cm, donated by the nun Arcadia Rădulescu, September 9 1971.

65 Ro: *Pictată şi închinată de Grigorie Popovici zugravul 1780.*

66 128 x 78 cm, published by Constantin Bălan and Alexandru Elian in *Inscriptiile* 1965, p. 318, cat. 279. I thank Sister Atanasia Văetişi from Stavropoleos Monastery for helping me obtain a photograph of this icon from the Center for Cultural Heritage of the Romanian Patriarchate.

67 Ro: *De Grigorie Zugrav 1780.*

68 90 x 58 cm. This icon was reproduced in the monograph of Pasărea Monastery (Atanasiu, Palade 2013, p. 327), but the authors did not identify its painter.

69 Oil on wooden panel, 82,5 x 61,5 cm.

70 Alis Auction Catalogue no. 92, October 30 1994, section VII, lot 4.

71 Ro: *Zugrăvită-s-au aceste sfinte icoane de Grigorie Popovici Zugravul in Bucureşti 1780.*

72 First transcribed and translated by Drăghiceanu 1912, p. 88. The author publishes the correct text, except for the name of the holiday to which the Văcăreşti Monastery is dedicated, where he completes 'The Most Holy Virgin' instead of 'The Most Holy Trinity', as the inscription said. The error has been corrected by Dobjanschi 1998, p. 187. My translation: *Cele 15 icoane prezente s-au făcut pe cheltuiala egumenului arhimandrit Gherman şi au fost închinat sfintei mănăstiri a Preasfintei Treimi de la Văcăreşti, // de Grigorie Zugravu 1781.*

73 Dobjanschi 1998 published all these feasts icons, but failed to match correctly the front with the verse and also and also she misidentified some themes the inventory numbers.

74 The National Museum of Art of Romania inv. 847, oil on brass, 23,6 x 18,6 cm.

75 The National Museum of Art of Romania inv. 849, oil on brass, 23,6 x 18,6 cm.

76 The National Museum of Art of Romania inv. 848, oil on brass, 23,6 x 18,6 cm. In the lower right corner, on the face with *The Beheading of the Saint John* the year 1781 is written.

77 The National Museum of Art of Romania inv. 850, oil on brass, 23,6 x 18,6 cm.

78 The National Museum of Art of Romania inv. 851, oil on brass, 23,6 x 18,6 cm. In Drăghiceanu 1912 *The Saint Euthymius* in not identified, cat. 618, inv. 865, p. 88. On this icon, at the bottom, is written the dedicatory inscription quoted in my text, see note 72.

79 The missing one is the icon of *The Holy Archangels and Saints Sava, Anthony, Spiridon, and Nicholas*, cat. 615, inv. 862.

80 The Holy Monastery Țigăneşti inv. 64, 40 x 34 cm.

81 Ro: *Rugăciunea robului lui Dumnezeu Stamate S[...]pa[...] 1781.* To be noted that the name of the donor, Stamate, is a common name among Aromanians. See Carabaş 2010.

82 Ro: *De Grigorie Popovici.*

83 The Holy Monastery Pasărea inv. 910, 43 x 32 cm. The icon was reproduced in the monograph of the Pasărea Monastery (Atanasiu, Palade 2013, p. 323), but the authors did not identify either the painter or the inscription, but only the year.

84 Ro: *Rugăciunea robului lui Dumnezeu Eustație Constantiniu // De Grigorie Popovici 1781.*

85 Brătulescu 1939, p. 124-125.

86 Interviewed by me on May 6, 2020.

87 In the 1980s, the communist authorities in Romania, initi-

ated, through the Heritage Offices, a systematic campaign to collect heritage objects from churches and monasteries and storing them in dedicated centers, organized at some larger monasteries or in museums. On that occasion some icons may have been lost.

88 35 x 27 cm, signed in the lower left corner in Greek letters: *Grigorie 1782*.

89 Dobjanschi 1998, p. 188 and il. 7.

90 Stoicescu 1961, p. 218-219. The old diptych (*pomelnic*) of the church, dating back to the foundation of David Corbea, also mentioned Tsar Peter the Great. This attests to the close connection that existed between this church and the Russian lands. I believe that this link has been preserved throughout the 18th century. See Sacerdoțeanu 1963, p. 1067, note 40.

91 Ștefăniță 2015, p. 611; Ștefăniță 2014; Cojocaru 2018c, p. 234.

92 Ștefăniță 2017, p. 184-195.

93 Ștefăniță 2017, p. 192.

94 Ianculescu-Spătaru, Mohanu 1990, p. 77, note 4.

95 Ro: *Preote, pomenește pre robii lui D[u]mnezeu) Alexa[...] [și] Co[n](s)ta[n]d[un] zug[ravi]*.

96 Stoica, Ionescu-Ghinea 2005, p. 204-207, the authors transcribe the painter's name almost correctly, as Grigore Gheorghe Zugravul; Ștefăniță 2015, p. 611.

97 61 x 47 cm.

98 *Inscripțiile* 1965, p. 268, cat. 160.

99 Ro: *1780 Ian[uarie] 3. // Pictată și închinată de Grigorie zugrav, 1788 febr[uarie] 10.*

100 Ro: *Acea(s)tă sfă(n)tă icoa[nă] a(m) afirosit-o sfi(n)te(i) bise-ri(ci) c(e) să numește a lu(i) Davi(d), care acu(m) s-a(u) zidi(t) de al doilea aoară de dum[nealui]: pa(n) Pana(i)t bi(v) ve(l) căp[itan] de lefegii, ca să f(i)e spre pomene: Grigorie, Smara(g)da, Casa(n)-dra // 1788: fe(b)[ruarie] 10.*

101 *1780 Ian[uarie] 3.*, as the inscription under the cross shows, that is probably the year when he started to work on this icon.

102 See also my attribution in Cojocaru, Grigoriu 2018, p. 38 and Cojocaru 2018d, p. 50.

103 Văetiși, Cojocaru, Negrău, Polizu 2017, p. 184; Cojocaru 2018e, p. 24. See also Stoica, Ionescu-Ghinea 2005, p. 205, for the year 1850, as the moment when the iconostasis was placed in the church.

104 The current of monastic renewal known in Romanian literature as the Paisian movement or Paisianism was born at the beginning of the 18th century with the arrival in the Romanian principalities of a group of Russian monks led by the abbot Vasile (1692, Poltava, Ukraine—1767, Poiana Mărului Monastery, Wallachia), who became Saint Vasile from Poiana Mărului. Coming from Kyiv Pechersk Lavra through Mount Athos, he founded in Buzău and Vrancea a series of monasteries: Dălhăuți, Poiana Mărului, Ciolanu, Valea Neagră, all decorated according to the Kiev Baroque fashion. They followed a very strict typicon, based on hesychastic monastic practices of Athonite origin—according to the teachings of St. Basil the Great, Nile of Sorska, Dimitrie of Rostov, valuing obedience, humility and prayer. Vasile's apprentice, Paisie Velicovschi (1722, Poltava, Ukraine—1794, Neamț Monastery, Moldavia), after whom the name of the movement was taken, he also came from Kyiv Pecherska Lavra, and, after meeting Vasile in Athos, he established the center of his group of monks in Dragomirna Monastery then moved to the Neamț Monastery in Moldavia, which he transformed into a great focus of culture and irradiation of Russian influences. Paisie's network of metochion monasteries included Sihăstria, Secu, Agapia, Văratec. Paisie's apprentice, Gheorghe, carried the seeds of the movement in Wallachia, rebuilding the monasteries Cernica and Căldărușani and founding new ones in Ilfov county: Pasărea, Țigănești and Ghighiu. All these monasteries and their metochions were in communion and shared the same values, including the taste for modernization and westernization in

church painting. Thus, the activity of the Paisian movement laid the foundations of a national school of religious painting in the Romanian principalities. See McGuckin 2009. For the attribution of the iconostases from the two churches in the Poiana Mărului Monastery to certain workshops from the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra and for the first mention of the name of the painter Teofan, see: Pavel 2005, p. 131; Pavel 1992, p. 12; Geacu 2017, p. 61-72.

105 The National Museum of Art of Romania inv. 164, tempera on wooden panel, 75 x 68 cm.

106 Ro: *Pomenește, D[oa]mne, pre roaba ta Hristina // De Grigorie 1798*. To be noted that Hristina is a very rare name in that period and probably indicates the Greek or Macedonian-Vlach ethnicity of the woman.

107 Drăghiceanu 1912, p. 38, cat. 285.

108 *Inscripțiile* 1965, p. 755, cat. 1155.

109 The Holy Monastery Pasărea inv. 2676, 75,5 x 62 cm.

110 Ro: *Pomenește Doamne, pre robul tău Constantin*.

111 The National Museum of Art of Romania inv. Dc. 168, 155 x 110 cm, signed and dated: *Grigorie the painter, 1789 January 24th*. The very extensive inscriptions of this scene, representing a poem in Greek dedicated to the prince, which is believed to have been composed by Grigorie Popovici himself, were transcribed in *Inscripțiile* 1965, p. 759-763 and in Dobjanschi 1998, p. 191.

112 Urechia 1892, p. 81, 525-529; Blancard 1909, p. 310-312.

113 Negrău 2020, p. 124, note 25. The copy made in 1880s and published by V. A. Urechia that C. Bălan saw at the Library of the Romanian Academy (*Inscripțiile* 1965, p. 759, note 2) no longer existed in their funds in July 2021 when I last checked.

114 47,5 x 37,5 cm, former inventory number 3538, previously published by Constantin Bălan and Alexandru Elian in *Inscripțiile* 1965, p. 802-803, cat. 1234, and considered to be missing, from the Ioan Manu collection. Following a restitution process, concluded in 2016, the work is now in the collection of the Manu Family. On September 29, 2016, the work was put up for sale at the Artmark auction house, auction no. 222, lot. 350, but not sold.

115 *Ioan Nicolae Petru Mavrogheni voievod autocrat și stăpân a toată Ungrovlahia*. A translation of this inscription was published by Dobjanschi 1998, p. 185-198. Unfortunately, the inscription below the portrait was never transcribed and published, it is illegible in the photos I had available, and the work is now in a private collection, after it was returned to the Manu family in 2016, so it cannot be studied.

116 Constantinescu 1982, p. 38-39, and note 159.

117 The National Archives of Romania, mss. 256, f. 17.

118 Ro: *1794: aprilie 10 Grig[orie] // În zilele prea înălțatului no(s)tru d(o)mn Alexandru Const[antin] Moruzi Voievod, egumen find [...] Arhim[andrit] Ignatie*.

119 Illustration XXI in Constantinescu 1982. The National Archives of Romania, ms. 691, f. 2.

120 Published by Vărtosu 1947, p. 8-10 and illustrated in fig. 2; see Constantinescu 1982, p. 38, and note 158.

121 Brătulescu 1959, p. 270.

122 Mentioned by Victor Brătulescu 1959, p. 270.

123 Ro: *Ale tale dintru ale tale // De Grigorie Frujinescu Z[u]grav] 1800*.

124 Ro: *De Grigorio Frujinescu 1802*.

125 Ro: *Grig. 1802*.

126 Two of them, the *Mother of God and Christ*, were first mentioned by Victor Brătulescu (1959), p. 271, without specifying the donor's inscription only the year. Brătulescu's note is taken in the same form by Săndulescu-Verna (1992).

127 The current church was founded in 1844, on the site of an older church, from which the icons come, by Princess Eufrosina Ghika, the owner of the estate, and the polkovnic Gheorghe

Romanescu, who was a tenant. Information taken from the church consecration inscription.

128 The information comes from the church diptych.

129 Angelescu 1904, p. 19.

130 Iorga 1925, p. 110.

131 Iorga 1921, p. 166 and 278. I believe that in this volume by Iorga there may have been a confusion between the quite similar words *armean* and *aromân* caused by a typo.

132 Iorga 1927, p. 168-169.

133 His daughter's name was Hispera, a very unusual name for both Romanian and Armenian communities. The birth of Chi-

riac Arbut's daughter is mentioned in 1791 on a *Triodion* from 1731 at the Orthodox church from Ludîşor, near Făgăraş, Braşov County. See Iorga 1906, p. 127, cat. 411.

134 Hagi Dumitrache Papazoglu, Theodor Arcuda, Dumitrache Theohari. See Lazăr 2009, p. 503, note 19.

135 Ro: *De Grigorie 1803*.

136 Meaning: 'full of divine grace'.

137 Ro: *Rugăciunea robului lui Dumnezeu Hagi Chiriac Arbut*.

138 Săndulescu-Verna 1992, p. 133.

139 Săndulescu-Verna 1992, p. 149-155.

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