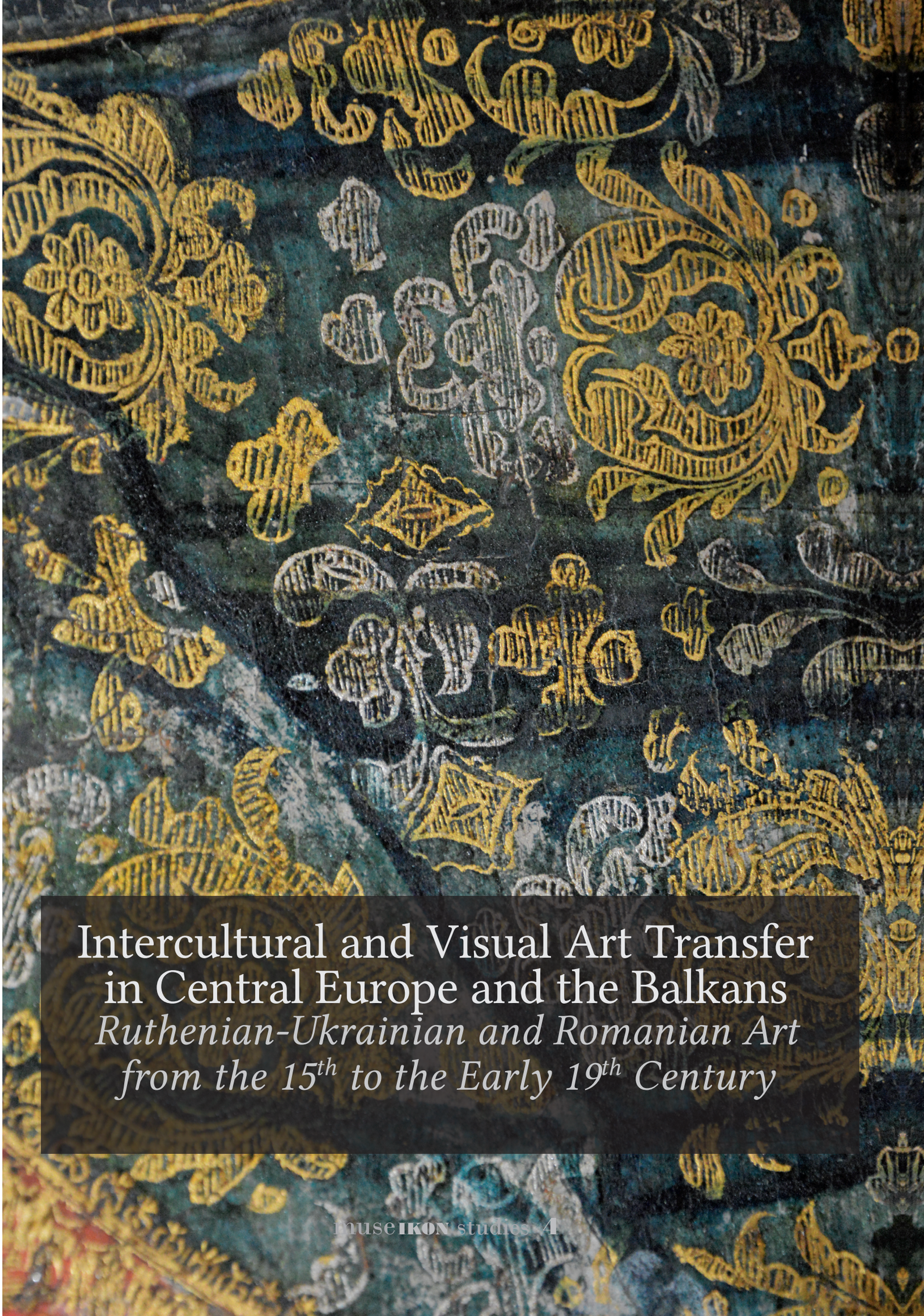


Intercultural and Visual Art Transfer in Central Europe and the Balkans

Ruthenian-Ukrainian and Romanian Art from the 15th to the Early 19th Century

muse IKON studies 4

Intercultural and Visual Art Transfer in Central Europe and the Balkans

Ruthenian-Ukrainian and Romanian Art from the 15th to the Early 19th Century

museikon

This publication is part of the project "RICONTRANS – Visual Culture, Piety and Propaganda. Transfer and Reception of Russian Religious Art in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean (16th to Early 20th Century)", funded from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No. 818791). Views and opinions expressed are however those of the authors only and do not necessarily reflect those of the European Union or the European Research Council Executive Agency. Neither the European Union nor the granting authority can be held responsible for them.



RICONTRANS

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





European Research Council
Established by the European Commission





MUZEUL NATIONAL AL UNIRII ALBA IULIA



FORTH
INSTITUTE FOR MEDITERRANEAN STUDIES

museIKON studies 4

Intercultural and Visual Art Transfer in Central Europe and the Balkans

Ruthenian-Ukrainian and Romanian Art from the 15th to the Early 19th Century

Edited by
Ana Dumitran &
Mirosław Piotr Kruk

Alba Iulia
Cluj-Napoca
editura MEGA 2023

COLLECTION DIRECTORS: Ana Dumitran, Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

CONCEPT, DESIGN, EDITING : Ana Dumitran.

COVER ART: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.
PHOTOGRAPH: Ana Dumitran; see p. 314, fig. 24.

SCIENTIFIC SUPERVISION: Agnieszka Gronek, Aleksandra Kuceković, Alexandru Baboş, Vlad Bedros.

LINGUISTIC SUPERVISION: Carmen-Veronica Borbély.

Descrierea CIP a Bibliotecii Naţionale a României
Intercultural and visual art transfer in Central Europe and the Balkans : Ruthenian-Ukrainian and Romanian art from the 15th to the early 19th century / edited by Ana Dumitran & Mirosław Piotr Kruk. - Alba Iulia : Editura Muzeului Naţional al Unirii Alba Iulia ; Cluj-Napoca : Mega, 2023
Conţine bibliografie
ISBN 978-630-6548-10-1
ISBN 978-606-020-691-0

I. Dumitran, Ana (ed.)
II. Kruk, Mirosław Piotr (ed.)

73

Table of Contents

Ana Dumitran
Mirosław Piotr Kruk

Foreword (p. 6)

Mirosław Piotr Kruk

Artistic Relations Between Moldavia, Transylvania, Lesser Poland and Ruthenia in Polish Art Historiography (p. 13)

Gabriel-Dinu Herea

Medieval Art of the Eastern Carpathian Wallachians and Its Interference with the Polish-Ruthenian Space (p. 35)

Witali Michalchuk

The Icon Ensemble of Saint Onuphrius' Monastery in Jableczna: The Origin and Stylistic Characteristics of the Work of a Moldavian Master in the 1730s (p. 71)

Ana Dumitran

Ruthenian Patterns in the Painting of Romanian Churches in Transylvania, Crișana, and Maramureș in the 15th–17th Centuries (p. 93)

Elisabeta Negrău

The Stylistic Influences of Ruthenian Painting in the Wallachian Principality in the 17th Century. A Few Considerations (p. 155)

Cristina Bogdan

The Protection of the Theotokos*: An Iconographic Theme at the Intersection of the Eastern and Western Traditions (17th-19th Centuries)* (p. 185)

Roksolana Kosiv

Christ – The True Vine. *Images in the Church Art of the 17th–19th Centuries: Ukrainian and Romanian Cases* (p. 197)

Szilveszter Terdik

Liturgical Book Illustrations as Painting Prototypes. A Few 18th-Century Altarpieces from the Territory of the Historic Eparchy of Mukachevo (p. 231)

Svitlana Oleanina

Catholic Counter-Reformation Art Forms Serving the Revival of Ukrainian Orthodoxy in the 17th Century (p. 253)

Radu Nedici

An Artistic Melting Pot: The Building Site of the Greek Catholic Cathedral in Blaj in the Late 1740s (p. 267)

Ana Dumitran

Ukrainian Features in Transylvanian Icon Paintings in the 18th Century (p. 303)

Bibliographical Abbreviations (p. 330)

Foreword

When the volume was still in its incipient stages, its chief aim was to identify the features of the Romanian icons of Transylvania that could be linked to models identifiable among the icons of Ruthenian workshops. Its focus was placed on the Westernising influences manifested all through the 18th century and during the first decades of the 19th century, in particular on the icons painted in a workshop founded in Abrud by Simion Silaghi-Sălăgeanu. However, as research delved into wider horizons beyond the Carpathians, towards Moldavia and Wallachia, and into much earlier artistic manifestations from previous centuries, the project gradually went through multiple changes, from an investigation of local icons to an amplified and diversified approach that mutated into a collection of studies. Many important features are still unaccounted for and must be dealt with by future research. The contents of this volume only scratch the surface of the problem and deal with a few points of contact that made cultural transfers possible over vast geographical areas for more than half a millennium.

The continuous expansion of our team proved first of all that the subject was not a new one. Indeed, the interest in cultural and artistic exchanges between Romanians and Ruthenians / Ukrainians had been evident since the 19th century, but it did not focus on Transylvania, only on the northern part of Moldavia and occasionally on Maramureș. These were geographical areas where continuous and direct contacts drew the two ethnicities closer. However, very few scholars had given the appropriate importance to this line of research, partly because of the language barrier and partly on account of the isolation to which historiographies of the Eastern Bloc have been subjected during most of the 20th century—isolated both from one another and from Western Europe altogether. This volume is therefore a first attempt to present, in a more readily accessible language, both the evidence concerning the Romanian presence in the areas inhabited by the Ruthenians and, conversely, the involvement of Ruthenians (or the transfer of their artistic creations) in the cultural life of Romanians.

Polish scholars often alert the reader as to the 'Balkan' origins of Ruthenian icon art. In these studies, the 'Balkans' encompass all ethnic entities affiliated with Byzantine culture south and north of the Danube, that have been swept up in the unprecedented population movements generated by the Mongol Invasion and by the Ottoman Conquests. Documenting and analysing the reverse route taken by the painters as well as the Ruthenian communities that settled among Romanians in century-long periods of political stability would have been the responsibility of Romanian historians, but they have not done it so far. Romanian scholars chiefly discuss the artistic pinnacle reached by monuments in the principality of Moldavia in the late 15th century and in the first half of the 16th century; or those in Wallachia in the late 17th and early 18th century. The fact that both pinnacles are cultural syntheses remains largely under-reported. Conjectures highlight the originality of those works of art in connection to the patrons rather than to the craftsmanship of the artists who had travelled great distances.

Far from these two approaches, the readers of our volume will notice at first site that icon-makers went where their contribution was most needed, either because they were called upon to oversee a site and to train apprentices, or to perfect their own skills, and perhaps to make themselves available to potential patrons from among the local elite who would feel inclined to recruit them for their own artistic projects and endeavours. Some of these patrons had modest financial resources, but they showed great diligence for the embellishment of their churches. As a result, the icons that arrived in Transylvania fall mainly into this third category. Those falling into the first two categories are the result of cultural transfers that operated between Moldavia and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

In Moldavia, no local artwork prior to the last decades of the 15th century has been preserved. Nevertheless, icon art created during the reigns of Stephen the Great (r. 1457–1504) and Peter Rareș (r. 1527–1538, 1541–1546) showed strong influences of Western (Gothic and Renaissance) art, which would naturally derive from the Kingdom of Poland, the land where all those eager to seize the throne of Moldavia tried to find diplomatic and military support. In a way, the history of Moldavia before Stephen the Great can be read as an appendix to the history of Poland, if not as an appendix to the history of Hungary. It was only natural that these political, military, and matrimonial ties reflected in cultural exchanges that were just as intense. Another period of artistic bounty can be identified with the Brancovan style from the turn of the 18th century, irradiating from Wallachia, south of the Carpathians. It was an eclectic art par excellence. The creations of local artists and Moscow painters added surplus value to the talent of Konstantinos the Greek. Not to mention that all of them, together, filtered the earlier artistic contribution of the Lviv and Kyiv workshops in their own Wallachian synthesis.

Transylvania was a beneficiary of both these moments of artistic blossoming. Sixteenth–century Moldavian icon painters and certain eighteenth–century Wallachian artists (trained on the Brancovan sites) continued their work across the Carpathians. However, the province of Transylvania also benefited from the constant presence of Ruthenian artists; some of them were itinerant, while others took up residence in Transylvania in order to fulfil the large number of orders and commissions. Their movement through Transylvania can be traced from the earliest work of art still preserved to this day, dating from the 15th century, to the dawn of the institutionalisation of fine-arts education in the first decades of the 19th century. Previous research disregarded or side-lined their contribution, focusing on the work of local icon-makers, to whom Ruthenian artists were (at best) assimilated, that is, when research took the trouble to mention them. The current volume represents a crucial step in examining how Ruthenian artists, now for the first time receiving the well-deserved recognition of their work, acted both as exhibitors of a specific, homogenous, and coherent art style, and as foreigners who came to Transylvania in search of financial gain.

Readers will acknowledge their artistic contribution, not only as presumed or undoubted creators of specific works of art, but also as vectors of an entire iconographic repertoire and depositories of cultural treasures that they disseminated over wide geographical areas. Leaving aside merchants, artists were the second most mobile professional category. Their luggage often included books filled with illustrations that had never been seen or understood by those who wanted them turned into icons. It was the painters who made the profound theological meanings of those images known. Their passage through Transylvania left traces in the form of substantial changes in the iconographic programmes of churches. This is how erudite meanings, debated at the highest levels of the clerical elite, reached even the most isolated hamlets. To what extent this was a means to acculturation, and to what extent the communities of believers received the teachings thus transmitted—such subjects await further research.

The seeds of this future research are sown in abundance in the volume. As a result, the complex transformations that took place in the sociocultural life of Transylvanian Romanians in the 17th and 18th centuries generated so many questions that can be answered only by delving deeper and more thoroughly into these types of cultural transfer. Our volume gathers the results of previous and original research conducted by an international team of art historians who have debated the validity of each interpretation in several meetings focused on the transmission paths of visual culture. They were organised in 2020–2023 by the 'Museikon' section of the National Museum of the Union in Alba Iulia, under the aegis of the ERC Consolidator Grant RICONTRANS. Some of those interpretations have also been explored in papers published in *Museikon: A Journal of Religious Art and Culture*. The studies presented in this volume are those that endeavoured to document the Ruthenian-Ukrainian presence in the Romanian lands in a monographic approach. A series of contributions by scholars from Poland, Ukraine, Belarus, and Hungary have been added in order to provide proper contextualisation. They exemplify and demonstrate the essential features of this flow of craftsmen and of their models, but most of all they reveal the innovative spirit manifested in artworks, the genesis of which seems to be greatly influenced by the decisive contribution of the Romanian-born metropolitan bishop of Kyiv, Peter Movilă. This innovative spirit was unceasingly elaborated by the ensuing generations of artists in the service of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra. However, these are mere milestones on which future collaborations must build and explore further artwork, either already identified but insufficiently documented, or perhaps yet to be discovered.

There is no better way to end my foreword than with the emblematic character of a text which could not find its place in either of the two chapters devoted to Transylvania, for matters related to chronology. Not only does it illustrate the complexity of the artists' mindsets and geographical routes, but it is also definite proof that our duty is to approach

topics in an interdisciplinary manner, in the absence of which any stories concerning works of art would remain unknown, as this text has been for several generations, in spite of its mentions in the studies of historians. Since the text itself must awake the readers' interest in the contents of this volume, to enable further research on the topic, but also to keep us as far as possible from unsubstantiated conjectures, I shall confine myself to the simplest presentation of the facts. My sole intention is to highlight an event that seems extraordinary, even though it could have been a rather common one at the time.

Located in the lowest and most inaccessible place to the eye, an inscription that covers two planks from the frame of the royal doors in the wooden church of Strâmba Monastery (Sălaj County), discovered in the 1970s or 1980s, reads:

сия фрама ст дверь цер/ковніхъ соинїми оукра/шенми сооруженна и по/ставленна : сщ їєрманахом доментїяномъ козаком манастира самарського / на тои час будучи игумен / манастира сего домбро/вици в літа зси. // Коштом и накладом / тогож їгумена доме/итияна : писалъ / старецъ мелхи/седе вгод аѱмв / мця апр аї.

This doorframe of the church doors and its additional decorations were created and set up by the Reverend Hieromonk Domentian, a Cossack of the Samara Monastery, who at that time was hegumen of the Dombrovitsa Monastery, in the year 7208 [i.e., 1700 AD]. // With the expenses and effort of the same Hegumen Domentian. Painted by the elder Melchizedek, in the year 1742, month April, day 11.

At the time of its discovery, the inscription could not be photographed in order to be submitted to philological scrutiny, therefore only a brief summary was published. That summary claimed that the text (believed to be written in Serbian) indicated that the entrance to the sanctuary had been adorned with paintings by Hieromonk Domentian's hands in 1742, and that Domentian would later become the abbot of Strâmba Monastery. As a result, an entire artistic career of Domentian was contrived. He became the founder of a painting workshop at Strâmba.

Future research must correct these conjectures, identify Dumbrăviţa Monastery, look into its relationship with Samara Monastery, and find out the reason why Domentian had travelled thousands of kilometres from Novomoskovsk to the mountains of Transylvania. We must grasp the significance of Dumbrăviţa Monastery, why it was worth saving, and why Domentian's offering from Dumbrăviţa had to be moved and installed in the church of Strâmba Monastery, rebuilt from the ground up in 1772. These are not mere objectives of future research. They form the path to a better understanding of the dynamics of cultural life in a society such as that of Transylvania, at a 'crossroads of civilisations'.

Ana Dumitran

Thanks to the tireless efforts of scholars, significant progress has been made in recent years in the field of artistic interrelationships within the Eastern Churches of Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans. It is admirable that so many researchers, from so many different milieus, have been able to focus on this topic so that new artistic phenomena are being discovered, or previously known ones are gaining new interpretations. And, above all, artists, regions and works that have quite often been treated only marginally in literature are finally coming into the spotlight. As a result, we are witnesses to new discoveries and new perspectives in this field.

The conference for the recently concluded RICONTRANS project, organised in Alba Iulia, was a good testimony to this, and now a very welcome volume will reach interested readers, as it deals with these very issues. It is particularly interesting to note this intersection of artistic contacts that took place between Moldavia, Transylvania, Poland and Rus', which were overlaid by the strong influence of impulses coming from Southern Europe, i.e. from the Slavic countries of the Balkans and Greece.

As if through a lens, these connections can be seen, for example, in the introduction to *Oktoechos* printed in 1630 in Lviv, in the printing house of the Stavropigial Brotherhood. It expresses gratitude to the Moldavian hospodar Myron Barnovsky, thanks to whom the printing house could be rebuilt after a fire and resume its activities. And who continued the great work of his predecessors Jeremiah and Simon Movilă supporting the construction of the Dormition Church in Lviv. At the same time, the autonomy of Stavropegion was emphasised in the preface to the reader by mentioning the Orthodox Patriarch Joachim of Antioch, of Meletius of Alexandria and of Jeremiah "the Ecumenical Patriarch". Thanks to them, the Brotherhood was able to begin the work of revival in Lviv, which was cemented by the writings of "Our Lord, the Loving King Sigismund" (1587-1632). Also mentioned were Patriarch Cyril Lucaris, described as the "Archbishop" of Constantinople and exarch of the ecumenical throne (*prestol*), and Bishop Jeremiah Tysarovsky of Lviv. It was added that the printed book was to serve the needs of the Orthodox Church, as well as the honour

and glory of the Resurrection. Remarkable in all this is the aforementioned favour of King Sigismund III Vasa, about whom Steven Runciman wrote that he regarded Orthodoxy with great reluctance.

The text, written in Russian, phonetically similar to Polish, is full of references to both ancient thinkers and to the biblical tradition. It recalls Seneca's words that the earth bears no heavier burden than that of an ungrateful man, and that gratitude should therefore be shown to one's benefactors. These words are a topos throughout history, used for example in the prologue of the 15th-century *Oliva Chronicle*.

At the same time, this repetition points to something more – a tradition of respect for a common heritage and the importance of education combining knowledge of both Latin and Greek literature. It was in this spirit that Metropolitan Peter Movilă began the reform of the Kyiv College at that time, and such will be the character of the Academy established by *hospodar* Basil Lupu. These enlightened men knew that the prerequisite for acquiring full knowledge and wisdom about the surrounding world was the use of multiple, different sources. This would seem to be self-evident, but even in modern literature one can find statements to the effect that this policy was wrong, treacherous, and led astray.

Such an approach is most welcome in the current scholarly context. One can finally see through Peter Movilă's erection of a Gothic-style Orthodox church at Berestechko, identifying it with the sustainable testimony of the confession that was historically associated to it. After all, this somewhat paradoxical reference to the Gothic style—already archaic by the 17th century, could have been the result of the patron's links with Moldavia, a land wherefrom he claimed his ancestry. It could also be seen as the result of the 'long duration' of a particular architectural style, free from the burden of ideological implications. To quote Ernst Gombrich, "we can never neatly separate what we see from what we know" [Ernst Gombrich, *Art and Illusion, A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 394]. Let us then wish that our knowledge will protect us from the pitfalls of hasty interpretations. Perhaps it will also help us rediscover the true roots of past events.

Mirosław Piotr Kruk



Artistic Relations Between Moldavia, Transylvania, Lesser Poland and Ruthenia in Polish Art Historiography

Mirosław Piotr Kruk

University of Gdańsk
National Museum in Kraków

It seems that much has already been written in the literature on artistic relations between Ruthenia, as a part of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and its neighboring state of Moldavia.[1] Polish art historians' interest in Moldavian and Ruthenian art increased at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Such scholars included Marian Sokołowski,[2] a pioneer of Polish art history, his follower, the Lviv art historian Władysław Podlacha,[3] and Władysław Łoziński.[4] Jan Bołoz-Antoniewicz closed his presentation on the objectives of religious art, delivered at Żółkiew (now Zhovkva) in 1896, by unexpectedly inviting his listeners to "[…] visit our Galician iconostases, or all the monumental frescoes of the Bukovina region, in Suczawica (Rom. Sucevița, Germ. Sucewitza), Badowce (Rom. Bădeuți, Germ. Badeutz), Mołdawica (Rom. Moldovița, Germ. Moldowitza) or Arbore […]".[5] According to Bołoz, the art of the 15th–16th century frescoes surviving in the monasteries of Bukovina, "[…] only lightly touched by the gentle winds of the Renaissance, with a strange freshness and a no mean artistry, had genuinely and faithfully preserved the whole iconographic *status quo* from the age when the Eastern and Western Churches were one, until almost as late as 1600."[6] Bołoz emphasized the need to "[…] evaluate and, at last, investigate" all these historical monuments of high artistic value, found both in Catholic and in Orthodox churches.[7]

Podlacha used insights from studies of Orthodox churches made in 1904-1909 in his doctoral thesis, and subsequently in a contribution he published in 1912 – an excellent work that, to this day, remains a relevant analysis of the iconography and style of these masterpieces of architecture and painting.[8] Somewhat earlier, he had completed sub-studies work on the *Last Supper* as depicted in the frescoes of Moldavia. He published his findings in Austria,[9] a country in which, as demonstrated by Mieczysław Zlat, there was a dawning interest in cultures other than those traditionally recognized, sparked by the research of Franz Wickhoff and Alois Riegl.[10] In this way, to a certain extent, Podlacha's debut became the debut of Polish research on

Fig. 1. *Hodegetria surrounded by archangels, prophets, Joachim and Anne*, Terlo, icon from the bottom tier of the iconostasis, circle of painters of the Hodegetria icons from Terlo, Belz, Busk and Jabłeczna, 1540-1560; National Museum in Kraków.

Source: Kruk 2019.

Notes

1 Cf. Deluga 1994a, p. 73-85; Делуга 1996a, p. 34-36; Kruk 2003, p. 127-147; Kruk 2009a, p. 45-108; Гронек 2004, p. 136-148; Sulikowska-Gąska 2011, p. 189-218; Sulikowska 2014, p. 125-138.

2 Sokołowski 1889, p. 619-657; Sokołowski 1899, p. 472-531.

3 Podlacha 1910a, p. 140-159; Podlacha 1910b, p. 259-268; Podlacha 1911, p. 199-284; Podlacha 1912.

4 Majkowska 1987, p. 109-113.

5 Bołoz-Antoniewicz 1897, p. 18.

6 Bołoz-Antoniewicz 1897, p. 18.

7 Mycielski 1897, p. 25.

8 Podlacha 1912.

9 Podlacha 1910a; Podlacha 1910b; Podlacha 1911.

10 Zlat 2012, p. 24.

post-Byzantine art. His treatise was more fully appreciated by scholars outside his country, as it had introduced into academic circulation a group of Orthodox churches with outstanding outer frescoes that had a highly intricate content and a style that was on a par with that of the frescoes on Mount Athos. Paradoxically, Podlacha succeeded in attracting the interest of foreign researchers more than that of his countrymen.[11] After the war, his work was published in English (1970) and Romanian (1985). Another of his lesser known publications is his review of a study of the earliest Ruthenian icons from the 15th and the 16th centuries penned by Ilarion Svěncickyj (Pol. Iłarion Świeńcicki).[12] This is virtually the only review of a work that has had a major significance for the periodization of Orthodox Church paintings, providing a critical assessment of their origins. A collective study done by Tadeusz Chrzanowski, Marian Kornecki and Ryszard Brykowski (1979), covering all three regions of Romania, i.e. Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia, can be regarded as a continuation of the tradition of research on Romanian art in Polish art historiography.[13]

Artistic relations between the three countries were multifaceted, involved various spheres of cultural activity, and developed with varying intensity, being a product of complex political relations. They were particularly intense, of course, during the reign of the Movilă family at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, who had strong ties to the three countries.[14] It was a time when even Polish magnates, on their own, i.e. without the King's consent, tried to influence the line of succession to the Moldavian throne, provoking reactions from Turkey. For instance, after the battle of Sasowy Rog on 19 July 1612, such interferences resulted in a series of Tartar retaliatory raids into Podolia. These dramatic events impacted the fate of individual works.[15] Comments on such accounts are rather sparse. Most of the times they tend to be rather general, but they can occasionally provide detailed references to political and dynastic issues.

These ties have a long history. The Moldavian lands were originally part of the Orthodox Halych Metropolitanate. The Polish Crown's interest in Moldavia was therefore a natural consequence of its incorporation of Red Ruthenia (Red Rus' / Russia, Lat. *Ruthenia Rubra*) and of the homage sworn by Podolia in 1355. Casimir the Great planned to renew a bishopric in Halycz covering the territory of the former metropolitanate.[16] This was followed by a period in which Poland and Lithuania vied for influence in Moldavia,[17] as attested by the numerous marriages between the king's female relatives and successive Moldavian voivodes at a time when Jogaila was still Grand Duke of Lithuania and particularly after he became the king of Poland.[18] In the latter period, Moldavia and Poland became natural allies defending the *status quo* on the border with Hungary.[19] I. Myćko states that in the 14th century the monastic centers in Ruthenia maintained lively contacts with the Moldavian monasteries in Neamţ, Bistriţa and Moldoviţa, at least one of which was founded by Bulgarian monks, and with the founders of the monastery in Lavrov (Ukr. Лаврів), one of the most important monastic centers in Red Ruthenia. This was ruled by Vasily – an official of Governor Bogdan I (Rom. Bogdan Întemeietorul, 1363-1367), the founder of the Moldavian state.[20] The donors of this and other monasteries in Red Ruthenia were other high dignitaries of Moldavia, such as Constantine Bessarab, founder of the *rotunda* on Čorna Gora (Ukr. Чорна Гора) in Transcarpathia in 1661, or *hospodar* Ştefan Petriceicu (Pol. Stefan Petryczejko; Ukr. Штефан Петричейку), who founded the monastery and church of the Resurrection of Christ in Stanislavov

Notes

11 Zlat 2012, p. 30.

12 Podlacha 1916.

13 Brykowski, Chrzanowski, Kornecki 1979.

14 Deluga 1994a, p. 73-85; Делуга 1996a, p. 34-36; Kruk 2003a, p. 127-147; Гронек 2004, p. 136-148; Kruk 2009a, p. 45-108; Sulikowska-Gąska 2011, p. 189-218.

15 Cf. Kruk 1999, p. 30; Kruk 2020a, p. 98.

16 Czamańska 1996, p. 41.

17 Czamańska 1996, p. 24, 27, 40.

18 Tęgowski 1993, pl. 1-2.

19 Tęgowski 1993, p. 45.

20 Мицько 1993, p. 71-72.



Fig. 2. Luzhany, Orthodox Church; photo 2013.
Credits: Mirosław Piotr Kruk.

(Ukr. Івано-Франківськ), as well as Dobromil Monastery, and was buried in the basement of Saint Onuphrius's church in Lavrov Monastery in 1690.[21] At the same time, we can assume that an important role in the propagation of specific iconographic patterns could have been played by the intriguing paintings of the church located right on the Moldavian-Ruthenian border in Luzhany (Ukr. Лужани; Rom. Lujeni; Pol. Łużany) (**fig. 2**).[22] The above-mentioned missionary activity of the Catholic Church, which went hand in hand with the political expansion of the Polish Crown, was also conducive to maintaining contacts between the two countries. The history of Maniavsky Monastery (Ukr. Манявський Скит), which was repeatedly supported by Moldavian patrons in the 17th and 18th centuries, is further evidence of the support given to Orthodox centers in Ukraine by donors from Moldavia. After its dissolution in 1785, most monks went to Sucevița Monastery, with which the Skete had long maintained close relations.[23]

Therefore, several factors had shaped those strong Moldavian-Ruthenian ties: the religious community, especially in the early period, when they belonged to the same organizational structure of the Church of the East, and their close proximity, which fostered intensive commercial contacts along the trade road connecting the north of Europe with the ports of the Black Sea.[24] In Sičins'kij' view, the presence of analogies in Ruthenian and Moldavian woodcarving and printing should be associated with the importance of the old trade route, leading from Lviv to Jassy (Rom. Iași) via Halych, Kolomyia, Sniatyn and Siret.[25] Numerous documents and preserved monuments – mainly in Lviv – confirm Rus' artistic links with Moldavia. The Moldavian *hospodar* Alexandru Lăpușneanu (Pol. Aleksander Łopuszanin) founded the Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God, the so-called Wallachian Church, in Lviv in 1559, which soon afterwards burnt down in 1571 (**fig. 3**).[26] Between 1558 and 1566, Voivode Alexandru sent at least 15 letters with instructions for its construction, donating the necessary funds every year. In 1590,[27] Voivode Peter asked the king to build a new church on the site of the burnt one. The preserved church, built in 1591-1629 mostly with funds from the Movilă family, was consecrated in 1629.[28] The active Stavropegial Brotherhood, which existed at the temple, aroused keen interest from the *hospodars* (in its archives there are several dozens of letters from Moldavian *hospodars* addressed to the Brotherhood from the mid-16th century to the end of the 17th century) and was also often supported by them. In 1558,[29] Alexandru Lăpușneanu proposed that the Brotherhood in Lviv send

Notes

21 Січинський 1932-1941, p. 210: *За лаврівською хронікою, його з жінкою поховали в монастирі 1675 р. в підземеллях церкви св. Онуфрія.* Ştefan Petriceicu died in fact in 1690.

22 Dragnev 2006, p. 51-61; Kruk 2007a, p. 189-208; Dragnev 2014, p. 87-128; Kruk 2014, p. 129-152.

23 Драган, Свєнціцький, Пещанський 1926, p. 9.

24 The intensive trade contacts with Greek and Moldavian merchants from Suceava, Botoșani during the first half of the 16th century are confirmed in documents quoted by Крип'якевич 1907a-b, *passim*.

25 Січинський 1932-1941, p. 209.

26 Janusz 1924, p. 53.

27 Szaraniewicz 1892, p. 57.

28 Janusz 1924, p. 53, 56, 62; Карпович 1925a, p. 89. Szaraniewicz pointed to the preserved donation charter issued by Sigismund III in 1598, in which permission to build an Orthodox church in Lviv was granted to Ieremia Movilă – Szaraniewicz 1892, p. 56.

29 *Cf.* Szaraniewicz 1892, p. 53-60.



Fig. 3. Lviv, so-called Wallachian Church.
Source: public domain.

four deacons (cantors) to learn Greek and Serbian songs[30] and offered to "make at our expense paintings and carpets, and gates, and vessels, and priestly garments: whatever you need, let us know, as we want to help you [...]."[31] In one of his letters, he asked the king to issue a charter enabling the Ruthenians in Lviv to build an Orthodox church. The king was also requested to summon the city council to help with this endeavor.[32] According to a panegyric votive plate, Saint Paraskeva Pyatnitsa Church, another valuable monument of Lviv architecture, was founded by Moldavian Voivode Basil Lupu (1634-1653) in 1644.[33] Saint George's Church kept an epitrachelion of the same governor's foundation from 1643, also bearing the name of the *hospodar*.[34] Recently, a Moldavian epitrachelion created following a donation from Ieremia Movilă (Pol. Jeremiasz Mohyła), held by the Franciscans of Kraków, has been revealed and described. As many works of art in their treasury were transferred from the Lviv convent after World War II, it can be assumed that this gift was originally sent to Lviv.[35] It is also known that Moldavian citizens were buried in the church of Saint Onuphrius during the 17th century.[36] One of the surviving letters of *hospodar* Alexandru Lăpușneanu suggests that influence could sometimes be exerted both ways. According to I. Svěncickyj, on 22 April 1565, Alexandru, the voivode of Moldavia, sent a letter from Jassy to the Orthodox Dormition Brotherhood in Lviv with a request for *zukrov* (*zografów*), or painters, to come and paint "his" church for a good fee.[37]

It is impossible to say today where exactly the "Wallachians" came from; what is known is that they had been buying houses on Ruska Street in Lviv since the end of the 15th century. After all, "Wallachian" merchants came to Lviv from Suceava, and the lenders or debtors of the townspeople here lived as far as Wallachia.[38] For example, under the date of June 2, 1526 *Thodor Valachus de Sochauia*[39] appeared in the

Notes

30 Szaraniewicz 1892, p. 57; Ciobanu 1976, p. 69.

31 Janusz 1924, p. 56. Szaraniewicz mentioned that the candlesticks that came from the Wallachian *hospodar* Ieremia had been bought by the Brotherhood from the executor of the Podolian voivode's testament. In 1658, when Lviv was besieged by Ivan Wychowski, the successor of Hetman Chmielnicki, the Brotherhood gifted those candlesticks to the besieger. See Szaraniewicz 1892, p. 60.

32 Szaraniewicz 1892, p. 57.

33 Janusz 1924, p. 63; Карпович 1925b, p. 107 – originally, seeral other authors, mistakenly interpreted the founder's abbreviated signature as the name of the *hospodar* Miron Barnovschi.

34 Sokołowski 1899, p. 511.

35 Warzecha 2016, p. 101-112.

36 Janusz 1924, p. 61. A wooden, carved cross with silver engraving dated to the 15th-16th century and stored in another medieval Lviv church of Saint Nicholas was said to have come from Wallachia. See Карпович 1925a, p. 89.

37 Cited after: Свєнціцкий 1914, p. 108.

38 Крип'якевич 1907b, p. 103.

39 ЦДІАЛ, font 52, opus 2, sprava 9, delo 664 – cited after Крип'якевич 1994, item 287.

40 ЦДІАЛ, font 52, opus 2, sprava 10, delo 145 – cited after Крип'якевич 1994, item 401, 402.

41 ЦДІАЛ, font 52, opus 2, sprava 9, delo 380 – cited after Крип'якевич 1994, item 678. Translation from Old Polish: "Sienko, who came from Wallachia, with all the treasures he brought from Wallachia, together with the other Wallachians that accompanied him."

Lviv municipal records, in 1533 *Ieremy civis et negociator in Berlada Moldaven[sis], Petro Derebab de Botuschany* or *Gregori Sthano civem Soczauien[sem]*,[40] and under March 24, 1541 *Sienko, ktori z Walach wiechał, Skarbi, ktore bil wynosi z Walach y inschi, ktorzi s tim Sienkiem Wolochowie bili.*[41] The "Wallachians" are most frequently mentioned in the city's records for houses they purchased in Lviv at the end of the 15th century. However, at the beginning of the next century, numerous references document an increase in the size of the Ruthenian population, with people arriving in this rapidly expanding center from the neighbouring cities: Dobromyl (Ukr. Добромиль; Pol. Dobromil), Drohobych (Ukr. Дрогобич; Pol. Drohobycz), Shchyrets (Ukr. Щирець; Pol. Szczerzec) and Horodok (Ukr. Городок; Pol. Gródek).[42] In addition to these records, there are documents which prove the granting of villages in the Lviv and Przemyśl areas to settlers nicknamed "Wallachians" in the 15th and 16th centuries. The old migrations can be traced through the names of some villages in the Lviv region: for instance, one located in the "land of Ilnica, economy of Sambor", another in the "land of Moldavia", i.e. Moldavsko,[43] and another near Rava-Ruska (Ukr. Рава-Руська; Pol. Rawa Ruska) – Kam'yanka Voloska (Ukr. Кам'янка-Волоська; Pol. Kamionka Wołoska).[44]

Architecture

The great vitality and creative force of little Moldavia was extraordinary. Faced with multiple internal problems and constant external threats, it spared no expense in supporting its own rich and varied culture. At the same time, it sponsored numerous foundations in Lviv, the most important of which was the Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God, commonly known as the "Wallachian church." The *hospodars* supported the Brotherhood at the church.[45] Ieremia and Simion had the church built at a significant cost and Voivode Miron promised to endow it generously within a set time period after its completion. This is an important reference in view of the unclear ending chronology of the construction of this temple.

Thus, at least three *hospodars*, whose reigns were relatively short, had a share in its construction. According to I. Sharanevyč (Ukr. Ізидор Шараневич; Pol. Izydor Szaranewycz), the author of a jubilee book published on the 300th anniversary of the Stavropegial Brotherhood in Lviv, Simion and Ieremia commissioned Pavel Dominici to build the church. With financial support from King Sigismund III, Dominici started work in 1591, laying its foundations on top of an earlier church built in the middle of the 16th century.[46] Most likely, the main body of the new church was already finished by 1629, as evidenced by the dedicatory inscription of that year, expressing gratitude for its completion to Miron Barnovschi-Movilă (Pol. Miron Barnowski-Mohyła).[47] Its consecration was, however, delayed beyond the end of his first reign, which lasted until August 1629. The consecration took place in 1631 in the presence of Peter Movilă (Pol. Piotr Mohyła, Ukr. Петро Могила; Rom. Petru Movilă), brother of Moses, then voivode of Moldavia. Both were sons of Simion Movilă. Therefore, scholars do not agree on a precise date for the completion of the church. However, 1629 tends to be more commonly accepted.[48] Peter Movilă was to be ordained in this church as the metropolitan of Kyiv on 24 April 1633, even though he retained the title of archimandrite of Pechersk and that of exarch, received from Constantinople.[49]

Notes

42 Крип'якевич 1907b, p. 103.

43 *SGKP* 3, 1882, 348.

44 *SGKP* 3, 1882, 788.

45 Szaraniewicz 1892, p. 53-60.

46 Головацкий 1887, p. 11-16; Szaraniewicz 1892, p. 56.

47 Fragment of a drawing of the inscription, together with the coat of arms of Moldavia: Golimas 1980, ill. on pasteboard.

48 Janusz 1924, p. 53, 56, 62; Карпович 1925a, p. 89; Александрович 2001, p. 279. The bibliography on the church is vast, but only recently has a deeper analysis of its architecture been conducted by M. Karpowicz and P. Krasny. M. Karpowicz has recently justified the Venetian genesis of its form: Karpowicz 1998, p. 169-186. Cf. Krasny 2003, p. 71.

49 Жуковський 1997, p. 86-87; Kowalska 1976, p. 568-572. Studies on Peter Movilă have been published for quite a long time, and yet recently this extremely interesting figure has attracted growing interest from researchers representing various fields, especially theology – cf: Suttner 2001, p. 106-116; Krasny 2000, p. 337-362; Vornicescu 1999. The discussion around the 400th anniversary of the Union of Brest, signed in the year of his birth, has undoubtedly contributed greatly to the increase in the number of publications on his attitude and achievements. Rezachevici recently confirmed the customary date of Peter Movilă's birth, who was also Metropolitan of Kyiv from 1633 – 21 December 1596, contrary to suggestions that it should be post-dated to 1574, based on an inscription on his grave in the destroyed cathedral church of the Pechersk Lavra – Rezachevici 1996, p. 109-117. Born in 1596, Peter arrived in the Republic of Poland in 1610, became archimandrite of Kyiv in 1610, and died as metropolitan in 1647. In 1996 he was canonized by the Synod of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate, which fixed his feast day at 31 December – Suttner 2001, p. 107.

Fig. 4. Posada Rybotycka, Orthodox Church.
Source: public domain.

Romanesque and Gothic forms were embraced in the architecture of both Rus' and the principalities of modern Romania, but it is quite significant that, just as in painting, they were used so with a secondary function. The features of the Gothic or modern style are present in the ornamentation layer of Orthodox painting. Similarly, Romanesque detail was used in the architecture of Halych temples or in the Gothic tracery of Moldavian architecture. The main plan of the buildings and the canon of painting remained Byzantine. Western features served as additions or supplements, although the reception of circular buildings, or rotundas, with a pattern well established in both cultural spheres, remained very controversial. On 15 February 1907, when Władysław Podlacha's paper on Bukovina frescoes was discussed at the meeting of the Lviv Commission for the Study of the History of Art in Poland, attention was drawn to the presence of strong Italian and Gothic influences in Moldavian art, which had already been noticed by Karl Romstorfer. The shapes of Late Gothic windows framed with bars were presented as evidence.[50]

It is possible that the same workshops, arriving from Lesser Poland, were working on the Romanesque details of the Orthodox churches in the Halych Principality, and later in the lands of the Rostov-Suzdal Principality. It is also possible that, during the Jagiellonian period, the workshop of Lesser Poland was also active in Moldavia. However, these suppositions remain mere conjectures. The presence of Gothic motifs in Moldavian architecture can be traced from the oldest foundations of *hospodar* Stephen the Great (Rom. Ștefan cel Mare; Pol. Stefan III Wielki) and his boyars, such as Ion Tăutu Logothete in Bălinești (Pol. Balineszti), to the foundation of Saint Demetrius Church in Suceava by Petru Rareș (Pol. Piotr Raresz; Petryła: *c.*1487-1546, *hospodar* in 1527-1538 and 1541-1546), and of the church in Arbore by his boyar Luca, and then well into the 17th century.[51]

The Orthodox Church in Posada Rybotycka

In the field of Orthodox church architecture, the artistic relations between the countries south of the Carpathians and Ruthenia were first traced by Zofia Szanter in the adaptation of the triple-headed ending of the eastern part of the temple.[52] In my opinion, it is worth considering them in relation to an exceptional monument of brick architecture: the Orthodox church in Posada Rybotycka (**fig. 4**). In previous scholarship, there was an overwhelming conviction that possible models of this unusual defensive stone building, distinct from the typical examples of wooden architecture, should be sought in the architecture of the Red Rus'. In my analysis of potential inspirations, however, I have pointed out that they should perhaps be sought on the southern side of the Carpathians.[53] These mountains are all too often perceived as a borderline, but in the Middle Ages they were a link rather than a cultural barrier.

The Church of Saint Onuphrius in Posada Rybotycka is the oldest surviving brick Orthodox church in Poland, dating back to the early 15th century.[54] Its origins remain unclear. All we know is that an Orthodox monastery existed there earlier. The church is located in the south-eastern part of Poland, within the borders of the historic Orthodox Diocese of Przemyśl. When the lands of Sanok, Przemyśl, and Lviv were incorporated into the Kingdom of Poland by Casimir the Great in the 14th

Notes

50 Sprawozdania Komisyi 1913, p. CXL.

51 Kruk 2019, vol. I, p. 225-226.

52 Szanter 1999, p. 212-219.

53 Крук 2017a, p. 130-150.

54 Cf. Herea, Giemza 2014, p. 153-181; Gronek 2015. See also the contribution of G. Herea in this volume.



century, the hitherto Catholic state gained a considerable area inhabited by the Orthodox Ruthenian population, which was supplemented with immigrants from the south and the west in the 15th and 16th centuries

The church mainly attracted attention because of its rich ensemble of frescoes, which were discovered by accident in the early 1960s and have been studied many times up to the present day. A digitization project carried out in 2011 revealed many details that had been previously invisible in the layers of less well preserved paintings. Less attention was then paid to the architecture of the church, consisting of three clearly distinguishable elements: the sanctuary, the nave and the entrance hall, extended, before the end of the 15th century, with a vestibule and a high tower covering the upper chapel. The three-part, longitudinal layout of the temple is characteristic for wooden churches, which were built much later in large numbers in the northern Carpathian region within the Russian ecumeny. The Gothic buttresses, which were commonly used in the ecclesiastical architecture of Moldavia, are worth noting as an example of the contamination between, on the one hand, Romanesque / Gothic exterior features, and on the other hand, a Byzantine interior layout. It may have been the case that builders from the south took part in the erection of the church. They could have come from one of the workshops active in Hungary, which were probably also active in northern Moldavia. In this case, there may have been a transfer of simple hall arrangements, characteristic of Late Romanesque architecture, or an adjustment of different building solutions used in Gothic churches, more precisely in the so-called defensive churches of Transylvania. An indirect indication of this borrowing may be the possible origin of Stefan Węgrzyn of Sas' coat of arms, which was granted to him by King Casimir the Great in 1367, along with the monastic settlement "Honoffry" (Posada Rybotycka) and the neighboring monastic settlements of Siemionów (Pacław) and Trójca, and whose descendants adopted the nickname 'Rybotycki'. The Monastery of Saint Onuphrius was also part of the endowment of the Ruthenian Bishopric in Przemyśl in 1407. It is believed that both the monastery and the church were originally wooden, replaced by brick during the 15th century. Undoubtedly, they were an important point in the defense system of the Przemyśl area, providing support and security for the settlement of this area in the 15th century. At the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries Posada became a suburb of Rybotycze: *oppidum cum suburbis alias Possada*, which then became the property of brothers Stanisław and Rafał Komarnicki.

The surname and coat of arms indicate that Stefan Węgrzyn may have been a nobleman from Hungary, perhaps a Catholic, who acquired land in an area where other settlers from the south had their estates, such as the Balc family, who owned a large part of the Bieszczady Mountains in the region of Ustrzyki. The Polish-Hungarian borderland at that time was to a large extent settled by the Saxons (Germans), who had been present in the Šariš region since the 13th century, as these lands attracted miners and craftsmen. This settlement was most intensely populated in the period between Batu Khan's mid-13th century invasion and the late 15th century. Bela IV, the Hungarian king, acted similarly to the Jagiellonians, who favoured the new settlers, by granting them numerous privileges, including the right to mine for non-ferrous metals in the Carpathian Mountains. The incorporation of the Red Rus' into the Kingdom of Poland by Casimir the Great attracted the Saxons to the northern side of the Carpathians, i.e. to the Ruthenian lands, which from then on became a part of the Polish state. The German population, settled between the Wisłok and San rivers (according to tradition, in order to protect these areas from invasions), underwent gradual Polonization during the 16th century. Their separateness was still perceived in the 19th century in their attire and customs, which resembled those of the Hungarian and Transylvanian Saxons. They were called *głochoniemce* (Deaf Germans) because of the forgotten knowledge of their native language, which survived until around the 17th century. The surname *Węgrzyn* could therefore indicate not so much a Hungarian as the subject of the Hungarian king, e.g. a Saxon, just as the epithet *Wołoch* or *Wołoszyn* did not necessarily refer to a representative of the principality of Moldavia (*Valachia Minor*) or Wallachia (*Valachia Maior*), but to a newcomer from the south, who could also be a Serb or a Bulgarian.

In the context of the Church of Saint Onuphrius, this is of considerable importance. Z. Beiersdorf notes, as discussed above, that the church is an example of the adaptation of a provincial Gothic church.

It seems, however, that although we are dealing with a cultural transplant of the Western style, it is an adaptation of a mixed Romanesque-Gothic style, of the same kind that took place in areas like Moldavia as late as the 14th century. Combined with the Byzantine arrangement of the space, in which the sanctuary (*altar*), nave (*naos*), and vestibule (*pridvor*) were separated, there was a compilation of a Romanesque-Gothic structure with a Byzantine liturgical function, confirmed by the iconographic program of paintings. The church in Luzhany near Chernivtsi (mid-15th century) is an important testimony of such a conjunction.[55] In later works, the Gothic style, still in symbiosis with the Orthodox frescoes, is dominant, as in Bălinești, mentioned above, where Gothic vault ribs appear next to buttresses and tracery. Nevertheless, this archaic combination of Romanesque-Gothic features was characteristic for the architecture of the 13th–14th centuries in Hungary, before the Gothic style eventually became dominant. Therefore, taking into account the alleged origin of the owner of Posada, the fact that the Saxons intensively built defensive and incastled churches in Transylvania, and also the suggestions that it was from Hungary that building workshops would come to Moldavia to support the building movement there, finding fertile ground thanks to the patronage of successive *hospodars*, I think that the possible source of the architectural form of the church in Posada should be sought in this area. Is this thesis confirmed by the preserved historical material?

Scholarship on the architecture of Transylvania is rich. In recent years, it has intensified thanks to archaeological research conducted on a larger scale than before. This has made possible a more accurate reconstruction of buildings that have not been preserved or were transformed in later centuries. The search for analogies of the Posada church brings our attention mainly to the Late Romanesque churches of the rural type, with simple architecture and of smaller size compared to the grandiose urban basilicas. These include, for example, the hall church in Nireș (Germ. Nieresch; Hung. Szásznyíres), mentioned in the 14th century, which has a similar spatial disposition to the church in Posada: its nave is much larger than the vestibule and it features a rectangular presbytery, with corner buttresses. It also has two entrances – from the south and from the west. Another example has been preserved in Archiud (Germ. Arkeden; Hung. Erked), where the nave is significantly elongated and the chancel is a closed polygon.

The church in Gârbova (Hung. Szászorbó; Germ. Urwegen) had a square nave with a smaller square presbytery. The church of Râmeț Monastery (Rom. Râmeț; Hung. Remete), probably built in the early 14th century or the late 13th century,[56] has similar features. It is noticeable, therefore, that the plans of these churches are more clearly marked by the rectangular projection of the nave, while the other churches have an almost perfectly square plan, while preserving the three-part layout. According to the reconstruction of the latter church, there was a high tower adjacent to it on the western side, with a room on the first floor open to the attic space. According to Cristian Moisescu (2001), this serves to confirm that the longitudinal basilica layout was adapted in the Orthodox monastic milieu. Here the tower was built as an extension of the nave walls so as to create the necessary space for the narthex. An example of this type of foundation is the temple at Râu de Mori – Suseni (Hung. Malomvíz; Germ. Mühldorf). This type of longitudinal structure with a massive tower on the west side is also found in the Gothic church in Daia (Hung. Szászdálya; Germ. Denndorf), whose construction was completed in 1477 according

Notes

55 Kruk 2007a, p. 189-208; Kruk 2014, p. 129-152.

56 Dumitran 2020, p. 143: here is a new reading of the inscription (p. 140-143) and chronology for the layers of painting. See also the article of Ana Dumitran in this volume.

57 Таранушенко 1982, p. 227.

58 Свєнціцька 1971, p. 22.

59 Таранушенко 1982, p. 226.

60 Пуцко 1994, p. 97; *Мистецтво України* 1995, p. 243; Александрович 1996, 5; Ярема 2017, p. 242-244.

61 Ярема 2017, p. 244.

62 *Профессия – реставратор* 1987, p. 29. The icon was cleaned from five layers of paintings applied from the 17th to 20th century.

63 Bosykovich is mentioned as the author of these icons in their captions at the permanent exhibition in Olesko Castle.

64 Michalczuk 2021, p. 179-220. See also the contribution of W. Michalczuk in this volume.

65 Icons from Terło, Busk and Belz were grouped as works of one workshop dependent on Moldavian patterns in: Kruk 2000, p. 330; Гелитович 2003, p. 68. I have added to it an icon from Jabłeczna: Kruk 2003a, 23; Kruk 2019, vol. I, p. 248.

66 Sokołowski 1899, p. 473–531. Even before the Second World War, a temporary exhibition of "Ukrainian icon painting" was organized by the Institute of Art Propaganda in Warsaw in 1934. The large Honorary Committee of this exhibition included eminent professors from all national universities, among them W. Molé and W. Podlacha.

67 Janusz 1924, *passim*.

to the preserved inscription on the vaulted keystone. Naturally free-standing defensive towers (Turnu Ruieni, Hung. Sebesrom; Cheresig, Hung. Körösszeg) were also known to exist. They had several storeys, supported in the corners by buttresses, whose construction was one of the symptoms of the general development of defensive architecture in Central and Eastern Europe.

In the context of the mentioned possibility of borrowing ready-made Gothic solutions from Hungary, it is necessary to add that the symbiosis between, on the one hand, a longitudinal layout with a massive tower appended to the west, and on the other hand, a liturgical space divided in keeping with Orthodox customs took place at the beginning of the 14th century in Transylvania, and in the second half of the 14th and the first half of the 15th century in Moldavia. If, in the case of Posada Rybotycka, we are dealing with an adaptation of the Romanesque-Gothic structure of a small church of a rural type, their use for the needs of the Byzantine liturgy had already been established earlier. In this already tested form, such patterns could have been transferred, together with specific builders, to the northern Carpathian foothills in the first half of the 15th century, thanks to the initiative of Stefan Węgrzyn. This does not exclude the fact that the cases of later defensive churches known in the literature could, in a larger sense, have been connected with current trends in Gothic architecture already developing on the territory of the Kingdom of Poland.

Icon Painting

As far as icon painting is concerned, there are not enough sources to shed more light on the question of the origin of the creators of preserved historical material. Naturally, it is to be expected that they were mainly Ruthenians, but in the cosmopolitan monasteries, newcomers from both northern and southern Orthodox countries were undoubtedly also active. Among the exceptional artists whose activity has been revealed is Gregory (Grigory) Bosykovych of Suceava, active in Volhynia in the mid-16th century. His icons are preserved primarily in the Museum at Olesko Castle near Lviv. His signature was on the icon of *Saint Nicholas*, donated to Mielets Monastery (Ukr. Милецький монастир; Pol. Monaster w Mielcach) near Kovel (Ukr. Ковель; Pol. Kowel), where there was a church of Saint Nicholas built with the foundation of Fedor Sanguszko in 1542 (**fig. 5**).[57]

During World War I, the icon was moved from Zhytomyr to Kharkiv, where it disappeared in 1941. The date of the inscription is unclear – some say 1586[58] or 1589,[59] or even 1532.[60] The icon has an inscription that is partly readable: *[...] раба Божія многогрѣшного Григорія Босиковича волошина изъ Сучавы міста [...]*.[61] The painter Bosykovich is also credited with the icon of *Our Lady Hodegetria surrounded by saints* from Busk.[62] In addition to this, he is probably the one who painted, in the first half of the 16th century, the three icons forming a single iconostasis, which is now exhibited in Olesko Castle: *Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul*, probably belonging to the same order of *Deesis*, and *Saint Paraskeva*, quite likely from the sovereign tier of icons.[63] The example of Bosykovych proves that there were no obstacles to the penetration of southern artists into the Ruthenian lands, and the example of icons of a clearly Byzantine character, such as the icon of *Our Lady Hodegetria*, kept in the National Museum in Warsaw, proves that there were also no such obstacles when it came to specific works. The fundamental problem, however, in view of the anonymity of almost all the art of the centuries in question, is not a matter of individual works, but of the entire artistic legacy of those times. This includes not only icons, but also sets of Orthodox wall paintings in indigenous Polish lands. Thanks to recent research by W. Michalczuk, icons of *Hodegetria* and of *Saint Onuphrius* from Jabłeczna Monastery should also be added to Bosykovych's oeuvre, painted under the patronage of the Sanguszko Family, to whom the monasteries in Mielets and Jabłeczna belonged.[64] It was underlined earlier that features of the icon of *Hodegetria* linked it with icons of *Hodegetria* from Busk (Ukr. Буськ; Pol. Busk), Belz (Ukr. Белз; Pol. Bełz) and Terlo (Ukr. Терло; Pol. Terło) (**fig. 1**), as dependent on Moldavian patterns.[65] This similarity is clearly visible, for example, in the elaboration of Mary's face and the figures of prophets.

I devoted a separate chapter to the issue of detailed relations between Ruthenian and Moldavian painting in my monograph (Kruk 2000), so I will only recall here the most important convergent iconographic and technological-stylistic features. As early as 1889, an exhibition devoted exclusively to Orthodox art took place in Lviv, which provided an opportunity to emphasize the close ties between the art of Rus' and Moldavia.[66] These links, which have been long noticed, have not, however, been widely analyzed so far. It even seems that more attention was paid to them in the interwar period. In a 1924 article, B. Janusz points to traces of artistic links, illustrated by the Lviv artefacts, between the Ruthenian lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Moldavia. Such links were also discussed by E. Biedrzycki in his 1933 article on Polish-Romanian relations.[67]

Indirect testimonies of the influence of dynamically developing Moldavian art on Ruthenian art in

Fig. 5. Lost icon of *Saint Nicholas* by Grigorij Bosykovič.
Source: Ярема 2017.

Fig. 6. *Hodegetria surrounded by archangels, prophets, Joachim and Anne and hymnographers*, icon from the bottom tier of the iconostasis, Ruthenia, Moldavian painter (?), second quarter of the 16th century; National Museum in Kraków.
Source: Kruk 2019.

the 15th–16th centuries are the preserved paintings and icons or, more precisely, their palaeographic and iconographic-formal details. Moldavian icons depicting, for example, the Mother of God in share many common features with Ruthenian icons, especially as regards their iconographic type and composition. These were primarily *Hodegetria*-type icons, surrounded by prophets and hymnographers (fig. 6). In the paintings found in the naves of the Moldavian Orthodox churches filled with Marian cycles, in the immediate vicinity of *Virgin Orans* with Christ Emmanuel on her chest, filling the dome crowning this part of the church, four main hymnographers appeared in pendentives: Saint John Damascene, Kosma of Majuma, Joseph the Hymnographer and Theophanes. The image of this peculiar glorification of Mary and Jesus, in which, in addition to the hymnographers, a host of angels and sometimes prophets also took part in the pendentives placed above, was possible thanks to the special construction of this dome, called Moldavian for its originality. The construction of this dome created a system of multiple rows of pendentives, which allowed for the placement of several hosts of holy figures, according to the rule of the descending hierarchy. The principle of the decreasing number of pendentives from the top to the bottom of the dome, where there were four, made it possible to place a greater number of angels and prophets in the higher pendentives, and the hymnographers mentioned above in the lowest ones, perfectly corresponding with the four evangelists in the pendentives supporting the dome of the nave with the image of Christ Pantokrator. This ideological and compositional scheme also applied to royal icons, one of which was dedicated to *Hodegetria, surrounded by archangels and prophets*, and the other to *Christ Pantokrator, surrounded by archangels and apostles*. A number of pairs of such icons have been preserved in the Slavic Balkan countries and in Moldavia. In the Ruthenian icons, the figures of four hymnographers were added on the lower frame, providing a link between them and the compositions of the domes of the Moldavian churches. This structure probably imitated the iconographic scheme of the dome of the *parecclesion* of the church of Chora (Karye Djami), the model temple of Constantinople of the early Palaeological period.

Naturally, the iconographic prototype of Mary with Jesus surrounded by four hymnographers, present in the Karye Djami *parecclesion*, predates the creation of the Moldavian paintings considerably. However, in no other place did it become so popular as in the ensemble of Moldavian churches built in the first half of the 16th century, when the vast majority of Ruthenian icons of *Hodegetria, surrounded by archangels, prophets, Joachim and Anna, and hymnographers*, were painted. Ruthenian icons were enriched with an additional lower row of figures. The four hymnographers and Mary's parents were therefore a kind of adaptation of themes known from wall paintings realized fully in Orthodox countries, compensating in a way for their absence in the programmes of wall paintings in the Ruthenian lands of the Polish Kingdom.

Among Ruthenian icons from the 15th–16th centuries, three icons stand out from an iconographic point of view. They come from Florynka, Krempna and an unknown place, and they all have in common the same, unusual profile view of Mary on the throne – in the first case surrounded by four pairs of prophets, in the second accompanied only by the figures of David and Solomon, and in the third with five pairs of prophets in the columns. The icon from Florynka is also distinguished by the unique motif of a mandorla surrounding the whole fi-

Notes

68 Свєнціцька 1983, p. 18.

69 Drăguţ 1982, ill. 211.

70 Efremov 1968b, fig. 6. Icon of the *Mother of God Hodegetria on the throne*, late 16th–early 17th century, 80 x 55 cm. See *Romanian Icons* 1993, ill. 38.

71 Efremov 1968b, p. 502-508; Păcurariu 1992, p. 601. Efremov also attributed six other icons to the brothers, including a Marian icon kept in the monastery's museum in Neamţ. See Efremov 1968a, p. 139-143.

72 *Wystawa archeologiczna polsko-ruska* 1886, p. 9, pl. 31, item 2. Another cover of the Gospel, made for the church of the Mother of God in Suceava in 1570, was kept in the Basilian church in Zhovkva. It was made by the Zuhrawskoye Brotherhood, the name of which is explained by the connection of Moldavia with the Zograf monastery on Mount Athos, but which could also simply mean a painting guild (from the word *zograph* – painter). See *Wystawa archeologiczna polsko-ruska* 1886, 9, pl. 30, item 2. Sokołowski 1889, p. 488-498, ill. 40.





gure of Mary with Christ. Vira Svěncicka (Pol. Wira Swjencićka) suggests that the first two icons mentioned above came from the workshop of Przemysl, but has also found Balkan analogies of the semicircular form of the throne.[68] Similar in terms of composition and form to the icons mentioned above is the image of the Virgin on the throne, on the south wall painting of the church in Lavrov. Only the lower part has survived, with a visible, characteristic arrangement of the legs, as in icons. The outline of the mandorla originally surrounding Mary is also visible. The presence of this theme in Lavrov's paintings, executed in the middle of the 16th century according to the programme and style of paintings of Moldavian churches decorated in the first half of the same century, reinforces the thesis of strong links between Ruthenian and Moldavian art. This is supported, above all, by the similar motif of a throned Mary, surrounded by a mandorla, which is found precisely in the Moldavian church, in the quatrefoil of the *Acathist cycle* in Humor (1535).

Similarly, Ruthenian icons with the theme of the *Council of the Virgin* (Rus. *Sobor Bogomateri*), dating from the second half of the 16th century, have their counterparts in the scenes of glorification of the Mother of God surrounded by angels in the *cycle of the Acathist hymn* in Humor or in the naos of the main church of Sucevița Monastery.[69] For example, the iconographic detail of the presence of three bishops in both compositions links the icon of the *Council of Mary* from Lybochora (Ukr. Либохóра, Pol. Libuchora) with the scene of the glorification of Mary on the southern wall of the church in Humor. In Humor they appear on the right side of Mary on the throne with Jesus, but in the icon they are on the left. Two Moldavian icons from the church in Pângărați are also attributed to the monks Ion and Sofronius, the authors of the Suceava frescoes:[70] *Christ Pantokrator surrounded by apostles* and *Our Lady Hodegetria surrounded by archangels and prophets*, sitting on a similar, geometric throne as in the paintings of the church in Suceava.[71] The popularity of this iconographic type – described as the *Council of the Mother of God* in the second half of the 16th century – both in Ruthenia and in Moldavia, is made obvious by its presence on the silver frame of the 16th-century *Gospel Book*, made by Dragno and his grandson Ilye Kamarash for the Metropolitanate of Suceava. This went to the Stavropegian Institute in Lviv (**fig. 7**)[72].

The iconography of this subject in the frame is even reminiscent of early Christian depictions due to the full-figure and monumental poses of the archangels, walking towards the throning Mary with Christ.



▲ Fig. 7. Silver frame of the 16th-century *Gospel Book*, made by Dragno and his grandson Ilye Kamarash for the Metropolitanate of Suceava, which went to the Stavropegian Institute in Lviv.

Source: *Wystawa archeologiczna polsko-ruska* 1886.



◥ Fig. 8. *Council of the Mother of God*, Cewków, second half of the 16th century; Museum of Folk Architecture in Sanok.

Source: *Ikona karpacka* 1998.

On the Ruthenian icon from Cewków (fig. 8),[73] the throne on which the Mother of God sits with Jesus has a similar shape to the form of the throne in the icon from Pângărați and on the above-mentioned frame. The similarity is especially visible in the details of the seat. The hieratic and frontal composition is a common feature of all Ruthenian icons and of Moldavian frescoes and icons devoted to the theme of the assembly of saints around the throne of Mary with Jesus. The placement of angels standing behind the back of the throne in the icon from Dudyńce makes it more similar to the Suceava fresco, as does the accumulation of angel figures on the icon from Lybochora. The fresco is, however, distinguished by the motif of a crown adorning Mary's forehead, which is a characteristic feature of the later period. In addition to this, the act of blessing, given by Christ with both hands, is featured in the Humor fresco, but in the icons he performs this gesture with his right hand only, as he holds a rolled-up coin in his other hand. Consistency in the formula used in the icons is expressed by the *Glorification of Mary* in the window arch of the church in Arbore and in the niche above the image of the *Lamb of God* outside the church in Moldovița. In the first case, two hymnographers have been added on the sides of the mandorla surrounding Mary with Jesus and the angels – Saint John of Damascus, wearing a characteristic turban, and, most likely, Kosmas of Majuma. Both are holding unrolled scrolls with only the lines for inscriptions marked. In the case of this perfectly symmetrical composition, the angels' wings protecting the figure of Mary on the sides are a formal prototype of the composition of the second icon from Lybochora. In the case of the Moldovița icon, once again the details of the throne are strikingly similar (the perspective, the engraving, the dark rectangular opening in the seat).[74] The last two details of the throne are also found in late 16th-century icons from Bulgaria, for example in the icon of the *Annunciation* from the village of Bara (Bulg. Бара)[75] or the icon of the *Hospitality of Abraham*, painted by Nedjalko from Lovech (Bulg. Ловеч) in 1597-1598.[76] A throne of this shape and detail is found in the icon of *Deesis* (1495) from Bachkovo Monastery (Bulg. Бачковски манастир).[77]

***

Besides the Marian icons, another significant iconographic feature shared with Moldavian works is the theme of the *Last Judgement*. It appears in wall paintings in the case of Moldavia, and on icons in the case

Notes

73 *Ikona karpacka* 1998, ill. 18.

74 Ştefănescu 1928, pl. 69, ill. 2.

75 Icon, tempera on wood, 120 x 86,5 cm, Bara, Museum of the Transfiguration Monastery. See Паскалева 1981a, item and ill. 31.

76 Icon, tempera on wood, 93 x 69 cm, CIAM, inv. no 3332. See Паскалева 1981a, item and ill. 21.

77 Icon, Bulgaria (?), 107,5 x 73,5 cm. Greek monograms and inscriptions. Quote on Jesus' scroll – John 8,12, NHGS, inv. nr. 199. See Паскалева 1981a, item and ill. 15. The inscription in the lower right corner of the icon indicates its votive character: "Prayer of the servant of God Michael Baksha (?) and his wife, 15 April 7003, indict 13ˇ –1495".





Fig. 9. *Last Judgement*, Dolyna; National Museum in Lviv.
Source: Свєнціцкий 1929.

Fig. 10. *Last Judgement*, fragment of mural, Voroneț Monastery.
Credits: Vlad Bedros.

of Ruthenia. The large size of icons also indicates an evident reliance on wall compositions. The extraordinary coincidence of these elaborate compositions is still awaiting a thorough and detailed study that could better illuminate their relationship. Meanwhile, we can point to an identical motif of the personification of the sea as a woman sitting on two fish against a background of waves on an icon from Kamy'anka (Ukr. ukr. Кам'янка; Pol. Kamionka)[78] or Dolyna (Ukr. Долина; Pol. Dolina) (**fig. 9**).[79] This could have been made according to the Moldavian model, as evidenced by the same motif in the frescos of the church in Voroneț Monastery (Pol. Woroniec) (**fig. 10**).[80] The exoticism of this scene on the icon is enhanced by the presence of various creatures from the southern seas and of different land creatures, including an elephant and a camel. It seems that the paintings of a precise group of Moldavian Orthodox churches from the 1530s had a particular influence on Ruthenian icon painting, as seen in the iconographic-formal layer of many of the cited icons. At the same time, the motifs present in the frescoes of these churches, the outer walls of which were covered with paintings in the time of Petru Rareș, suggest that the artists were familiar with the Mediterranean region. This is clearly evinced by their ability to draw very realistically fish or other sea creatures, such as octopuses, in the great compositions of the *Last Judgment*, which took on a somewhat caricatural form in Ruthenian icons.

Above I focused on iconographic analogies, and while there are many examples of similarity in the composition of individual scenes or details, the resemblances resulting from the use of comparable painting technology are particularly interesting. What often connects Ruthenian icons or paintings and Moldavian icons are the techniques and patterns of their decoration. The clearest relationship is found in painted crosses crowning iconostases from the late 16th and early 17th centuries. In an example from Sniatyn (Ukr. Снятин; Pol. Śniatyń), a characteristic "comb" ornament, carved and painted, was added to the sides of the cross. Their "southern" origin was indicated by W.

Notes

78 Icon, tempera on wood, 194,5 x 246 cm. See Свєнціцкий 1928, ill. 86 (fragment).

79 Icon, tempera on wood. See Свєнціцкий 1929, pl. 46, ill. 65.

80 Musicescu, Ulea 1969, il. 51.

Fig. 11. *Hodegetria surrounded by prophets*, 1539, Urisiu de Jos; Museikon collection, Alba Iulia.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Fig. 12. *Hodegetria surrounded by prophets*, 1549, Siliştea; Museum of Roman Archbishopric.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.



Jarema,[81] and the cross from the iconostasis of the church in Voroneț may be considered a close analogy. An important feature that further connects the Ruthenian and Moldavian icons is the form and decoration of the haloes of the main divine figures, Mary and Jesus, as well as patterns in the background of the icons' central fields.

Finally, we should point out the similar idea of adapting architectural forms in Ruthenia and in the Romanian principalities. These are a variant of Western stylistic forms in the preserved icons from the time of Petru Rareș. They can be seen in the icons of the royal row of the church in Urisiu de Jos (Mureș County). Commissioned by the nobleman Luke of Urisiu,[82] it shows the *Hodegetria surrounded by prophets* (**fig. 11**) and *Saint Nicholas surrounded by scenes of life*. They are also present in a 1549 icon from the foundation of Dan, treasurer under Petru Rareș, in Siliştea (Neamț County), which similarly depicts the *Hodegetria surrounded by prophets* (**fig. 12**).[83] Dan was also the second founder of the church in Humor, after Toader Bubuiog, who is present on the votive panel in the narthex of the church of the Dormition of the Mother of God.[84] A similar form of the column-supported arcade – a twisted rope with stylized capitals – is used in the *Extended Deesis* in Humor,[85] as well as in the mid-16th-century icon of *Saint Paraskeva* from Cârligu (Neamț County), now in the Museum of Romanian Art in Bucharest (**fig. 13**).[86]

Notes

81 Jarema 1972, p. 32.

82 Sabados 1994, p. 32, fig. 11, 24.

83 Sabados 1994, fig. 12. Efremov 2002, ill. 141, item 72.

84 Sabados 1993a, p. 30-31.

85 Sabados 1993a, fig. 7-10.

86 Efremov 2002, il. 143, item 7.





▲ Fig. 13. *Saint Paraskeva*, mid-16th-century, Cârligu; National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest.

Copyright: National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest.

One of the most intriguing examples of Gothic relief decorations is the icon of *Hodegetria surrounded by prophets* from Terlo (Ukr. Терло; Pol. Terło), now preserved in the collection of the National Museum in Kraków (**fig. 1**). Its outstanding feature is the Late Gothic relief ornament in the form of bars, on which an arcature with the motif of inverted lilies is supported (**fig. 14**). Janina Kłosińska has pointed out similar motifs in the art of Serbia and Moldavia.[87] We can see this pattern being repeated consistently in the decoration of Lesser Poland baptismal fonts. They were quite numerous in parish churches, and the exact dates of their manufacture were often recorded. Kłosińska emphasizes that "the frame of the central image, bordered by gothic, convex, intertwined sticks, forming a tracery ornament at the top [...] can be seen on the icon of *Deesis* from the late 16th or early 17th century, in the Museum in Sarajevo [...], and on the icon of *Saint Paraskeva* from the 17th century, now in the Museum in Bucharest. Curled or smooth sticks often frame figures on Serbian and Romanian icons."[88] This quest for the artists' source of inspiration has been redirected by Maria Helytovych's suggestion that the icons of *Hodegetria* from Belz (Ukr. Белз; Pol. Bełz), Busk (Ukr. Буськ; Pol. Busk), and Terlo were all influenced by Moldavian patterns.[89] This similarity is clearly visible, for example, in the elaboration of Mary's face and the figures of prophets.

Another important feature connecting icons of Ruthenia and Moldavia is the form and decoration of the nimbuses of the main divine figures, Mary and Jesus, and the patterns of the background

Notes

87 Krasny, Kruk 2016, p. 144.

88 Kłosińska 1973, p. 169.

89 Гелитович 2003, p. 68.



▲ Fig. 14. *Hodegetria* from Terlo – an arcature with the motif of inverted lilies; photo 2012.
Credits: Mirosław Piotr Kruk.

of the central fields of icons. Many Ruthenian icons, similar also in other respects to Moldavian ones, have convex nimbuses filled with rich geometric or high-relief floral ornamentation. Such are also the nimbuses of Mary and Christ on royal icons from churches in Humor (floral) or Pângărați (geometric). Marina Sabados points out that the plant ornaments of the royal icons from Humor are reminiscent of ornaments found on Italian brocades of the 15th–16th centuries or of 15th-century table paintings of Lesser Poland. This author considers that the principle of plant decoration pressed into the ground of icons, characteristic for Central European works, was borrowed in Moldavian works directly from Polish ones.[90] Corina Nicolescu claims that patterns appearing on gilded covers adorning Ruthenian icons from the 13th–14th centuries are the effect of Polish patterns filtering into Transylvania or other patterns appearing on Central European Gothic polyptychs.[91] Convex haloes, such as on the one in Bălineşti, appear in the icon of *Hodegetria surrounded by prophets* from an unknown place, described by Ivanoyko.[92] Haloes with embossed plant ornamentation are present on icons with prophets framed in half figures (a western cutted ornament in the icon from Busk).

***

A completely unexplored field of comparative research is the content of icon inscriptions in relation to selected iconographic types. So is their paleography, which makes it possible to identify similarities and differences in inscriptions, especially the more developed ones on prophetic scrolls.

The icon of *Archangel Michael* from the collection of the National Museum in Kraków may serve as a good pretext for such an analysis (**fig. 15**).[93] In the Kraków icon, the archangel is posed frontally and hieratically in armour and a red mantle (gr. *χλαμύς*), in accordance with widespread convention. The side fields of the icon contain scenes of his miracles. Decidedly less often was the archangel painted in the imperial robe. His hair is decorated with a ribbon (gr. *ταινία*; old sl. *мороки*), which was supposed to expose his ears so that he could better hear the voice of God. He holds a raised sword in his right hand and a scabbard in his left. The ribbon on which he stands has been given the shape of the number "8". This has numerous symbolic connotations, including the idea of transformation as a process of transcending temporality. This icon should be included in the group of works in a similar style identified in the Lviv collection by Maria Helytovych, who also pointed out the similarity of their features with the *Deesis* row from Rovné in Slovakia, now in the Šariš Museum in Bardejov. The Kraków icon should also be included in this group. The similarity is visible especially in relation to the face of the Archangel

Notes

90 Sabados 1994, p. 62.

91 Nicolescu 1976a, p. 17.

92 Kruk 2019, vol. I, p. 223.

93 Cf. Kruk 2019, vol. I, p. 149-167.

94 Гнатишак 1936, ill. at p. 7. The icon is currently in the collection of the National Museum in Przemyśl (MPH-1368): *Archangel Michael*, icon, dated first half of the 16th century, tempera on wood, 133 × 66 cm (partialy preserved), MZNP, inv. nr. MPH-1368. See Kiwała, Burzyńska 1981, item 21, ill. 6. Conservation documentation: "Ikona MP-H-1368" [Conservation report on Icon MP-H-1368], National Museum in Przemyśl.

95 Sabados 1993b, p. 44 and footnote 43.

96 *Saints Archangels Michael and Gabriel*, icon dated 1525-1527, tempera on wood, background ornament modelled in ground, gilded, 68×54.5 cm, donor Toader Vistiernicul, from the church of Măşcăteşti (Neamț County), Secu Monastery (Neamț County, now in the Metropolitan Museum in Iași). See Sabados 1993b, p. 68, item 1. Scenes on the sides: *Council of archangels – Hospitality of Abraham*; *Jacob's ladder – Daniel fed in the lions' den*; *Conversion of David – Revelation of Joshua*; *Jacob's struggle – Three young men in the fiery furnace*; *Revelation to Emperor Constantine – Destruction of the army of Sennacherib*; *Prophecy of Balaam – Miracle at Chonae.*

Gabriel in *Deesis* and the nimbuses with convex plant ornamentation with intertwining stems, present in all figures. Similarities are also clearly visible in the design of the faces in the icons from Lviv, e.g. *Saint Paraskeva* and *Saint Demetrius*. The Archangel Michael played an important role in the program of the temple, occupying, for example, a prominent position on the left side of the sovereign tier, symmetrical to the temple icon, in the iconostases of Moldavia from the first half of the 16th century. He was also placed in iconostases on both sides of the Carpathians, as indicated by the almost identical iconography and size of other icons depicting Saint Michael the Archangel. Very similar icons of the Archangel Michael can be found in the collections of the Museum in Prešov and the Šariš Museum in Bardejov, Slovakia. The decoration of the nimbus – a wavy floral thread with offshoots – is another feature linking the Kraków icon with icons from the southern side of the Carpathians. It is also found in Greek icons from that time. There are also many icons from the vicinity of Przemyśl in the collection of the National Museum of Przemyśl Land, which may serve as analogues. For example, similarities can be seen in the icon of *Saint Nicholas surrounded by scenes of life* (MPH-1372), probably from the area of Dobromil, or the icon of *Christ Pantokrator* from the Orthodox Church of Saint Nicholas in Leszczyny near Kalwaria Pacławska (MPH-1242). It should be noted that while the arrangement of the wavy shoot is similar in these haloes, the decoration of the Archangel's nimbus is distinguished by details – offshoots resembling leaves or even wine grapes. In the icons mentioned above, these are finished with similar offshoots in the form of protuberances.

What distinguishes the icon in question is the armor *all'antica* with the motif of a mask in the center, which complies with the conservative character of Ruthenian painting. The motif of the armor with a lion's head on the chest appears, for example, in a late 16th-century icon showing a group of four saints, painted by Michael Damaskinos. Usually, in the Russian tradition, he holds a spear in his right hand, and his left hand rests on a scabbard. In the Greek icon, he supports a sphere with the bust of the blessing Christ Emmanuel. In both icons the ground was marked with overgrown tufts of grass, but despite these general formal similarities, it is clear that the Ruthenian icon was painted by a less skilled artist. The face is too round, the legs are too wide apart, and the folds of the robe are schematically marked. It should be noted that the formal and stylistic features coincide strongly with the above-mentioned icon in the collection of Gallery in Prešov. The icon of *Archangel Michael*, reproduced in the collection of the former Ukrainian Regional Museum "Stryvihor" in Przemyśl, is noteworthy because the saint stands on a similar sash arranged in the shape of a lying figure "8".[94]

The form of the archangel's armour allowed Marina Sabados to draw attention to the similarity of Moldavian icons to the icon of Kraków, which she described as *à l'antique*, i.e. composed of blue *lorica* and red *chlamida*. At the same time, she stressed a significant difference: while scenes are distributed on three sides in Carpathian icons, the scenes in Greek icons and those from Central and Northern Rus' are usually represented on all sides.[95] One of the icons produced during the reign of the Moldavian *hospodar* Petru stands out. Its central field is occupied by two archangels, Michael and Gabriel, surrounded by scenes placed on two sides (**fig. 16**).[96] The presence of the scene with three Hebrew youths betrays familiarity with Deacon Pantaleon of Constantinople' *Story of the Miracles of the Archangel Michael*.

The extent to which the author of the programme of the Kraków icon knew and learned Deacon Pantaleon of Constantinople' *Story of the Miracles of the Archangel Michael* remains a matter of debate.

Abraham's hospitality, the *Council of Archangels*, *Three young men in the fiery furnace*, *David's sorrow*, *Jacob's ladder*, *Daniel fed by lions*, *Balaam's prophecy*, and *Gedeon's fleece* are all episodes present in both the *Story* and in the icons and frescoes of Moldavia. However, they do not appear in the Kraków icon. At the same time, there is a clear reference in the Moldavian paintings to Emperor Constantine, who played such an important role in the iconography of actualization (*Cavalcade of the Holy Cross* in Pătrăuţi). A scene that is universally depicted yet independent from any cycle is the *Miracle at Chonae*, inspired by a legend known at least since the 11th century. Nonetheless, its description is absent from the above-mentioned *Story*. Instead, the recalled source and iconography are connected by prophetic motifs – Gedeon and his fight with Midianites (Judges 6, 11-24) and Daniel, to whom God sent an angel to help him against the murderous attempts of the Persian king Darius (Dan 6, 1-25).

***

Notwithstanding the converging features of Ruthenian and Moldavian icons, there were naturally some differences between them. Moldavian icons can be distinguished from Ruthenian icons by their greater plasticity. For instance, in the above-mentioned royal icons of Jassy, the inscription was made using the relief technique and the central field is separated from the quarters with the figures of prophets or apostles by a convex string ornament,



Fig. 15. *Archangel Michael*; National Museum in Kraków.
Source: Kruk 2019.

Fig. 16. *The Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel*, 1525-1527, Măşcăteşti; Iaşi Metropolitan Museum.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

which also appears as a frame of the whole. The nimbuses of Christ and Mary are also convex. The filling of the side fields with geometric ornament, engraved in the background, while the middle field is filled with engraved floral ornament, is also unprecedented in Russian icons. The background decoration of Ruthenian icons is more uniform, since geometric ornament occurred in even the oldest icons, dating back to the 15th century. The motifs present in the finials of the central fields of Moldavian icons are also not found in the Ruthenian context, as they have more of an arcade pattern, closer to the Greek-Balkan than to Russian icons, with their invariably schematic rectangular pattern.

Despite the identical technique of decorating the backgrounds and nimbuses around the heads of Mary and Jesus, Moldavian ornamentation can be distinguished from its Ruthenian counterpart by the use of much more vibrant geometric-plant motifs and a visible *horror vacui*, common to all woodcarving works created in the Balkans. Despite their resemblances, the motifs differ from one another, but such differences are quite typical of Ruthenian icons. If we consider Ruthenian iconographic art as a whole, the only specific traits are a few ornamental motifs that appeared in the old, 15th-century icons. Subsequently, these motifs evolved and became increasingly diversified during the 16th century. The older motifs also had a more modest repertoire: at first, they were based on combinations of geometric figures, mainly



rhombuses. Floral motifs were then added, more boldly as time went on – at first stylized, then more and more animated. On the other hand, the ornamentation that was typical of the Moldavian works of the second half of the 16th century combined Gothic and Byzantine features with Oriental touches. A frequent Moldavian ornamental motif was the palmette in various forms, betraying Renaissance influences, and many plant motifs resembled ornaments found on Turkish ceramics.[97]

Ruthenian *Hodegetries* in the surroundings of saints are more static and austere, rather devoid of vitality. By contrast, there is a feast of various figures and rich costumes with colorfully accentuated details present primarily in Moldavian paintings and to a lesser extent in icons. Despite this somewhat unimaginative depiction of garments in the icons, the backgrounds and nimbuses are, as a rule, excessively decorated.

Generally, it can be assumed that in Ruthenian painting, the number of features typical of the southern schools increased over the course of time. This phenomenon coincided with a growing wave of Wallachian settlers coming from the south, from the end of the 15th century and through the first half of the 16th century, as well as with active foundation activities in the close vicinity of the Moldavian *hospodars*. Although the school of painting in Suceava was not formally established until 1570,[98] it is known that half a century earlier, painters

Notes

97 Sabados 1985, p. 70.

98 Drăguţ 1982, p. 35.

from Suceava were already creating murals and icons both in Moldavia and in Ruthenia.

Miniature Painting and Prints

Of all the artistic fields of great significance for comparisons between cultural areas, miniature painting is the least developed. Individual works tend to reveal a certain degree of dependence on the style developed in the south of Europe. The conclusions drawn from this comparative study are on a par with the findings of orthographic and paleographic research, which generally regards these influences to be southern or eastern Slavonic. The phenomenon of the so-called long duration of certain solutions is not without significance here. This can be seen in the case of vignette decorations, which systematically assimilated western patterns.[99] A. Sulikowska has written an interesting study on the so-called *Tetraevangely of Suceava* from the second half of the 15th century, now included in the collection of the National Library in Warsaw.[100] The founder of the Gospel was Teodora Dragna, probably a niece of *hospodar* Stefan III the Great, a daughter of Duma, and a granddaughter of boyar Vlasik (Rom. Vlaicul), the governor of Chocim (Rom. Hotin) in 1470-1497.[101] As the author points out: "due to the South Slavs' long-lasting and intensive influence on Ruthenian culture ever since the second half of the 14th century, iconografic themes that were popular in the Balkans, especially ornaments, very often appeared also in Ruthenian manuscripts during the 15th century."[102] As an example, she cites the illuminations in the *Tetraevangeliary* from the Pokrovsky Monastery in Uglich (Rus. Углич). Dating from the fourth quarter of the 15th century, they feature a braided ornament which consists of eight circles in the valve on the first page of the Gospel of Luke. These observations are in line with those made by the pioneer of this research, I. Svěncickyj, who made similar remarks at the beginning of the 20th century, when he researched a valuable collection of Cyrillic manuscripts in the National Museum in Lviv.[103]

Books printed in the Ruthenian areas of the former Commonwealth foreground many other interesting aspects of the cultural and political ties between the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.[104] An example of this is the content of the title page and the preface to the *Oktoechos* from 1630, a liturgical book from the printing house of the Stavropegial Brotherhood in Lviv, stored in the Old Prints Department of the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków (**fig. 17**).[105] The publishers of the book referred to a benefactor of the Orthodox Brotherhood, Miron Barnovschi-Movilă, voivode of Moldavia, whose financial support enabled the reopening of the printing house, previously destroyed in a fire. The *Oktoechos* was to be the first book published after the reconstruction of the printing house. It was solemnly dedicated to the *hospodar* on 15 December 1630. The preface to the *Oktoechos*, very beautiful and eloquent, deserves to be quoted in its entirety. A deep sense of gratitude was expressed to the *hospodar* by both lay and clerical members of the Brotherhood. The dedication emphasizes the fact that Miron Barnovschi-Movilă (voivode from January 1626 to August 1629) continued the patronage tradition of his predecessors Ieremia (September 1600 – June 1606) and Simion Movilă (Ieremia's brother; June 1606 – September 1607), supporting the construction of the Dormition Church in Lviv.[106] The value of this edition of the *Oktoechos* was recognized at the beginning of the 19th century by V. Sopikov, who described it as a rare work.[107] In turn, K. Estreicher noted: "The title in an engraved border, on the back the coat of arms of the Movilă the Moldavian voivodeships, and further a dedication to Movilă."[108] The book was given to the *hospodar* by the Orthodox Bishop of Lviv Jeremiah Tysarovsky, who visited the voivode in Ustia (Ukr. Устя; Pol. Ujście) in December 1630.[109]

These acknowledgements, free from Baroque rhetoric, are a significant gesture. They indicate not just one patron and benefactor of the Orthodox community of Lviv, but the entire institution of the head of the Moldavian state, whose successive lords founded churches and monasteries in the Lviv region. *Hospodar* Miron Barnovschi was a part of this continuity, imitating his ancestors and, in this case, supporting the Lviv typography, which had great merit in the production of Orthodox prints in the lands of the former *Rzeczypospolita*. The authors of the dedication, offering the work to the *hospodar*, emphasized their deep sense of gratitude, the lack of which they considered a grave offence and even a sin. The book was published "for the internal benefit of the whole Orthodox Christianity, under the shining name of Your Eminence [...] And this not for any other purpose [...], only that Your Eminence's fervent love for God and generous almsgiving be granted in various places: many famous churches erected: many splendid monasteries founded: in a word, that the immortal fame of Your Eminence be eternally renowned in all places."

The need to preserve the memory of the grace bestowed upon him was addressed in an elaborate argument whose scholarship was supported by references to the Holy Scriptures and even the writings of Seneca, a philosopher regarded as an authority equal to the Fathers of the Church. The literary juxtaposition evokes pictorial parallels that place the

ancient philosophers, as the most respected sages of the ancient world, in the vicinity of the Old Testament prophets in the compositions of the *Tree of Jesse* in Athonite or Moldavian paintings, already being made in the post-Byzantine period.[110] It is known that Seneca's writings, along with Horace's Songs, were known in the Brothers' School. They were taught in the later *Collegium Kieviense-Mohileanum*, supported by an Orthodox printing house, where instruction in dialectics and logic was conducted in Greek and Latin.[111] The authors, referring also to biblical quotations, state that "no heavier burden is borne by the earth than that of an ungrateful man", and that he can be compared to the vast Mount Etna, to a bottomless pit, or to an insatiable abyss. He is perhaps worse than a wild animal, because, according to the "historians", eagles, dogs, dragons, leopards, lions and other carnivorous animals show gratitude to their benefactors. Hence, as the authors say, "once gratitude is acknowledged as a virtue, he [the ungrateful man] should start practicing it towards his benefactors."

The book of Lviv is one of the many testimonies of the lively relationship between the Orthodox Church Brotherhood of Lviv and the Moldavian *hospodars*, the rulers of the last and closest Orthodox state on the route of the Turkish conquests. The lords played the role of patrons and funders of the activities of Stavropegion, supporting it as often and generously as possible, as shown by the rich epistolography stored in the Archives of the Brotherhood.

Books from the printing house of the Brotherhood were used to supply the churches of the whole Carpathian Foothills. Their purchases by inhabitants of settlements in the Przemyśl and Sanok areas in the 17th–18th centuries are attested.[112] Their founders were often recorded on the margins of books. It is known, for example, that the printing ordered by Ivan Boyarsky became the property of Peter Movilă.[113] At the same time members of the Movilă family were themselves donors of books: it was Peter Movilă, appearing as "Archbishop Metropolitan of Kyiv, Halych and all Russia", who donated the Lviv *Missal* of 1639 to the Holy Trinity Monastery in Uluch (Pol. Ulucz) in 1643.[114]

***

The artistic relations between the Romanian territories, Poland and Ruthenia belong to an important and colorful chapter in the cultural history of this part of Europe. Strongly stimulated by a turbulent history, and sometimes developing independently from it, these relations were fostered by a need to create beautiful, lasting, and useful things.



▲ Fig. 17. *Oktoechos*, 1630; Jagiellonian Library, cat. 589055; photo 2009. Credits: Mirosław Piotr Kruk.

Notes

99 Kruk 2019, vol. I, p. 435-437.

100 Sulikowska-Gąska 2011, p. 189-218.

101 Sulikowska-Gąska 2011, p. 206.

102 Sulikowska-Gąska 2011, p. 192-193.

103 Cf Свєнціцкий 1933, p. V-VI. *Cf.* Свєнціцкий 1929; Джурова 1979; Kruk 2000, p. 198-199.

104 Topolska 1984, *passim*; Smoląg-Różycka 1996-1997, p. 150; Deluga 2003a, p. 106.

105 *Oktoechos*, 1630, Jagiellonian Library, cat. 589055; Kruk 2003a, p. 127-147; Kruk 2009a, p. 45-108. This edition is referenced in the major catalogues of Cyrillic prints: Сопиков 1813, item 754; Толстой 1829, nr. 80; Сахаров 1849, nr. 270; Каратаев 1861, item 305 (*in folio*, 5 i 348 l); Estreicher 1897, p. 22, 314. In the critical post-war catalogues, it is mentioned, among others in: Каменева, Гусева 1976, item 59 with description and bibliography; Запаско 1981, p. 51, nr. 205.

106 The church replaced an earlier church from the mid-16th century, which was founded by the *hospodar* Alexandru Lăpușneanu.

107 Сопиков 1813, item 754. This author also quoted the contents of the introduction to the book – Сопиков 1813, p. 164-165.

108 Estreicher 1897, p. 22.

109 Panaitescu 1929, p. 6.

110 *Cf.* Dionysius of Fourna 1974, p. 31 [164].

111 Ševčenko 1996, p. 29. The works of ancient authors were included in the *curriculum* of the Brotherhood school in Lviv, which from the end of the 16th century pursued a programme of liberal arts and sciences. The programme of the liberal arts and sciences. See Szaranewicz 1875, p. 17. *Cf.* Львівщина 1998, p. 76.

112 Biskupski 1977, p. 11.

113 Александрович, Мицько 1993, p. 138-147.

114 Biskupski 1977, p. 11. The dedication note mentions Serafim Bernawki (Bernawski?).



Medieval Art of the Eastern Carpathian Wallachians and Its Interference with the Polish-Ruthenian Space

translated by Septimiu-Ovidiu Dumitran

Gabriel-Dinu Herea

Bukovina National Museum
Suceava

For Central-East European culture, the research theme proposed by the editors of this volume is as generous as it is restrictive, much like the national-Communist policies of the 20th century, which did their best to erect cultural barriers between the countries of the socialist bloc. Ignoring cross-border historical and patrimonial evidence, scholars and political figures active in different countries assiduously searched for arguments to impart a sense that medieval states evolved separately from one another, so that the results of their research could ideologically support the state borders outlined after the World War II. If a study on the way in which some researchers (from the communist period) engaged with cross-border topics could be undertaken, it could perhaps reveal that there was a close relation between their tentativeness and their states' reluctance to upset their neighbouring countries, or between the aggressiveness of other researchers and their countries' hegemonic regional politics. This time, however, our theme does not allow us to continue these socio-political analyses, but aims to bring together the results of research into the foundation of medieval cultural links between the geographical spaces inhabited by the Carpathian Wallachians, today located in Romania, Slovakia, Poland and Ukraine.

Moldavia, the Wallachian country to the east of the Carpathians, was a political-administrative structure with autonomous status that existed continuously, with fluctuating borders, from the 14th century until 1812-1859. It was integrated into the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom through the oath taken by Peter I in Lviv on May 6, 1387. This oath was religiously celebrated by the Metropolitan of Kyiv, Cyprian Tsamblak,[1] one of the leaders of the Slavic and Wallachian[2] Christians who migrated from south of the Danube to the safer regions in the north.

The human, economic, and cultural links between Moldavia and the Polish-Lithuanian-Ukrainian space can be historically identified since the 14th century, and have generated both cultural exchanges and migrations of people. The colonizing missions[3] undertaken in the second part of the 14th century by the Drag-Sas family on the North

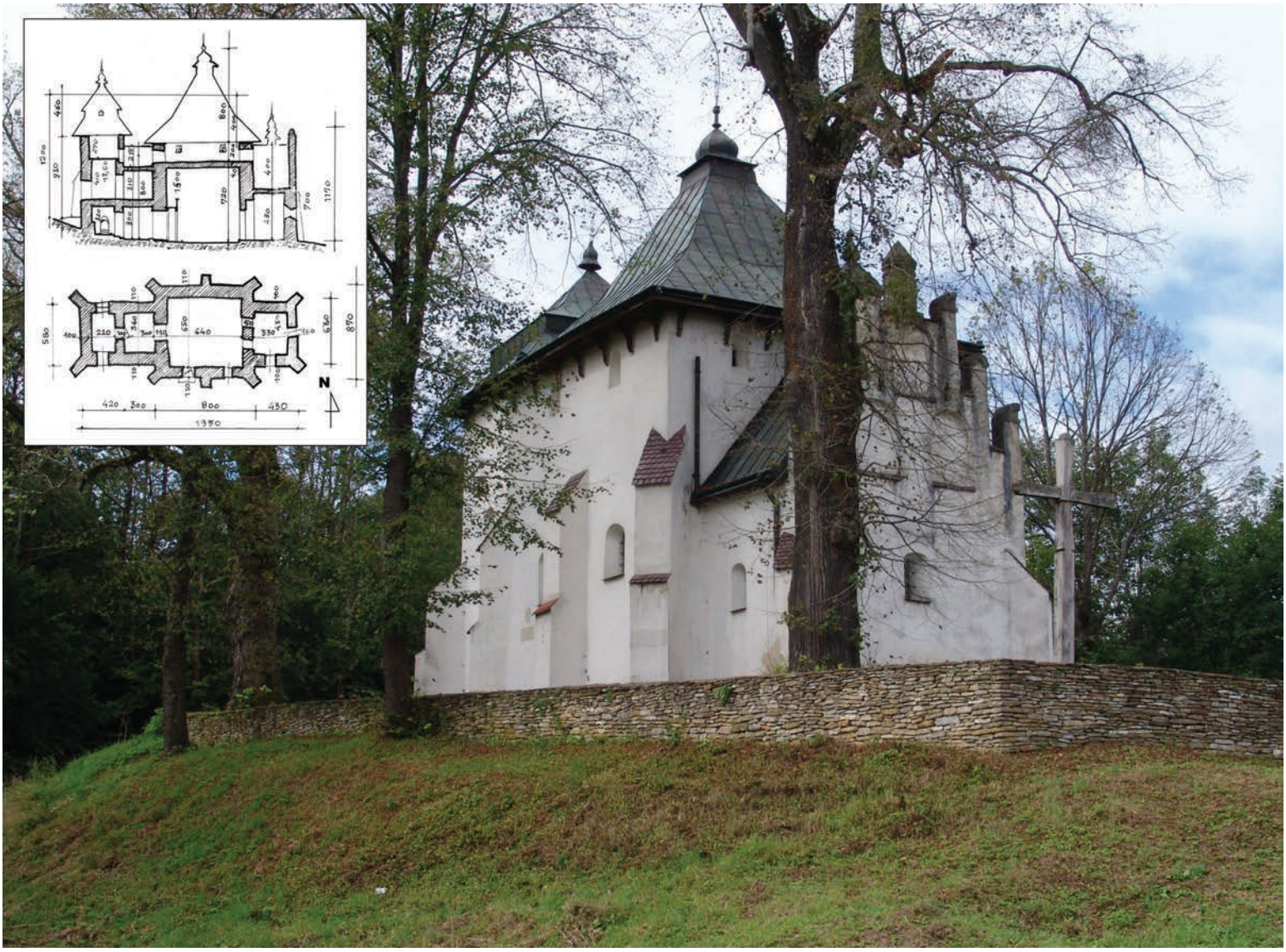
Fig. 1. *Deesis*, fresco discovered in 2020-2021 in the lunette of the portal in the narthex of Saint Nicholas church of Bogdana Monastery, Rădăuți (Romania).
Credits: Laura Zaharia.

Notes

1 […] *sacramentum juxta ritum et consuetudinem orientalis ecclesie lignum vite in manibus domini Cypriani metropolitani Kyoviensis ore proprio osculantes* (Costăchescu 1932, p. 599).

2 Regarding the ethnic meanings of the noun "Wallachian", in the case of its use with reference to the Romanian populations spread among Albanians, Greeks, Bulgarians and Serbs in the south of the Danube, see: Bănescu 1943, p. 6-9, 36, 65, 69, 72-94; Vasiliev 2010, p. 427: "Based on indisputable evidence, the conclusion is that the liberation movement in the Balkans in the second half of the 12th century was started and vigorously carried to the end by the Wallachians, the ancestors of the Romanians of today; to which were added the Bulgarians and, to a certain extent, the Cumans from beyond the Danube […]. Ethnically, the new Bulgarian Empire was a Wallachian-Bulgarian-Cuman state, its dynasty being a Wallachian one." See also Hașdeu 2008, p. 85-91.

3 Wyrostek 1932.



▲ Fig. 2. Posada Rybotycka, Saint Onuphrius church, view from south-east.
Credits: Gabriel-Dinu Herea.

Carpathian corridor, their land requisition at Posada Rybotycka,[4] the ktetor documents of Alexandru Lăpușneanu in Lviv, the foundation, east of the Dniester, of the city of Mogilev by Ieremia Movilă, the retreat to Lviv of the rulers Constantin Șerban Basarab and Ștefan Petriceicu,[5] the latter buried in the church of Saint Onuphrius in Lavrov, or the settlement in the Kharkiv area of Dimitrie Cantemir together with the Moldavians who had opposed the Ottomans,[6] are just a few illustrations of the phenomenon that generated migrations and colonizations from the Carpathians toward areas that belong to Poland and Ukraine today. The success of some emblematic Wallachian figures in the Ruthenian (Orthodox) environment, such as Metropolitan Peter Movilă (Rom. Petru Movilă; Pol. Piotr Mohyła, Ukr. Петро Могила) or Nicoară Potcoavă and Dănilă Apostol, who served as hetmans for the Cossacks, might also have been due to the substantial number of Wallachians who had previously migrated to the territories comprised in the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth. The research carried out by Anton Golopenția and his team[7] in 1941-1944 demonstrated the perpetuation of this type of migration until the second half of the 19th century, as well as the preservation of the Romanian language in many settlements until the mid-20th century, even beyond the Bug. Moreover, the discovery by Grzegorz Jawor of about 300 villages founded, on the basis of Wallachian law (*jus valachicum*), to the west and east of the

Notes

4 Wyrostek 1932, p. 153, 154.

5 Panaitescu 1939, p. 373-433.

6 Neculce 1959, p. 257.

7 Golopenția 2006.

8 Jawor 2012.

9 Waśko (1425-1467) is listed as the son of Iwanko (1369-1415), who is the son of Ștefan (1359-1373), who is the son of Voivode Sas, the son of Dragoș, the Voivode of Moldavia. See Wyrostek 1932, p. 153, 154.

10 Różycka-Bryzek 1986, p. 349.

11 Stone 2001, p. 137-139, 334-335.

12 Part of the historical information contained in this article is extracted

Polish-Ukrainian border,[8] attests to the existence of this type of population north of the Carpathians.

As might be expected, population exchanges generated dislocations and cultural mixing that must have been manifesting since the Middle Ages. The fact that research was conducted separately in each of these individual states in the second half of the 20th century, however, did not encourage a contextual understanding of the architecture and mural paintings created along the cultural routes shaped by the itinerant artists of those times. Below, I will address several topics that demonstrate that the research potential of this cultural context is very large and worth exploring.

Mural Painting Inspired by the "Moldavian School" North of the Carpathians. The Case of Saint Onuphrius Church in Posada Rybotycka

National Road 28, which starts from Przemyśl and runs parallel to the border of Ukraine towards Slovakia, meets, in the town of Bircza, a secondary road that connects it with the villages scattered through the forests of the Subcarpathian Voivodship. A Gothic church can be seen in these forests, approximately 17 km southwest of Przemyśl, at the entrance to the village of Posada Rybotycka, on the top of a hill that rises on the left side of the road. The building attracts attention not only because of its imposing position, but also because of the massive military fortifications that are part of the body of the church (**fig. 2**).

Built of stone, the church is dedicated to Saint Onuphrius and was most likely erected in the 15th century, on the site of an older wooden church. Taking into account the general characteristics of this edifice, as part of a group of fortified churches built in the Gothic style, Anna Różycka-Bryzek dates the church to this period. It could have been built after 1443, when the settlement became part of the estates of Waszki[9] Rybotyckiego.[10]

The oldest information about the existence of a monastery in this place, however, dates from the 14th century. A document from the time of King Casimir III the Great, issued in 1367, mentions certain estates of the monastery. Then, in 1407, the monastery appears as subordinate to the Orthodox Bishop of Przemyśl. The invasions of the Ottomans (in 1498), the Tatars (in 1524 and 1672) and the Swedes (in 1705-1707) affected the churches in the entire area. Given the lack of surviving information, it may be assumed that the church at Posada Rybotycka suffered like other churches.

Following the Brest Synod in 1596, the Orthodox bishops of the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom agreed to come under the Pope's jurisdiction.[11] From the moment the Orthodox bishop of Przemyśl joined the union, the monks of the monastery at Posada Rybotycka belonged to the Church United with Rome. The monastery was active until 1772, when, following the reforms of Joseph II, the monks left and the church was entrusted to a parish. It remained a parish church until 1946-1947, when the Ukrainian villagers were deported and it became the property of the state.

Under the tutelage of the Polish state, archaeological excavations coordinated by Jerzy Tur of the Rzeszów Museum were carried out in 1966. The result of this research was the discovery of mural paintings, which had been covered in the altar with 9 layers of lime, and in the nave with 14 layers of lime. In 1968, the church was examined by historians of the Art History Department of the Polish Academy of Sciences, including Józef Dutkiewicz, Lech Kalinowski and Anna Różycka-Bryzek. In 1977, the church entered the custody of the National Museum in Przemyśl, and in 1983-1985 conservation work was carried out on the mural painting under the direction of restorer Małgorzata Wesołowska-Nowosielska. Several "witnesses" containing information about the stratigraphy of the walls were left in the church before the restoration began.

In 2010, the church re-entered the patrimony of the Greek-Catholic Metropolitanate of Przemyśl, which re-established the parish of Saint Onuphrius in Posada Rybotycka. In 2011, the parish, in collaboration with the Gutenberg Society of Warsaw and with the support of the National Audiovisual Institute, made a complete digitized inventory of the paintings inside the church (**fig. 3**). Digital photos and measurements were taken by Paweł and Hanna Myszka, together with Joanna Młynarska and Maciej Widzowski. The iconographic and historical analysis, as well as the drawings of the mural compositions, were made by Jarosław Giemza, who generously made them available to me.[12]

The church was built of brick and river stone joined with the help of a lime mortar, with external buttresses and a crenelated pediment raised on the east side, above the roof of the altar. Researchers agree on the fact that there were at least two stages of construction, one prior to 1500, and a later one. The altar and the nave were built in the first stage, while a two-storey annex was added in the second stage. On the ground floor, this annex appears as an extension of the older edifice. It has a chapel (consisting of the altar and the nave) on the first floor, and a bell chamber on the second floor. Both the added tower and the bridge above the nave of



▲ Fig. 3. Image from the research and digital archiving of the Posada Rybotycka mural painting.
Credits: Jarosław Giemza.

the large church are fortified and adapted to military defense needs. Traces of polychrome decoration can also be found in the chapel of the bell tower and in the rooms on the ground floor of this tower, but they seem to have been only decorative motifs.

The first building, however, preserves an iconographic program in its two rooms that we will discuss further. Both rooms have a rectangular plan (the altar is 3.40 x 4.30 m, and the nave is 6.40 x 6.40 m) with four perimeter sides and a semi-cylindrical vault oriented from west to east. The vaults are supported directly and exclusively on the walls. The demarcation between the altar and the nave is achieved with the help of a triumphal arch that supports the semi-cylinder of the altar from the west with the help of an iconostasis wall built during the painting of the church. From the nave, the lateral and upper surfaces of the generous triumphal arch, where the nave is wider and higher than the altar, are covered with polychrome decoration. Like the nave and the altar, the pronaos of the Saint Onuphrius church has a rectangular plan and a semi-cylindrical vault oriented from east to west. In this room, however, the polychrome decoration was lost.

Anna Różycka-Bryzek argues in favor of dating the painting to the 15th century due to the connection between the materials used for the walled iconostasis and the materials used for the walls. It is obvious that the iconostasis is not an organic part of the church walls because, in the area of contact between the church walls and the iconostasis walls, traces of painted color are still visible on the church walls. Therefore, the iconostasis must have been made at a later date. Anna Różycka-Bryzek notes, however, that the type of brick used for the iconostasis is the same as the one used for the walls of the church and thus proposes a maximum difference of a few years between the execution of the two parts of the ensemble,[13] practically placing the painting in the same period as the building of the church. Other authors have placed the Posada Rybotycka painting in the context of the 16th century.[14]

Altar

The iconographic program of the altar can be divided didactically into a first register that stretches on all four sides of the room, i.e. including the eastern side of the iconostasis wall. Above it there is a second register that is visible on the north, east, and south walls, to which is added the iconography of the vaulting system, made up of the painting on the soffit of the semi-cylinder, the painting preserved in the eastern tympanum, and the one on the eastern archivolt of the triumphal arch.

The impression that overwhelms you when you enter the altar of the church at Posada Rybotycka (**fig. 4-9**) is that you are in front of a common iconographic program for an Orthodox altar, similar to the solutions reached in Moldavia in the 15th and 16th centuries. In the first register the Holy Hierarchs are featured in liturgical vestments, shyly bowing to *Jesus Christ the Eucharistic Lamb*, while in the second register the events of the Thursday of the Lord's Passion are presented: the *Washing of the Feet* and the *Revealing of the Traitor*. Alongside these, there are symbolic scenes designed to emphasize the reality of the unity of the entire Church around the Eucharistic gift of Christ the Savior: *Communion with the Holy Body* and *Communion with the Precious Blood*. As if to emphasize the historical interaction of the iconography of the church near Przemyśl with the context of Moldavian art, there is that a "bracket" motif above the Holy Hierarchs. Typically used in Moldavian churches, for instance, in the church in Bălineşti, this motif symbolizes Heavens.[15]

Notes

from the communication prepared by Jarosław Giemza for the international conference organized by the Ukrainian Ministry of Culture at the National Museum in Lviv, on September 25-26, 2013. For technical reasons we could not publish the drawings in original size and we had to divide them for each wall separately. For a good use of the material, I kept the original numbering of the scenes in the drawings, to which I added a figure indicator that refers to the current drawing, where the sketch of the respective composition is kept. Thus, the references to the images will look like this: fig. 4/8, where the first digit refers to the sketch of the entire wall, and the second digit refers to a scene that is marked with a number inside the drawing.

13 Różycka-Bryzek 1986, p. 350.

14 Kurpik 1966.

15 Herea 2011, p. 167.

16 Różycka-Bryzek 1986, p. 360.

17 Regarding the life and activity of Gregory Tsamblak, as well as the role of the Tsamblak family in the Balkan culture of the period, see Turdeanu 1946, p. 46-81. On the mediating role of Metropolitan Gregory Tsamblak at the Council of Constance (1414-1418) and his potential role in shaping the Orthodox iconographic program of the Lublin frescoes, see Kruk 2017c, Kruk 2019, vol. I, p. 626-629, and Крук 2020b.

18 Różycka-Bryzek 1986, p. 361.

19 Kruk 2007b, p. 331-348, ill. 1-12.

20 Gen. 3, 22: "And the Lord God said, Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil: and now, lest he put forth his hand,

Anna Różycka-Bryzek noticed immediately after the discovery of the painting that the iconographic themes in Posada Rybotycka have had an extensive circulation in the Balkans since the 12th century.[16] The Polish researcher showed that the cultural links between these regions had been ensured by the movement of people. Różycka-Bryzek mentions the presence of Gregory Tsamblak[17] in different territories of the Polish-Lithuanian state in the 15th century. In 1406, he was attested in Vilnius and he was Metropolitan of Kyiv from 1414 to 1418. Tsamblak's intellectual personality and involvement in the cultural events of that period make clear his role in creating connections in the field of iconography.[18] Furthermore, in the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom, Mirosław Piotr Kruk brought arguments regarding the introduction, under the archpastorship of Gregory Tsamblak,[19] of the cult of the Pious Paraskeva of Târnovo (Bulg. Търново; today Veliko Tarnovo) as early as the 15th century in the Metropolitanate of Kyiv.

The iconographic program in the church of Saint Onuphrius at Posada Rybotycka has its particularities. We will present it systematically, in an attempt to identify yet another bridge between the Moldavian art of the 15th–16th centuries and the Christian art from the North-Carpathian Slavic area.

Prayer of the Holy Bishops

The first iconographic register is dominated by the twelve Holy Hierarchs. They are arranged in the following way: three of them (one can be identified by the name Gregory) are painted on the north wall, right next to the proskomedia niche (**fig. 9/8b**). Four of them are painted on the east wall (**fig. 5/8b**), to the right and left of the *Jesus Christ – Agnus Dei* scene, the other five being painted on the south wall (**fig. 7/8b**). The continuity of the composition is interrupted by the iconography of the proskomedia niche, which is made up of a table located in the northeast corner of the altar. On the north side of the proskomedia niche, the *Jesus Christ Anapeson* scene is preserved (**fig. 9/9**) with the face of Virgin Mary and the Angel bearing the symbols of the Passion being visible. On the eastern side of the proskomedia niche, the scene of *Jesus Christ in the tomb* is painted (**fig. 5/10**) using the simple iconographic type in which the Savior is represented alone with folded hands and surrounded at the waist by the four sides of the tomb, as was the custom in Moldavia, at Bălineşti and Voroneţ, in the 15th century.

Analyzing the composition of the *Prayer of the Holy Hierarchs*, it is clear that the *Jesus Christ Agnus Dei* scene is preserved fragmentarily (**fig. 5/8a**). Of the two angels accompanying the symbol of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, only Archangel Michael is visible.

Ten of the Holy Hierarchs are painted with *epitrachilus* and felon. Two of them, the ones near the image of *Jesus Christ – Agnus Dei*, are represented with sackcloth embroidered with the motif of the cross inscribed in a circle (*polystavrion*). As a rule, these two types of liturgical vestments – felon with *epitrachilus* or *polystavrion* sackcloth – are used in medieval Moldavia to distinguish between the holders of one of the five patriarchal sees and the holders of any episcopal see. The series of Hierarchs is completed with a deacon on the south side.

Guardians of the Threshold

A peculiarity of the iconographic program at Posada Rybotycka is the presence on the back of the walled iconostasis of some traces of painting that allow the identification of two angels guarding the two entrance doors to the altar (**fig. 10/11-12**). Created by God before the creation of man, the angels received the mission of guarding the doors of Heaven when Adam and Eve were excluded from it. A possible feasting from the *Tree of Life* that was in the middle of Eden would have brought man demonic immortality,[20] something that the Creator tries to avoid by placing Cherubims with a sword of fire at the door of Eden (Gen. 3, 24).[21] This is the biblical source through which we know of the mission of guarding sacred space as an angelic mission. The role of the guardian angels of Eden extends to the sacred spaces that signify Heaven. As the Holy Scripture tells, not everyone could enter the Tabernacle or the Temple or approach their holy objects, which signified and realized the connection of people with God. The history of King David's relocation of the Ark of the Covenant clearly demonstrates that an unauthorized approach to the sacred objects led to the death of those who, even unwittingly, committed desecration: "And David arose, and went with all the people that were with him from Baale of Judah, to bring up from thence the ark of God, whose name is called by the name of the Lord of Hosts that dwelleth between the Cherubims. […] And when they came to Nachon's threshing floor, Uzzah put forth his hand to the ark of God, and took hold of it; for the oxen shook it. And the anger of the Lord was kindled against Uzzah; and God smote him there for his error; and there he died by the ark of God."[22] Uzzah's sudden death may be considered a punishment administered to him by the angel guarding the sacred objects.

As a confirmation of the ancient mentality regarding the guarding of the sacred space, it must be said that in Solomon's temple there was also a



▲ Fig. 4. Posada Rybotycka, Saint Onuphrius church, east wall of the altar.
Credits: Gabriel-Dinu Herea.

Notes

and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever."

21 Gen. 3, 24: "So He drove out the man; and He placed cherubim at the east of the garden of Eden, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to guard the way to the tree of life."

22 2 Kings 6, 2, 6-7.

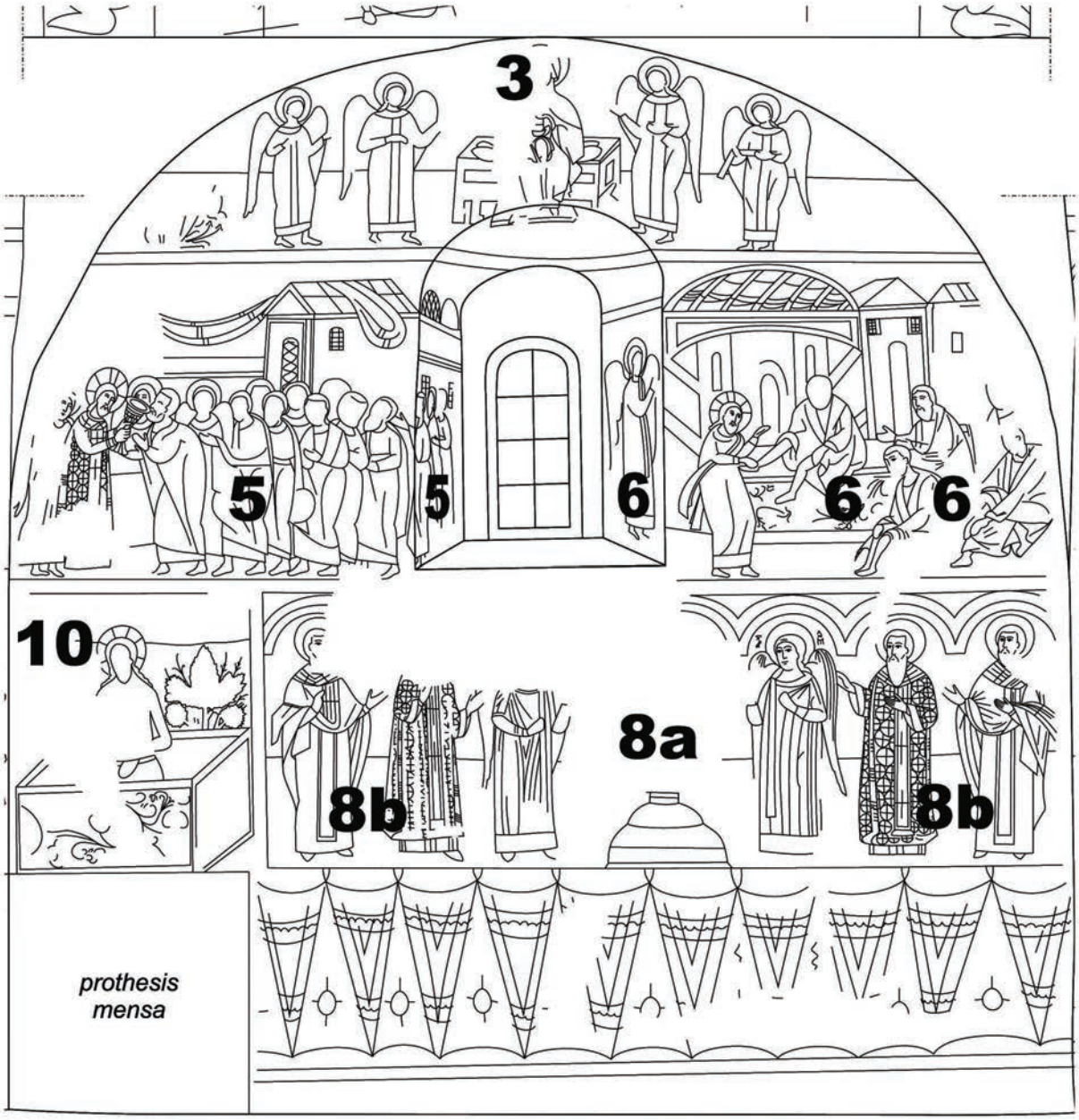
23 Jeremiah 35, 4; 52, 24.

24 Vintilescu 1998, p. 225-226.

25 Ştefănescu 1973, p. 164-165.

human institution of protecting access to the temple. The prophet Jeremiah speaks of people who had the mission of "keepers of the door".[23] And if we refer to Christianity, it is known that the cry "The doors, the doors!", uttered even today by the priest before the confession of faith, was supposed to alert those in charge of closing and guarding the church doors.[24]

The role of angels in protecting the sacred space is marked in the iconography displayed before the portals leading to the nave, in the case of Moldavia, or immediately after them, in the context of the western bay of the nave, as is the case with many monuments in Wallachia and the Balkans, or right at the door of the proskomedia niche – in the voivodal church in Curtea de Argeş, whose patron saint was Nicholas (*Sfântul Nicolae Domnesc*). I. D. Ştefănescu said that, "as a rule", what one can read on the rotulus of Archangel Michael is: "I am the soldier of the Lord, armed with a sword. Whoever enters here timidly, is protected, guarded, defended and taken heed of; and those who enter without a pure heart, I will strike mercilessly with this sword"; on Gabriel's parchment it is written: "I write with a quill



everything that is within those who enter here; I take care of the good, but quickly tear the bad to pieces."[25] However, in Posada Rybotycka angels are painted behind the door, so they pose no visible threat to those attending Mass in the nave, but can harshly punish those who disregard the prohibition to enter the altar.

Thursday of Christ's Passion

The iconography of the second register is read from the south wall to the east and north walls and includes the *Revealing of the Traitor* (to the south – **fig. 7/7**), the *Washing of the Apostles' Feet* (to the east and south – **fig. 5/6** and **7/6**), the *Communion with the Precious Blood* (to the east – **fig. 5/5**) and the *Communion with the Holy Body* (to the north – **fig. 9/5**).

The scene of the *Revealing of the Traitor* is given the smallest area of this register, being practically squeezed between the south window and the iconostasis. Jesus Christ is represented amid the apostles, according to the iconographic type used in the Italian Renaissance. The

▲ Fig. 5. Sketch of the iconographic program on the east wall of the altar of Saint Onuphrius church: 5/3. Mother of God with the Christ Child glorified by the angels; 5/5. Communion with the Precious Blood; 5/6. Washing of the Apostles' Feet; 5/10. Jesus Christ in the tomb – the proskomedia niche; 5/8. Ecclesia; 5/8a. Jesus Christ the Eucharistic Lamb; 5/8b. Archangels Michael and Gabriel, together with the holy bishops, glorify the sacrifice of Christ. Ecclesia.

Drawing by Jarosław Giemza.



▲ Fig. 6. Posada Rybotycka, Saint Onuphrius church, south wall of the altar.

Credits: Gabriel-Dinu Herea.

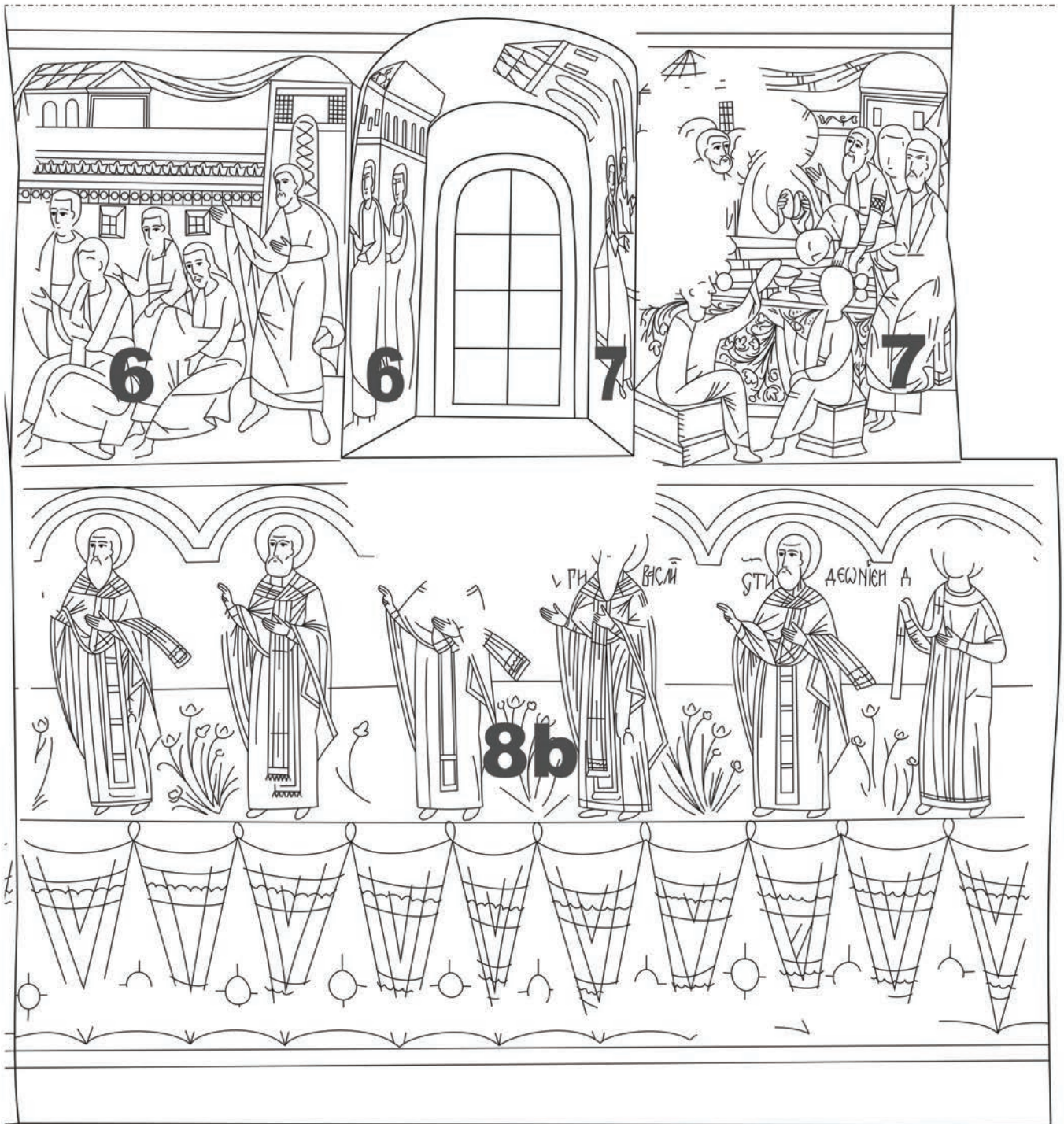
Notes

26 John 21, 20.

27 Matthew 26, 23.

28 See the church of the Holy Cross

scene in Posada captures three historical events: Jesus Christ breaking the bread, John the Evangelist bending down and putting his head on Christ's chest,[26] and Judas stretching his hand into the bowl in front of the Savior.[27] In the oldest representations of similar iconography from 15th- and 16th-century Moldavia,[28] Jesus Christ is not painted behind the table, but on the left side of the composition, at the head of the table, without being surrounded by disciples. The art historian Wladylaw Podlacha states that this iconographic type has its roots in archaic Byzantine representations, in which the most important cha-



racter is placed *in cornu dextro*.[29] The painting of the Savior amid the disciples is considered "a sign of Western influences", seen in Poland since 1470, in the painting of the chapel of the Holy Cross in Wawel,[30] and in Moldavia in the 16th century, in the churches of Humor and Moldoviţa. In the case of the composition in Posada Rybotycka, Apostle John is seen to be leaning towards the Savior's chest – a gesture often found in the eastern and southern Carpathian area. What seems special, however, is the fact that Jesus Christ breaks the bread. Such a gesture cannot be seen in contemporary Moldavian scenes, where the Savior is represented blessing the supper.

▲ Fig. 7. Sketch of the iconographic program on the south wall of the altar of Saint Onuphrius church: 7/6. Washing of the Apostles' Feet (continuation of figure 5/6); 7/7. Jesus Christ and His disciples at the Last Supper. Revealing of the Traitor; 7/8b. Holy bishops and a deacon. Ecclesia. Drawing by Jarosław Giemza.



▲ Fig. 8. Posada Rybotycka, Saint Onuphrius church, north wall of the altar.

Credits: Gabriel-Dinu Herea.

The scene of the *Washing of the Apostles' Feet* unfolds from the eastern gable of the window of the altar's southern wall to the eastern wall, all the way to the southern gable of the altar window. Wrapped in a towel, Jesus Christ washes Peter's feet, while the other eleven disciples, seated on two rows of benches, bare their feet, waiting for the fulfillment of the Teacher's pedagogic gesture of humility.

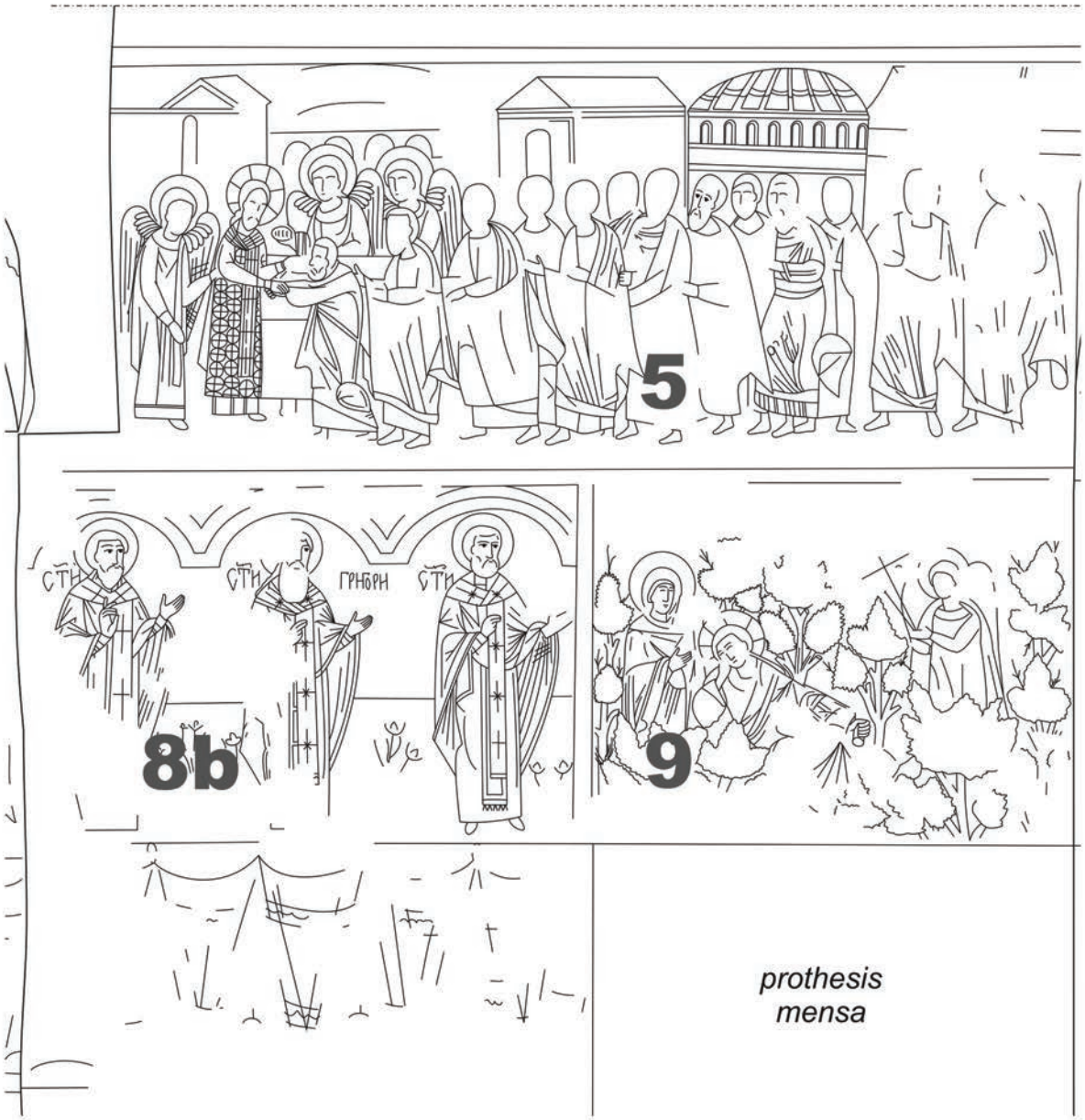
As in the scene of the *Revealing of the Traitor*, the action takes place against a background of urban architecture, a symbol of historic Jerusalem, and a veil is stretched over the buildings. Viktor Lazarev calls this cloth *velum* and considers it a symbolic element specific to the painting of the Palaiologos period, which appears in the icons starting from the 14th century.[31] A special detail in the scene of the *Washing of the Feet* at Posada is the fact that Jesus Christ is accompanied by a deacon angel who is represented behind the Savior, in the south gable of the altar window. This presence would move the meanings of the

Notes

in Pătrăuţi (1487) and the church of Saint Elijah near Suceava (1488).

29 Podlacha 1985, p. 189.

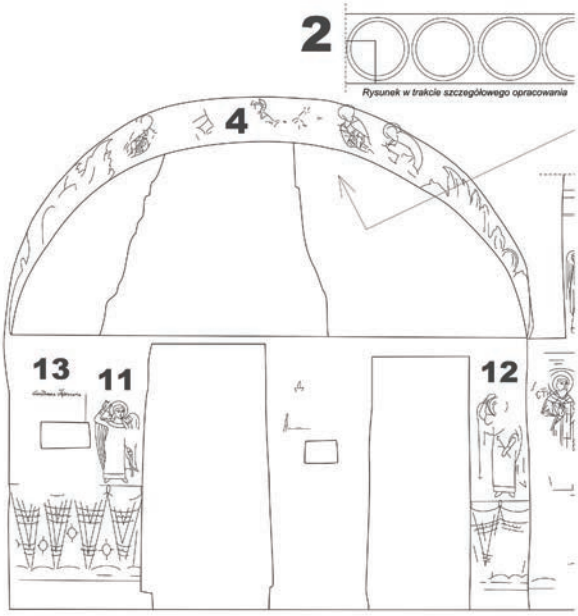
30 Podlacha 1985, p. 190. In the chapel of the Holy Cross in Wawel, the *Last Supper* composition is painted on the east wall of the north bay, being today covered by the Gothic fretwork, executed in the upper part, of a painted wooden altar.



composition from the historical and pedagogical side to the liturgical one. It is possible, however, that the addition in Posada was the result of a practical need to chromatically complete the space of the gable.

The next two scenes in the cycle dedicated to the events of Maundy Thursday capture, much like the cycle depicted in the church in Pătrăuţi, the Sacrament of the Eucharist but do so as two distinct compositions: *Communion with the Holy Body* and *Communion with the Precious Blood*. The first of these spans the entire north wall, and the second one is painted on the north side of the east wall. Jesus Christ is represented in a *polystavrion* sackcloth, like the first two hierarchs, possibly patriarchs, from the register of the *Hierarchs' Prayer*, and is surrounded by a synax of deacon angels. A table is briefly figured in the background of the compositions, while the baldaquin, a common presence east and south of the Carpathians, is not figured. Apostle Peter, followed by the other apostles, takes the Holy Body from the

▲ Fig. 9. Sketch of the iconographic programme on the north wall of the altar of Saint Onuphrius church: 9/5. Communion with the Holy Body; 9/8b. Holy Bishops. Ecclesia; 9/9. Anapeson.
Drawing by Jarosław Giemza.



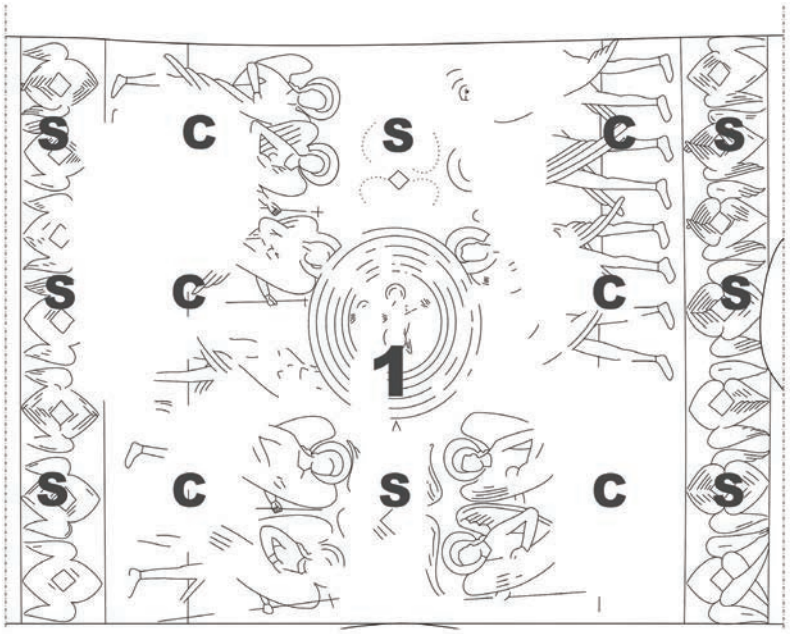


Fig. 10. Sketch of the iconographic programme on the west wall of the altar of Saint Onuphrius church: 10/2. Holy Prophets of the Old Testament; 10/4. Ascension of the Lord; 10/11. Archangel Michael; 10/12. Archangel Gabriel; 10/13. Fragment of an inscription: "... the great martyr Stratilat ...".

Drawing by Jarosław Giemza.

Fig. 11. Sketch of the iconographic programme on the altar vault of Saint Onuphrius church: 1. (?); S: seraphim; C: cherubim.

Drawing by Jarosław Giemza.

Savior's hands. The sequence is repeated in the scene of the *Communion with the Precious Blood*, where Apostle Peter (?!) leads the other apostles to the Chalice. The names of the apostles are not inserted into the painting layer. Moreover, even if they had been painted, the intensive erosion present at the level of the painting would have erased the letters, as is the case with most of the compositions from Posada Rybotycka. The iconographic type visible in the case of the first of the apostles suggests, however, that we are dealing with the presence of Saint Peter in both compositions. This would be a contradiction both with the 15th–16th century iconography east and south of the Carpathians, and with the 11th-century mosaics preserved in the churches of Saint Sophia and Saint Michael in Kyiv.[32] However, in the case of the *Communion with the Precious Blood*, the first of the apostles is Saint Paul, which greatly reduces the scope of historical meanings since Saint Paul was not present at the events of Maundy Thursday. Rather, the painting develops meaning related to the universality of the Church and the role of the Holy Eucharist in the achievement of ecclesial communion. We cannot say now what happened at Posada Rybotycka. The eventual discovery of the repetition of this iconographic type in other churches will allow a comparative study that will obviously add to the research of this apparently original solution.

An aspect that deserves attention is the painting of the entire suite of apostles in both scenes dedicated to the Eucharist. Usually, the company of apostles is represented divided into two distinct groups, six apostles being painted in the scene of the *Communion with the Holy Body* and another six in the scene of the *Communion with the Precious Blood*. The division of the apostles into groups of six has been seen in Kyiv since the 11th century,[33] especially in church paintings east and south of the Carpathians. Researching Moldavian painting, we easily identify two representations that use the solution from the church near Przemyśl: the church of the Ascension of the Lord in Neamţ and the church of the Resurrection of the Lord in Suceviţa. The representation in Posada is therefore not unique but belongs to the cultural context that is expressed in the geographical area north and east of the Carpathians.

The two scenes of the Eucharistic Communion unfold with the architecture of a city in the background, the *velum* being spread over

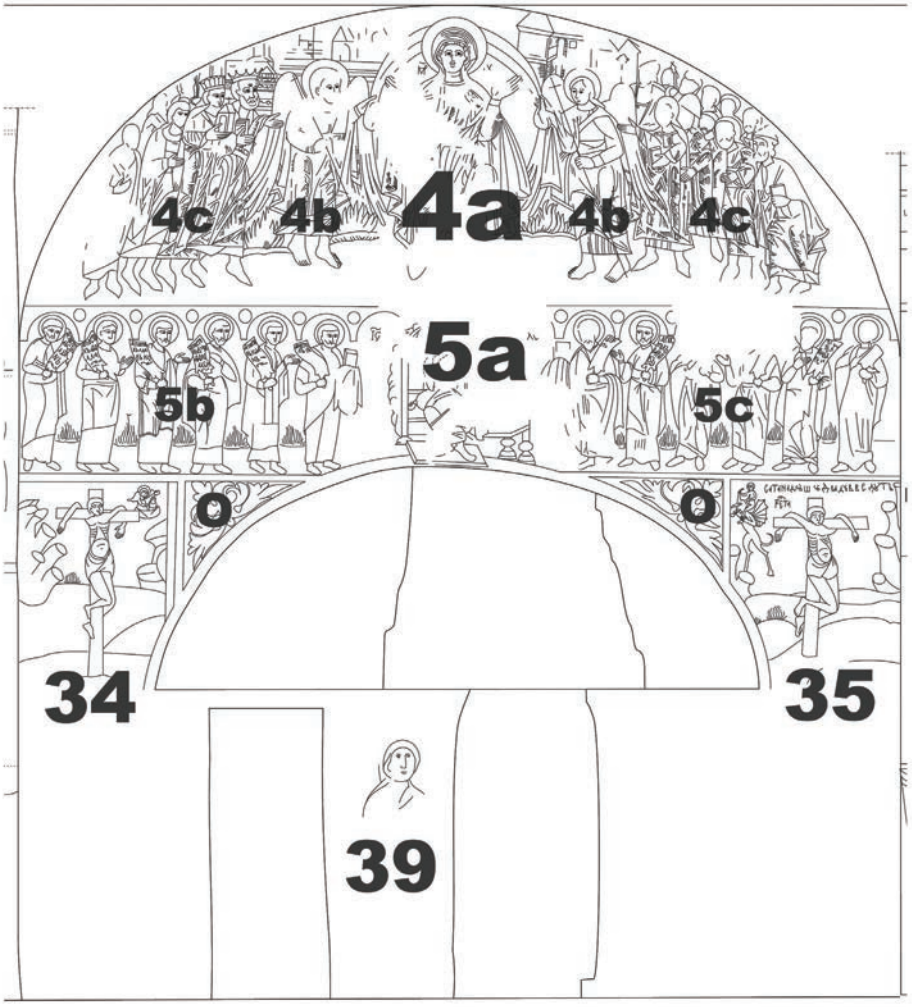
Notes

Through the spaces left free by the fretwork, you can see compositional elements that mention the presence of Christ in the midst of the disciples, who are scattered around the table.

31 Lazarev 1980, p. 170, 181.

32 *Cathedral* 2001, p. 192, 193, 205.

33 Hamilton 1983, p. 68-69.



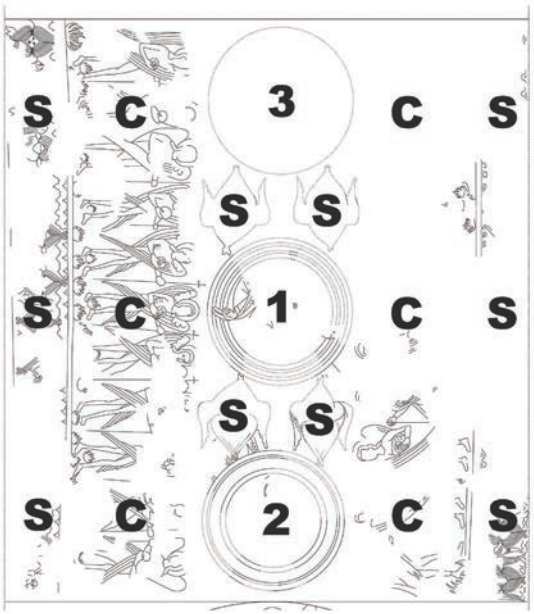


Fig. 12. Sketch of the iconographic programme on the triumphal arch in the nave of Saint Onuphrius church: 12/4. Intercession of the Mother of God (Pokrov); 12/4a. The Virgin Orans; 12/4b. Archangels hold the heads of the mantle; 12/4c. Prophets, Apostles and other saints; 121/5. Deesis; 12/5a. Jesus Christ on the throne of judgment; 12/5b and 5c. Holy Apostles; 12/34. The angel takes the soul of the repentant thief; 12/35. The devil takes the soul of the unrepentant thief; 12/39. Virgin Mary.

Drawing by Jarosław Giemza.

Fig. 13. Sketch of the iconographic programme on the vault of the nave of Saint Onuphrius church: 1. (?); 2. (?); 3. (?); S: seraphim; C: cherubim.

Drawing by Jarosław Giemza.

the buildings. Regarding the architecture, we must note the presence of a circular edifice with a dome in the scene of the *Communion with the Holy Body*. Set between two basilical buildings, the circular edifice is reminiscent of the dome of the Saint Sophia Cathedral in Constantinople, especially due to the row of windows arranged between the support points of the dome. It could also suggest the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre, an architectural edifice figured in several types of iconographic compositions painted on icons preserved in museums in Poland.[34]

Symbols and icons of the Heavenly Gates

The iconography of the altar's vaulting system extends over the eastern tympanum, the soffit of the semi-cylindrical vault, and the eastern archivolt of the triumphal arch. The *Virgin Mary with the Child glorified by Angels* is painted on the east tympanum (**fig. 5/3**). The chosen iconographic type is the one used in Moldavian churches to decorate the semi-cap of the altar apse: the Virgin is seated on a throne, with the Infant Jesus on her lap, adored by four angels, grouped two by two. The unusual architecture of the altar of the church at Posada Rybotycka made painting difficult both in the rectangular plan of the room and the semi-cylindrical vault. The resulting work urges art historians to analyze the church near Przemyśl in the broad context of Byzantine iconography and Byzantine tradition iconography. Despite being confronted with an architecture not adapted to Byzantine requirements,

Notes

34 Kruk 2005, p. 63-87, il. 1-8.

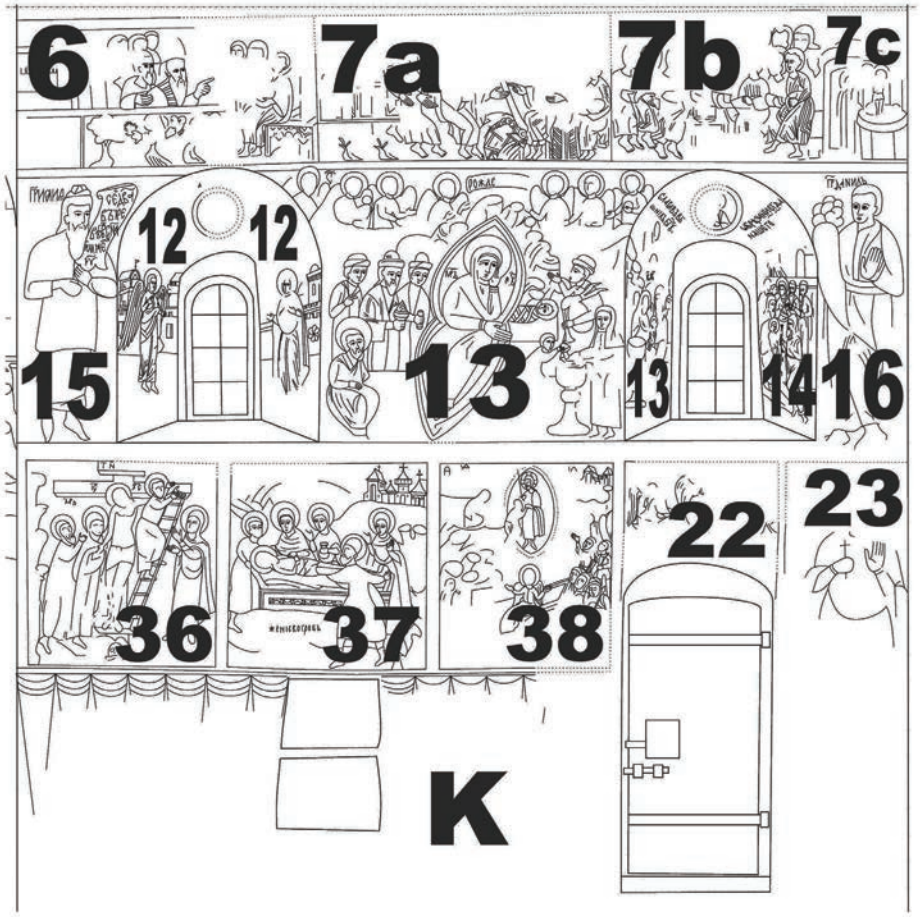


Fig. 14. Sketch of the iconographic programme on the south wall of the nave of Saint Onuphrius church: 14/6. Jesus Christ speaking in the Temple at the age of 12; 14/7. First Ecumenical Synod; 14/7a. The Burning of Arius' books; 14/7b. Proclamation of the Creed; 14/7c. The Vision of Saint Peter of Alexandria; 14/15. Prophet Isaiah; 14/12. Annunciation; 14/13. Nativity of the Lord; 14/14. The Circumcision; 14/16. Prophet Daniel; 14/36. The descent from the Cross; 14/37. The Lamentation; 14/38. The Resurrection; 14/22. The Old Testament Trinity; 14/23. Saint Paraskeva (?).

Drawing by Jarosław Giemza.

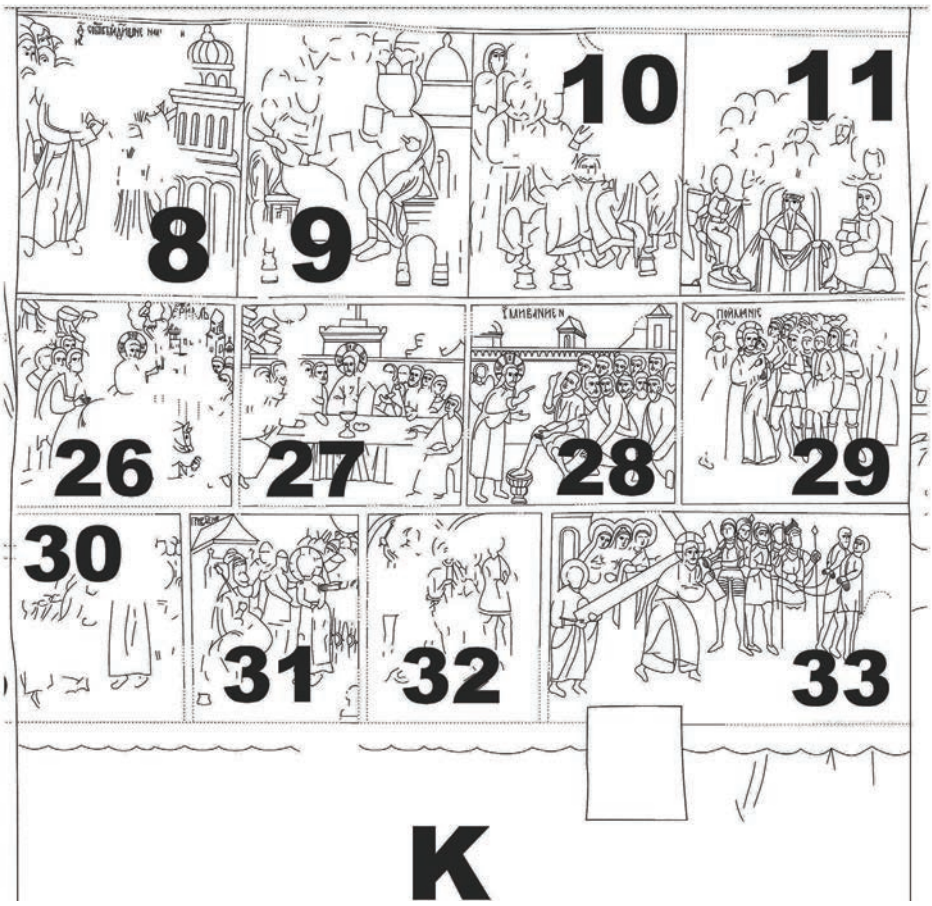


Fig. 15. Sketch of the iconographic programme on the north wall of the nave of Saint Onuphrius church: 15/8. IV Ecumenical Synod of Chalcedon; 15/9. VII Ecumenical Synod of Nicaea; 15/11. The Pentecost; 15/26. The Entry into Jerusalem; 15/27. The Last Supper; 15/28. Washing of the Apostles' Feet; 15/29. The Kiss of Judas; 15/30. (?); 15/31. Jesus Christ before Caiaphas; 15/32. The Mocking of Christ; 15/33. The Carrying of the Cross.

Drawing by Jarosław Giemza.

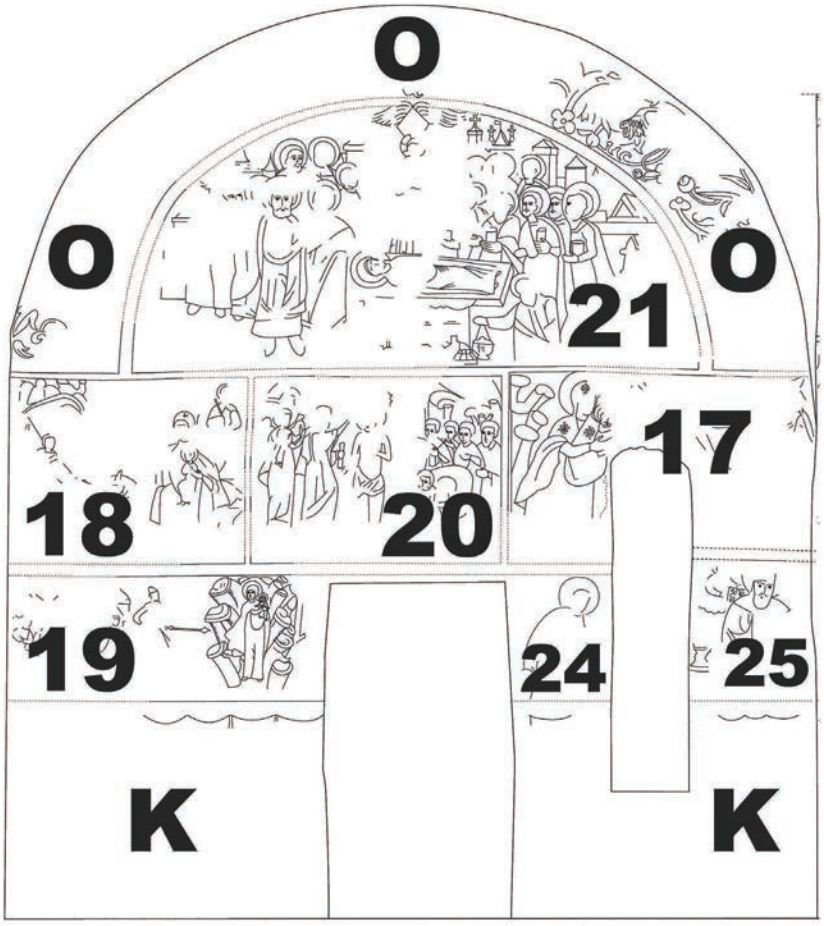


Fig. 16. Sketch of the iconographic programme on the west wall of the nave of Saint Onuphrius church: 16/21. Dormition of the Mother of God; 16/18. The Flight into Egypt; 16/19. The Rescue of John the Baptist from the hands of baby killers; 16/20. The Baptism; 16/17. Mother of God with the Christ Child (fragment of a partially destroyed composition); 16/17. Saint (?);16/25. Saint Nicholas. Drawing by Jarosław Giemza.

the painter managed to conceive a coherent iconographic program instead of fragmentary takeovers of some iconographic scenes or cycles.

The wide space of the semi-cylindrical soffit is given to a composition that signifies the Kingdom of Heaven (**fig. 11**). The composition is conceived around a representation associated with the *Open Heavens* (mandorla). Unfortunately, the deep erosion of the painting layer does not allow the exact identification of the representation between the *Open Heavens*. Jarosław Giemza has wondered if there is a representation of the Holy Trinity here. Personally, looking at the context of Moldavian painting, I think that this could have been a representation of *Jesus Christ the Ancient of Days*, *Emmanuel*, the *Angel of Great Counsel* or even the *Pantokrator*. It is less likely that this is a representation of the Holy Trinity, which could not have been framed inside the *Open Heavens* without triggering a staggering conflict between this representation and the images of Cherubim and Seraphim angels that neatly cover the rest of the surface of the semi-cylinder.

The composition on the eastern archivolt of the triumphal arch also raises questions (**fig. 10/4**). Preserved fragmentarily, it still presents the images of a Personage in the keystone, towards whom the piety of three other characters arranged laterally is directed, two to the north and one to the south. To these are added geomorphic and phytomorphic forms that seem to signify a garden and possible angel wings near the Central Personage. In His aureole, Jarosław Giemza has identified cruciform lines that suggest that figure might be Jesus Christ, and interpreted the scene as a development of the *Heavenly Liturgy*, in which Jesus Christ is glorified by Pious Saints. Given the place where the composition is painted, the visibility of the geomorphic and phytomorphic elements, and the iconographic similarities

between the monastic and the apostolic vestments, we propose the *Ascension of the Lord* as the subject of this composition, a scene frequently associated with altar vaults in the iconography east and south of the Carpathians.

Nave

The iconography preserved in the nave of the church, like the one in the altar, was saved from under several layers of lime in the 20th century. Analyzed from a stylistic and compositional point of view, the painting of the nave dates from the same period as the one in the altar. It is known that the medallions with hierarchs on the soffit of the triumphal arch were painted before the wall iconostasis was erected, but this seems to have happened during the painting of the church. Therefore, the iconography of the two sides of the wall iconostasis, the one on the walls of the nave and the one on the triumphal arch, are united in a unique iconographic program.

Symbols and icons of the Heavenly Gates

The triumphal arch (**fig. 12**) proposes an inter-iconic interaction that recalls the Heaven in which the saints rejoice (Virgin Mary with an assembly of saints), the *Judgment of God* (*Deesis with the Apostles*), and the chance of every person to choose Heaven (*Salvation of the Repentant Thief*) or Hell (*The Unrepentant Thief*).

Within the composition built around the image of the Mother of God (**fig. 12/4**), the Virgin is represented without the Infant Jesus and with her hands raised in prayer (*Orans*). An element of the composition that should be noted is the semicircle above the Virgin. What at first glance would appear to be the upper part of a mandorla[35] is actually a cloth that the two angels have spread above the Virgin. This element makes a direct reference to the theme of the *Intercession of the Mother of God* (*Pokrov*) that marks the feast of the same name instituted in 1160 during the reign of Knyaz Andrey Bogolyubsky (1111-1174) of Vladimir that recalls the miracles experienced by Russian pilgrims in the Vlaherne church in Constantinople, where the maphorion of the Mother of God was kept.[36] Along with the two angels, the Virgin Mary is surrounded by a multitude of saints. Among them, on the left side of the composition, the Prophets David and Solomon stand out. King David is painted together with the image of the Ark, and in the hands of Solomon, Jarosław Giemza has identified an image of the temple, with a cross above (!).[37] A city is painted in the background of the composition that refers to the *Heavenly Jerusalem*.

The immediately following register contains a scene usually encountered in the iconographic program of iconostases: Jesus Christ represented on the throne of judgment, right in the keystone of the triumphal arch, accompanied by the twelve apostles, who pray for the people (**fig. 12/5**). The apostles can be identified with the help of the inscriptions on the phylacteries they carry in their hands. Among the inscriptions that can be read, Jarosław Giemza identified the apostles Peter, John, Bartholomew, Mark, Thomas and Simon on the right side of Christ, and Paul, Jacob, Luke, Matthew, Andrew and Philip on the left side.

The triumphal arch is completed at the bottom with two scenes: the *Salvation of the Repentant Thief* on the north side (**fig. 12/34**) and the *Condemnation of the Unrepentant Thief* on the south side (**fig. 12/35**). These two scenes were obviously associated with a lost scene of the *Crucifixion of the Lord*, a scene that could have been in the upper part of the built iconostasis. The repentant thief is represented with his eyes closed, but facing the keystone of the triumphal arch, i.e. towards the image of Jesus Christ on the throne of judgment. An angel is painted in the right corner of the composition, carrying the soul of the repentant thief and heading with it to the judgment seat of Christ.[38] In the case of the *Condemnation of the Unrepentant Thief* scene, the human figure is represented with his back to the image of the Judge, while a horned devil with fan-shaped wings carries the image of the crucified man's soul on his back, heading, just like the angel in the previous scene, to the image of Jesus Christ the Judge. In the case of the unrepentant thief, the composition also preserves a legible inscription: "Satan leads the soul from the cross into the abyss".[39] Unfortunately, below the level of the scenes with the two thieves, the painting is erased. In the iconography of the iconostasis and the two side parts of the triumphal arch, only one face can be identified between the royal doors and the deacon's door, recognized as Mother of God by Jarosław Giemza.

Iconography of the semi-cylindrical vault

In the case of the vaulting system, the painting layer suffered here more than on the walls. Therefore, just like in the altar, the identification of the fragments of the iconographic program of the semi-cylindrical vault is, most of the time, an effort to interpret minimal traces of color (**fig. 13**). The composition is built around centers of interest arranged along the axis of

the vault. Each center of interest is surrounded by a circular mandorla (*Open Heavens*). Unfortunately, only inside the central mandorla can we identify a blessing hand, which leads Jarosław Giemza to place here the image of the *Pantokrator*. Moreover, for the other two points of interest, he proposes a possible representation of *Jesus Christ – Angel of Great Counsel* to the west and of *God Sabaoth* to the east. Without any arguments to propose a new identification, we feel obliged to mention that the nave of the church of Saint Nicholas in Bălineşti – which, like the church of Saint Onuphrius at Posada Rybotycka, has a vaulting system in a semi-cylinder – has a similar 15th-century compositional solution to decorate the axis of the vault. The three points of interest are the following representations: the *Throne of Hetoimasia* to the east, *Jesus Christ the Pantokrator* in the center, and *Saint John the Baptist* to the west. Another aspect that can be a starting point for a comparative analysis between Bălineşti and Posada Rybotycka is the fact that, in both cases, the rest of the spaces on the soffit of the semi-cylinder are dedicated to angelic representations. In the case of the Moldavian church, the angels are grouped in synaxes, while at Posada Rybotycka the angels are placed next to each other, along the entire length of the vault, where rows of Seraphim, Cherubim, and archangels can be identified.

As in the interpretation I offered regarding the theological meanings of the altar iconography, I consider the scenes in the east and west tympana to be semantically associated with the iconography of the semi-cylinder. It is part of the vaulting system, which is the ecclesiastical edifice that symbolizes the Kingdom of Heaven throughout Christian culture. This semantics is present regardless of whether it is a dome, a semi-cylinder, or a Gothic vault. In the case of painted churches, when the dome, the most suitable architectural form to symbolize the perfection of the Kingdom of Heaven, is not present, the meanings of Heaven are emphasized with the help of iconography. The synaxes of angels in Bălineşti and Posada Rybotycka indicate this. Interpreting the iconography of the vaulting system from Bălineşti, Tereza Sinigalia emphasizes the way theologians, iconographers and painters "supplement the real dome by suggesting it with the help of drawing, color, gold and, above all, iconography."[40] Regarding the iconography of the tympana in Posada Rybotycka, both compositions are built around the representation of the Mother of God, but they also have the role of symbolizing points of connection between the Kingdom of Heaven and the Christians who are still living in history. The representation of the *Intercession of the Mother of God* on the eastern tympanum is an image of the communion of the saints in the Kingdom of Heaven, but also an occasion of hope for the people on earth who request and are received under the protection of the Mother of God. The scene of the *Dormition of the Mother of God*, by visualizing the Heavens opened to receive the Virgin's soul and by testifying to the care that Christ God shows for her soul, speaks of the moment of the faithful's passage to the Kingdom of Heaven. A special historical event has become an occasion of hope for every man who follows Christ wherein the scene of the *Dormition of the Mother of God* marking the boundary that the faithful crosses when he physically leaves earthly history.

Researching the iconographic program on the north, south, and west walls, we can divide the painting according to three inter-iconic interactions that are grouped around the following themes: (1) the value of the Episcopal Synod for the life of the Church; (2) the history of

Notes

35 The presence of a mandorla (of the *Open Heavens*) would have placed the composition in the broad context of the *Rejoice in you* icon.

36 Tradigo 2004, p. 175.

37 The association between Solomon's Temple and the Christian church is very common in Moldavia in the 1600s, especially in the churches of Sucevița and Dragomirna, but also in the miniatures of Anastasie Crimca's manuscripts. See Herea 2013, p. 91, 92, 177, 178.

38 The gesture of the angel to take care of the repentant thief's soul is also present in the scene of the *Crucifixion of the Lord* in the nave of the church in Pătrăuți. In the Moldavian church, however, the soul is depicted coming out of the mouth of the crucified man, according to an iconographic type that can also be seen in churches in Greek Kastoria.

39 The inscription was published in Polish by Jarosław Giemza (*Szatan duszę do otchłani odprowadza z krzyża*).

40 Sinigalia 2007, p. 48.

the preparation of the Redemptive Sacrifice; (3) the History of the Redemptive Sacrifice (*Cycle of the Passion of Christ God*).

Ecumenic Synods

Above the support line of the semi-cylindrical vault in the church of Saint Onuphrius in Posada Rybotycka, a Cycle of the Ecumenical Synods is painted on the south and north walls. Unfolding continuously on the southern and northern edges of the vault, the Cycle begins on the southern side with the scene of *Jesus Christ speaking in the Temple at the age of 12* (**fig. 14/6**) and ends on the northern side with the scene of the *Descent of the Holy Spirit* (**fig. 15/11**). The *First Synod of Nicaea* is represented on the south side (**fig. 14/7**), while on the north side are featured the *Fourth Synod of Chalcedon* (**fig. 15/8**), the *Seventh Synod of Nicaea* (**fig. 15/9**) and the 843 reconfirmation of icon worship, known as the *Triumph of Orthodoxy* (**fig. 15/10**). At first glance, the connection between the Ecumenical Synods and the scenes representing the *Descent of the Holy Spirit* and the *Meeting between Christ and the Jewish scholars in the Temple in Jerusalem* is conjectural. However, by analyzing this connection in the theological context of the legitimization of the dogmatic legislations issued by the Ecumenical Synods, we will notice that the association between the two scenes with the Cycle of Synods has the purpose of affirming the divine grace and ecclesial importance of the Synod of Bishops.

The first synodal experience took place around 50, in Jerusalem. At that time, the apostles decided to definitively separate Christianity from Judaism by lifting the obligation of circumcision for pagan proselytes. The resolution of the synodal meeting thus appealed to the synods' work with the Holy Spirit: "For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us [...]" (Acts 15, 28). In this way, the apostles affirmed a reality prophesied by Jesus Christ before His Ascension to heaven: "But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you" (John 14, 26). The communion of the apostles, and then of the bishops, is the key to the stability of the Christian teaching, because Christ said: "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them" (Matthew 18, 20). And the presence of Christ through the mediation of the Holy Spirit is the guarantee of the presence of the teaching sent down from God the Holy Trinity, because Christ repeatedly affirmed: "I speak that which I have seen with my Father" (John 8, 38); "for all things that I have heard of my Father I have made known unto you" (John 15, 15). Therefore, the painting of the scene that captures the *Meeting between Christ and the Jewish scholars* (Luke 2, 46-49) alongside the *Ecumenical Synods* and the scene of the *Descent of the Holy Spirit* is not conjectural, but has the purpose of affirming the value of the teaching of Jesus Christ, the legitimacy of this teaching as originating from the love of the Holy Trinity, and the role of episcopal synods to validate, through the care of the Holy Spirit, the preservation of the biblical context for the Christian teachings that are born naturally, following the dynamic evolution of the Church.

A special aspect that should be mentioned regarding the Cycle of Ecumenical Synods from Posada Rybotycka is the identification by Jarosław Giemza, in the context of the *First Ecumenical Synod*, of a scene that was called the *Burning of Arius' books* (**fig. 14/7a**). This is placed between *Christ's meeting with the scholars of the Temple in Jerusalem* and the *First Ecumenical Synod*, the latter being easily identifiable due to the presence of the *Vision of Saint Peter of Alexandria* (**fig. 14/7c**). The exception of the appearance of the composition that captures the burning of Arius' books can open the way to research that compares this church to other monuments where the scene would have been painted.

Prophecies about Jesus Christ and their fulfillment

The second iconographic cycle that can be identified in the nave of the Saint Onuphrius church is made up of scenes that recall historical events from the earthly life of Jesus Christ and events historically associated with the Incarnation. This cycle also starts from the south side of the nave, from the second register of the wall. The register opens with the image of the *Prophet Isaiah* (**fig. 14/15**), who offers the viewer a phylactery inscribed with a still legible text: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son" (Isaiah 7, 14). Next comes the first window on the south wall of the nave, where the *Annunciation* is represented (**fig. 14/12**). The *Nativity of the Lord* scene takes place in the right space of the wall between the two windows and in the east gable of the second window (**fig. 14/13**), while the scene of the *Circumcision* is painted in the west gable (**fig. 14/14**). The iconographic register ends with the image of the *Prophet Daniel* and the *Stone cut out without hands* (**fig. 14/16**), placed in pendant with the prophet Isaiah. This provides compositional unity to the entire register.

Historically speaking, the scenes from the second register on the south wall continue on the west wall,

in the two registers located below the scene of the *Dormition of the Mother of God* (**fig. 16/21**). This wall is pierced by two doors, one for passage from the pronaos to the nave, and another for communication between the nave and the chapel located above the pronaos and the porch. These two doors fragment the wall, making it difficult to decipher the connections between the scenes. However, the subjects of these compositions can be easily identified: the *Flight into Egypt* (**fig. 16/18**), the *Rescue of John the Baptist from the hands of baby killers* (**fig. 16/19**), the *Baptism of the Lord* (**fig. 16/20**), the *Mother of God with the Christ Child glorified by angels* (?) (**fig. 16/17**), the image of an unknown saint, and the representation of *Saint Nicholas* (**fig. 16/25**).

Cycle of Christ's Passion

Like in any other church with a Byzantine iconographic program, the Cycle of Christ's Passion is the most important iconographic cycle of the nave. This is typical, since the Holy Liturgy, which is performed in the altar and in the nave, is a permanent reviving of Christ's Passion. In the church at Posada Rybotycka, the Cycle of Passion extends over the two registers of the north wall, intersecting the iconography of the triumphal arch in the dramatic moment of the *Crucifixion* between the two thieves, and ending in the first register of the south wall. The cycle begins with the representation of the *Entry into Jerusalem* (**fig. 15/26**), to then continues with the events of Maundy Thursday: the *Last Supper* (**fig. 15/27**), the *Washing of the Apostles' Feet* (**fig. 15/28**), and the *Kiss of Judas* (**fig. 15/29**). It is worth noting that the *Last Supper* and the *Washing of the Apostles' Feet* can be considered a repetition of similar scenes in the altar. The two scenes can also be found in the nave of the Metropolitan Cathedral in Suceava, which was painted in the 16th century. Analyzing the iconography of the church in Suceava, Wladyslaw Podlacha notes that the movement of the scenes in the nave is done simultaneously with the emphasis of their historical meaning.[41] In this context, we could conclude that in the church of Saint Onuphrius we are not dealing with a simple repetition, but with an emphasis of the liturgical meaning – in the altar, and of the historical meaning – in the nave.

Returning to the lower register of the north wall in the nave of the church at Posada Rybotycka, the first scene is so badly damaged that it is hard to understand that there was a composition there (**fig. 15/30**). Jarosław Giemza identified there the representation of *Jesus Christ before Caiaphas*, for the next scene depicts *Jesus Christ before Pilate*. The composition allows, in light of the second scene, for the identification of the theme of the *Judgment of Christ* (**fig. 15/31**). It should be noted, however, that the judge does not have a crown on his head, but a cloth vestment, found in Moldavia in the case of Caiaphas' representations.

The scene of the *Mocking of Christ* (**fig. 15/32**) follows, and the register ends with a large composition of the *Carrying of the Cross* (**fig. 15/33**), in which the two thieves, soldiers, myrrh-bearing women, and Simon of Cyrene are present. Following the event of the *Carrying of the Cross* is the *Crucifixion of Christ between the two thieves*. In the case of the church at Posada Rybotycka, the composition of the *Crucifixion* was divided into three scenes, of which only two have been preserved: the *Salvation of the Repentant Thief* and the *Condemnation of the Unrepentant Thief* (**fig. 12/34-35**). The scene that captured the *Crucifixion of Christ* was painted on the wall at the top of the iconostasis, which most likely collapsed at one point, leading to the disappearance of the

Notes

41 Podlacha 1985, p. 187.

preparation layer. As we concluded when we analyzed the symbolic interaction in the iconographic program of the triumphal arch, the scenes of the *Crucifixion* were conceived in relation to the image of Jesus Christ the Judge from the *Deesis* register of the triumphal arch.

The Cycle of Passion continues in the first register of the south wall with the scenes of the *Descent from the Cross* (**fig. 14/36**) and the *Lamentation of Christ* (**fig. 14/37**), to be completed with the scene of the *Resurrection of the Lord* (**fig. 14/38**). Also here is the entrance door to the nave from the outside. Above it you can still see traces of the scene reminiscent of the three angels seen by Abraham at Mamre, the *Old Testament Holy Trinity* (**fig. 14/22**), and, to the right of the door, traces of the image of a pious saint, deemed by Jarosław Giemza to be Saint Paraskeva (**fig. 14/23**).

*

After reading the iconographic program in the church of Saint Onuphrius of Posada Rybotycka, it is obvious that we are dealing with an articulated program, which refers, both as a whole and as detailed elements, to churches painted in the 15th and 16th centuries east and south of the Carpathians. This iconographic program integrates the painting in the church near Przemyśl within the Byzantine tradition. We note that the iconographic program has essential elements that are not found in the Byzantine-Rus' painting of the early 15th century, preserved in the chapel of the Holy Trinity in Lublin and in the presbyteries of the basilicas in Wiślica and Sandomierz, but which are common in Moldavia at the end of the 15th century and in the first part of the 16th century. This includes the *Ecclesia* theme or the symbolic interactions with liturgical utility in the iconographic program of the altar. We believe that, along with the church of Saint Onuphrius of the Lavrov Monastery near Lviv, whose iconography was published by the researcher Constantin Ciobanu,[42] the church at Posada Rybotycka similarly demonstrates that medieval political boundaries could not block the communication channels of cultural messages.

Carpathian Iconography and Its Unifying Cultural Value

The Cult of Pious Paraskeva of Târnovo

The traveler who walks through the icon galleries of the museums in Sanok or Warsaw may be surprised to find that, in the churches of the villages north of the Carpathian Mountains, there were icons of Saint Paraskeva of Târnovo or "Saint Petka Târnovska" in the 15th and 16th centuries. This was none other than the saint known today as "Paraskeva of Iași", whose holy relics were brought to Moldavia by Voivode Vasile Lupu in 1641. The size of the panels from Uście Gorlickie (**fig. 17**) (Museum of History in Sanok, 134 x 89 cm),[43] Krempna (Museum of Folk Architecture in Sanok, 129 x 81 cm),[44] and the church of Tylicz[45] or from the National Museum in Warsaw[46] (154 x 111 cm),[47] as well as the complexity of their compositions, show us that in the 15th–16th centuries, in the Ruthenian villages of the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom, 1000 km from Târnovo, there was a special reverence for the Pious Paraskeva.

In the next section I will show that the presence of Saint Paraskeva's cult north of the Carpathians was no accident, but the result of the strong human and cultural ties between the Wallachian-Bulgarian Tsardom of the Asen Dynasty and the North Carpathian regions.

Notes

42 Ciobanu 2010a, p. 3-24.

43 Janocha 2008, p. 376.

44 Janocha 2008, p. 380.

45 Giemza 2017, p. 314-315.

46 Sulikowska-Gąska 2009, p. 106.

47 Sulikowska-Gąska 2009, p. 99.

48 The term is used according to the meaning defined by Theodorescu 1983, no. 1, p. 339-348; no. 3, p. 7-21.

49 Biliarsky 2007, p. 84.

50 Madgearu 2014, p. 43.

51 The bringing of the relics of Pious Paraskeva takes place in 1230, after the battle of Klokotnitsa, when the Wallachian-Bulgarian Tsardom becomes the dominant power in the Balkan Peninsula. See: *Istoria strămutării moaștelor Sfintei Cuvioase Parascheva de către Țarul Ioan Asan al II-lea (1218-1241) de la Kallikrateia la Târnovo, scrisă de un contemporan* [History of the relocation of the relics of Saint Pious Paraskeva by Tsar Ioan Asan II (1218-1241) from Kallikrateia to Târnovo, written by a contemporary], in Giosanu 2013, p. 207-208.

52 Biliarsky 2007, p. 81-104.

53 Theodorescu 2013, p. 74.

54 About the use of the toponym "Moldo-Wallachia", see: *Patriarhul Ecumenic Matei de Constantinopol recunoaște ca episcop în Moldova pe Iosif I Mușat, 26 iulie* [Ecumenical Patriarch Matthew of Constantinople recognizes Iosif I Mușat as bishop in Moldavia, July 26] and *Scrisoarea Patriarhului Ecumenic Matei către Alexandru Vodă al Moldovei, despre recunoașterea lui Iosif ca episcop al țării* [Letter of Ecumenical Patriarch Matthew to Voivode Alexandru of Moldavia, about the recognition of Iosif as bishop of country], in *Hristos în Moldova* 2001, p. 18-25.

55 Cotovanu 2014, p. 2-3.

56 Cotovanu 2014, p. 5.

57 Cotovanu 2014, p. 8.

58 Cotovanu 2014, p. 8-9.

59 Ștefănescu 2014, p. 36.

60 Eftimie 2014a.

Those ties developed along the "cultural corridor"[48] that passed through Moldavia. The South Danube state began its existence in the 12th century, when, against the background of popular discontent generated by the policies of the Byzantine emperor Isaac II Angelos (1185-1195), the brothers Peter and Ivan Asen managed to trigger a revolt of the Wallachians in 1185-1186, which ended with the emergence of a new state and a new archbishopric in its capital.

The efforts made for the political legitimacy of the Tsardom were accompanied by events aimed at the spiritual legitimacy of the new power. The Asen brothers wanted to give the city of Târnovo the allure of a real imperial capital and initiate a process of *translatio imperii*.[49] In this context, a miracle-working icon of Saint Demetrius from Thessaloniki, considered the protector of the new state,[50] and the relics of several famous saints from the Balkans, including Saint Paraskeva of Epivata,[51] Saint John of Rila, and Saint Hilarion of Meglen, were brought to Târnovo.

In the course of a short time, the name of Pious Paraskeva, in the Slavonic form *Petka*, was associated with the name of the city of Târnovo, attributing to the saint the quality of protector of the capital. Bulgarian historian Ivan Biliarsky mentions that the role with which the Pious Paraskeva was invested in protecting the city of Târnovo is very similar to that of the Mother of God in Constantinople.[52] The association between the cult of the Pious and the capital of the Tsardom transforms the image of the saint into a centralizing political symbol, associated with the ruling dynasty. In this context, Pious Paraskeva of Epivata became Saint Petka of Târnovo and her cult spread in this form on the territory of the coordinated state of Târnovo and throughout the Balkan region.

In trying to historically understand the presence of icons of Pious Paraskeva in the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom, we must analyze the history of the 15th–16th centuries, when the dynamics of human and cultural interactions between the south of the Danube and the north of the Carpathian Mountains is easier to follow in medieval documents, architectural monuments, mural painting ensembles or portable icons that have survived. In fact, since 1974, Răzvan Theodorescu has systematized the information regarding the connections between the south and the north of the Danube in the medieval period. The conclusions of the Romanian academic draw attention to the fact that these connections are not incidental, as we can talk about real "cultural corridors" that operated in South-Eastern Europe in the 10th–14th centuries, between the Aegean Sea and the north-east of the Carpathian Mountains. Cultural goods, ideas, innovations, soldiers and scholars travelled along those corridors, as genuine ferments and seeds of civilisation. They did so "especially from south to north, linking Byzantium, Bulgaria, Albania, Serbia, Hungary, the Romanian Principalities, as well as the Dalmatian, Italo-Pontic, Polish-Lithuanian and Asia Minor regions, in one and the same cultural organism that was very much alive and active."[53]

The military conquests made by the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans in the 14th–15th centuries determined an effective south-to-north migration to new centers of Orthodox power in Hungaro-Wallachia and Moldo-Wallachia.[54] Lidia Cotovanu analyzed this phenomenon for the period of the 15th–16th centuries, reaching the conclusion that the migrants were from all social categories,[55] coming both from the South-Slavic space and from the Greek-speaking liturgical space.[56] A factor that favored migration was the existence of regions with administrative autonomy, whose citizens had a certain freedom of movement. These mountain areas that enjoyed autonomy under the legislation were known as *jus valachicum*. This type of legislative autonomy existed for these communities during the Byzantine Empire as well, and were later present in the Serbian Slavic space under the name *vlaški običaj* or *vlaški zakon*, and in the Ottoman Empire as *adet-i eflaqyye üzere*.[57] In the conclusions of her research, Lidia Cotovanu states that it can be assumed that the Wallachians emigrated in significant numbers from the South-Slavic and Greek space to the north of the Danube after the foundation of Hungaro-Wallachia and Moldo-Wallachia. The sources do not speak of a mass, organized migration, but of individual or family crossings, which, however, had a constant and sustained rhythm.[58]

It seems obvious that the transfer of culture to the north happened in conjunction with the people who took refuge out of the path of Islam. Therefore, most of the historical and artistic evidence culturally connecting the Tsardom of Târnovo and the regions north of the Danube dates from the late 14th century, when Bayezid I (1389-1402) reached the Danube with his armies.

The research of the North Danube churches, icons, and manuscripts that refer to the name of Saint Paraskeva cannot ignore the efforts of the last patriarch of Târnovo, Efthymius. Witness to the decline of the Tsardom,[59] Patriarch Efthymius undertook the hoarding of icons from the heritage of the state founded in 1185. In parallel with the political efforts he made to stop the dissolution of the Tsardom between the borders of the Ottoman Empire, Efthymius wrote the most popular text about Saint Paraskeva and the history of her holy relics,[60] a text in which he captured the important event of



▲ Fig. 17. *Saint Paraskeva of Târnovo*, Uście Gorlickie (Poland), 15th century, Sanok History Museum. Credits: Gabriel-Dinu Herea.



◥ Fig. 18. *Saint Paraskeva, with scenes from her life,* woodcut from the *Homiliary of the Metropolitan Varlaam*, Iași, 1643. Copyright: Museikon.

▼ Fig. 19. Map of the analysed cultural corridor. Author: Cristian Mucileanu.



the bringing of the relics from Epivata to Târnovo during the time of Ivan Asen II (1218-1241). This text was included very quickly in the cultic manuscripts that circulated north of the Danube, in the space of Byzantine-Slavonic culture. Thus, in the Dragomirna Monastery library there are two manuscripts from the 15th century that contain texts written in late 14th century by Patriarch Efthymius.[61]

But pre-Efthymius versions of the life of Saint Paraskeva also circulated in Moldavia. Such a text is included in the manuscript discovered in 1960 by the renowned researcher Ioan Iufu (born in 1935 in a Wallachian family from Macedonia) and published under the name of *Sbornicul lui Gherman* (the Gherman's Miscellany). The manuscript was made in Târnovo in 1359 and kept at the Voroneț Monastery in Northern Moldavia until the 18th century.[62]

It is interesting that Moldavia is not the terminus of the northward advance of the texts written in Târnovo. Marzanna Kuczyńska identified in Polish libraries 41 manuscripts containing copies of the

Life of Saint Paraskeva of Târnovo: 21 manuscripts from the 16th century, 14 manuscripts from the 17th century, and 5 manuscripts from the 18th century.[63]

The early connections between Târnovo and Moldo-Wallachia are marked even in the patron saint of some churches. A church dedicated to Saint Paraskeva was built in the city of Roman around 1394, close to the disappearance of the Tsardom of Târnovo under the sword of Bayezid I. The church was then endowed in 1408 by Alexander the Good (Rom. Alexandru cel Bun)[64] and rebuilt from the ground up[65] between 1542-1550, when it was also decorated with painting. Preserved until today, the iconographic program from Roman contains a *Cycle of the Life of the Pious Saint Paraskeva*. Like the iconography dedicated to the Pious in the exterior painting from Arbore and on the wooden panels in Poland, the scenes that capture moments from the life of the Pious are similar and demonstrate the circulation of the text written by Patriarch Efthymius and completed by Gregory Tsamblak.[66]

We can say without fail that the Moldavian-Wallachians had a special love for Saint Paraskeva and they would not rest until they managed to bring her holy relics had left the fortress of the Asen Dynasty. This was accomplished in Iași in 1641, 248 years after the relics of the Pious had left the fortress of Târnovo. The ritual of bringing the relics took place under the patronage of the Moldavian Voivode Vasile Lupu (1634-1653), born in 1595 in Arvanitochori (Arbanasi), near Târnovo, from a Greek father and a Romanian mother.[67] The symbolic and spiritual significance of the moment was marked by the creation of an engraving with the icon of Saint Paraskeva accompanied by scenes from her life and with two images inspired by the historical moments of bringing the relics to Târnovo and Iași (**fig. 18**) in *Homiliary of the Metropolitan Varlaam*, published in 1643. Vasile Lupu could therefore be associated with Emperor Ivan Asen II. Furthermore, by way of its association with the city of Târnovo, Iași took on the aura of an imperial capital.

Carpathian Mountains' region, refuge for Balkan Christians

Regarding the presence of the cult of Pious Paraskeva in Poland, we must say that this is not only the result of some texts that arrived in the 15th century in Moldavia, Lesser Poland or Ruthenia, but can be easily associated with the actual move of a Wallachian population, accompanied by priests, and bringing with them the cult of the Pious Paraskeva of Târnovo, to the Kraków Voivodeship and to the Halychian Rus'.

After the Ottomans conquered Serbia (1389) and the destruction of the Tsardom of Târnovo (1393), a migration to the North occurred. Those who left, especially the priests, took with them valuable books and icons. The first phase of this migration resulted in a new impulse towards monastic culture in Moldavia and Wallachia. However, Northern cultural influences continued to rise with the increase of military pressure from the Ottoman Empire.[68]

The regions north of the Danube and north of the Carpathians were familiar to the south-Danube Christians. The close ties between the south-Danube Balkans, Moldavia, Galicia, and Kyivan Rus' can be easily visualized from the biographies of two important personalities

Notes

61 Iufu, Brătulescu 2012, p. 26, ms. 1770/681; p. 136-145, ms. 1789/700.

62 Giosanu 2013, p. 45-48.

63 Marzanna Kuczyńska, *Południowosłowiańska poezja liturgiczna w zbiorach bibliotek polskich*, Szczecin 2003, p. 126-187, *apud* Kruk 2007b, p. 333.

64 DRH-A, vol. I (1384-1448), p. 32-34.

65 Bratu 2010, Annex II, drawing 20.

66 *Povestire despre strămutarea moaștelor Sfintei Parascheva de la Târnovo la Vidin și Belgrad a lui Grigorie Țamblak* [Story about the relocation of the relics of Saint Paraskeva from Târnovo to Vidin and Belgrade by Gregory Tsamblak], in Eftimie 2014a, p. 43-51.

67 Iorga 1914, p. 208.

68 Kruk 1995, p. 35.

of the era: Cyprian (from 1375 metropolitan in Kyiv) and Gregory Tsamblak. Apprentices[69] of the Holy Patriarch Efthymius of Târnovo, they passed through important cultural-religious centers located in the south of the Danube, to then become, in turn, metropolitans of Kyiv.[70] Gregory Tsamblak even had a difficult mission in Moldavia, where he came in 1401 as an inspector of the Ecumenical Patriarch, which resulted in his 1416 elevation to the dignity of metropolitan of Kyiv. The two successive Metropolitans of Kyiv are believed to have contributed very intensely tods the dissemination of the "Efthimian cultural tradition,"[71] in other words, of the spiritual heritage of the Tsardom of Târnovo.

However, Cyprian and Gregory Tsamblak were not the only south-Danube Christians who arrived north of the Carpathians. Ever since the beginning of the 20th century, historians have been debating some "Polish documents" that "show that in the south of Halych there were [...] almost 500 Romanian (Wallachian) villages."[72] The presence of Wallachians in Southern Poland and in Halychian Rus' could be a result of the colonization policies coordinated by Louis I the Great of the Angevin House, King of Hungary (1342-1382) and Poland (1370-1382).[73] The most documented model of colonization triggered by this king is Voivode Dragoș's "dismounting in Moldavia," together with a Wallachian population from Maramureș, in the mid-14th century. It is known that Dragoș's successor, Balc, son of Sas, was expelled from Moldavia by Bogdan I, Voivode of Cuhea who, in 1359, decided to manifest his tendencies towards independence from Hungary.[74] One aspect that is less talked about in Romanian historiography is the fact that, upon returning to the Kingdom of Hungary, the descendants of Sas received lands not only in Maramureș, but also North of the Carpathian Mountains, in Halychian Rus', where they are mentioned in documents in the second part of the 14th century.[75] The size of the estates owned in the north caused the historian Ludwik Wyrostek to dedicate extensive research to the genealogy of this family in 1932.[76] Given: 1) the experience that the Drag-Sas family and their people gained in the founding of Moldavia, 2) the colonization policy of Louis I the Great – who had also taken over the throne of Poland after the death of Casimir, in 1370 – and 3) the presence of villages of Wallachian law on the estates of Sas's family and his descendants,[77] it is assumed that this family was one of the first coordinators[78] of the Wallachian colonization from the north of the Carpathian Mountains.[79]

Polish and Ukrainian archives preserve founding documents of many villages in the regions covered by our study, in which it is mentioned that the settlements are governed according to *jus Valachorum* or *Valachico jure*.[80] The specificity of the villages inhabited by Wallachians / Romanians is identified by Grzegorz Jawor in "documents related to various phases of the establishment of villages under Wallachian law", "names of villages or parts of villages", "regulation of taxes to the state based on the number of owned sheep", "the mentions of knyaz and principalities, of Romanian heralds and voivodes", "the presence of Romanians as owners and inhabitants of villages", "the presence of typical Romanian taxes for the owner of the village", and "mentions of the various elements of Wallachian law."[81]

In his doctoral thesis, Jawor identified 305 settlements, 292 of which he could precisely locate on the map. The remaining 13 are still unlocalizable geographically.[82] The villages identified under Wallachian law were spread in:[83]

Notes

69 Eftimie 2014b.

70 Kruk 2000, p. 201-203.

71 Theodorescu 2013, p. 46.

72 Păcurariu 1980, p. 233.

73 Engel 2006, p. 195.

74 Pascu, Constantinescu, Ștefănescu 2010, p. 635; DRH-D, vol. I, p. 75-78.

75 Gorovei 2014, p. 140.

76 Wyrostek 1932.

77 "It is certain that, in the 70s and 80s of the 15th century, Wallachian law colonies were established on the estates of this family" (Jawor 2012, p. 137).

78 "Certainly, Romanians have been present in the mountains of Lesser Poland since the end of the 14th century" (Jawor 2012, p. 22).

79 "And when the kings of Hungary, in order to populate the country deserted by the Tatars, adopt a very pronounced policy of colonization, the Knyaz, finding personal profiles in this policy, also become assiduous colonizers" (Bogdan 1968, p. 204).

80 Jawor 2012, p. 42.

81 Jawor 2012, p. 100-102.

82 Jawor 2012, p. 149.

83 Jawor 2012, p. 150.

84 Jawor 2012, p. 46.

85 W. Łoziński, "Malarstwo cerkiewne na Rusi", in *Kwartalnik Historyczy* I, (1887), 2, p. 149-384, *apud* Kruk 2007c, p. 289.

86 Kondakov 2008, p. 135.

87 Александрович 2011, p. 154-179.

88 Spinei 1982, p. 158.

89 J. Pełeński, *Halicz w dziejach sztuki średniowiecznej na podstawie badań archeologicznych i źródeł archiwalnych*, Kraków 1914, *passim*, *apud* Kruk 2001a, p. 237.

90 Kruk 2001a, p. 237.

Area	Settlements attested in the 14th century	Settlement attested up to the mid-15th century	Settlements attested in the second half of the 15th century	Settlements attested in the early 16th century, although certainly older	Together
Halych		6	25	42	73
Lviv	1	15	22	11	49
Belz		5	6	14	25
Chełm		2	1	7	10
Sanok	4	10	27	6	47
Przemyśl	7	8	47	26	88
Together	12	46	128	106	292

Following these discoveries, the Polish researcher concluded: "There was [...] a migratory current developed over time (in the 14th–16th centuries), which dragged along larger or smaller colonizing groups, spilling over vast territories of Red Ruthenia and Lesser Poland. Being deprived, with the exception of a few submountainous areas, of ties with the regions of origin, these Romanian groups became Ruthenized, more rarely Polonized, and could not preserve for long their economic, legal specificity, or their ethnic character."[84]

The culture spread and created by these people can be seen to this day in museums and churches in eastern Slovakia, southern Poland, western Ukraine and northeastern Romania. It is especially notable in a lot of icons painted in the 15th–16th centuries, with Christian-Orthodox iconography. The stylistic, compositional and technical unity of these icons has led many art historians to state that there exists an artistic current whose defining characteristics are the Serbian-Bulgarian-Moldavian elements. The historical existence of Wallachian law communities in the settlements where these icons have been preserved have convinced many researchers about the organic link that must have existed between the appearance of this iconography and the arrival of Wallachian settlers in the region.

Historiography of the theme

Already in 1887, after the exhibition of Polish-Ruthenian archeology organized in Lviv in 1885, Władysław Łoziński, in his essay *Malarstwo cerkiewne na Rusi*,[85] suggested that the icons preserved in Poland, Ukraine and Slovakia, generally known as "Ruthenian icons," show artistic connections with cultural centers in the south. Contemporary with Łoziński, the Russian art historian Nikodim Pavlovich Kondakov (1844-1925) identified in the icons from the south of the Rus' historical space, i.e. in the west of Ukraine, artistic elements that arrived here "under the influence of the Moldavian-Wallachian school."[86]

Given the Slavonic form of medieval writing and the subsequent Ruthenization of the Wallachian communities, the icons have been called by some researchers "Ruthenian" and associated with the political center of Red Ruthenia, or Halych. Prior to 1240, while the Principality of Halych had a beautiful history of its own, a Byzantine-influenced culture had developed in Red Ruthenia,[87] which irretrievably decayed after the brutal invasion of the Principality and the use of its territory as a strategic base for the concentration of Tatar warriors[88] who were preparing to attack Central Europe. Historians refer to the dynamism before 1240 as the "Halych School." The term has been used since 1914 by Jarosław Pełeński in his studies on architecture.[89] The same term is used by Vira Svjencicka and other Ukrainian historians, who incorporate the art of the "Halych School" into a general history of Ukrainian art.[90]

In the 1960s, the Slovak researcher Alexander Frický introduced the theme of Wallachian migration into the study of this group of icons. Subsequently, the oldest icons preserved in museums in Slovakia became associated with the Wallachian colonization. In the case of Slovakia, A. Frický says that the population came from the Balkans in the 14th century, and from western Ukraine in the 16th century. As evidence of the migration of Wallachians from Moldo-Wallachia to the Slovakian space, researchers have presented an icon of Saint John the New of Suceava, dated in the 17th century and discovered in the Orthodox church of the village of

Nižný Hrabovec.[91] Regarding the cult of Saint John the New of Suceava in Halychian Rus' (Ruthenia) and Kyivan Rus', we must not forget that Metropolitan Gregory Tsamblak contributed to the promotion in these regions of other saints from the Balkans or from Moldavia, such as Saint John the New of Suceava and Saint Serbian King Stefan Dečanski.[92] Mirosław Piotr Kruk has interpreted the ordinances of the *Trebnik* published by Metropolitan Peter Movilă and concluded that, in the 17th century, the cult of Saint John the New of Suceava seemed to be as important in Kyivan Rus' as in Moldavia.[93]

In 1973, Janina Kłosińska, custodian of the Orthodox art department of the National Museum in Kraków, published a catalog of icons from the Kraków collection in which she used the name "Carpathian icons."[94] This name was later taken over by other researchers, as it was the only name that could counter the shortcomings of the geographical spread on the territory of six states and refer to the unity of the group of icons. Janina Kłosińska was one of the first researchers in Poland who made the connection between the old icons, dating back to the 15th century, and the so-called Wallachian colonization.[95]

In Hungary, Bernadett Puskás has spoken of a homogeneous group of icons originating from a clearly defined region: southeastern Poland, western Belarus, western Ukraine, northeastern Hungary, and northeastern Romania.[96] The Hungarian researcher has identified a style of iconographic and technical unity in the icons. Given the fact that these icons were made in an area of frequent political and religious change, they cannot be associated with any school of painting known at the time of their creation. Under these conditions, Bernadett Puskás believes that the term "Carpathian icons," proposed by Janina Klosińska as a general name for this group of icons, is very appropriate.

On the cultural corridor that connects the south of the Danube to the north of the Carpathian Mountains, Bernadett Puskás has seen Halych of the 15th–16th centuries as a recipient of Byzantine-Slavic influences, mediated by the Balkan states and by Moldavia. She has recognized this reality not only in the wealth of colors and forms used, but also in the similarities that exist between the style and iconography of the oldest Carpathian icons and contemporary frescoes from Moldavia. Regarding the dynamics of cultural interaction, Bernadett Puskás, in full agreement with the opinions advanced by A. Frický and Janina Kłosińska, concludes that the Balkan influence was strongly augmented by the "so-called Wallachian-Ruthenian colonization."[97]

However, the most radical opinion belongs to the Polish researcher Romualda Grządziela, who has suggested that many icons were painted by immigrants coming from the south.[98] The author asserts that, in order to understand the characteristics of this group of icons, it is necessary to analyze them in comparison with the manuscripts from the 14th–16th centuries preserved in the region and with the iconography of the neighboring countries: Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Mount Athos, Moscow and Novgorod.[99] Of all these political-geographical entities, Moldavia and Wallachia have been considered to have the most decisive role in the history of icon painting on the northern side of the Carpathians.

For Romualda Grządziela, political interactions between these regions can be considered acts preceding cultural transfer. Thus, she notes that after Poland's annexation of Halychian Rus', Moldavia was directly adjacent to it. Moreover, the position of Moldavia and Wallachia under the influence of the Muslim power in the South forced the two countries to look for support in Poland. After Władysław Jagiello's

Notes

91 A. Frický, "O niektorých pamiatkach východného Slovenska", in *Vlastivedý Časopis*, 16, 1967, 2, p. 84, and A. Frický, *Ikony z východného Slovenska*, Košice 1971, p. 8, *apud* Kruk 2001a, p. 239-240.

92 Kruk 2007b, p. 338.

93 Kruk 2007b, p. 338-339.

94 Kłosińska 1973.

95 Kruk 2001a, p. 239.

96 Puskás 1989; Puskás 1991.

97 Puskás 1989, p. 87.

98 Romualda Grządziela, "Proweniencja i dzieje malarstwa ikonowego po północnej stronie Karpat w xv i na pocz. xvi w.", in Jerzy Czajkowski (ed.), *Łemkowie w historii i kulturze Karpat*, vol. 2, Sanok 1994, p. 207-265, *apud* Kruk 2001a, p. 240.

99 Grządziela, *op. cit.*, p. 208, *apud* Kruk 2001a, p. 240.

100 Grządziela, *op. cit.*, p. 256, *apud* Kruk 2001a, p. 240.

101 Păcurariu 1992, p. 36.

102 Grządziela, *op. cit.*, p. 230, *apud* Kruk 2001a, p. 240.

103 Kruk 2000.

104 The icons are also known as "Ruthenian", "West-Ukrainian", "from Lemko" or "from the Carpathians" (W. Deluga, "*Ikona karpacka* – spór o terminologię wspólczesnej historii sztuki", in *Український гуманітарний огляд*, 2001, 7, p. 222-229, *apud* Kruk 2001a, p. 288).

105 Referring to the icons kept in the collection of the Lviv museum, art historian Vasyl Otkovych believes that the most valuable ones date from the 15th–16th centuries, a period he calls the "golden age of icon painting" (Otkovych 1999, p. 14).

106 Kruk 2001a, p. 288, 290.

107 Kruk 2001a, p. 290.

108 Kruk 2001a, p. 246.

109 Kruk 2001a, p. 242.

110 Kruk 2001a, p. 237.

accession to the throne in 1386, Peter I, Voivode of Moldavia, took an oath of allegiance the next year. In 1389, a triple alliance was concluded between the Polish king, Peter I, and Mircea Basarab, the Voivode of Wallachia. Throughout the Jagiellonian era, until the 17th century, Moldavia and Wallachia were in contact with the Ruthenian space through the rites and worship language they used. Thanks to the efforts of Casimir III the Great (1333-1370), the Metropolitanate of Halych was re-established in 1371. It did not survive for long. Nonetheless, it supported the emergence of the Metropolitan see of Suceava, through the ordination of the Moldavian bishops Iosif and Meletie, before 1381. The close ties between Moldavia and the North-Carpathian territories continued in the 16th century, when the Moldavian Voivodes supported the construction of the Dormition of the Mother of God church in Lviv, a church also called "of the Wallachians". In 1558 Alexandru Lăpușneanu sent a letter promising donations, icons, carpets, liturgical objects and priestly clothes for the church in Lviv.[100] It was in this church, which remained in the care of the Moldavian rulers, that Peter Movilă was ordained as bishop on 28 April 1633.[101]

Romualda Grządziela has written that the Po-lish, Ruthenian, and German ethnic elements that populated the North Carpathian space before the 14th century did not influence the creation of icons. Only a massive influx of Wallachian settlers, starting from the 14th century, and their mixing with the Ruthenian population, structured the ethnic and religious settlements in the area and determined the dynamics of a visual culture. The Polish researcher has cited Wallachian law settlements and emphasized the fact that *jus valachicum* is associated with the Orthodox Church and Orthodox icons. The Wallachians would have come from Wallachia, from Transylvania, or from Moldavia. This argument correlates with the fact that "the areas colonized by Wallachians closely coincide with the radius from which the icons included in the studied group come from."[102] Furthermore, Romualda Grządziela has mentioned the cult of Saint Paraskeva of Târnovo and its known association with the presence in the area of the two Kyivan metropolitans originally from Târnovo: Cyprian and Gregory Tsamblak.

The Polish researcher who linked his name to refining the theories launched in the 20th century about the "Carpathian icons" is Mirosław Piotr Kruk. A custodian in the "Palace of Bishop Erazm Ciołk" Museum in Kraków and professor of art history at the University of Gdańsk, M. P. Kruk has become one of the most important contemporary specialists of the cultural interactions between the North Carpathian territories, Moldavia, and the South Danube area. I feel obliged to say, once again, that without the writings of M. P. Kruk, the present study would not have the same consistency, and without his overflowing generosity in gifting me his electronic library, my research dedicated to the Polish space would have required a long internship in Polish libraries.

To understand the intensity with which the Polish historian studied the group of icons from the Carpathians, it can be noted that M. P. Kruk's doctoral thesis is dedicated to the iconography of the Mother of God.[103] Printed in 2000 by the Jagiellonian University Publishing House in Kraków, the thesis became relevant to the entire group of icons,[104] since the iconography of the Mother of God is presented as a backbone of Christian-Orthodox visual culture. Among the hundreds of icons kept in museums in Poland, Belarus, Ukraine[105] and Slovakia, 75 icons of the Mother of God have been identified that claim to belong to a common and specific iconographic type, also found in Moldavia: *Mother of God Hodegetria with prophets* (**fig. 20-21**).

In analyzing these icons, the Polish researcher reached the following conclusions: 1) Of the 75 icons examined, 9 can be dated to the 15th century, 16 were painted between 1500 and 1540, and 50 dated from 1540-1600. 2) In his opinion, some icons were painted by artists from Moldavia or Serbia. M. P. Kruk identifies in these icons common elements with the icons from Ohrid and Epirus, but also influences from Cyprus and Crete.[106] On the other hand, he sees in the relics of medieval painting from Serbia, Bulgaria and Moldavia an indication of the determining role of these regions in the transfer of iconographic models to the north.[107] This cultural phenomenon was accompanied by the increase in the number of Wallachian inhabitants and the development of cultural activities in the young state of Moldavia, located in the proximity of the Ruthenian territories.[108] M. P. Kruk considers it demonstrable that "the iconography of the mural paintings preserved in more than twenty Moldavian churches was simply adapted to the Ruthenian icons."[109] In his studies, the researcher quite often uses the term "Balkan", by which he refers not only to Bulgarian or Serbian elements, but also to the Moldavian elements that appear in the Ruthenian culture.[110]

Regarding the migration of the Wallachians from the south to the north, M. P. Kruk writes: "I am convinced that no one can ignore the importance of the so-called Wallachian colonization, but on the other hand, there is no direct evidence of the relationship between the colonization and the creation of icons. However, there are indirect evidence: the presence of Balkan features in the iconography and stylistic aspect of the icons originating from villages





▲ Fig. 20. *Praises of the Mother of God*, Pidhorodtsi (Ukraine), 15th century, Lviv National Museum.
Source: http://icon.org.ua/gallery/bogorodytsya-z-pohvaloyu/, nr. 9.

◥ Fig. 21. *Praises of the Mother of God*, Nowa Wieś (Poland), second half of the 15th century, Nowy Sącz Art Museum.
Credits: Gabriel-Dinu Herea.

Notes

111 Kruk 2001a, p. 240.

112 A. Fastnacht, *Osadnictwo ziemi sanockiej w latach 1340-1650*, Wroclaw 1962, *passim*; A. Fricky, "O niektorých pamiatkach východného Slovenska," in *Vlastivedý Časopis*, 16, 1967, 2; A. Fricky, *Ikony z východného Slovenska*, Košice 1971; Z. Szanter, "Osadnictwo z południa w Beskidzie Niskim i Sądeckim," in J. Czajkowski (ed.), *Polska Sztuka Ludowa*, 1985, p. 3-4; Romualda Grządziela, "Proweniencja i dzieje malarstwa ikonowego po północnej stronie Karpat w xv i na pocz. xvi w.," in J. Czajkowski (ed.), *Łemkowie w historii i kulturze Karpat*, vol. 2, Sanok 1994, p. 27-166; *Łemkowie w historii i kulturze Karpat*, vol. 2,

founded during the Wallachian colonization. Some examples include the *Mother of God Hodegetria surrounded by prophets* from the village of Paniszczów (fig. 22) or the one from the village of Weremień. There are historical information for both villages, from the earliest times, when the settlements were founded according to Wallachian law."[111]

In his studies, M. P. Kruk devotes whole pages to the historiography of the theme and the disputes surrounding it. Thus, he discusses two theories: 1) that this art is part of a culture founded mainly on elements brought from the south[112] and 2) that we are dealing with a growth of the culture existing in Kyivan Rus' before the great Mongol invasion.[113] The latter thesis is supported by historians who try to link the Carpathian icons to the so-called Halych School and deny the importance of cultural influences from the south. Also, the followers of the latter theory are strongly opposed to the idea that the term "Wallachian" might have ethnic connotations and claim that it was applied to all the shepherds in Poland-Lithuania who used Slavonic as a cultural language (i.e. were Orthodox).[114] This population, which, fleeing from the Ottomans, ascended to the north, is not recognized as having any cultural role in the geographical space of adoption.

M. P. Kruk has drawn attention to the fact that the hypothesis that supports close cultural ties with the Balkan regions has received very serious support through research recently undertaken by the historian Grzegorz Jawor. He demonstrates in his writings,[115] the most important recently also translated into Romanian,[116] that the notion of "Wallachian law," found in medieval documents from the north of the Carpathian Mountains, designates ethnic Wallachian communities that migrated from the south and identifies 305 localities[117] where the law specific to the Wallachians operated.





Fig. 22. *Praises of the Mother of God*, Paniszczów (Poland), Sanok History Museum.
Credits: Waldemar Deluga.

Fig. 23. *Praises of the Mother of God*, Humor Monastery (Romania), 16th century.
Credits: Petru Palamar.

A follower of the theory that links North Carpathian art with the Christian-Orthodox cultural centers of the Balkans, M. P. Kruk complements Jawor's findings with a commonsense argument: "It is necessary to remember that the term "Wallachia" associated with the attributes "lesser" and "greater" was reserved in the nomenclature of that period for two regions of today's Romania: Moldavia and Wallachia."[118]

Scene of the Last Judgment and its Carpathian particularities

More recently, Carpathian iconography came to the attention of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, which financially supported research conducted by John-Paul Himka (Edmonton). Himka focused on the iconography of the *Last Judgment* and identified almost a hundred icons and murals with this theme in the former Ruthenian territories that are now part of Poland, Slovakia and Ukraine, which were painted from the 15th century to the 16th century.[119] By contextually and comparatively analyzing the compositions from the Carpathian area, the art historian noticed that there are many different elements between the North Carpathian representations and the original Byzantine iconography. These observations encouraged him to use the phrase "the new Carpathian Last Judgment"[120] to designate the composition found in the Carpathians. Analyzing the geographical context in which the specific elements of these compositions are found, John-Paul Himka concluded that these elements are found again in the Rus' north (Novgorod and Moscow), in Moldavia (**fig. 24**), and Wallachia.[121]

Notes

Sanok 1995; U. Fiedler, "Pochodzenie ludności romańskiej (Wołochów i Rumunów) na Półwyspie Bałkańskim. Glos w dyskusji," in *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica*, 1997-1998, 34, *passim*; all *apud* Kruk 2001a, p. 291.

113 Л. Коць-Грігорчук, "Нове про найдавніші зразки українського іконопису," in *Народна творчість та етнографія*, 1991, 4, *passim*; *Українське малярство XIII-XV ст.*, Львів 1995, *passim*; В. Александрович, *Українське малярство XIII-XIV ст.* (= Студії з історії улраїнського мистецтва, 1), Львів 1995, *passim*; В. Александрович, *Західноукраїнські малярі XVI століття*, Львів 2000, *passim*; W. Ałeksandrowycz, "Ukraińska sztuka religijna do końca XVIII wieku," in *Warszawskie*



Notes

Zeszyty Ukrainoznawcze, 2001, 11-12; all *apud* Kruk 2001a, p. 292.

114 The theory is contradicted by Jawor 2012, in the chapter: "Do the Wallachians represent only a professional corporation?," p. 32-38.

115 G. Jawor, "Etniczne oblicze osad prawa wołoskiego na przedpolu Karpat w Małopolsce i Rusi Czerwonej (XIV-XV)," in M. Parczewski (ed.), *Początki sąsiedztwa. Pogranicze etniczne polsko-rusko-slowackie w średniowieczu. Materialy z konferencji – Rzeszów 9-11 v 1995*, Rzeszów 1996, *apud* Kruk 2001a, p. 292.

116 Jawor 2012.

117 Jawor 2012, p. 149.

118 Kruk 2001a, p. 292. For details regarding the different names held

The most interesting specificity of the Carpathian compositions is the association of the *Aerial Tollhouses* theme with the *Last Judgment* theme (**fig. 25**). Thus, the tollhouses are represented in icons as rings around the body of the serpent emerging from the "Sea of Fire" to bite Adam's leg, as chambers or as a zig-zag road.[122] The motif of the Serpent with the ring-tollhouses links Ruthenian icons to North Rus' culture.[123] For the chambers and zig-zag road, the proposed cultural affiliation is the presence in Moldavia of the *Aerial Tollhouses* in the form of a *Tower of Purifications* (**fig. 26**), guarding the road to the gates of Heaven which are represented in Moldavia in the upper part of the composition of *Aerial Tollhouses*.[124] M. P. Kruk notes that the motif of the Serpent is missing from the icons in Han'kovychi, Trushevychi,[125] and Dolyna. It is characteristic that, like in the Moldavian paintings, the motif of the "tower of purifications" with several stages is present as a substitute in these 3 icons. Its stages are testing steps for the judged soul, like the steps in the "ladder" of Saint John of the Ladder.[126] In the opinion of Janina Kłosińska, the genealogy of this motif must be sought in Romanian popular beliefs.[127] Kłosińska also points out that the southern influence is consistent, as the scenes of the *Death of the Rich* and the *Death of the Sinner* appear in the painting of the Northern



Fig. 24. *The Last Judgment*, the western facade of the Voroneț monastery church (Romania), 16th century.
Credits: Petru Palamar.

Fig. 25. *The Last Judgment*, 15th–16th centuries, Lviv National Museum.
Source: Kondakov 2008.

Subcarpathians and in the frescoes of Bukovina, but are absent in the painting of Central and Northern Rus'.[128]

Observations on a scarcer iconographic type of the Pantokrator

As noted above, the peculiarities of the iconography of the Mother of God make the Carpathian Hodegetria a real "backbone" of the corpus of icons studied. The fact that most of the icons of the Virgin were once part of an iconostasis, it was supposed the existence of a pendant, a specific representation of the Pantokrator, identified by specialized literature with the representation of *Christ in Glory*.[129] His prototype can be considered the icon painted by Theophanes the Greek around 1399 for the Annunciation cathedral in the Moscow Kremlin. It would have been natural, however, for the paired icon to be part of the same typological family, just like, for example, the icons of the sovereign tier preserved until today in the iconostasis of the Humor Monastery church in Suceava County (fig. 23 and 27). A quick search of museums and repositories in Romania reveals the fact that a very small number of icons dedicated to the Savior are preserved. An explanation of the

Notes

by Moldavia in the Middle Ages, see: Gorovei 2014, p. 102.

119 Himka 2004, p. 363.

120 Himka 2004, p. 365.

121 Himka 2004, p. 365. To refine these conclusions, the author recommends the study of Goldfrank 1995, p. 180-199.

122 Himka 2004, p. 367.

123 Kłosińska 1973, p. 153; Kruk 2014, p. 143.

124 Herea 2013, p. 103, 183, fig. 107, 108.

125 In the icons from Han'kovychi and Trushevychi, the towers occupy the left edges of the composition, just like in Moldavia (Voroneț, Humor, Moldovița), where the tower is placed to the left of the *Last Judgment* composition, on the side of the northwestern buttress – at Voroneț, and on the northern side of the northwestern pole – at Humor and Moldovița.

126 The association between the *Tower of Purifications* and the *Ladder* finds confirmation in the painting of the church in Sucevița, where the *Aerial Tollhouses* were not painted, but on the exterior of the north side of the church a monumental composition of the *Ladder of Virtues* was spread.

127 Kruk 2014, p. 144.

128 Janina Kłosińska, "Dwie ikony Sądu Ostatecznego w zbiorach sanockich. Ze studiów nad ikonografią," in *Materiały Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego w Sanoku*, nr. 6, 1967, p. 40, *apud* Kruk 2014, p. 150.

129 Гелитович 2005a.



▲ Fig. 26. *The Aerial Tollhouses*, Vatra Moldoviței Monastery (Romania), 16th century.
Credits: Gabriel-Dinu Herea.

existence and disappearance of these representations was provided at the beginning of the 20th century by bishop Narcis Crețulescu, who wrote about the history of the icon of the Mother of God installed in the main church of Secu Monastery on August 14, 1876: "The neophyte monk Iliade ... wanting to put the icon of the Mother of God in the pew, took the icon of the Mother of God, the one from the necropolis of Neamțu Monastery (the one from the Fortress monastery ...), left out all the prophets around, made the icon smaller, made a pew for it ... and that is why we have the pew with the icon of the Mother of God in Secu Monastery. And the icon of Lord Christ in the necropolis of Neamțu Monastery stands alone, rotting in the wet necropolis. It will be ruined by tomorrow."[130] The history of this transformation confirms the conclusions resulting from the discovery of the original layers of color during the work to restore the icon carried out in the first part of the 21st century: the icon was part of the same family of the Carpathian *Hodegetria* (fig. 28), most of them being probably saved in the same way, by their repositioning in the church with the deactivation of the original iconostases.

As early as 2017, I pointed out[131] the fact that research should be carried out to identify and catalog the iconography of the *Pantokrator*, starting from the iconographic type preserved at the Humor Monastery. In comparing the icon from Humor Monastery with Byzantine icons of Christ the Savior that are accessible to us, we can notice a peculiar feature that suggests the representation found in Humor

Notes

130 Crețulescu 1910, p. 39: *Părintele Neofit Iliade ... voind a pune icoana Maicii Domnului în strană, a luat icoana Maicii Domnului cea din gropnița M-rei Neamțu (cea care era de la M-rea din Cetate ...) i-au tăiat toți proorocii dimprejur, au micșorat icoana, i-au făcut strană ... și astfel avem strană cu icoana Maicii Domnului în M-rea Secu. Iar icoana D-lui Hristos din gropnița M-rii Neamțu stă singură de putrezește de umezeala gropniței. Mâine se va distruge de tot.*

131 Herea 2017, p. 115-146, note 66, p. 132-138.







Monastery is an iconographic type. The right hand of the Savior, the one that makes a gesture of blessing, is represented at the end point of a circular movement. It appears to outline a symbolic gesture whereby the viewers, who are the recipients of the blessing, are oriented towards Christ the Lord. Upon a brief review of the iconographic archive accumulate by 2017, I was surprised to identify three royal icons that present the same iconographic type found at Humor: *Deesis* with Christ the Savior Pantokrator flanked by the twelve apostles. These are the icons from Rovné (**fig. 29**), Dolyna, and Venice (**fig. 30**). The Venice example is mounted in the iconostasis in the church of San Giorgio dei Greci and represents an additional argument for the size of the Mediterranean-Carpathian cultural corridor. I quickly sensed that there is a similar argument for a personalized iconographic type, possibly the original pendant of the Carpathian Hodegetria. My intuitions regarding the importance of researching this iconographic type were confirmed when the painting in the church of Saint Nicholas of Bogdana Monastery in Rădăuți was fully restored. Considered to have been made in the 15th century, the fresco painting in the pronaos of this church preserves, in the niche above the passage portal to the nave, a representation of the *Pantokrator* with the distinctive sign present in the series of icons of the sovereign tier analyzed above (**fig. 1**).

Fig. 27. *Deesis (Christ Pantokrator, flanked by apostles),* Humor Monastery (Romania).
Credits: Petru Palamar.

Fig. 28a-b. *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, Secu Monastery; images during the restoration.
Credits: Gabriel-Dinu Herea.











The gesture made by rotating the hand is reinforced by the mantle rolling around the hand that blesses the viewer while also revealing to us the Savior (fig. 31-33).

Practically, we can be assured that the discovery from Rădăuți once again confirms the role of post-Byzantine culture in Moldavia in the development and promotion of the particularities of the Carpathian icons.

Conclusions

As expected, the events of the 13th and 14th centuries that pitted the population of southeastern Europe against the Turkic, Turanic, and Mongol peoples of Asia triggered ethnic, cultural, and political mutations in the European region. Heir to Byzantine culture, the area of Greek and Slavonic culture south of the Danube was seriously affected by the settlement of the Ottomans in the center of the Balkan Peninsula and by their military conquests. Little by little, the south-Danube Christian countries lost their independence and statehood, becoming integrated into the Ottoman Empire in military, economic and political terms. Given the dramatic cultural-religious conflict that arose with the takeover of power by the Ottomans, there was a migration of populations from south of the Danube to Christian political centers north of the Danube. The Christian population that took refuge there made a cultural transfer that left its mark on the newly formed Romanian states in the extra-Carpathian North-Danube space.

Due to the peculiarities that Christian culture had developed in the Wallachian-Bulgarian Tsardom of Târnovo, the cultural transfer can be easily identified by following the artistic objects and cultic novelties. The cult of Saint Paraskeva of Târnovo acted like a "red thread" that tightly wove the "cultural corridor" on which the passage to the north was made. Protector of the "Exalted City of Târnovo" and a unifying symbol associated with the Asen Dynasty, Pious Paraskeva continued for hundreds of years to bear the name of the city that was razed to the ground by the Ottomans at the end of the 14th century. Churches dedicated to Saint Paraskeva have been built in Moldavia since the 14th century. From the 15th–16th centuries mural iconographic programs illustrating the life of this holy women were preserved in Moldavia. Large festive icons in the North Carpathian territories divided today between Slovakia, Poland and Ukraine were painted.

But what is very interesting and presents a major potential for Romanian research is the fact that in the region consisting of northeastern Hungary, southern Poland, western Ukraine, southwestern Belarus, and northeastern Romania, there was a unitary culture of icons on wood in the 15th–16th centuries, which has survived to this day in the form of hundreds of panels, more or less well-preserved.

Fig. 29. *Deesis (Christ Pantokrator, flanked by apostles)*, Rovné (Slovakia), turn of 16th century.
Credits: Mirosław Piotr Kruk.

Fig. 30. *Christ Pantokrator, flanked by apostles*, San Giorgio dei Greci church, Venice.
Source: public domain.

Fig. 31-33. Details of figs 1, 27 and 30.

Some Polish, Hungarian, and Slovak researchers prefer the name "icons from the Carpathians" or "Carpathian icons" for these objects and consider their style to be proof of the cultural transfer from south to north of the Danube. They identify in the art of Moldavia of the 15th–16th centuries the crucible in which "Carpathian art" acquired its own personality, maturing as a culture of Byzantine tradition in which several Serbian-Bulgarian-Moldavian elements meet the art of the northern Rus'.

An additional argument regarding the importance of the theme for the Romanian academic environment is the fact that Polish, Hungarian, and Slovak researchers associate the appearance of the "Carpathian icon" culture north of that mountain range with the arrival in the area of a Wallachian / Romanian population easily identifiable in the Polish and Ukrainian archives due to the specific law, *jus Valachorum*, on the basis of which the villages were founded and administered. After a long period in which this population was discussed in very general terms, in 1989 Grzegorz Jawor confirmed the theories that art historians had advanced throughout the 20th century.

In the end, I would like to recall the discussion about the mural iconographic program of Moldavian inspiration made in the 16th century in the church of Saint Onuphrius at Posada Rybotycka, near Pzsemyśl.[132]

Anna Różycka-Bryzek noted, immediately after the discovery of the painting, that iconographic themes from Posada Rybotycka have had an extensive circulation in the Balkans since the 12th century.[133] In this context, the Polish researcher affirmed the existence of cultural links between regions ensured by the movement of people. In this sense, Anna Różycka-Bryzek recalled the presence of Gregory Tsamblak in the Polish-Lithuanian space of the 15th century. The intellectual personality of Tsamblak and his involvement in the cultural events of that period would allow him to contribute a certain role in the creation of connections in the field of iconography.[134] An additional confirmation of these connections and the contribution of medieval Moldavia to their creation came through the extensive comparative research carried out by Agnieszka Gronek, who identified not only ornamental and compositional solutions, but also common iconographic themes.[135]

Today, we know that the church at Posada Rybotycka was built and painted during a time when the owners of the estate were direct descendants of Dragoș and Sas,[136] the first Voivodes of Moldavia. Today, we know about the fact that Posada Rybotycka had, since 1359,[137] an important role in the colonization by the Walachian population of the north of the Carpathians. Today, we know that many of the "Carpathian icons" at Rybotycze and Pzsemyśl were painted. So, we can look differently at the function of the church at Posada Rybotycka. It has become clear that we are not dealing with an isolated reflex of the Byzantine-Moldavian culture. This church is an illustration in stone and in fresco of a North Carpathian culture that had organic religious, cultural and ethnic ties with Moldavia.

The survival of a cohesive group of Carpathian icons in a region severely affected by military and political conflicts in the last 500 years is proof of the power of culture to rise above the troubles of time and unite nations. The research of our Polish and Ukrainian colleagues is an invitation to us, Romanians, to contribute to the advancement of knowledge about the culture of the North Carpathian territories.[138]

Notes

132 Herea, Giemza 2014, p. 153-181.

133 Różycka-Bryzek 1986, p. 360.

134 Różycka-Bryzek 1986, p. 361.

135 Gronek 2015, p. 72, 141, 166, 176-179, 219, 361, 363.

136 Wyrostek 1932, p. 153-154. I thank Professor Ștefan Sorin Gorovei, who, after reading my text about the church at Posada Rybotycka, told me about the owners of the estate from the time the church was built and painted.

137 Jawor 2012, p. 137: "The research of the settlements belonging to the nobility, located within the boundaries of the Wiar river basin, must begin with the village of Rybotycze, whose owner, a representative of the Drag-Sas nation, the Romanian Szczepan Rybotycki, was recorded already in 1359."

138 The research contained in this article was triggered by a study trip carried out in October 2010. I must thank Professor Tereza Sinigalia, for the urge to research the Byzantine-Rus' iconography in Poland, and my wife Anca, for the perseverance with which she prepared and supported this trip. This research could not have gone beyond the stage of simple observations without the help of our Polish friends Jarosław Giemza, Ewa Kocoj, Agnieszka Gronek and Mirosław Piotr Kruk or without the help of translators Stanisława Jakimowska and Janina Maria Hahula Straton (from Polish) and Mihai Mihăiescu Aniuk (from Ukrainian). I also thank Professor Ștefan Sorin Gorovei and researcher Alexandru Pînzar for access to the bibliography regarding the properties in Poland of the descendants of Voivode Dragoș.



The Icon Ensemble of Saint Onuphrius' Monastery in Jableczna: The Origin and Stylistic Characteristics of the Work of a Moldavian Master in the 1530s

translated by Jakub Wieczorek

Witali Michalchuk

University of Warsaw
Faculty of Artes Liberales

My work is devoted to a hitherto unknown ensemble of icons, which once formed the iconostasis of the main church of the Monastery of Saint Onuphrius in Jableczna (Poland, Lublin region), made in the third decade of the 16th century by a Moldavian master.[1] This monument is an extraordinary example of cultural contacts between the Polish-Lithuanian state and the Voivodeship of Moldavia. It foregrounds the unique role played by the great Moldavian monasteries in shaping the Orthodox tradition of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. The most important goal of these contacts was the transmission of post-Byzantine patterns of art and liturgy, determined by the Athonite strand of the Orthodox tradition in the former Republic. Because of this, the liturgy was transformed, following the development of the fine arts. The analysis of the ensemble of Jableczna icons is a relevant case study for the problem of the integrity of art and liturgy, within the Orthodox tradition of the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, in the first half of the 16th century. This region is the northernmost area of southern (Greek-Balkan) models. Unfortunately is often overlooked in Byzantinist studies, or identified with a separate northern tradition, mainly Novgorod-Pskov and Moscow. The Orthodox tradition of the former Commonwealth is a separate phenomenon of the Byzantine *oecumene*, which, due to its border location, preserves elements that reveal the genetic development of many cardinal processes in Byzantine art and liturgy. The analysis and reconstruction of the Jableczna ensemble makes it possible to understand the significance of the first half of the 16th century for the Polish Orthodox Church, which, under the great Metropolitan Józef Sołtan, postulated the continuation of the *Byzance après Byzance* tradition.[2] The group of icons found in Jableczna becomes the only such complete set of icons from the first half of the 16th century with clear Moldavian features of post-Byzantine painting in Poland. The

Fig. 1. *Mother of God of Jableczna* (*Hodegetria with prophets*), wood, egg tempera, 30s of the 16th century, Monastery of Saint Onuphrius in Jableczna (Lublin region, Poland).
Credits: Roman Stasiuk.

Notes

1 The issue of finding and accurately describing this ensemble is presented in Michalczuk ms. 1.

2 See the speech of Metropolitan Joseph Sołtan at the Council of 1509 in Vilnius, where the idea of the continuation of the Byzantine tradition after the fall of Constantinople is expressed – *Деяния Виленского Собора 1509 г.*, p. 5-8.

consolidation of the Jableczna icons gives grounds to reconstruct a very early form of high altar adventure, a fully formed iconostasis of the first half of the 16th century based on southern patterns of the genesis of the high altar partition. The preserved icons should be analyzed as a painterly-architectural ensemble of the iconostasis. This affects not only their compositional peculiarities, but also, more broadly, locates the study of their aesthetic form within the liturgical form. Analyzing the painting style of the Jableczna icons and the form of the altar partition may provide very important material that can shed light on liturgical transformations that took place in the Orthodox tradition in the area of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the turn of the 15th–16th centuries due to the Athonite models, which penetrated this area via the great Moldavian monasteries, marking the most important axis of contact between the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Balkans.

Merger of the Ensemble

The ensemble of the Jableczna icons has not been introduced into scientific circulation so far. Its unification has become possible thanks to research conducted on the icon of the *Jableczna Mother of God*, kept on permanent display at the monastery. Stylistic analysis and archival research have made it possible to merge four icons into one ensemble: the icon of the *Mother of God of Jableczna* (*Hodegetria with prophets*) (**fig. 1**), the icon of the patron saint of the monastery, *Saint Onuphrius the Great* (**fig. 2**), the icon of the *Resurrection of Christ* (*Descent into Hell*) (**fig. 3**) and the *Apostle Simon* (from the composition of *Deesis*) (**fig. 4**). The icons of the *Mother of God* and *Saint Onuphrius* were venerated as miraculous for centuries at the Jableczna monastery.[3] The two other icons – of the *Resurrection* and of *Apostle Simon* – left the monastery in the late 19th century and, following World War II, they were placed in the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra State Museum.[4] In my research, these icons have been re-attributed as belonging to the Jableczna group, based on stylistic analysis and archival sources.[5] The three large icons of the ensemble have almost identical dimensions: the icon of the *Mother of God* currently measures 104 x 75 cm, the icon of *Saint Onuphrius* – 113 x 73 cm, the icon of the *Resurrection* – 114 x 75 cm, while the icon of the *Apostle Simon* from the *Deesis* row measures 112 x 33 cm. The icon of the *Mother of God* was subjected to the brutal procedure of the cutting of the convex halos and the cowrie frame for the application of a silver cover (*riza*) in 1911, its original size being about 114 x 85 cm (**fig. 5**). The icon of *Saint Onuphrius* underwent a transport procedure in the 1880s: the original icon board was in bad condition, completely eaten away by woodworms, so the paint layer, together with the ground contour, was cut out and transferred to a new board. This was then a common practice to save old icons (especially in Moscow workshops of Old Believers). This procedure did not affect the painting layer of the icon, but deprived it of the original background, representing a landscape of trees and greenery, from which only the lower part remained. The whole composition of the icon's background can be reconstructed thanks to the remaining engraving traces (the landscape was engraved and painted on lasered silver). The current size of the icon consciously reproduces the old size of the icon. Most likely, the icon of *Saint Onuphrius* also had convex halos, as indicated by technological indications.

Notes

3 The icon of *Saint Onuphrius* has been venerated as miraculous at least since the 17th century, according to preserved indirect written sources. Konstantin Mazanowski, who on the day of the patron saint of the monastery, June 12, 1746, did not allow crowds of pilgrims going to the monastery, putting guards on the road, taking away wax and candles, threatening those who were going to the monastery with a curse, calling the people to the chapel, which he had built in front of the monastery, *saying that because of the monks' unbelief, the miraculous icon of Saint Onuphrius was no longer in the monastery, and it had moved to this chapel* – see Григорьев 1915, p. 39, 78. This indirect testimony to the cult of the icon of *Saint Onuphrius* as a miraculous icon allows us to state that the beginning of this cult can be traced far back. The cult of the icon is also evidenced by a folk tale about the origin of the monastery, which says that the monastery was founded on the place where the icon of *Saint Onuphrius* sailed. This legend was recorded in the 19th century, but its existence should be considered much earlier, as evidenced by the naming of a meadow by the Bug River "Holy Field" – the place where the icon was found, which name is attested in the 18th century sources –Титов 1905, t. 1/3, p. 1599. This folk tale has a very deep semantics that can be linked to a historical fact explaining the founding of the monastery by wandering monks who sailed along the Bug River in search of a secluded hermitage, which is completely consistent with attempts to reconstruct the earliest history of the monastery. The authentic layer of this folk tale was distorted in the historical fiction of the Chełm ethnographer and archaeologist Semen Lubarski, and unfortunately, in its distorted version, enriched by the author's imagination with pseudo-wonderful plots, it exists in the literature – Любарський 1940, p. 18-23.

The veneration of the icon of the *Mother of God of Jableczna* (the name itself began to be used in the early 20th century on the initiative of the superior of the monastery, Archimandrite Seraphim Ostroumov)

Stylistic Characteristics and Team Attribution

The study of the icon of the *Jableczna Mother of God* provides the most important material for the study of its creator's painting technique. Thanks to this, it is possible to derive a number of indicators to attribute this authorship to other icons.[6] The artistic language of the creator of the *Jableczna Mother of God* should be described as classically post-Byzantine and distinctly Balkan, which looks archaic against the background of the local painting technique, characterized by a greater Gothicization (use of light *sankir*). This language is shaped by monumental painting, the features of which are visible in the construction of the plasticity of the figures, as well as in the technique: the use of a hard brush to display the bodily parts, which arranges the pigment into the texture of parallel lines, through which the dark sankir is shining,[7] as well as a well-thought-out system of "lights", clearly imitating the procedures in monumental painting, and a method of building the plasticity of the robes taken from the workshop of the monumentalist[8] (**fig. 6**, **7**, **9**, **15**, **16**, **17**). Such distinct features of monumental painting are completely unknown to the native icon workshops in the Polish-Lithuanian state of the first half of the 16th century: the proportion of monumental realizations at that time was minimal, meaning that panel painting adopted other features. Distinctive features of post-Byzantine painting speak for the Moldavian painting workshop, as well as the important stylistic feature of the convex halos on the icon of the Mother of God (lost due to the application of a silver *riza* in 1911), and the iconographic feature of the placement of prophets in half-posture.[9] The Voivodeship of Moldavia in the first half of the 16th century was the most powerful center of post-Byzantine painting, with huge monumental achievements. It served as the main transmitter of models of the Athos-Balkan traditions (liturgy, art, music, literature, calligraphy) into the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth area through its great monasteries, located in direct connection with Athos and the whole Balkans as a place of refuge for many monks, intellectuals and artists. It should be noted that the icons of Jableczna, with their classical technique and modelling of post-Byzantine painting, have a characteristic Gothic stylistic flavor (visible, among other things, in the ornamentation, the rhythmic decoration of the background, the elaborate landscape). This is an important feature of post-Byzantine art in the Voivodeship of Moldavia and in the territory of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, where this Western style became an organic feature of Orthodox culture.

The Moldavian origin of the ensemble is supported by stylistic and iconographic analogies of the Jableczna icons. First, we should mention the Moldavian workshops known to have operated on the territory of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The closest analogy to the icon of *Our Lady of Jableczna* is the icon from Busk,[10] directly attributed to Gregory Bosykovich[11] (**fig. 22**). Both icons have a lot of common features in terms of painting (the way of developing the bodily parts, the concentric display, the aesthetic shape of the hand and the face, the development of robes) and iconography (in many cases the texts on the scrolls and the figures of the prophets from both icons are the same), allowing us to juxtapose these icons, and even to relate the two workshops. Other similar icons are the *Mother of God from Belz*[12] (**fig. 23**), clearly distinguished by Moldavian

Notes

is evidenced by the numerous holes left by crowns and votive offerings placed on the icon, which can be dated back to at least the 17th century. The fact that these two icons were moved to the iconostasis of the new monastery temple, built in 1650 by hegumen Makary Kornilovich, also testifies to their special cult.

In 2019-2021, thanks to the efforts of the prior of the monastery, Fr. Archimandrite Piotr Dawidziuk, the two icons of *Saint Onuphrius* and the *Mother of God of Jableczna* underwent thorough conservation, brilliantly carried out by Anne Derentowicz-Zakrzewska, whom I thank most sincerely for her cooperation.

4 See previous studies (with different provenance and dating) of the discussed icons of the *Resurrection of Christ* (КПЛ-Ж-1850) and Apostle Simon (КПЛ-Ж-1785) from the State Museum of Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra: Mart 2003, p. 24-26, il. 12, 14; Sygowski 2009, p. 388-389; Sygowski 2013, p. 97-98; Шульц, Колпакова 2001, il. 3, 6, p. 60-62; Шульц 1999, p. 9, il. 2, 5; Ярема 2017, p. 44-45, 364-365; Janocha 2001, p. 356; Шульц 2013, p. 94-96, Sygowski 2016, p. 91-94.

5 See Michalczuk 2021, p. 179-182.

6 Prof. M. P. Kruk drew attention to the icon of the *Mother of God of Jableczna* in his article, making important conclusions, but unable to examine the painting layer of the icon due to the applied silver *riza* – see Kruk 2003b, p. 226-237.

7 Using this technique, brush strokes can be seen running concentrically around the projected area, in such a way that each brush stroke is parallel to another. This way of guiding the brush and building up the bodily parts by means of the display gives an effect of texture, marked by visible parallel lines, which do not blur into one mass but give a sense of the character of the body, a fundamentally new nature than the abstraction of the bodily parts (especially the cheek, the right and left hand of the Mother of God, which concentrate the maximum of carnality). It is worth emphasizing the use of thick tempera of the highest layer of the display, which additionally adopts a characteristic texture, which is also a technolo-



features, as well as the icon from Terlo.[13] On the Moldavian ground, the closest analogy to the Jableczna icon are works created in the era of Peter Rareș (Rom. Petru Rareș), such as the icon of the *Mother of God with the prophets* from Văratec Monastery[14] and Humor.[15] The classical character of the post-Byzantine painting of the *Jableczna Mother of God* makes it possible to locate the pattern in such icons as the Mother of God from the *Great Deesis* from the church of Protatou in Athonite Kareia, dated around 1542 and attributed to the Cretan master Theophanes (**fig. 24**).[16] This is also supported by the characteristic rearrangement of the face of the Mother of God on the icon of Jableczna in 3/4, which could be due to the fact that the model for the icon was a post-Byzantine icon from *Deesis*, where the Mother of God is depicted in a face turn. The type of face, the painting technique, and the painterly character of the icon of the *Jableczna Mother of God* makes it very close to the work of Master Onuphrius, who started working in modern Albania in the second quarter of the 16th century.[17]

The stylistic feature of the icon of *Saint Simon* that allows us to identify its Moldavian relatives is the characteristic wrapping of the figure in a spherically arranged himation (**fig. 21**). This is a feature typically found in the representation of the apostles in fresco compositions of the outer walls of Moldavian churches.[18] In the case of the *Resurrection* icon, its direct iconographic and color analogies should also be found in the post-Byzantine monumental painting of Athos, transferred to the Moldavian ground, with the highlighting of a peculiar feature: the personification of Hades in the form of a skeleton[19] (**fig. 19**). Regarding the icon of *Saint Onuphrius*, an iconographic peculiarity should be pointed out, consisting in the representation of the saint's beard in a braid-like arrangement. This feature also has its source in post-Byzantine iconography and is clearly visible in Moldavian monumental painting.[20] The very type of Saint Onuphrius's face and its elaboration finds numerous analogies in post-Byzantine monumental and panel painting[21] (**fig. 15**). A very important stylistic element of the icon of *Saint Onuphrius* is the concentric displays of bodily parts (on the chest, arm, hand) (**fig. 17**), which takes the form of compact spherical forms. This is a very frequent and consciously produced detail in Moldavian panel painting of the 16th century.[22]

In determining whether an ensemble of icons was produced by one author, a formal analysis of the language of painting is very important. The painting language of the master of the Jableczna icons is so characteristic and systematic that it can be recognized in each of the works. An important feature of this language is the distinction between three artistic procedures, which translate into three systems of applied painting lines. In the case of the icons, the parts of robes are subordinated to a system of abstract lines, and concentric displays of robes take geometric forms. The creator clearly felt the geometric nature of these lines in the compact language of abstraction painting. The character of the bodily lines in the Jableczna icons is quite different, as they take on sigmoidal plasticity. In turn, at other moments, the artist utilizes iconic naturalism, which determines yet another, very recognizable character of his works. In this use of iconic naturalism, the author uses a peculiar vibrating line in a conscious attempt at an imitation of the texture and quality of the material in order to convey the lightness of the robes and to capture their movement, which creates completely different arrangements, still subordinated to concentric forms (**fig. 8**). It is a conscious and distinctive painting procedure of the master of the icons of Jableczna, best seen in the elaboration of

Fig. 2. *Saint Onuphry the Great*, wood, egg tempera, 30s of the 16th century, Monastery of Saint Onuphry in Jableczna (Lublin region, Poland). Credits: Roman Stasiuk.

Notes

gical characteristic of monumental painting. It is only on top of this display that the "lights" are applied, precisely grouped, in small quantities, which create a certain constructivist portrait of the body (especially visible in the development of the hands).

8 Cf. Elo 2001, fig. 501; Stawicki 2019, p. 263-264.

9 For a photograph of the icon of the *Mother of God* before the drastic cupping of the halo and the cutting off of the frame in order to put on the *riza* see: Гербачевский 1891, il. 33; Гербачевский 1892, p. 87-88. Moldavian analogies: Nicolescu 1976b, p. 40, ill. 1, 25; Ярема 2005, p. 336. This stylistic feature on Moldavian icons will be present even in the monumental painting of the end of the 15th–first half of the 16th century, in the fresco decoration of the exterior and interior of Moldavian churches – Vasiliu 1998, p. 44, il. 53. In the church of Saint John the Baptist in Arbore above the entrance there is a fresco composition of the *Hodegetria Mother of God* with convex halos over Mary and Christ, who on the left and right are surrounded by semi-postures of two archangels and Old Testament prophets; the same composition (*Hodegetria* with convex halos are surrounded by full-figured angels and prophets) is found on the outer fresco of the altar apse; the fresco was made in 1541. Analogies of this Moldavian feature on icons from the territory of the former Commonwealth date from about the first quarter of the 16th century: *Hodegetria* from the Historical Museum in Sanok and an icon from the National Museum in Kraków which is close to it in terms of technique – Winnicka 2013, p. 14, 15, 101; Kruk 2019, vol. I, p. 251, 277-278 (illustrations in vol. III, n. 18).

10 See Ярема 2005, p. 63-64, tab. 25 (color supplement).

11 Шамардина 1998, pp. 81-91; Kruk 2003b, p. 25-26.

12 See very similar remarks about



Christ's light tunic, or the Apostle Simon. This painting quality of icon naturalism is very often visible in the Moldavian panel painting of the first half of the 16th century, especially on the icon of Christ from the Humor Monastery.[23] The analysis of the lines and the peculiarity of painting serves as a certain indicator for the recognition of the works of this master. The precise repetition of this language, as well as its consistency on each of the icons, not only allows them to be attributed to one workshop, but even postulates that one artist created the whole ensemble.

It is necessary to mention the identical pictorial features of the four icons, which mainly concern the shape of the face and the modeling of hands. There is a clear fraternal similarity between the faces of the icons, especially in the identical structure of the eyes, eyebrows, eyelashes and noses (based on procedures of monumental post-Byzantine painting).[24] A certain common model of facial structure (the system of eye lines, eyebrows, small eyelashes, nose) can be clearly felt when analyzing the preserved initial engraved sketches (*graphia*) on the icons of the *Mother of God* and *Saint Onuphrius*, which begin the painting work. In the case of the icons of the *Mother of God* (**fig. 6**) and *Apostle Simon* (**fig. 20**), there is an identical treatment of the profile, which repositions the smaller part of the cheek with the eye protruding into the profile. In the male types, the master of the Jableczna icons identically builds the small eyebrows above the nose, the arrangement of the mouth under the chin, and the grooves on the cheeks, which is particularly visible on the icons of *Saint Onuphrius* (**fig. 15**) and *Apostle Simon* (**fig. 18**), and on the left central figure on the right in the icon of the *Resurrection* (**fig. 20**). What is identical on all icons is the construction of beards through graphics of white and small black lines (**fig. 10**, **15**, **20**). On the icons of the *Mother of God*, *Saint Onuphrius* and *Apostle Simon*, another identical detail is visible: the creator leaves two parallel lines with red pigment on the lower lip of both, as well as a red border around the tip of the nose (**fig. 6**, **15**, **20**). The more miniature figures from the *Resurrection* icon are an exact copy of the figures of the prophets on the icon of the *Mother of God*, where the same types are repeated (**fig. 10**, **11**, **18**). A common identity is also present in such an important element as the shape of the hand, which is most clearly visible in the way the right hand of the Mother of God (**fig. 7**, **11**) and the left hand of Saint Onuphrius (**fig. 16**) are rendered, in the outstretched hand of Adam on the icon of the *Resurrection* (**fig. 18**), and in the identical design of the Apostle Simon's clenched hand holding the scroll and Christ's hand in the icon of the Mother of God (**fig. 1**, **21**), which show an identical shape and the same number of light beams on the knuckles and the first phalanges.

Technological features that speak for the unity of the group are the following: the identical height of the icons of the *Mother of God*, *Saint Onuphrius* and *Resurrection*, as icons of the sovereign tier; identical boards of the icons of the *Mother of God*, *Resurrection*, and *Saint Simon*; the type of wood and processing of the boards; the way they are joined; the pattern and method of making the convex ornament on the smith's frame of the icons of the *Mother of God* and *Resurrection*; the use of the same tool and the same ornamentation on the icons of the *Mother of God* and *Saint Simon*; the type of wood and development of the boards, the way they are combined; the pattern and method of making the convex ornament on the cowhide frame of the icons of the *Mother of God* and *Resurrection*; the use of the same tool (a kind of compass) for engraving the halo, which leaves several layers of lines

Fig. 3. *Resurrection of Christ (Descent into the Hell)*, wood, egg tempera, 30s of the 16th century, originates from Monastery of Saint Onuphrius in Jableczna, now in Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra State Museum.
Credits: Sergij Poliushko.

Notes

the icon from Belz – *cf.* Гелитович 2003, p. 67-69; Гелитович 2005b, p. 38-39; *cf.* Kruk 2003b, p. 231-232.

13 *Cf.* an important study on the icon of Terlo, on its Moldavian models – Крук 2013, p. 17-23; Kruk 2019, vol. I, p. 216-249 (illustrations in vol. III, n. 17).

14 See Nicolescu 1976b, fig. 1.

15 See Nicolescu 1976b, il. 25.

16 Karakatsanis 1997, p. 120, il. 2.47 – this pattern and identity of the post-Byzantine workshop can be seen both in the modelling of the robes, the abstract system of displays, such a detail as the presence on the Jableczna icon of a parallelogram with revives in the middle, and on the Athos icon. Representatives of the Cretan school, through Saint Mount Athos, found refuge in the great Moldavian monasteries, as did other Balkan masters. This was a decisive factor in allowing the Moldavian artistic centres to grow into the most vibrant centres of post-Byzantine art.

17 *Hodegetria* icon of the Mother of God from the Cathedral of Berat (Albania) created in the mid-16th century – Drishti, Cika 2004.

18 The closest stylistic examples of the layout of the robes and the whole figure of Apostle Simon would be the frescoes of the Monastery of Moldovița, created in 1537, and the frescoes of the monastery of Humor from 1535 – the full-lenght figures of the apostles from the external frescoes of the churches best illustrate such a way of formal elaboration of the robes and figures, and even the placement of the hand on the edge of the spherical form of the robe – Vasiliu 1998 (Moldovița – il. 45, p. 117; il. 46, p. 118; Humor – il. 44, p. 116).

19 See Semoglou 2012, p. 359, il. 3. The closest analogy to the icon of the *Descent into Hell*, in terms of iconography and colors, is the fresco



in the figures of the prophets on the icon of the *Mother of God* and the figures on the icon of the *Resurrection*. In the palaeographic layer of the icons of the *Mother of God*, *Apostle Simon*, and the *Resurrection* there is an identical inscription of large initials, made with red pigment, which also confirm the hand of one creator.

Attention should be paid to the features of the palaeography of the Jableczna icons. However, they do not play a significant role in establishing the workshop of icons, since, in the second quarter of the 16th century, the patterns of Moldavian Cyrillic calligraphy became standardized in the local writing tradition. Moldavian calligraphy is located on the half-statement on the scrolls of the prophets on the icon of the *Mother of God* and the calligraphy of the large initials on the icon of the *Mother of God*, *Resurrection* and *Apostle Simon*.[25] A Moldavian feature also used is Tyrnovian orthography and end marks (which is no longer a *differentium specificum* for the time in question). On the other hand, according to the opinion of Prof. Maria Korogodina, the most authoritative long inscription of the hymn on the icon of the *Mother of God*, made with an ornamental semi-tone with ligatures (**fig. 14**), closely corresponds to the handwriting of manuscripts originating from the diocese of Przemyśl (the southern area of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth). This feature testifies to the southern connection, in relation to the location of the monastery and prominence of the workshop, which is confirmed by the iconographic type of the Mother of God with prophets itself, as the icon of the *Mother of God from Jableczna* is the most northern example of the preserved icons of the *Hodegetria* type with prophets, which marks a regional border within the uniform space of the Orthodox tradition of the area of the former Commonwealth. The analysis of the texts on the icon of the *Mother of God* makes it possible to deduce the creator of the icons or the composition of the workshop that made the ensemble of Jableczna, as the inscriptions on the icon could have been made by another person. The version of the text of the hymn *All of Creation Rejoices* is given in a characteristic musical redaction, which is not found in *Oktoechos* manuscripts of this period,[26] but only in music books, *kriuk irmologions*,[27] being adjusted to the melismatic form of the significant chant (*demestvenny*), which is most clearly evidenced by the *Supraska Irmologion*, where only in one of the three versions of this hymn does this redaction appear in the case of the oldest *demestvenny* melody.[28] This indicates that the creator of the icon, or the person transcribing the texts on the icons, came from a monastic environment, or was a person closely associated with the liturgy, who remembered the particular "musical" editing of this hymn or used a musical manuscript. This may be indirect evidence of a "monastic workshop" of icons that included a Moldavian master with

local collaborators. Alternatively, this may be circumstantial evidence suggesting that the master of the Jableczna icons was of local origin, but his workshop was based on Moldavian patterns. However, the idiosyncratic artistic language used in all the icons and their classic post-Byzantine patterns and techniques (under the influence of monumental painting) contradict the latter supposition.

Dating and Founders of the Ensemble

According to the stylistic features, identical iconographic solutions in the Moldavian painting of Peter Rareș's period, and the dating of known analogies of the Moldavian workshops within the territory of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the group of icons of Jableczna should be dated to the second quarter of the 16th century. This dating is confirmed by indirect features: the ornamental decoration on the cowrie of the icons,[29] the placement of the hymn *All of Creation Rejoices* on the icon of the Mother of God,[30] the *Apostolic Deesis* on separate boards, from which the icon of *Apostle Simon* comes. These elements do not allow to move the dating limit below the second quarter of the 16th century. The proposed dating is consistent with the moment when Moldavian features were most used in the workshops of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, especially in Volhynia, thanks to the direct presence of Moldavian masters there in the 1530s and 1540s.[31]

The proposed dating, based on the analysis of stylistic features, is confirmed by historical sources on the history of Jableczna Monastery.[32] A change took place in the monastery of Jableczna at the end of the 1520s: along with the surrounding estate, it was now to be owned by the Bohvitinovich-Bogusz family. This change is significant because the Nasuta-Zaberyżyński-Ilinicz families, who had ruled over the Jableczna estate since the end of the 15th century, were of Roman Catholic faith, and the Orthodox Ilinicz magnate family had converted to the Roman confession by that time.[33] Under the Bohvitinovichs, Jableczna monastery was the first to be under Orthodox patronage. Theodora Bogushova, born Princess Sanguszko,[34] received the Jableczna estate from her husband Michael in 1529-1530.[35] Theodora (Fedia) Boguszowa is acknowledged in the oldest monastery documents as the first cloistered woman and is even referred to as the founder of the monastery.[36] This mistake in naming Theodora Bogushova as the founder of the monastery can be explained by the fact that at its origins Jableczna was probably a free monastery, founded not on the initiative of a ktetor, but by the monks themselves, who had created a secluded hermitage for themselves on the flooded meadows above Bzura at the beginning of the 16th century. The Zaberyżyński-Ilinich families, during whose time the monks arrived, allowed the monks to settle on their land and gave them the island on which the monastery was built. At that time, the Catholic families did not act as benefactors of the monastery in the proper sense of the word. The first great foundation and expansion of the monastery did not take place until the time of Theodora Boguszova, who also became the first real councilor, generously endowing the monastery. It was under her patronage that the ensemble of the iconostasis of Jableczna was probably created.

Theodora Boguszowa's commissioning of the Jableczna ensemble is significant due to her descent from the most powerful family of the Sanguszko dukes, who ruled large estates in Volhynia and Włodawa. The latter was founded under the municipal law by Theodora's father,

Fig. 4. *Apostle Simon* (from the composition of *Deesis*), wood, egg tempera, 30s of the 16th century, originates from Monastery of Saint Onuphrius in Jableczna, now in Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra State Museum.
Credits: Sergij Poliushko.

Notes

in the naos of the church of the Elevation of the Holy Cross in Pătrăuți from the last decade of the 15th century – Palamar, Herea 2015, p. 60; Dragnev 2015; Podlacha 1912, p. 105. A very close analogy is also the fresco on the outside of the church of the Moldovița Monastery from 1537 – Podlacha 1912, p. 104-105, il. 26. The form of the melting mountains, with slender peaks, as it were, horizontally hovering over the rest of the mountain, is most closely related to Athonite icons of the first half of the 16th century (two Athonite icons of the *Resurrection of Lazarus* – from the Mpenaka Museum and from the Stavronikita Monastery, dated to about 1546) – *Μυστήριον* 2001, p. 282-283; Karakatsanis 1997, p. 133-134, il. 2.63.

20 See the fresco of the Monastery of Voroneț from 1547, on the southern apse; on this fresco we also notice a similar arrangement of the anatomical parts of the body, shown as concentric spheres on the shoulders and breasts of the saint, the arrangement of the hair, as well as the strings of the headband made of leaves, visible also on the icon of Jableczna in the same place) – *Voroneț* 1959, il. 112. From Sucevița come external frescoes depicting Saint Onuphrius (on the outside of the eastern apse, and the same depiction from the northern apse, probably Saint Peter from Athos), on which the beard is modelled by a sequence of oblique lines going towards the centre of the beard, which descends evenly; it is a variation of this modelling method that is arranged in the shape of a braid, which is formed by arranging the beard from two parts – Musicescu, Berza 1958, il. 46, 57; Vasiliu 1998, p. 269, il. 127. Such an arrangement of hair is also visible on other monumental realizations of the 16th century from Moldavia, see the arrangement of the prophet's beard on the fresco from the church in Bălinești – Vasiliu 1998, il. 19, p. 63.



Fig. 5. *Mother of God of Jableczna (Hodegetria with prophets)*, photo 1891 year by F. Gerbachewski.
Source: Гербачевский 1891.



Fig. 6-7. Fragment of the *Mother of God of Jableczna (Hodegetria with prophets).*
Credits: Witali Michalchuk.

Fig. 8-9. Fragment of the *Mother of God of Jableczna (Hodegetria with prophets).*
Credits: Witali Michalchuk.

Notes

21 See Vasiliu 1998, il. 18, p. 62 (fresco of the holy warrior Eustacius of the monastery of Voroneț). Also very close elaboration of the face and beard see Master Onuphrius in the fresco of the prophet David in Selcan (Albania) from the mid-16th century. The same elaboration of the hair with white and black plastic elaboration of the face and hair (with white and black lines), especially on the icon of *Saint Onuphrius*, but also on the icon of *Apostle Simon*, is closest to Athonite icons of the first half of the 16th century, such as the icon of *Apostle Peter* from the *Deesis* of the Stavronikita monastery, created around 1546, attributed to the master of the Cretan school Theophanis – Karakatsanis 1997, p. 126-127, il. 2.55.

22 See the study of the body of Christ in the Moldavian icon of the laying tomb of the early 16th century – Nicolescu 1976b, il. 7.

23 Nicolescu 1976b, il. 27.

24 It should be noted the similarity of the plasticity of the face, the structure of its parts and features, as well as the way of painting the icon of the Mother of God with the Moldavian monumental painting of the same time. Even the characteristic red line, describing the left part of the face, comes from the trick of monumental painting, which consists in encircling the contour of the face with a dark line at this point of the left cheek. These coinciding features, as well as the procedures of monumental painting, are best illustrated by the face of the Mother of God from the fresco of the cathedral church in Curtea de Argeș dating from the end of the first third of the 16th century – see Nicolesco 1964, il. 35.

25 See A. A. Турилов, *Критерии определения словяно-молдавских рукописей XV-XVI вв.*, in Турилов 2010, p. 414-415; Щепкин 1967, p. 128, 134-135.

26 This is a fixed principle of editing manuscript *Oktoechos* of the 16th–early 17th centuries, which is exemplified by the *Oktoechos* in the collection of the National Library in Warsaw (it should be noted that most of them come from the area of the Przemyśl diocese). I give according to the numbers of the catalogue Naumow 2004: n. 706, tab. 63; n. 694, p. 484; n. 678, p. 403v; n. 680, p. 87v-88; n. 678, p. 109-109v; n. 702, p. 158v-159 and on the Jableczna icon there is a conjunction *izhe* before the word *prezhde wek*, and an array *czrewo twoje.*

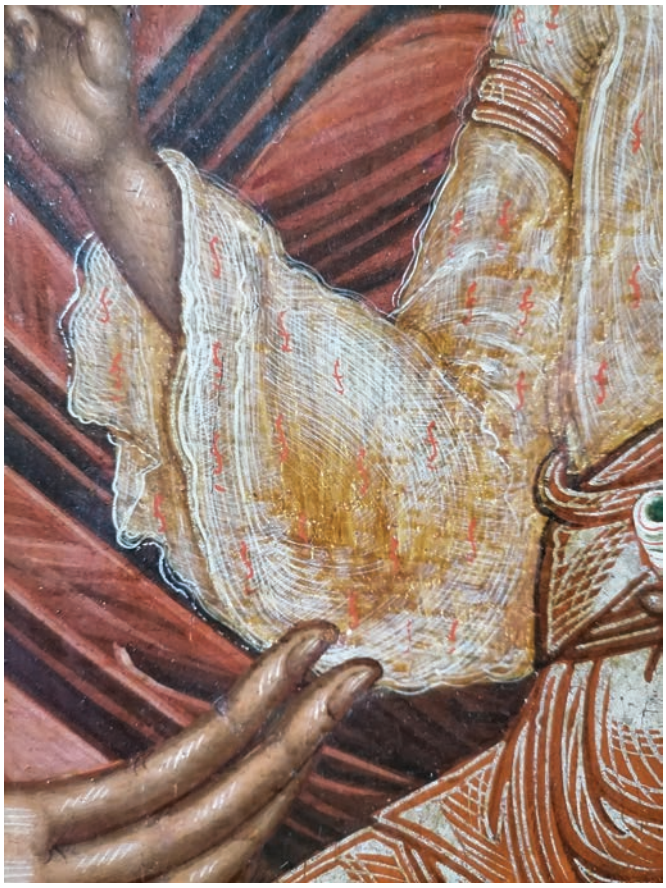
27 Cf. Ясіновскій 2019, p. 279-280.

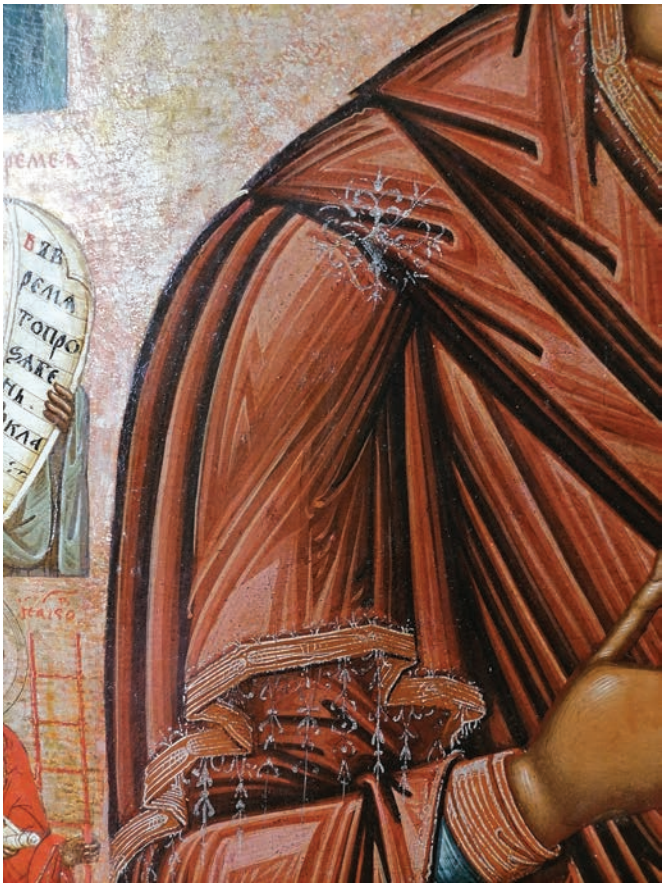
28 *Irmologion Supraski* in the collection of the National Library in Kyiv f. 1, n. 5391, p. 278-280, 267v-268, 280-281v.

29 The pattern of the ornament itself is a fairly common example of post-Byzantine floral braid, with some hints of late-Gothic or even Renaissance stylistics, cf. Драган 1970, tab. 3.

30 This is one of the earliest places of this hymn on the central scroll of the lower frame; it is important that the author himself originally sketched with an engraving the central figure of the prophet with











▲ Fig. 10. *Prophet David*, fragment of the *Mother of God of Jableczna (Hodegetria with Prophets).*
Credits: Witali Michalchuk.

◥ Fig. 11. *Prophet Solomon*, fragment of the *Mother of God of Jableczna (Hodegetria with Prophets).*
Credits: Witali Michalchuk.

Notes

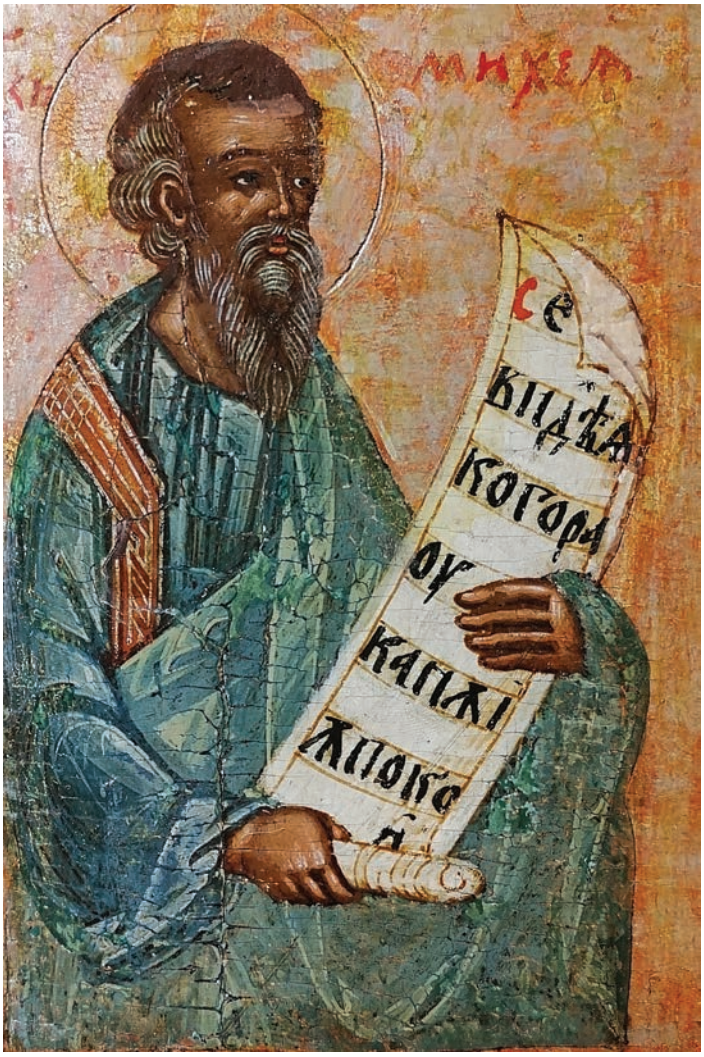
the scroll in the place of the scroll with the hymn, which he eventually did not – this may indicate a certain "novelty" of this practice, or still existing in the 1630s greater variability of this type – *cf.* the concordance of dating of this feature, accompanying the figures of Joachim and Anna: Kruk 2000, p. 132-135.

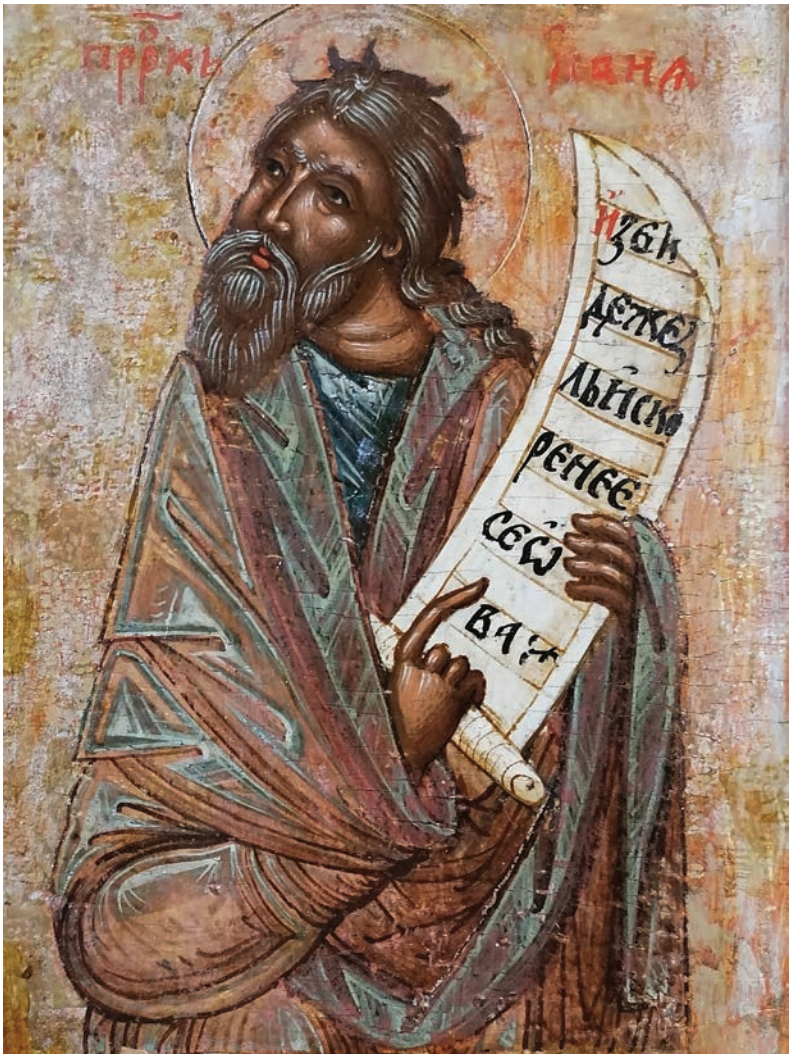
31 See on the influence of Moldavian and Balkan painting in the 15th and 16th centuries on the icon-painting workshops of the area of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: Deluga 2007, p. 263-276; Kruk 2000, p. 204-217; on Moldavian masters and other representatives of Balkan painting circles in Volhynia see: Александрович 2000, p. 190-193; Делуга 1996b, p. 6, 8; Делуга 1998, p. 62; Мокрій 1997, p. 94-98; Пуцко 2009, p. 34; Гелитович 2003, p. 69; Kruk 2000, p. 25-26; Kruk 2007c, p. 287-297.

32 For a discussion of the founding and earliest history of the monastery, see Michalczuk ms. 1, chapter *Wnioski o najwcześniejszej historii klasztoru.*

33 At that time, the Zaberyżyński and Illinicz families were already Roman Catholic, at least that branch of the family which owned Jableczna – see Насевіч 1996, vol. 3, p. 392, 480; Juri Ilinicz in 1509 founded the first Roman Catholic church in Chernawczyce near Brest, and in his will from 1526, J. Ilinicz calls as a witness his confessor, the Roman Catholic parish priest from Chernawczyce Fr. Piotr Hrynkiewicz (among other things, the will mentions the payment of a debt to a Kraków painter for paintings made for the church) – see Галенчанка 2008, p. 200; Мароз 2019, p. 134-135. This is only indirect evidence that the Zaberyżyńskis and Illinichs were not ktetors of the Jableczna monastery (Catholic families often acted as collators of parish churches in their domains, but it is difficult to recall the foundation of the monastery and the assumption of ktetorship), but could only allow the monk-hermits to settle on their territory at the place of revelation.

34 On Theodora Bogushova see Григорьев 1915, p. 8-10; 28-29; Radzimiński 1906, p. 186-207; Железнякович 2006, vol. 1, p. 54, 73. For a summary of all theories regarding the cloister – Железнякович 2006, vol. 1, p. 58-79 – I believe that the author unjustifiably calls the Zaberyżyńskis the founders of the monastery and the first ktetors, their ktetorship could only consist in the fact that they allowed the monks to settle on the island on the river Bug, but they were not the direct founders of the monastery, by whose intention the monastery was founded, which





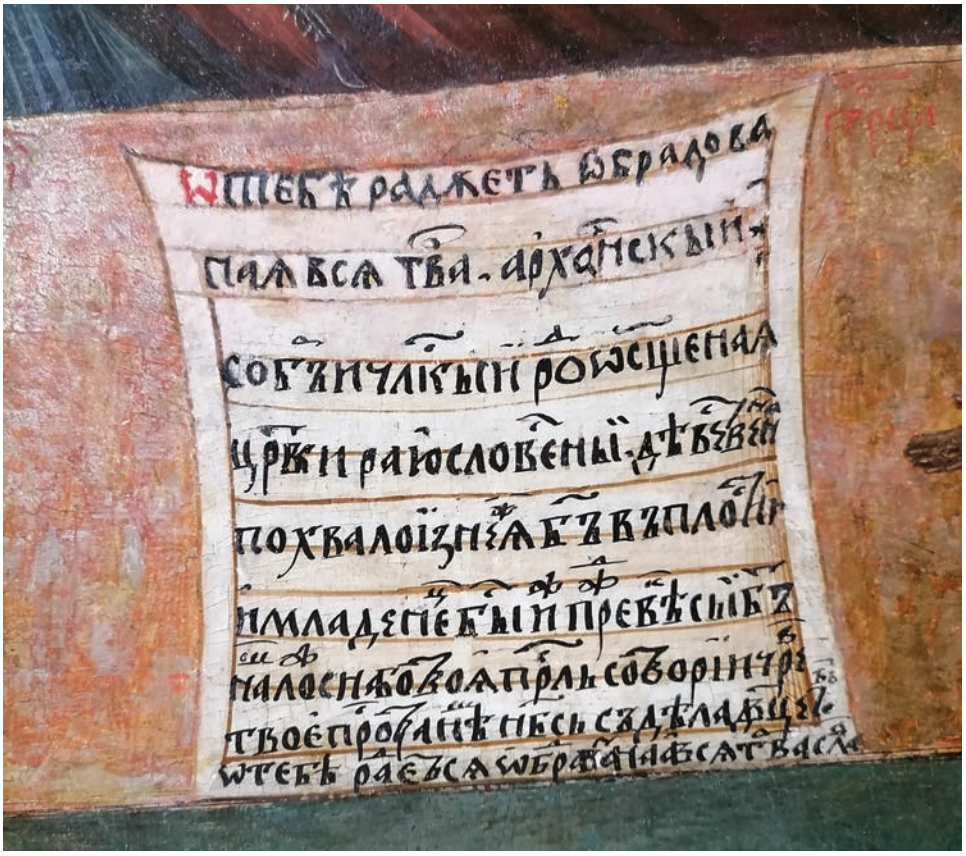


Fig. 12. *Prophet Micah*, fragment of the *Mother of God of Jableczna (Hodegetria with prophets).*
Credits: Witali Michalchuk.

Fig. 13. *Prophet Isaiah*, fragment of the *Mother of God of Jableczna (Hodegetria with prophets).*
Credits: Witali Michalchuk.

Fig. 14. Inscription of the hymn *All of Creation Rejoices*, fragment of the *Mother of God of Jableczna (Hodegetria with prophets).*
Credits: Witali Michalchuk.

Notes

would have to find its confirmation in the sources. This theory was first put forward by Prof. Grigoriev (Григорьев 1915, p. 60-62, 70-74). The hypothesis of an implicit foundation of the monastery and the taking over of the cloister by the Zaberyżyńskis is supported by Prof. A. Mironowicz, citing the same arguments as A. Grigoriev (Mironowicz 1998, p. 26-29). On the other hand,







Fig. 15-17. Fragment of the *Saint Onuphrius the Great.*
Credits: Witali Michalchuk.

Notes

the hypothesis of the first ktetory of the Bogusz family as late as the end of the 19th century was supported by Licew 1901, p. 541-542, 571-572. Theodora Boguszowa-Sanguszkówna is mentioned as the founder of the Sanguszko monastery in the genealogy of the Sanguszko family, which was prepared by the archaeologist and art historian, a great expert in Orthodox art, Mikolaj Piotrowski, while working as an archivist on the Sanguszko collections in Gumniska (it is not excluded that Piotrowski had access to documents confirming this fact, which sets the direction for additional research) – Piotrowski 1931 (polona.pl – accessed 21.03.2020).

35 See Григорьев 1915, p. 8-10. Probably Jableczna was ruled by Theodora Boguszowa until 1546, after which it passed to her daughter Theodora Prońska. According to Wolff, Theodora Boguszowa herself died after 1557, possibly maintaining her connection with the monastery until then. See Wolff 1895, p. 428. Taking up the theme of Moldavian ties with the Jableczna monastery, one should only mention a fact which cannot function as an argument and remains outside the scope of conclusions: Theodora's husband, Michał Bogusz Bohowitynowicz, in *c.*1516 received Slavatycze as an inheritance from Ursul Voloshyn – a courtier who came to the royal service from Moldavia, who received Slavatycze from Grand Duke Alexander in 1499 – see Pietkiewicz 2019, p. 11-14.

36 See the record of Bishop Paisius Cherhanovsky of Chełm from 1624 – Григорьев 1915, p. 24-27.

Prince Andrew. It was the Sanguszkos, especially duke Theodor (Fedor, Theodora's brother), with whom she had a very close relationship), who promoted Balkan art, ordering icons from Moldavian masters (considered the best workshops of the time) and directly, in 1532, from the Suczawa (Rom. Suceava) master Gregory Bosykovich, active in

Volhynia.[37] Theodor Sanguszko's bond with the Balkans and directly with Moldavia (as the last Orthodox state and, at the same time, a fief of the Jagiellons) was extremely close due to his marriage to the Serbian despot Anna,[38] daughter of the saintly despot Jovan Brankovich and sister of the Moldavian hospodar Peter Rareş, the greatest funder of post-Byzantine art of the time.

The Sanguszko and Bohvitinovich families are inscribed as the first in the oldest *pomianik-sinodik* of the Jableczna Monastery, which dates from around the middle of the 17th century and in which the oldest *synodiks* of the monastery with the names of the ktetors were transcribed. The Bogusz are identified in the *synodik* as the founders of the monastery (the first ktetors). Marking his baptismal name as Alexander, the list of names begins with Grand Duke Olgierd, from whom the Sanguszkos are descended. The first to be mentioned is Fedya Boguszowa's brother, Prince Fedor Andreyevich Sanguszko. Then the line of Sanguszko dukes is detailed: the father of Theodora Boguszowa, Prince Andrew Aleksandrovich, and then Boguszowa, with Theodora Boguszowa.[39]

Reconstruction of the Ensemble

A special feature of the ensemble of the Jableczna icons is the possibility not only to attribute them to one creator, but also to reconstruct the ensemble as a painterly-architectural whole.[40] The preserved four icons, as well as the 19th century description of two still unpreserved festive icons from this ensemble, including their exact dimensions, allow us to make an exact reconstruction of the iconostasis of the 16th-century monastery church. This reconstruction is important because it is the only example of the reconstructed shape of a high iconostasis with such an early date for the entire Podlasie, Brest and Chełm regions.[41] This reconstruction opens up very important lines of thought about the iconostasis as an artistic whole, where a compact compositional thinking of the whole ensemble determines the compositional peculiarities of individual icons. Above all, it is an indication of the earliest crystallized form of the high iconostasis, which would then be developed as a permanent model. The carried-out reconstruction, the analysis of iconographic patterns and compositions of the iconostasis of Jableczna, and the workshop attribution of icons allow us to draw very important conclusions about the genesis of the form of the high iconostasis in the Orthodox tradition of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, with a clear indication of Byzantine-Balkan patterns of this genesis. The reconstruction of the iconostasis of Jableczna is one of the most important sources on the aesthetics of large painterly-architectural forms in the liturgy of the first half of the 16th century.

The iconostasis of Jableczna is presented as a three-row typical construction with the first royal row. Almost all of its icons (of the *Mother of God*, *Saint Onuphrius* and *Resurrection*) have survived, except the Christ icon. The second festive row and the third Deesis row, as well as the whole construction, were crowned with the *Crucifixion* composition, which is reconstructed based on analogy (**fig. 25**).[42] The royal and *Deesis* rows are the artistic dominants of the iconostasis composition, separated by a row of festive icons. This is a specific type of altar partition of the early 16th century.[43] The presence of the icon of *Saint Onuphrius* serves as undeniable proof that the whole ensemble was created for the Jableczna monastery, and that the icons did not find their way back there.

Notes

37 Пуцко 1998, p. 373-397; Гелитович 1999, p. 56; Kruk 2000; Александрович 2000, p. 191. On the Sanguszko cloister, as well as on the introduction of the communal form of monastic life in the 40s years of the 16th century, on the initiative of the ktetor, i.e. the transition to the *Jerusalem Typikon*, as it took place in the Jableczna monastery, see Горін 2007, p. 197-199.

38 See Wasilewski 1963, p. 121-123, Radzimiński 1906, p. 226-444.

39 See Котлинский 1914, p. 38-43; Крыжановский 1911, p. 83-88; Каширин 1870, p. 100; Григорьев 1915, p. 28. It should be emphasized that, on the basis of documents from the archives of the Sanguszko dukes, it appears that Theodora Andreyevna Boguszowa-Sanguszkówna borrowed considerable sums of money from her brother Fedor Sanguszko (1536), i.e. there was constant communication and financial dependence between them. It is possible that the mention of Fr. Fedor Sanguszko's name as the first name in the *synodik* is due to the fact that it was with his help that the great foundations of Fedia Bogushova in the Jableczna monastery were possible – see *Archiwum* 1890, p. 45. It is necessary to emphasize the already mentioned fact that Fr. Fedor himself ordered icons from the Moldavian master Gregory Bosykovich (1532). Fr. Fedor's sister (Fedia) Boguszowa, witnessed the writing of her brother's will on 9 November 1547, who died shortly thereafter, so it is his name that may be mentioned first in the *synodik*, inscribed at the request of Theodora Boguszowa for eternal remembrance – see *Archiwum* 1890, p. 562-565. Even though they were not yet owners of the Jableczna estate, and did not directly include the ktetorship, the Bogusz family could have made their contribution to the monastery with a request for the prayerful remembrance of their family, which may also explain the name of Fr. Sanguszko as the first in the *synodik*.

40 For a detailed description of the reconstruction of the iconostasis of Jableczna, an analysis of the premises of the reconstruction and analogies, see Michalczuk ms. 1, chapter *Rekonstrukcja ikonostasu klasztornej świątyni 2 ćwierci XVI wieku.*



▲ Fig. 18. Fragment of the *Resurrection of Christ (Descent into Hell).*
Credits: Sergij Poliushko.

▼ Fig. 19. *Resurrection of Christ (Descent into Hell)*, photo 30s of the 20th centurt by J. B. Konstantynowycz (Museum of Folk Architecture, Sanok, syg. Z.10).



Notes

41 This would be a reconstruction of an earlier iconostasis than the iconostasis from Poliana, dated 50-60s years of the 16th century, proposed by Maria Gelytowycz, further examples of such a full reconstruction will refer to iconostasis created in the 70s and 80s of the 16th century (Nakonechne) – cf. Гелитович 2017, p. 31; Гелитович 2019, p. 73-88. On attempts to visualize the form of iconostasis in the 16th century in the areas north of see: Флікоп-Світа 2020, p. 183-195.

42 The present reconstruction has been carried out with respect to proportions resulting from the size of each icon. The dimensions of the icons and the components of the altar partition are as follows: the dimensions of the first pair of icons of the royal row (*Christ* and the *Mother of God*) 114 x 85 cm; the second pair (*Saint Onuphrius* [right] and *Descent into Hell* [left]) 114 x 75 cm. By analogy, the dimensions of the royal gates were adopted – the opening of the royal gates 170 x 80 cm (this is also the height of the sovereign tier), and the gates themselves about 150 cm, which could have gates. The dimensions of the two diaconate gates are 170 x 50 cm. The height of the platform of the sovereign tier icons, according to the opening of the royal gates, is 60 cm. According to the dimensions of the sovereign tier it can be concluded that the width of the partition/iconostasis was 500 cm. The size of the icons of the festive row is 50 x 30 cm, which leaves the necessary width for the



Fig. 20. Fragment of the *Apostle Simon* (from the composition of *Deesis*).
Credits: Sergij Poliushko.

placement of a *Mandylion* of 80 cm over the royal gate, which coincides with the width of the gate. The size of separate icons with apostles in the *Deesis* row is 112 x 33 cm. According to the dimensions the width of the central icon of the *Deesis* row is 80 cm. According to the analogy, the whole composition was crowned with a profiled composition of the crucifixion with accompanying persons. According to the proportions, the height of the crucifixion must have been about 130 cm and the span of the cross 100 cm. Thus, the width of the altar partition is 500 cm, and the height is about 340 cm, and with the addition of the *Crucifixion* figure about 470 cm - which gives unusually beautiful proportions to the whole ensemble, which is both horizontal, continuous and oblong, and at the same time gives the impression of climbing up, which is the effect of the whole iconostasis plasticity. For analogies of the finial of the iconostasis see Ярема 2017, p. 259-271.

43 Deluga 2000, p. 87-92; Jarema 1972, p. 30-31. *Cf.* the very archaic and intact layout of the Lublin iconostasis from the Transfiguration Cathedral, which demonstrates the operation of this principle of two plastic dominants of the royal and *Deesis* order.

A very important analogy of the iconostasis of Jableczna, with its three-row layout, is provided by the description of an iconostasis from the first half of the 16th century from Spassky monastery in Kobrin, made in 1549; this description is important because the analogy comes from the same time and from a very close centre (Jableczna is only 80 km away from Kobrin). It should be noted that in the first quarter of the 16th century, the Kobrin Duchy estates (but not Kobrin itself), after the death of the last Kobrin duchess Anna Semenówna, were closely related to the Sanguszko family, among others in the possession of pr. Andrzej, brother of Duchess Anna, father of the Kubelechinsk-based councilor Theodora Boguszowa, which also emphasizes the community of influences and patterns, a certain homogeneity of the cultural space – *Инвентарь Кобринского монастыря* 1872, p. 493; Wolff 1895, p. 166-167.



Fig. 21. Fragment of the *Apostle Simon* (from the composition of *Deesis*).
Credits: Sergij Poliushko.

There are some very important compositional moments in the iconostasis of Jableczna: the icons flanking the iconostasis in the first row – *Saint Onuphrius* and the *Resurrection* – are less wide than the icons of the Mother of God and the icon of Christ, occupying the central place at the royal gate. This feature indicates the compositional thinking of the iconostasis as a compact, symmetrical form, clearly respecting the principle of three entrances and two pairs of icons in a sovereign row. The flanking nature of the icons of *Saint Onuphrius* and the *Resurrection* is emphasized by the compositional parallelism of these icons. Each of them had an elaborate landscape background surrounding the central rearrangements on two sides (*Resurrection* icon – mountains; *Saint Onuphrius* – greenery [reproduced]). This compositional detail of the two icons, resulting from their placement in the ensemble of the altar partition, probably had its parallel in a similar compositional arrangement of the first pair of icons, in which, besides the *Mother of God with prophets*, there was probably an icon of *Christ with apostles*. This can be clearly presumed from the Moldavian patterns and conscious composition of pairs of icons in the first row of the iconostasis. The overall idea is also supported by the harmony between the composition of the *Deesis* row and the festive row. This compositional harmony is based on the identical greyness of the icons of the *Deesis* row and the festive row, thanks to which the icons of both rows are mutually related.[44] This additional feature, clearly indicative of thinking in compact rows – an important indicator of the crystallized form of the high iconostasis – is made possible by the use of *Apostolic Deesis* on separate boards, which is a purely Moldavian iconographic and compositional feature of iconostasis.[45]

This iconostasis should be considered the earliest fully formed type of high iconostasis with a clearly Balkan origin in the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's Orthodox tradition. The study of the old Commonwealth's Orthodox tradition allows us to realize the polyphonic genesis of the high iconostasis, which simultaneously took place in various centers of the Byzantine *oecumene* and took on local characteristics.[46] In the Orthodox tradition of the old Republic, the genesis

Notes

44 This agrees with the number of icons of the festive row in this period, reaching 14 representations, with the addition of a *Mandylion* in the middle part of the row – *cf.* Janocha 2001, p. 137-138.

45 An important example of thinking with the composition of compact rows of separate icons are the painted façades of the Moldavian Orthodox churches of the late 15th–first half of the 16th century, which in its iconography, composition and order may, as well as semantics, constitute a very important genetic pattern of the high iconostasis on the territory of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

46 On the genesis of the high iconostasis in the Orthodox tradition of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, see Michalczuk ms. 1 and Michalczuk ms. 2.

of the high iconostasis took place through the southern Athos-Balkan patterns and had its own peculiar course, rather than being imported as a ready-made pattern. The area of the former Commonwealth's Orthodox tradition, located between the southern (Athos-Balkan) and northern centers where the high iconostasis (Novgorod-Moscow) first appeared, is the northernmost region of the southern patterns. Because of its peripheral location, the genesis of the high iconostasis is visible in the archaic forms of surviving historical vestiges. The southern patterns in the iconostasis of Jableczna are identified by such features as the *Apostolic Deesis*, whose iconography belongs to the most archaic forms of this composition and, in the case of the territory of the former Commonwealth, it comes from Moldavia.[47] An important feature is the painting of the *Deesis* row on separate boards, as opposed to placing this composition on large architrave boards, which is a rudiment of the earlier templon tradition. The development of this type in the 16th century came about thanks to the Moldavian tradition. It became a feature whose presence indicated the moment when the ensemble of icons of the altar partition grew into a compact architectural whole, forming a true iconostasis – through the disappearance of the architrave and the increasing alignment of the three rows (sovereign, festal and *Deesis*), placing them in relation to each other and crowning the whole with the composition of the *Crucifixion*.[48] The pattern of *Apostolic Deesis* on separate boards should be considered a distinctly southern pattern, which comes via the great Moldavian monasteries,[49] which in the case of the Jableczna ensemble is confirmed by the painting workshop itself, and other preserved analogies, in which the Moldavian workshop always goes hand in hand with *Deesis* on separate boards.[50] It should be noted that the *Apostolic Deesis* from Jableczna on separate boards is one of the oldest surviving objects of this type. The Athonite monuments are highly illustrative of the southern tradition of large *Deesis* on separate boards, which became the impetus for the genesis of the high iconostasis and the direct model for the Moldavian iconostasis. These monuments highlight the decisive role of the Athonite tradition in the process of iconostasis genesis in the Orthodox tradition of the former Republic.[51]

One other southern feature, clearly distinguishable from northern patterns, is the placement of the festal tier above the royal one as the central row of the iconostasis. This feature has a clearly antique source, in which the high templon, functioning as architecture within architecture, imitates the composition of the façade of a classical Doric temple, in which the *intercolumni* are occupied by the royal icons, the festal row acts as a belt of metopes, representing frames of the action taking place, and the full-figure *Deesis* row corresponds to the full-figure sculptures in the tympanum. This principle was not known in the Novgorodian tradition. There, for purely technical reasons of the architecture of the Novgorodian churches, the festal row was always be located above the *Deesis* row, as the third in the iconostasis,[52] which would later also become the pattern used in the Moscow tradition. The southern features of the fully formed iconostasis should be considered the symmetrical layout of the royal row, if we consider the pairs of icons and the layout of the three doors (also a clearly antique feature). This was due to the presence, in the southern tradition, of temples with columns, the *intercolumni* of which were filled according to the symmetrical order of the architectural structure. The closest analogy of such a pictorial composition of the royal row is the already men-

Notes

47 Szanter 2003, t. 1, p. 137. The preference for the archaic type of *Apostolic Deesis* in the Moldavian tradition may result from the Tyrnovian heritage, programmatically reaching back to archaic forms, which marked the Orthodox culture of the Moldavian Principality.

48 *Cf.* Konstantynowicz 1939, p. 254-259, ill. 199 (see reconstruction of the iconostasis with *Apostolic Deesis* by J. Konstantynowicz); Ярема 2017, p. 250-251; Deluga 2003b, p. 216-217; Szanter 2003, p. 133-136; Гелитович 2000, p. 57-69.

49 On the iconostases of the Moldavian monasteries of Voroneț and Humor, which are very close chronological and stylistic analogues to the iconostasis of Jableczna, see Sabados 2008a, p. 67-76.

50 Мокрій 1997, p. 94-98 (from Busko, belonging to the Chełm diocese, which is very important for the knowledge of the Chełm workshops close to Jableczna, besides the mentioned icon of the *Mother of God with prophets*, attributed to the Moldavian master Gregory Bosykovich, come two icons of the apostles on separate planks of the *Deesis* row, which in the cited article also tries to attribute to the said master).

51 These are the *Great Deesis* from the monastery of Vatoped (*c.*140 cm high) dated to the third quarter of the 14th century (4 icons are preserved); the equally dated *Great Deesis* from the monastery of Chilandar, and the later *Great Deesis* dated to *c.*1542-1546 by Cretan masters from the monasteries of Dionisiou, Stavronikita and the Protatou church in Kareia – see Karakatsanis 1997, p. 87-91, ill. 2.21-2.24; p. 91-93, il. 2.25-2.27; p. 116-127, il. 2.44-2.56.

52 See Сарабьянов 2000, p. 312-359.



Fig. 22. *Hodegetria with prophets* from Busk, wood, egg tempera, first half of the 16th century, Borys Voznytsky Lviv National Art Gallery.
Source: Ярема 2017.



Fig. 23. *Hodegetria with prophets* from Belz, wood, egg tempera, beginning of the 16th century, Andrey Sheptytsky National Museum of Lviv.
Source: Ярема 2005.



Fig. 24. *Mother of God* from a *Deesis*, wood, egg tempera, 1542, Protatou (Athos).
Source: Karakatsanis 1997.

tioned set of sovereign icons at Humor monastery. In turn, the lack of such altar partitions in the northern tradition became the reason for the discretion in the arrangement of the sovereign row, until the mid-17th century.[53] In the case of the Jableczna iconostasis, not only are the symmetry and order of the sovereign row clearly visible, but so is the compositional thinking, which enhances the perception of the iconostasis as a compact painterly-architectural form. The partially preserved iconostasis of the Moldavian monasteries of Văratec and Humor should be considered a direct analogy to the iconostasis of Jableczna in terms of chronology and technique. The artistic intuition cannot be overlooked. This makes it possible to link the popularity of the iconostasis in the Voivodeship of Moldavia and the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth with Gothic art. Not only Gothic polyptychs, but also the architectural construction of the façade gables of Gothic churches, can be an aesthetic parallelism. This architectural intuition, so close to the aesthetic nature of the iconostasis (as architecture in architecture), may not have been so much a genetic cause as an additional parallel and stimulus for artistic thinking: an example of this is the Castle Orthodox Church, erected by the Sapiehs in Kodeń, only 12 kilometres away from Jableczna, around 1540.

The emergence of the high iconostasis throughout the Byzantine tradition must be linked to the transition to the *Jerusalem Typikon* of the Athonite redaction. This transformation, taking place in the Athonite centers and radiating out to the whole Byzantine *oecumene* in the 14th century, fundamentally changed the experience of the liturgy, largely through the introduction of a Sunday all-night vigil to which all monks gather. The iconostasis was a visual aesthetic response of the experience of the liturgy. The polyphonic process of the genesis of the high iconostasis was made possible by the successive spread of this liturgical reform. In the northern territories (Muscovite Ruthenia), this reform, based on the Tyrnovian and Serbian models, began earlier. This explains the earlier genesis of the high iconostasis in this area, delayed in the area of the former Commonwealth until the end of the 15th–beginning of the 16th century.[54] The achievement of this reform in the monastic centers of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was due to the great influence of the Athonite tradition. This came directly to this area through the Moldavian monasteries, which were not only in constant contact with the Holy Mountain, but themselves centers

Notes

53 This situation was changed only by patriarch Nikon, who ordered the order according to the "Greek" tradition, i.e. the southern model, which was basic for the territory of the former Commonwealth, and from which Nikon could take this model, as well as many intellectuals and artists, serving its reform – cf. Бусева-Давыдова, Ванеян 2009, p. 68.

54 On the transition to the *Jerusalem Typikon* see: Мансветов 1885, p. 265-294; Пентковский 2009, p. 504-506; Пентковский 2001, p. 216-217; Пентковский 2003, p. 77-87; Желтов 2002, p. 131-136; Турилов 2013, p. 640-64; Глубоковский 1993, vol. I, p. 740; Лидов 2000, p. 22-25.

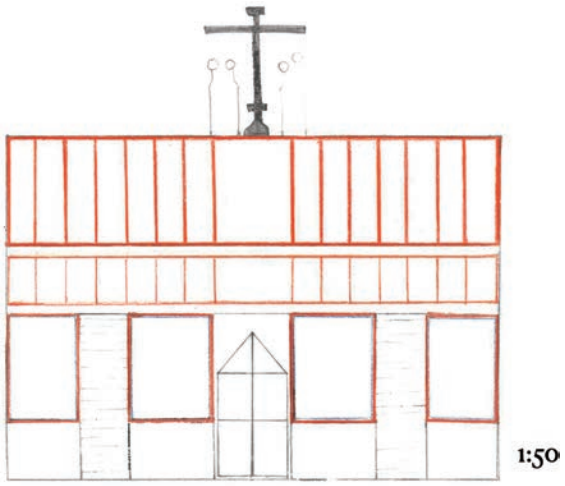


Fig. 25. Iconostasis of the Monastery of Saint Onuphrius in Jableczna, 30s of the 16th century.
Reconstruction by Witali Michalczuk.

where this tradition was continued.[55] The flowering of monasticism and Orthodox art in the Polish-Lithuanian state in the 16th century should be directly linked to the influence of Athos, and the corridor of transmission of these patterns through the Moldavian monasteries.[56] The most interesting testimony and liturgical monument to the transformations taking place in the Orthodox tradition of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is a letter from 1536 by Supraśl Archimandrite Sergius Kimbar, a very important representative of Byzantinism, which clearly testifies that the Athonite liturgical patterns passing through the great monasteries of the Moldavian Principality became decisive for the Orthodox tradition of the Polish-Lithuanian state.[57] The transition from the *Studion Typikon* to the *Jerusalem Typicon* was also reflected in the change of the iconography of the *Mother of God with the prophets*, where one of the Sabaite hymnographers (Saint Stephen the Sabaite) appears instead of the Studite Saint Theophan the Hymnographer.[58]

A very important possibility is the synchronization of the process of the transition of the Jableczna Monastery to the *Jerusalem Typikon* and the creation of the monastery iconostasis. This is made possible by the manuscript of the *Jerusalem Typikon*, which was kept at the Jableczna Monastery until World War I. The manuscript contains a foundation note by the Brest burghers from 1527, stating that the manuscript was donated to the monastery *na ispravlyenie ustava*, which is a clear testimony to the monastery's conversion to the *Jerusalem Typikon*.[59] Such synchronicity provides an opportunity to understand the impossibility of separating art and liturgy. It should be emphasized that the presence of the great icon of the *Resurrection* in the sovereign row of the iconostasis of Jableczna should also be linked to the *Jerusalem Typikon*. Through the all-night vigil, this emphasized the dimension of Sunday as the day of the Resurrection. This connection also has parallels in the wrappers of the evangelists, which had a special significance in the Sunday all-night vigil and, in the case of the Moldavian tradition, have an iconography of the Resurrection that is identical to that of the Jableczna icon.[60]

In view of the above analysis, the ensemble of the Jableczna icons appears not only as a unique monument of great class, but also as a window through which the small hermitic monastery opened a view onto the great processes of transmission of Athonite patterns and liturgical-artistic transformations, which took place in the first half of the 16th century in the Orthodox tradition of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – a unique phenomenon of the Orthodox *oecumene*.

Notes

55 See Stradomski 2009, p. 147-155.

56 On the transformation and form of 16th century liturgy, and its relationship to art, see Michalczuk ms. 1, chapter *Przemiany i forma liturgii XVI wieku w prawosławnej tradycji dawnej Rzeczypospolitej. Liturgia jako przestrzeń sztuki.*

57 See *Письмо супральского архимандрита Сергия Кимбара* 1887, p. 3-15.

58 My opinion, explaining the replacement of the Studion hymnographer by the Sabaite hymnographer in the iconography of icons of the *Mother of God with the prophets*, was agreed by the remarkable scholar Prof. M. P. Kruk during a very interesting discussion at the Supraska Academy conference, expressed in Kruk 2022, p. 291-293.

59 See Григорьев 1913, p. 1-5.

60 The Moldavian iconographic analogue of the icon of Jableczna (both the whole composition and the details) are the covers of three liturgical evangelists from the first half of the 16th century (one precisely dated to 1519), depicting on one side the scene of the *Descent into Hell*, which is also, in all cases, signed as *Voskresenie Christowo*. Like the Jableczna icon, these representations, repoussed in silver, have an iconographic detail in the form of a tethered Hades in human personification, which is under the feet of Christ (especially on the *Sucevița Evangeliary*, the Hades figure has the appearance of a skeleton) – see Nicolesco 1964, il. 7, 9; Musicescu, Berza 1958, il. 13.



Ruthenian Patterns in the Painting of Romanian Churches in Transylvania, Crișana, and Maramureș in the 15th–17th Centuries

translated by Septimiu-Ovidiu Dumitran

Ana Dumitran

National Museum of the Union, Museikon, Alba Iulia

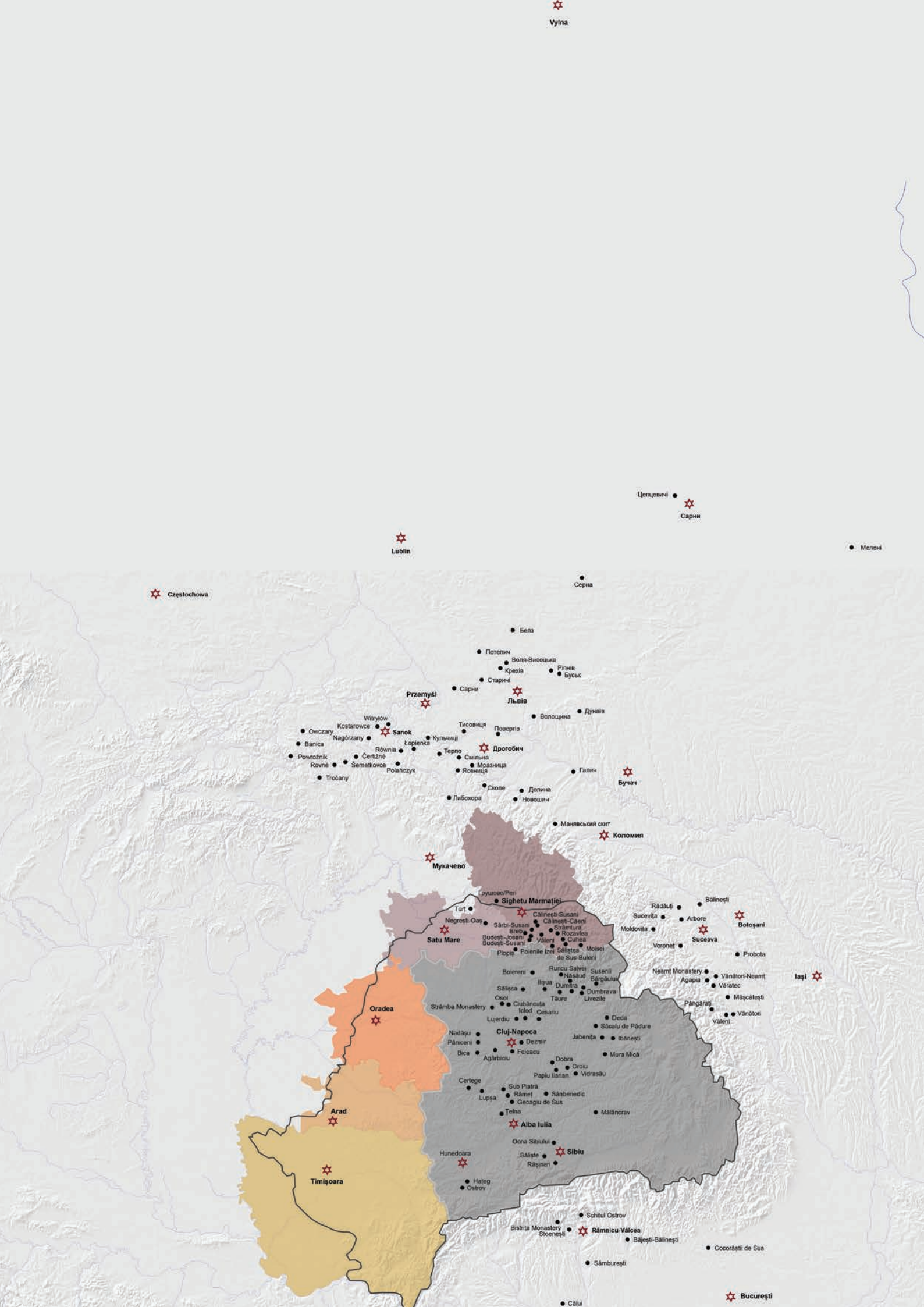
Territorial and Chronological Delimitation of the Subject

For those familiar with the history of Romanian art in the provinces under the rule of the Kingdom of Hungary during the Middle Ages, and for those who know how small the number of preserved works is, the extension of the discussion to such a vast territory is not at all surprising. On the contrary, it becomes quite necessary, if we are to infer the dynamics of the forces that determined the creation of different historical and artistic traditions, illustrated today by too few artifacts, supported by too insignificant an amount of documentary information, making it difficult to perceive them in all their complexity and depth. We, however, exclude from the analysis the province of Banat, where – in the 15th–17th centuries – the south-Danube and south-Carpathian influences could not compete with Ruthenian art until the beginning of the 18th century, for political, confessional, and economic reasons too complex to discuss here.

Of the other three regions listed in the title, almost nothing can be said about the painting of the Romanian churches in Crișana in terms of its similarities with Ruthenian painting, even if some constructions date from the set period. However, this territory had to be mentioned, because the only influences detectible here are from the West or from Maramureș and Transylvania. The West, Maramureș and Transylvania were the places where claims of spiritual jurisdiction came from. While these claims were documented at certain moments, the functioning of a local bishopric has not been attested so far.

In Maramureș, the manifestation of Ruthenian art was intense and constant throughout this entire period, as well in the 18th century, both in terms of the import of icons and painters, and the orientation of the

Fig. 1. *Deesis*, unknown painter, second half of the 16th century, Sub Piatră Monastery.
Credits: Florian-Rareș Tileagă.


Vylna
Цепцевичі
Сарни
Lublin
Мелені
Серна
Częstochowa
Белз
Потелич
Воля-Висоцька
Крехів
Рівнів
Буськ
Старичі
Сарни
Przemyśl
Львів
Волощина
Дунаїв
Witrylów
Kostarowce
Owczary
Sanok
Nagórzany
Banica
Łopienka
Тисовиця
Повергів
Кульниці
Równia
Терпо
Дрогобич
Powroźnik
Czertižné
Смільна
Rovné
Šemetkovce
Polańczyk
Мразниця
Ясениця
Тročany
Галич
Бучач
Сколе
Долина
Либохора
Новошин
Манявський скит
Коломия
Мукачево
Grușovo/Peri
Sighetu Marmației
Bălinești
Rădăuți
Turt
Călinești-Susani
Sucevița
Arbore
Botoșani
Negrești-Oaș
Sârbi-Susani
Călinești-Caeni
Strâmtura
Moldovița
Satu Mare
Breb
Rozavlea
Suceava
Budești-Josani
Budești-Susani
Văleni
Cuhea
Voronet
Probota
Plopiș
Poienile Izei
Săliștea de Sus-Buleni
Moisei
Boiereni
Runcu Salvei
Susenii Bârgăului
Neamț Monastery
Agapia
Vănători-Neamț
Iași
Ilișua
Dumitra
Văratec
Sălișca
Dumbrava
Livezile
Osoi
Măscățești
Oradea
Strâmba Monastery
Ciubâncuța
Iclod
Cesariu
Pângărați
Vânători
Lujerdiu
Deda
Văleni
Săcalu de Pădure
Nadășu
Cluj-Napoca
Jabenița
Ibănești
Păniceni
Dezmir
Bica
Feleacu
Agârbiciu
Mura Mică
Dobra
Oroiu
Papiu Ilarian
Vidrasău
Certege
Sub Piatră
Lupșa
Râmeț
Sânbenedic
Geoagiu de Sus
Arad
Mălâncrav
Țelna
Alba Iulia
Ocna Sibiului
Sibiu
Hunedoara
Săliște
Râșinari
Timișoara
Hațeg
Ostrov
Schitul Ostrov
Bistrița Monastery
Stoenești
Râmnicu-Vâlcea
Băjești-Bălinești
Cocorăștii de Sus
Sâmburești
București
Călui

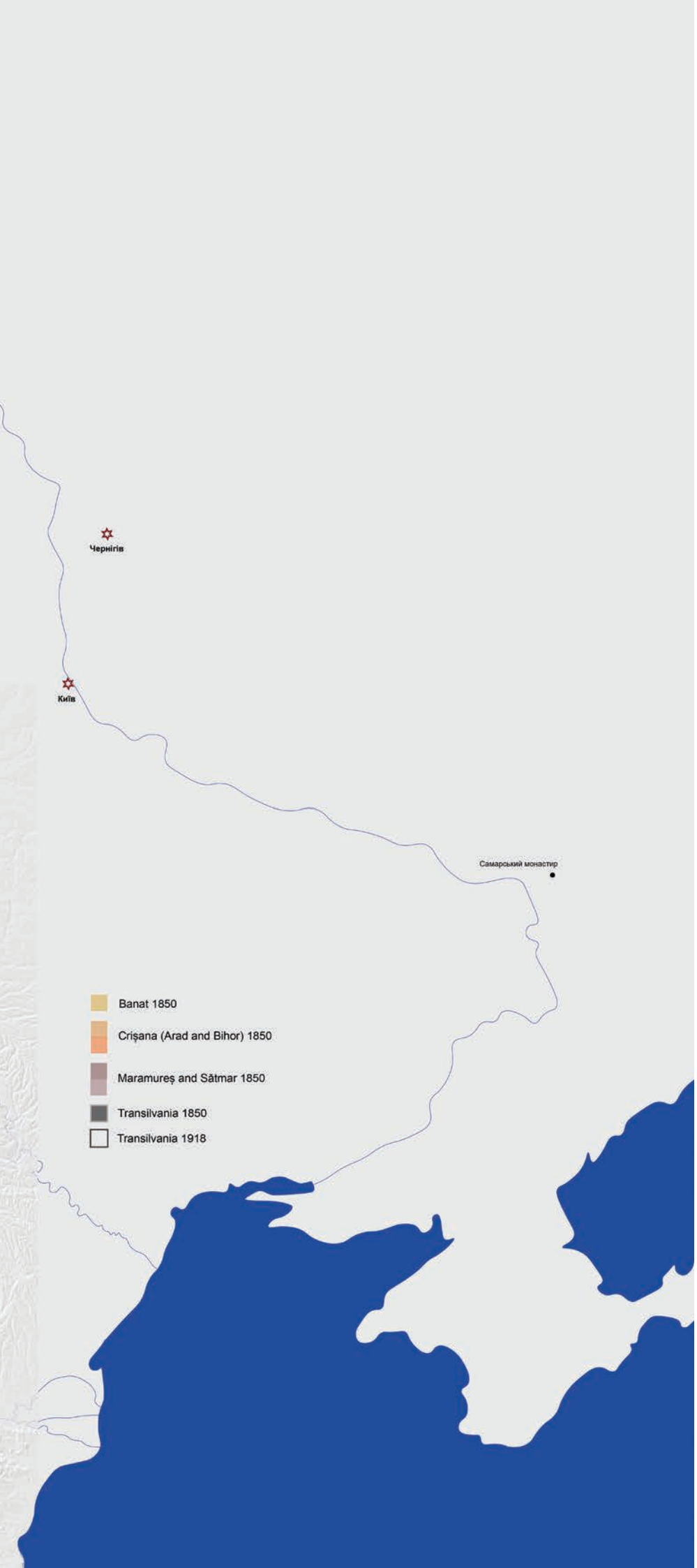


Fig. 2. Map of locations referred to in this chapter.
Author: Alexandru Baboș.

locals in search of artistic centers where they could ensure their professional training. The cohabitation with a significant percentage of the Ruthenian population, the hierarchical ties with the Metropolitanate of Halych founded in 1370, to which the Peri Monastery (Ukr. Грушово) soon gave a leader, the subsequent subordination to the Ruthenian Bishopric of Mukachevo (Ukr. Мукачево, Hung. Munkács) and, last but not least, the intensified ties during the frequent periods of *condominium* between the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom and Hungary (and later Transylvania), offered numerous opportunities for cultural exchanges, including the circulation of craftsmen, books, and ideas. Partially, these contacts were also stimulated by the periods when Moldavia ruled over Pokuttya (Ukr. Покуття), which mediated numerous artistic influences, both from Poland to Moldavia and vice versa. The beneficiaries were, of course, the painters who ended up working in Maramureș.

Transylvania was at the confluence of these cultural corridors, initially experiencing Ruthenian influences through the filter of itinerant Moldavian craftsmen. Later, in the 17th century, with significant extensions in the 18th century, several Ruthenian painters were extremely active in Transylvania, some settling here permanently. We will consider only those prior to 1700 for both cultural-artistic and confessional-political reasons, which we shall not enlarge upon here. The change produced by the integration of Transylvania into the Habsburg Empire was so radical and of such depth that, no matter how slowly it was assimilated by Romanian society, it is difficult to understand, judging by the realities of the 18th century, what might have led to similar phenomena in previous centuries. As modernity took the place of apparently immutable medieval structures, the logic of living and implicitly of artistic creation changed fundamentally.

An Approach of the Subject

What has been said so far warns of how difficult it is to cover such a vast geographical space and chronological interval. The information preserved inside this territory is extremely scarce. It could be supplemented with information possibly existing in Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Ukraine, states that today include parts of the aforementioned territory and of the medieval ensemble the territory was a part of, but this can be consulted in a quasi-unintelligible specialized literature, due to language barriers. In such a situation it is impossible to reconstruct routes or biographies and even to follow a narrative scheme that could chronologically cover each province separately because almost all the artifacts we are going to refer to have dates on which historians have not reached a consensus. The landscape is further disturbed by the fact that works from various locations could be attributed to the same hand, proving the great mobility of the artists. In fact, today we can only discuss objects that have been preserved in a certain place for a long time, without knowing when and how they got there. In addition to this, those objects are a sum of influences, which implies a wide circulation of models, artists and even customers. The only stable detail is the location where the first scientific approach intercepted the objects and to which the objects continued to bind their names, even if some of them have been moved several times in the meantime.

Consequently, I propose a sequence of analyses that will try to take into account both chronological and geographical criteria, without absolutizing or relativizing them, starting from the premise that each painter went a long way to train and perfect his skills, and then to offer his services, accumulating information and influences from everywhere. Such influences are reflected in the objects discussed. Because the number of artifacts is very small, capturing every detail becomes extremely important. However, we cannot highlight just the side that interests us, ignoring all others. The result will undoubtedly be an amalgam of patterns, and it will be impossible to ascertain the share of each and every one based solely on the extant documentary material. However, each of the patterns has had an important role since they can be recognized. This recognition confirms the connection of the Romanian territory to the broad phenomenon of cultural transfer that characterized the evolution of icons during their entire existence.

Extended Deesis in the Pronaos of the Râmeț Monastery Church (Alba County)

Until recently, the fresco fragments signed by the painter Mihul, brought to light once more in the 1960s, were presented as dating from 1376-1377, because of the forced reading of the inscription that accompanied the painting:

писах многогрѣшнїй рабь бжїи михѳлъ изъ зѳграфъ
вѣлокришьць повелѣнїемъ архїепи҃скѳпом геласи҃омь.
Въ дни л[асльоу]краль[1] [л]ѣ[т] [заї-зк҃д]мсц[а] юла

I, the much-sinning servant of God, the painter Mihul on the White Criș [river], painted it by order of Archbishop Gelasius, in the days of King Vladislaus, year [7011-7024 = 1503-1516], month of July.



▲ Fig. 3. *Extended Deesis*, Mihul from Crișul Alb, ca.1503-1517, the narthex of the church of the Râmeț Monastery.
Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

Re-dated to the early years of the 16th century, sometime between 1503 and 1516,[2] I preferred to start with this sample of Ruthenian influence because, unlike all the others, it is set within the intimacy of a phenomenon in the historical development of the Romanians from Transylvania which is much more complex and much more important compared to a simple transfer of iconographic models. I refer here to the administrative structuring of Romanian churches which (at least some of them), according to this inscription in Râmeț, – formed an archdiocese led by Archbishop Ghelasius. In the absence of ktetorship documents, it is difficult to explain why there was an archdiocese with recognition from royalty (invoked alongside of the name of the archbishop) in a state where the Orthodox faith was deemed to be schismatic and which had been a mission territory for Catholic monastic orders, either at the beginning of the 16th century or in the second half of the 14th century. The history of the institutional organization of Orthodoxy in Transylvania is impossible to clarify due to the extremely vague and contradictory nature of the information preserved. The most important in this context is the attestation of another archdiocese in the same years, in Feleac, near Cluj (Hung. Kolozsvár, Germ. Klausenburg). In addition to this, the church in Râmeț, which goes back to the 14th century, is located in a very secluded and inaccessible place, far away from the places where the Romanian nobility could have supported and maintained it. Moreover, its triple compartmentalisation is unique in the landscape of wall churches of the period. All these are signs that from the beginning the church was intended to serve a monastery that exceeded the salvation ambitions of a few hermits. Its identification with a cathedral is unquestionable, because the church was recognized as fulfilling "since time immemorial" (*ab antiquo*) the episcopal residence status in 1557 and 1621, under the name of "the bishopric of the Geoagiu de Sus monastery"[3] and "the monastery on the border of the Geoagiu de Sus domain."[4]

In this church, a layer of painting had been laid in the 14th century. Some samples have been preserved in the proscomidiary niche and at the junction of the northern wall of the naos with the wall of the iconostasis. The pronaos was painted for the first time at the initiative of Archbishop Ghelasius, who instructed the painter Mihul to paint an *Extended Deesis* after the model of those in Ruthenian churches:

Notes

1 First time read **лодовика кралѣ** (Louis I of Hungary, also Louis the Great, 1342-1382). See Tugearu, Breazu 1981, p. 33. The correct reading refers to Vladislaus II of Hungary and Croatia (1490-1516) (Hung. II. Ulászló). See Dumitran 2020, p. 149.

2 Dumitran 2020, p. 142-150.

3 [...] *episcopatus claustri Fel-Diód* (Hurmuzaki, vol. II/5, p. 445).

4 [...] *tudom azt hogi ez az klastrom a hul Popa Zaul lakik Giogi klastrom s ez Giogi hatarban vagion* (Andea, Andea 1992, p. 200).





with Jesus (here rendered bust due to the space being reduced by cutting out the entrance to the nave), flanked by characters rendered in full figure, in the consecrated order: the Mother of God and John the Baptist, seconded by the archangels, then by two military saints, continuing in the lower register with Saint Procopius, Saint Nicholas, Saint John Chrysostom and Saint Nestor (fig. 3), and possibly on the rest of the walls, where the painting has however completely vanished.

The painter recommends himself as a local, saying that he is "from Crișul Alb", an area located on the border between Transylvania and Crișana. I have no other information about him or how the churches in his native area were painted. However, the name Ghelasius was used by bishops only in the milieu of the Eastern Slavs. Its identification with the homonymous hegumen of the Peri Monastery in Maramureș, attested in 1498, seems to be supported by the events that marked the existence of this monastery at that time. Forced to leave his residence as a result of a litigation with the Ruthenian bishop of Mukachevo, started by Ghelasius's predecessor in 1494 and resumed in 1498, Ghelasius was most likely elected as head of the Archbishopric of Transylvania mentioned in the sentence of 1494, though its seat was not indicated. If this succession proposal is correct, the Ruthenian model of the *Extended Deesis* reached Râmeț through a former abbot from Maramureș, who must have been familiar with this type of representation, because from 1391 and until the establishment of the Mukachevo Bishopric, Peri Monastery had exercised quasi-diocesan jurisdiction over the Orthodox churches in a vast territory, partly inhabited by Ruthenians.

Ruthenian Icons in Maramureș

Research on painting in Maramureș with a view to identifying Ruthenian patterns and influences has been undertaken by Alexandru Baboș and Mihai Covaci in recent years. In order to interfere as little as possible with their work, this study will be limited to discussing only the already published icons and some unique icons that I have investigated directly.

The assumption that icons made in Ruthenian workshops must have been found in the churches that were under the care of the Stavropegion of Peri is old and highly justified.[5] Some of them were identified thanks to the research carried out within the Ricontrans project,[6] which was fruitfully complemented by the personal research conducted by Alexandru Baboș for several years and recently by Oksana Somak. The following icons could be analyzed in comparison with the production of the Ruthenian workshops:



Fig. 4. a) *Saint Paraskeva with scenes from her life*, painter from the Belz-Drohobych circle, second half of the 15th century, Budești-Susani;
b) *Saint Paraskeva*, painter from the Belz-Drohobych circle, 15th century, Kulchytsi.
Source: Somak, Covaci 2022.

Fig. 5. *Saint John the Baptist*, painter from the Belz-Drohobych circle, second half of the 15th century, Breb.
Credits: Mihai Covaci.

Saint Paraskeva in the church of Budești-Susani (**fig. 4a**) was attributed by Marius Porumb to the Moldavian peregrine painter to whom the triptychs from Agârbiciu (1555) and Bica (1563) are owed.[7] This opinion was contradicted by Alexandru Efremov. He considered the icon to be of a later date, i.e. the end of the 16th century or the beginning of the 17th century, and suggested there had been a crude repainting of the maphorion and the hands, which seemed to him poorly executed compared to the physiognomy and the nimbus of Saint Paraskeva.[8] The first sign that the icon could be integrated into the Ruthenian artistic environment was provided by the reading of the name, rendered as *Piatka*, specific to the area around Lviv, unlike the rest of the Ruthenian territory, where the form *Petka* predominates. A careful comparison with the icon of Saint Paraskeva from Kulchytsi (Ukr. Ку́льчиці, Pol. Kulczyce) (**fig. 4b**), created in the 15th century in the so-called "Belz-Drohobych (Ukr. Белз-Дрого́бич, Pol. Bełz-Drohobycz) workshop", confirmed the dating to the second half

Notes

5 Porumb 1975, p. 6. For a contrary opinion, but based on the ignorance and distortion of historical realities, see Efremov 2003, p. 176, note 13.

6 Dumitran 2022.

7 Porumb 1975, p. 9; Porumb 1977, p. 58; Porumb 1981, p. 62-63, 65; Porumb 1998, p. 63.

8 Efremov 2003, p. 129.



Fig. 6. *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, Moldavian painter (?), 16th century, Văleni.
Credits: Alexandru Baboș.

of the 15th century and its affiliation to this artistic environment; this information has been supplemented by Oksana Somak's analysis of the preserved works of this workshop as a whole, and facilitated by the restoration of the icon by Mihai Covaci.[9] The characteristics that recommend the icon as a product of the Belz-Drohobych workshop are both technical (covering the entire surface of the panel with textile material, before laying the primer layer; inserting a single crossbar diagonally into the thickness of the wooden top, to prevent bending; decorating the halo with perforated dots, around which flowers with four petals are drawn), and stylistic (the almost identical way of representing the face and the left palm compared to the icon in Kulchytsi; the green background; the decorative elements of the joining of the arms of the cross).

In parallel, the icon of *Saint John the Baptist* (**fig. 5**) from the collection of the Ethnographic Museum in Sighetu Marmației was also restored.[10] The icon came from Breb, a village neighboring Budești-Susani, whose first church was dated by dendrochronological analysis to 1479.[11] The icon's association with the same craftsman confirms the presence of the artist in Maramureș, where his activity was not limited to the two

Notes

9 Somak, Covaci 2022; Сьомак 2023, p. 123-126, 156.

10 Сьомак 2023, p. 126-128, 156. Marius Porumb did not associate this icon with that of *Saint Paraskeva*, considering it of poor quality, its author being described as a provincial craftsman from the first half of the 16th century, who did not benefit from training in a tradition center (Porumb 1975, p. 10).

11 Zaharia, Filip 2021, p. 312-331.



Fig. 7. *Old Testament Trinity*, Moldavian painter (?), 16th century, Săliștea-Buleni.
Credits: Alexandru Baboș.

icons, considering the tendencies to perpetuate the specificity of the Belz-Drohobych workshop, through local craftsmen. This could be identified in an icon of the *Archangel Michael* from the same church in Budești-Susani, painted towards the end of the 16th century,[12] and in another icon of *Saint Paraskeva*, which probably came from Maramureș and was donated by Toma Dumitru, whose dating to the end of the 16th century or in the first years of the next century was thus reinforced.[13]

A "close relationship with the painting of Halych icons from the 14th–15th centuries [...] a singular work in Maramureș, which does not find analogies here, proving some connections in the artistic realm of this Romanian territory with Halych or with Moldavia"[14] has already been invoked in relation to the *Mother of God with the Christ Child* in Văleni (fig. 6). Fortunately, the icon has proved not to be one of a kind. The style of its author, affected by repaintings in Văleni, can be analyzed in depth thanks to an image of the *Old Testament Trinity* / *Hospitality of Abraham* in Săliștea-Buleni (fig. 7), admirably restored by its discoverers, the restorers Cornelia and Dinu Săvescu.

Notes

12 Сьомак 2023, p. 128-134. For Marius Porumb, the style of the author of this icon is vaguely reminiscent of Moldavian painting, due to its poor training, proven by the clumsiness of the proportions and the uncertain drawing (Porumb 1975, p. 9).

13 Porumb 1975, p. 9-10; Somak, Covaci 2022, p. 94-97; Сьомак 2023, p. 135-136. Initially, the icon was considered to date from the 17th–18th centuries, and the text with the donor's name was interpreted as the painter's signature (Nicolescu 1971, p. 42, cat. no. 40).

14 Porumb 1975, p. 8.



▲ Fig. 8. *Saint Demetrius*, Ruthenian painter, 16th century, Strâmtura. Credits: Ana Dumitran.

The two works prove the iconographer's preference for forms and details that particularize his style to such an extent that they make it unmistakable. Possible analogies could easily lead to the workshop where he was trained. I shall refer, to start with, to the perimeter roughening of the panel in two or three levels of almost equal width. Usually a single level is practiced, and when there are two levels, a wider surface is left between them, to allow the unfolding of a decorative motif or some miniature scenes. It captures the repetition with

maximum fidelity of the shape of the eyes (with the contour of light that surrounds them, with the double line of the upper eyelid, with pronounced eye bags, and the lower eyelid suggested by a socket also of a dark color, located just below the iris), of the shape of the mouth (with the lips separated by a straight line, only the upper one colored in deep red) and of the line of the neck (with the intraclavicular notch highlighted by both the almost circular appearance and the dark shade of the color). Another distinctive element is the rendering of the complexion in very dark tones and the preference for white clothing for the divine characters, the draping being in this case suggested by thick strokes, in intense colors. Even though these are not necessarily idiosyncratic features, the replacement of the Archangel Gabriel with the Archangel Raphael (in the icon from Văleni) and the placement on the table, next to the three cups, of food and radishes, and of some braided loaves of bread similar to those that were part of the locals' menu (in the icon from Sălișstea-Buleni), are further details that make this artist's creation unique.

I have found clear analogies for none of these details , either in the Romanian or in the Ruthenian space. Two other details become therefore very important: the laying of the gesso directly onto the wood, in the icon from Sălișstea-Buleni, and the halo without decoration (more precisely that decoration with flowers with four petals, in any of its variants, whose presence would have certainly indicated at least a contamination with Ruthenian models). In this case, Marius Porumb's second option (also endorsed by Corina Nicolescu when the icon from Văleni was first published[15] and later by Alexandru Efremov[16]), namely the Moldavian origin of the craftsman, acquires more consistency. Indeed, if we look more closely at the group of icons that came from near Piatra Neamț, from Vânători and from the hermitage in Văleni, and ended up in the collection of Văratec Monastery, we can find some similarities that could be explained by reference to the style in which the author of the icons from Maramureș had been trained. More precisely, the drapery in the icon of *Saint Nicholas* from Vânători (**fig. 53**) is depicted in a minimalist style. Moreover, both the upper and lower eyelids are rendered in very dark tones in the icons of the Mother of God and the Savior in the hermitage in Văleni and in the representations of the Archangel Gabriel and the Mother of God on the royal doors in Vănători. Last but not least, the frames of the icons from the Văleni hermitage and the royal doors from Vânători have a double profiling, even though this is not as steep as in the case of the framing of the two icons from Maramureș. These are works by genuine masters, deemed by Marina Sabados to belong to the first half of the 16th century, more precisely to the period of the first reign of Petru Rareș (1527-1538),[17] the icons in Vânători and Văleni – Piatra Neamț also illustrate important interferences with Ruthenian painting. I am referring to the shape of the polystavrion sackcloth and the unusually high forehead of Saint Nicholas in the icon from Vânători, and to the tiered treatment of the draperies in the icon of the Mother of God and in that of the Transfiguration from the Văleni hermitage and on the royal doors and the frieze of the apostles in Vânători.[18]

By virtue of these observations, the author of the Maramureș icons could have been the apprentice of one of the painters who were active in Vânători and Văleni – Piatra Neamț, but who did not live up to the standards of his master's artistic output; hence, the extreme particularization of the details discussed here. The idea that he was active in the first half of the 16th century is also supported by the recent dating

Notes

15 Nicolescu 1971, p. 36-37, cat. no. 19, with the bibliography from 1969 and 1970.

16 Efremov 2003, p. 121-122, 218, cat. no. 122.

17 Sabados 2021, p. 642-647.

18 For illustrations of all these features, see Sabados 2021, p. 643-647. For other artistic interferences with Ruthenian painting visible in the works of the craftsmen from Vânători and Văleni – Piatra Neamț, see the article authored by M. P. Kruk in this volume.







▲ Fig. 9. *Deesis*, Ruthenian painter, second half of the 16th century, Călinești-Căeni.
Credits: Mihai Covaci.

◥ Fig. 10. *Descent into Hell*, Master of the Hodegetria icon in Mrashnytsa, late 16th century, Călinești-Căeni.
Credits: Mihai Covaci.

▶ Fig. 11. *The Passion of Christ*, detail from the lateral scenes, Master of the Hodegetria icon in Mrashnytsa, late 16th century, Ilnyk. Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv.
Credits: Agnieszka Gronek.







Fig. 12. *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, Master of the Hodegetria icon in Mrashnytsa, late 16th century, Călinești-Susani.

Credits: Mihai Covaci.

Fig. 13. *Deesis*, Master of the Hodegetria icon in Mrashnytsa, late 16th century, Călinești-Susani.

Credits: Mihai Covaci.

Fig. 14. *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, Master of the Hodegetria icon in Mrashnytsa, late 16th century, Museum of the History of Religion, Lviv.

Credits: Agnieszka Gronek.





▲ Fig. 15. *Enthroned Mother of God and the Christ Child*, Mykhail Popovych from Kolomyia, *c.*1640, Budești-Josani.
Credits: Alexandru Baboș.

◥ Fig. 16. *Christ Enthroned*, Mykhail Popovych from Kolomyia, *c.*1640, Budești-Josani.
Credits: Alexandru Baboș.

of the church in Văleni (Maramureș County) with the help of dendrochronology. Built between 1516-1526 for the neighboring monastery at Cuhea, the church – and, quite likely, its icon of the *Mother of God with the Christ Child* – was moved to Văleni two centuries later.[19]

The icon of *Saint Demetrius* in Strâmtura (**fig. 8**), where Saint Demetrius is depicted on horseback, killing Emperor Maximilian, has every chance of being a Ruthenian icon from the 16th century. The fact that the icon has been cut in the lower part allows the observation of the textile layer under the gesso on a large surface of the panel, the green background, the four-lobed decoration of the halo and the physiognomic characteristics of the characters find similarities in the creations of the Ruthenian workshops. A peculiarity of this representation can be considered the bee-shaped body of the angel who crowns the martyr. Such renderings, possibly unfinished, of the bodies of angels populate the miniature scenes in an icon of the *Archangel Michael* in Nagórzany (Poland).[20] Another peculiarity is the Romanian form of the name of the Saint: *Dimitrie*, instead of Slavonic *Dimitrii*. The wooden church in Strâmtura was brought from the neighboring Rozavlea Monastery in 1661.[21] The icon – now in the collection of the Metropolitanate of Cluj – could have, in turn, the same initial provenance.

An icon that I place in the second half of the 16th century is the representation of *Deesis* in Călinești-Căeni (**fig. 9**). The decoration of the frame, frequently used by Ruthenian iconographers of that time, in the form of a vine revolving around a stake, as well as the layered treatment of the draping of the mantle on the thighs, indicate familiarity with the painting in the southern parts of the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom. A peculiarity of this icon is that the two intercessors are ren-

Notes

19 Baboș 2000, p. 24, 29.

20 Janocha 2010, p. 342, 344-345.

21 Porumb 1998, p. 391.





Fig. 17. *Virgin Mary as an Infant, together with her parents, Joachim and Ana,* Ruthenian painter, second half of the 17th century, Sighetu-Marmației Museum.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Fig. 18. *Holy Trinity / Hospitality of Abraham*, Ruthenian painter, second half of the 17th century, Sârbi-Susani.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

dered in miniature, but full figure. We have only one analogy at hand, a *Deesis* icon from Sarny (Ukr. Са́рни), also from the 16th century,[22] but which does not present the detail of their location on quadrangular and terrestrial surfaces. The possibility that the tufts of vegetation indicate the Garden of Eden is the only plausible explanation, but it is no less strange, at a time when even the setting on garlands of clouds of miniature characters is extremely rare.

Three icons that must have been pairs originally, of which now one (*Descent into Hell* – **fig. 10**) is in the church of Călinești-Căeni and the other two (the *Mother of God with the Christ Child* – **fig. 12** and *Deesis* – **fig. 13**) in the church of Călinești-Susani, have recently been identified as belonging to the "Master of the Hodegetria icon in Mrashnytsa" (Ukr. Мражниця).[23] The only aspect that still needs to be resolved is the dating, the numerous works preserved in Ukrainian collections being estimated to date from the last years of the 16th century to the 1630s.[24] The first option is supported by the gesso background, decorated by repeating a cruciform motif frequently found in Ruthenian icons from the 16th century, the decorative element on the halo of the Infant Jesus, and the physiognomy in the icon of the *Descent into Hell*. The physiognomy of the Savior leans towards the 17th century, as does perhaps the framing of the icon of the Mother of God in the typology generated by the miraculous icon from Vilna (today Vilnius), with the Virgin wearing a fine, transparent veil under the maphorion, rather than the usual wrapping tightly fastened around the head. Jesus is shown with his left palm on his lap, apparently without holding anything in it, and the chiton is wrapped around the waist with a knotted girdle.[25] These elements are much more frequently found together in the 17th century than in the previous century. In this case, the elements

Notes

22 Ярема 2005, p. 70, fig. 56.

23 Друзюк, Скоп 2022, p. 42.

24 Гелитович 2010, p. 122-123 (the *Praises of the Mother of God* icon from Skole), p. 134-135 (the *Praises of the Mother of God* icon from Lishnya); Скоп 2004 (works made for the churches of Mrashnytsa, Ilnyk (**fig. 11**), Zubrytsya, Rykiv, Ranevychi, Turka, Rykhtychi – at the end of the 16th century, Lishnya, Skole, Medvezha, Yezupil', Popeliv and Drohobych – in the first decades of the 17th century).

25 Друзюк, Скоп 2022, p. 44-45.





▲ Fig. 19. *Praises of the Mother of God*, Ruthenian painter, second half of the 17th century, Sârbi-Susani.

Credits: Alexandru Baboș.

◥ Fig. 20. *Saint Paraskeva*, Ruthenian painter, last decades of the 17th century, Breb.

Credits: Ana Dumitran.

specific to the 16th century would be just archaizing reminiscences of a long activity, which did not adapt to the new artistic climate. A decisive argument for dating the three icons in the 17th century is the fact that the wood used (at that time or a year or two later) to build the church they adorned was cut in 1628-1629.[26]

In a similar situation was *mnohoh[r]ishnyi Mykhail Popovych ot Kolomii z Rusi*, the mid-17th century author of an icon of the *Last Judgment* from Budești-Josani.[27] He had also painted an icon of the *Mother of God and the Christ Child Enthroned* in Budești-Josani (**fig. 15**) and its pair, *Christ Enthroned* (**fig. 16**), which has been moved in the meantime to the church in Budești-Susani. Alexandru Baboș deciphered on the latter icon not just the names of the donors, but also a year from the middle decades of the 17th century. The shape of the thrones and the decoration of the gesso backgrounds of the two icons, to which another icon recently discovered by Agnieszka Gronek in a collection in Kyiv[28] is added, are expressions of an archaizing manner that would be much better suited to a local painter, as Marius Porumb suspected,[29] than to the native of a town with an intense artistic life, as Mykhail Popovych from Kolomyia really was.

In the same category falls the icon depicting the *Virgin Mary as an Infant, together with her parents, Joachim and Ana* (**fig. 17**), kept in the Sighetu-Marmației Museum. It combines the paradisiacal vegetation of Ruthenian icons from the first part of the 16th century or even earlier, with the Renaissance-style frame specific to the 17th century, and with the strongly profiled arch that gives the upper corners a decorative character. This type of frame was also fashionable at the end of the 17th century. The icons of a presumed "Malir Grigorie"[30] and those of

Notes

26 Baboș 2000, p. 39, 46.

27 Betea 2013, p. 78.

28 Gronek 2022, p. 137-138.

29 Porumb 1975, p. 44, no. 13-14.

30 His name is mentioned in a note written in Slavonic on a Slavonic *Menaion* copied before 1655 probably in Moldavia, given to the "upper" church in Borșa (Maramureș County) sometime in the 17th century (Bîrlea 1909, p. 39). The connexion between this name and a significant group of works identified in Maramureș churches belongs to the restorer Mihai Covaci.



Fig. 21. *Mandylion*, Ruthenian painter, last decades of the 17th century, Breb.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Fig. 22. *Deesis*, Ruthenian painter, last decades of the 17th century, Poienile Izei.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Fig. 23. *Christ Enthroned*, Ruthenian painter, last decades of the 17th century.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.





another anonymous painter[31] who were active in several villages of Maramureș were frequently framed in this way. These two painters continued to use the backgrounds with incised decoration that we can also find in the repertoire of the following generations of icon painters in Maramureș.

Partially anchored in the 16th century, considering the decoration with buttons on the halos and the stellate-cruciform pattern incised in

Notes

31 With works in Maramureș County, at Hărnicești (Porumb 1975, il. 25; Efremov 2003, p. 142-143; Gronek 2022, p. 139), Poienile Izei (icon of the Savior, kept in the wooden church), Săliștea-Buleni (the representation of the *Mandylion*, exhibited in the Episcopal Palace in Sighetu-Marmației), and in Sălaj County, at Bălan-Josani (Gronek 2022, p. 139).



Fig. 24. *Saint Nicholas with other saints*, Ruthenian painter, last decades of the 17th century, Poienile Izei.
Credits: Alexandru Baboș.



Fig. 25. *Dormition of the Mother of God*, Ruthenian painter, last decades of the 17th century, Poienile Izei.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

the gilded gesso, the image of the *Old Testament Trinity* in Sârbi-Susani (fig. 18) belongs, however, to the 17th century, judging by the type of frame and the attempts to convey the physiognomy in a naturalistic manner, abandoned where the drapings are depicted. All these components come from the Ruthenian artistic environment, even if their creation could also be owed to a local painter, as Marius Porumb suggests.[32]

The local identity of the author is improbable in the case of the icon of the *Old Testament Trinity*, and it cannot have been authored by the painter of two other icons from Sârbi-Susani: the *Deesis with Apostles*[33] and its pair, the *Praises of the Mother of God* (fig. 19), which date from the second half of the 17th century.

We return to Breb for two extremely interesting thematic icons. One, of the *Saint Paraskeva* (fig. 20), is already known from the scientific literature. The other, so far unpublished, represents the *Mandylion* (fig. 21), and is a typical icon for the milieu of the Eastern Slavs. After removing the repainting interventions on the icon of *Saint Parascheva* it became obvious that both icons were painted by the same artist, as proven by the representation of the eyes, looking to the left, and the nimbus in relief. These denote a certain familiarity of the iconographer with the artistic environment of Moldavia, to which the torsade belt that delimits the icon of *Saint Paraskeva* also refers. The image

Notes

32 Porumb 1975, p. 44; Porumb 1998, p. 363.

33 Porumb 1975, p. 45; Porumb 1998, p. 396-397.

34 Porumb 1975, p. 11.

35 Porumb 1975, p. 10-12.

36 Baboș, Covaci 2020, p. 605-606, 617.

37 I. D. Ștefănescu, *apud* Porumb 1975, p. 11.

38 Porumb 1975, p. 11.

39 Porumb 1975, p. 45, no. 27.

40 Porumb 1998, p. 294.

41 Porumb 1975, p. 11-12.

42 Porumb 1998, p. 294.

of the *Mandylion*, whose entire appearance fits the Ruthenian milieu, has the following inscription on the upper frame: **образъ нерѯкотворенни ба и спса ншего їиѕ(уса) х(риста)**. By using the term *образ* and writing the name of the Savior with **Σ** instead of **С**, a situation repeated in the rendering of the monogram (**ИИΣ ХС**), the image reveals both the Ruthenian ethnicity of the iconographer and the dating of the icon in the 17th century. The spelling of the name Jesus with two **І** is surprising, also in both cases. This proves the painter had good knowledge of the political-religious realities in Russia and indicates a moment past the Nikonian reform of the second half of the 17th century. The situation becomes even more complicated if we move on to the analysis of the icon of *Saint Paraskeva*, named **Σ҃ Преп҃т Пара҃кева Тернавскїа**, an inscription in which we find the Greek letter **Σ**, a sign of painting in the 17th century. Based on the name "from Târnovo," it was assumed that the icon was painted before 1641, when the relics of Pious Paraskeva were brought to Moldavia, to Iași.[34] The non-synchronization of the two datings of the icons could easily be explained in several ways, none of which are verifiable. Because of this, the discussion is worth continuing with regard to dating the icon of *Saint Paraskeva* and an alleged workshop in Maramureş where the icon may have been painted. This has been located by Marius Porumb at Moisei Monastery. It is supposed to have been active during the entire first half of the 17th century, with possible extensions, and many icons from the Maramureş churches have been attributed to the workshop.[35] Among them, the three icons from the Moisei Monastery (*Christ Enthroned* – **fig. 23**), *Saint Nicholas of Myra with scenes from his life* and *The Dormition of the Mother of God*), recently restored by Mihai Covaci, have been attributed to "Malir Grigorie" and re-dated to the last decades of the 17th century.[36] The icon of Jesus in particular proves useful in this discussion, because it shows striking similarities with the *Mandylion* from Breb, both in the image of the Savior (the identical shape of the ears standing out), and in the image of the secondary characters: the angels supporting the edges of the Face not made by human hands, and the cherubs that occupy the upper corners of the icon from Moisei. The idea that the so-called "Malir Grigorie" authored the icon of *Saint Paraskeva* is supported by its recent restoration, but the icon's affiliation to the group has already been intuited by Marius Porumb. Only the dating has been affected by the new interpretation. Any explanation for avoiding the association between Saint Paraskeva and Moldavia remains mere speculation. The long presence and intense activity of the so-called "Malir Grigorie" in Maramureş is already the subject of a research, the reference to his other works becoming therefore redundant. I should note here only the context that is favorable to re-dating the icon of *Saint Paraskeva* from Breb and joining its author to the line of Ruthenian itinerant painters in Maramureş.

Among the works attributed by Marius Porumb to the alleged workshop at the Moisei Monastery are three icons from Poienile Izei: a representation of *Saint Nicholas of Myra* (**fig. 24** – in a very poor state of preservation, which was claimed to be dated 1604, most likely as a result of a faulty reading of a now-disappeared inscription;[37] Marius Porumb's perfectly justified observation – that the treatment of the physiognomy, hair and beard is almost identical to that of the icon of *Saint Nicholas* from the Moisei Monastery[38] further leads us towards identifying the author: the same "Malir Grigorie"), a *Deesis* icon (**fig. 22** – considered to be the work of a painter from Maramureș from the end of the 16th century,[39] an opinion revised in favor of the first half of the 17th century[40]) and an image of the *Dormition of the Mother of God* (**fig. 25** – whose inferior artistic quality was initially an argument for dating to the second half of the 17th century,[41] a dating also rectified and pushed to the first half of the same century[42]). The faces in the upper corners of this last icon again betray the hand of the presumed "Malir Grigorie". In the case of the *Deesis* icon, the manner the names of the donors are rendered – *Asta pomana facuta-o Iliaș, Ivonaș, Ștefan, Ănuța, Ivona, Alecsa, Nastuța, Vasii, Iacov, Petrî, Iliana, Mareauța, Mareauța, Naste* ("These alms were given by Iliaș, Ivonaș, Ștefan, Ănuța, Ivona, Alecsa, Nastuța, Vasii, Iacov, Petrî, Iliana, Mareauța, Mareauța, Naste") – supports a certain familiarity of the writer with the Romanian language, acquired perhaps as a result of a long activity in Maramureș. The face of Jesus is the one commonly found in the Ruthenian icons of the 17th century, as is the gesture of blessing, but the overall appearance belongs to the second half of the 17th century.

Saint John the Baptist with Scenes from His Life in Budești-Josani (Maramureș County)

The number of Ruthenian icons in Maramureș is much higher, but – for reasons already mentioned – my presentation stops here. Not before, however, bringing up one of the most important works of medieval art in Romania: the image of *Saint John the Baptist with scenes from his life* (**fig. 26**) in Budești-Josani, one of the "stumbling blocks" of Romanian



historiography when it comes to the antiquity of the painting on panel in the Romanian environment.

From a typological and iconographic point of view, the icon resembles very much the 16th-century Ruthenian representations of the Forerunner, in which we see him centrally rendered, full-figure, blessing with his right and holding an unfolded scroll in his left hand, most often with the same text that we can also read on the icon from Budești-Josani, inspired by Luke 3:9,[43] and wearing the same clothes, painted in the same manner. Only the paradisiac vegetation, so characteristic of the lower part, is missing, and the background of the upper part is not decorated with reliefs either, but only covered with gold. The differences continue if we analyze the iconography of the scenes from the Saint's life, rendered in miniature on the sides. In the Ruthenian icons – though this was probably not a rule – each side is divided into four parts, the ones in the corners being reserved for the Evangelists,[44] which are missing in the icon from Budești-Josani. This one also has the sides divided into four parts. Only a third of the ones in the lower part are preserved, the rest having been removed in the second half of the 18th century, when the panel was adjusted and Aleksander Ponehalsky painted the same subject on the back. Although it was a way to ensure its survival, it is difficult to understand, considering that the icon must have been in a good state of preservation and it was clearly superior in quality to Ponehalsky's creation; with its new quality, the top of the old icon was left with the painting on the outside, so degradations thus continued.

The scenes selected by the author of the icon from Budești-Josani, whose reading starts from the upper left corner to the right, are: the *Annunciation of the Birth of John the Baptist to the Priest Zacharias*, the *Birth of John the Baptist*, *Elizabeth's Flight to the Mountains*, the *Angel calls John from the Wilderness*, the *Baptism of Jesus* and *The Baptism of the Crowd*. At this point, the chronological course of events, observed up to this point, is interrupted and must be started from the lower right corner to the left, where the architectural fragments preserved belong to the scenes whose names can still be easily read: the *Bringing of John the Baptist before Herod* and the *Finding of the Head of Saint John the Baptist*. Undoubtedly, they had the same height as the others; hence, the natural assumption that there were one or two other scenes, the composition of which must have been organized horizontally: most likely, *Herod's Banquet* and the *Beheading of Saint John the Baptist*. The possibility that the space below the Saint's feet was intended for a large inscription should not be excluded, but it seems less likely given the existence of the inscription located immediately above.

Of these partially or completely lost scenes, only one, the *Finding of the Head of Saint John the Baptist*, was taken over by Alexandru Ponehalsky in his own version. The differences cannot hide the fact that he used the old icon as a model. His dexterity was insufficient for a more faithful reproduction of the details.

With the exception of the representation of the *Annunciation of the Birth of John the Baptist to the Priest Zacharias*, all the others can be found – in different compositions and at a higher artistic level, but that does not make the comparison any less important – in a Moldavian icon that is also one of a kind. It is kept today in the museum of the Neamț Monastery. It is an image of Saint John the Baptist's bust, accompanied by all his specific attributes used in Eastern iconography (the cross staff, the cup with the Saint's head, the wings) and in the Catholic iconography (the lamb as a substitute for Christ),

Fig. 26. *Saint John the Baptist with scenes from his life*, George from Meleni, 1561-1562, Budești-Josani. Credits: Alexandru Baboș.

Notes

43 Ярема 2017, p. 447, 449, 451.

44 Ярема 2017, p. 449, 451.

surrounded by 17 scenes from his life (**fig. 27**). Considered to have been conceived in the artistic atmosphere of the Sucevița Monastery, dependent on the technique of illustrating manuscripts, but also inspired by the miniatures of the codices in circulation in Moldavia, and the iconographic programs of the churches ktetored throughout the 16th century and at the beginning of the following century,[45] the icon is dated by Constanța Costea to the second half of the 16th century.[46] What are surprising – and that is why the comparison with the icon from Budești-Josani is important – are the echoes of "Cappadocian redaction," according to the classification of representations of *Baptism* made by Gabriel Millet. Common to the two icons is the scene with the *Angel calling John the Baptist from the Wilderness*, which is very rare, and the placement of John on a rock, dominating Christ, in the *Baptism* scene.[47] If there seems to have been no connection between their authors, what inspired them both were the illuminated codices. Such a sample (which is admittedly later, dating from the time of Voivode Ieremia Movilă[48]) is the *Sucevița 24* manuscript, the most easily accessible for research due to its recent publishing. In its contents we find both the aforementioned "Cappadocian" details: the scene of the *Angel calling John the Baptist from the Wilderness*[49] and the multiple renderings of the *Baptism of Jesus* with John seated in a dominant position.[50] The illustrations to the Gospel of Matthew often offer the image of the tree with three foliages that we see in the icon, a way of representation specific to manuscript painting, a certain sign that the painter of the icon from Budești-Josani used such sources of inspiration.

Another icon of *Saint John the Baptist with scenes from his life* can be attributed to the same Moldavian environment from the end of the 16th century or rather from the beginning of the following century. Until 1886, this icon was kept in the bell tower of the Saint Nicholas church from Buchach (Ukraine, Halych historical province), a worship place re-ktetored by Maria, the daughter of Voivode Ieremia Movilă and the wife of the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Stefan Potocki.[51] Today lost, this icon can still be analyzed thanks to a drawing made with great attention to detail and therefore very credible, although the presence of some elements, such as the lamb held by the Saint on a support in his right hand and the three-armed cross in his left hand, are suspected of being additions made by the draftsman (**fig. 28**).[52] In the same left hand are held the tray with the severed head and the phylactery with the text from John 1:29: "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." This may have been the source of inspiration for the author of the drawing, but may just as well justify the presence of the lamb on the small pedestal in the raised hand of the Saint. We saw that such an illustration could be possible in Moldavia. We could also consider to be of Moldavian origin the three-lobed arch under which John is placed. The fact that we can find, among the 12 miniature images on the edge, the scene with the *Angel calling John the Baptist from the Wilderness* strengthens the hypothesis that the icon was commissioned by Ieremia Movilă's daughter to a workshop from Moldavia.

A similar detail is added to this common element with the icon from Budești-Josani: the halo of the Forerunner is decorated with the same vine of leaves and flowers, only of smaller size, and the flowers have only six petals, not eight as in the icon from Budești-Josani. Vines similar to the one in the icon from Buchach were part of the decorative repertoire of Moldavian painters at the beginning of the 17th century, as evidenced by two icons preserved in the collection of the Romanian Patriarchate.[53] In the variant on the halo of the icon from

Notes

45 Costea 1993, p. 78-82. Dragnev 2019, p. 93-104.

46 Costea 1993, p. 83.

47 Costea 1993, p. 85.

48 Costea 1993, p. 79.

49 *Tetraevanghelul* 2016, p. 171.

50 *Tetraevanghelul* 2016, p. 14, 102, 171-172, 257-258.

51 Ярема 2017, p. 444-445. The author believes that the icon belongs to the first half of the 16th century and does not question its affiliation to the Ruthenian artistic environment.

52 Ярема 2017, p. 444.

53 Chițulescu, Duicu, Văetișı 2016, p. 24 and 26.

54 Porumb 1998, p. 63 and 143.





Fig. 27. *Saint John the Baptist with scenes from his life*, Moldavian painter, second half of the 16th century, Neamț Monastery.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Fig. 28. *Saint John the Baptist with scenes from his life*, Moldavian painter, turn of 17th century, Buchach.
Source: Ярема 2017.

Budești-Josani, the same vine can be found on the halo of an icon of Christ from Lupșa (Alba County), on whose frame we can also find the sequence with *Vs* which the author of the icon from Budești-Josani used to delimit the figure of the Saint from the miniature representations of the events of his life (see below, p. 121, fig. 32). The two common decorative components were observed by Marius Porumb. Based on them, the paternity and dating of the icon from Budești-Josani have been extended to the icon in Lupșa and the *Deesis* triptych in the Brukenthal National Museum in Sibiu. We will return to these details in the chapter dedicated to the triptych. Due to the presence of the scene with the *Angel calling John the Baptist from the Wilderness*, we retain for now the iconographic similarities with the Moldavian representations of Saint John the Baptist.

We continue with the philological analysis of the icon from Budești-Josani, focusing first on the text on the phylactery held by the Forerunner. The message is the usual one, composed of the invocation addressed by Jesus in the Gospel of Matthew 4:17: "Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand!," and the metaphor taken from John the Baptist's speech in the Gospel of Luke 3:9: "And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees: every tree therefore which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire." The Slavic is of Middle-Bulgarian writing, with elements of Ruthenian spelling (replacing *ъ* with *о*, resulting in *восяко* instead of *въсяко*, *вомпьтает* instead of *въмпьтает*) and Romanian (replacing *у* with *и* in *секира*, instead of *секура*).

The second inscription, located in the lower part, squeezed between the Saint's right leg and the decorative element that separates the central field of the icon from the side field, reserved for miniature scenes, contains the painter's signature and the date. Due to the very poor state of preservation of the color layer and due to the adhering dirt, it has been very difficult to identify the letters. Following the first reading attempt, Marius Porumb published a transcription in the form of a drawing and its translation into Romanian: "This holy icon by the hand of the much-sinning George."[54] After serious hesitation, Anna Adashinskaya and Aleksandr Paskal offered

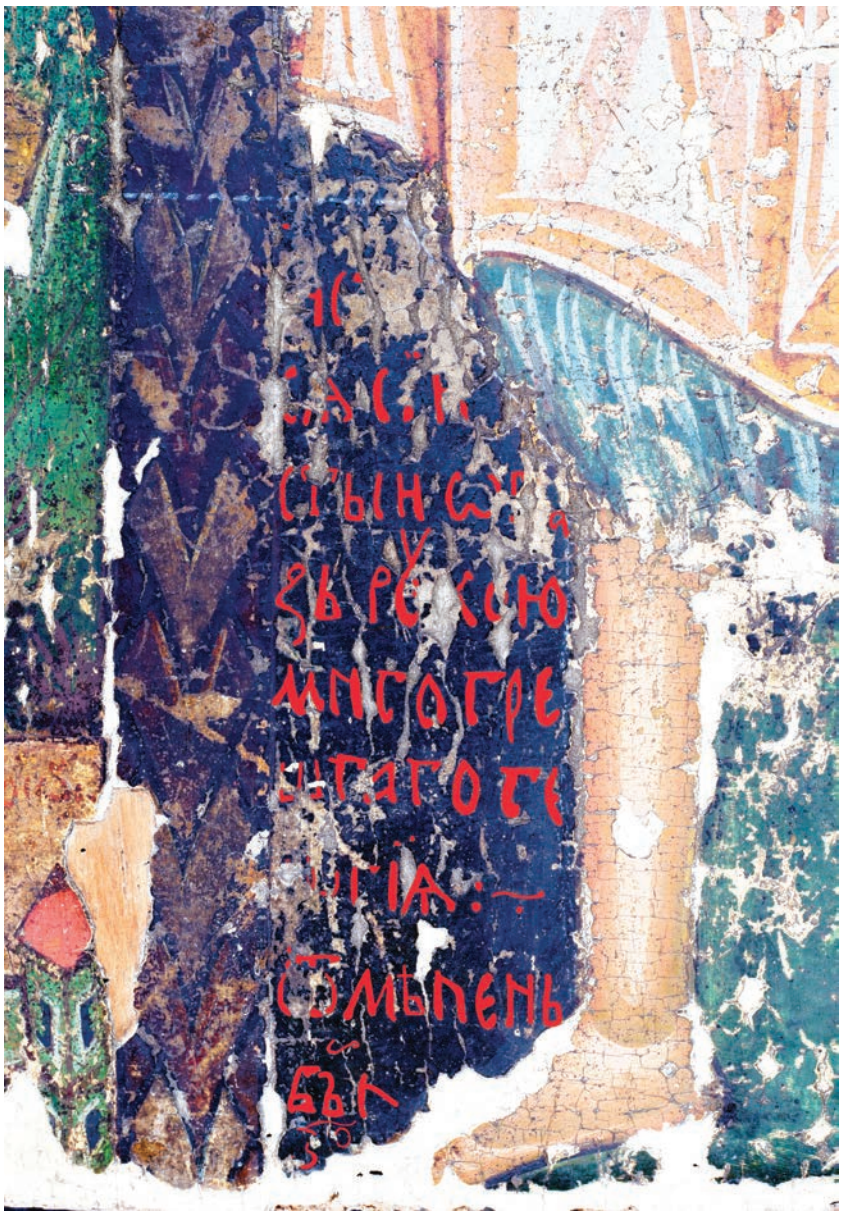


Fig. 29. *Saint John the Baptist with scenes from his life*, George from Meleni, 1561-1562, detail: reconstruction of the inscription with signature and dating.
Credits: Alexandru Baboș.
Graphic processing: Ana Dumitran.

essentially the same message, but without proposing a name for the painter. The difference from the previous reading of both researchers, native Russian speakers, was the separation of the letters on the third row into two words, the second one starting with the letter *ѡ*: from *ѡбраз* or from a proper name that starts with *Ѡ*. In that place, Marius Porumb reconstituted the word *ікон*, whose synonymy with *ѡбразь* does not change the meaning of the message, but can be seen as an indicator of the environment in which the painter was trained. It is also useful for dating the icon. Benefiting from these results and making the most of the photographic information through photoshop processing, I obtained an almost complete reading of the text, which Roksolana Kosiv confirmed to be in the Old Ruthenian language. Its content is as follows: *ис[писа]/сѧ сіи / стыи wбра/зь рукою мн[о] гогре/шнаго ге/[ор]гіѧ от м[ѣ]лень] въ л[ѣт] [ѧ]з[о]* – "the hand of the much-sinning George of Mealen did paint these holy icons in the year 7070 (= 1561-1562)." Of course, the content needs to be validated by an X-ray of the inscribed area (**fig. 29**).

As for the date, an alternative reading would be 7002 (= September 1493 – August 1494). For the form of any of the other Cyrillic letters-figures corresponding to hundreds, tens and units, there is no

Notes

55 Diaconescu 2013, p. 100.

56 Potra 2017, p. 80.

57 Kádár 1901, p. 110-112. Potra 2017, p. 93, with a map at p. 96.

58 Васянович, Долгополова, Мойсієнко 2007, p. 175-176, 186-187.

59 Popa 1964, p. 51.

60 Information for which I am grateful to Alexandru Chituță and Alexandru Sonoc.

61 Ana Dobjanschi, in *Romanian Icons* 1993, p. 126-127, where the toponym Petrifalău is wrongly located in Sibiu County.

correspondent in the preserved traces of paint. The second dating alternative is very unlikely, however, due to the use of the term *wбразь* instead of *ікона*. There are also iconographic similarities with the icons of *Saint John the Baptist with scenes from his life* from Neamț Monastery and Buchach. Otherwise, stylistically, the icon could chronologically fit the end of the 15th century. For linguistic reasons, I prefer to believe that the manner of the much-sinning George was an archaizing one for the years 1561-1562, although this is the correct reading of the dating.

For the locality to which the artist connects his name, the first correspondent I thought of was the village of Măleni, located on the border between the current counties of Sălaj and Maramureș. The village was on the territory of Ciceu fortress (Hung. Csicsó vára), a geo-political aspect that could have easily explained the relationship between the painter and the Moldavian artistic environment. The fiefdom was given by the kings of Hungary to the voivodes of Moldavia, most likely from 1489[55] until 1561, after which it was divided between the fortresses of Gherla (Hung. Szamosújvár) and Chioar (Hung. Kővár).[56] But the Măleni community was founded some time between 1553 and 1603,[57] so after the painting of the Budești-Josani icon and the exercise of Moldavian influence on the domain. The painter's place of origin must thus be sought elsewhere.

A place named Мелені exists in the Korosten district of the Zhytomyr region, the historical province of Volhynia. In 1554, the village was in the possession of Vasyl Mitkevich from Khodaki, the founder of the local noble family Melenevich / Melenevskyi. In 1576 he participated in the coronation of the Transylvanian Prince Stephen Báthory as king of Poland and Lithuania, when he asked for and received confirmation of his old noble privileges.[58]

As for the environment where the author of the Budești-Josani icon was trained, we have already seen that he was familiar with the erudite tendency of the Moldavian painters of the 16th century. In addition to this, the Slavonic he used was contaminated with Romanian and Ruthenian loan words. The sources of inspiration he used for the composition of the icon from Budești-Josani included Ruthenian icons, as in the case of all the painters of the medieval era who worked in Maramureș. Another aspect, related to the intimacy of the technique, that can testify in favor of locating the painter's training in one of the workshops in the south of the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom, is revealed by the degradations of the support layer of the painting, especially at the extremities of the panel, but also in its inferior half. Everywhere, the loss of the primer has brought to light the threads of a very fine linen cloth. This is a sign that it could be present on the entire surface of the icon, although an X-ray investigation would be needed to be sure.

It can thus be concluded that the much-sinning George from Meleni, the signatory of the icon of *Saint John the Baptist with scenes from his life* in Budești-Josani, dated 7070 (= September 1561 – August 1562), was a talented Ruthenian painter trained in Moldavia, whose activity also included localities from the north of medieval Hungary. For the middle and second half of the 16th century, its archaizing style can be a clue as to his apprenticeship on the sites opened by Voivode Petru Rareș or in the company of the iconographers of the next generation.

The *Deesis* Triptych in the Brukenthal National Museum, the Icon of the *Pantokrator* in Lupșa and the *Deesis* in the Sub Piatră Monastery (Alba County)

Already mentioned in the previous chapter, the *Deesis* triptych in the Brukenthal National Museum (**fig. 30**) is one of the most complex enigmas of art in Romania, regardless of the angle of approach: historical, iconographic or stylistic.

Historically, its origin is unknown. It arrived at the Brukenthal National Museum of Sibiu, where it was reported in 1964,[59] and was initially registered in the ethnographic collection. A possible provenance, which can no longer be proven, is that the tryptich was acquired for the exhibition organized by the "Astra" Society in 1904-1906. Many of the objects exhibited then remained in the Society's collections, and were never returned to their owners. In 1968 the triptych was moved to the art collection,[60] possibly in the context of its capitalization as a representative exhibit of old art from the territory of Transylvania. The name Petrifalău, proposed as a place of provenance in a document drawn up in Bucharest,[61] has only one coverage in Transylvanian toponymy: the village Petrești near Sebeș (Germ. Petersdorf bei Mühlbach), a mixed Romanian and German community. Here, both ethnicities were always very well represented numerically. The Romanian population attended – at the latest in the 18th century – a wall church that was demolished in the late 20th century without being previously documented and studied. Nothing has been preserved of its artistic dowry or of its possible predecessor church.

Iconographically, it is surprising that Christ is rendered in Byzantine imperial vestments, but wears a bishop's miter, as in the frescoes from the Saint



▲ Fig. 30. *Deesis*, unknown painter, second half of the 16th century, Brukenthal National Museum.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Elijah church ktetored by Stephen the Great in the vicinity of Suceava, as well as in the frescoes from the Voroneț Monastery church. The typology of His face joins the rounded beard from the Byzantine representations with the arrangement of the long hair on both shoulders, as in Western representations. What is also surprising is the representation of the Mother of God as an empress, but with the crown placed over the white silk headscarf, as in the Moldavian mural paintings up to the middle of the 16th century.[62] This variant of the *Deesis* theme in the Moldavian frescoes, called the *Deesis Royal* or *Upon Thy Right Hand did stand the Queen* (cf. Ps. 44:11), was associated with Macedonian and Kastorian frescoes of the mid-second half of the 14th century.[63] The variant also circulated in Russian painting, where, under the name *Предста Царица*, it gained great popularity in the last quarter of the 17th century.[64] The oldest representations, datable to the last decades of the 14th century, were linked to the presence of Serbian and Greek masters who ended up working in the territories that had belonged to Kyivan Rus'.[65] The common source would therefore be Byzantine-Balkan, but the arrival of the theme in Moldavia may have followed a more winding route, after it was discovered that Stephen

Notes

62 Porumb 1977, p. 52; Chituță 2019, p. 375.

63 Sinigalia 2018, p. 189; see also Dragnev 2020, p. 64-67.

64 Example of an icon from the 17th century: https://icons.pstgu.ru/icon/2186 (accessed on January 24, 2023).

65 Example of an icon from the end of the 14th century: https://www.icon-art.info/masterpiece.php?mst_id=1254; example of fresco from 1380: https://en.ppt-online.

the Great benefited from the services of some Muscovite painters at least for the decoration of Putna Monastery, consecrated in 1469.[66]

Stylistically, the dominant component is undoubtedly of Byzantine tradition, which does not make the Gothic aspect of the wooden support any less surprising (it differs from the support of the other known Orthodox triptychs from Transylvania, from Agârbiciu and Bica, dated 1555 and 1563.[67] There is a strong imprint of Western influences, equally Gothic and Renaissance, which increase the exuberance of the decorative register and give a tinge of naturalism to the proportions and anatomy of the characters.[68]

The assessment of the tryptich's antiquity was made according to various details and analogies. Some received more importance than others, depending on the authors' preference for an ideologisation of the discourse or for the recognition of the chronological evolution of the observed artistic realities.[69] I will make a few comments below, without assuming that recourse to this type of analysis can categorically contribute to dating.

A first observation considers the different way of treating the drapings, with numerous accents of the dark-light contrast in the maphorion of the Mother of God, a graphic sobriety in the *granatza* of the Savior, and the quasi limitation of the drawing to just the contours of the Baptist's mantle. One would be tempted to think that it is a collective work, if it were not for the unity of the representation of the hands, and partly of the physiognomy. The details of the clothing retain the manner in which the folds of the veil on the Virgin's head follow each other, having a gothic appearance, the decoration with gilded prints on the maphorion, of Cretan inspiration, and the decoration on the sleeves of Jesus, which recalls the sequence of faceted gemstones from the base of mid-16th century Moldavian mural paintings, as well as the asymmetric hemicycle shape of the throne.

The relief decorative elements on the backgrounds of the side panels were associated with Transylvanian mural painting from the 15th century, from the Hațeg region in Transylvania, but they are also found in abundance in the paintings from Arbore, Probota, Moldovița and Sucevița, in Moldavia, being included in the artists' repertoire from the Romanian space until the end of the 16th century.[70] The relief decoration of the central panel, formed by a complicated network of vegetation, can also be linked to the icon art of Moldavia, where two such painted specimens featuring a similar miniature motif come from.[71] The Renaissance-flavored vine, meticulously developed on the halo of Jesus, refers to Greek icons. The fretted crest has – in the Romanian space – only one analogy: the Moldavian icon of *Saint Paraskeva* from the Bucharest National Art Museum of Romania (see above, p. 27, **fig. 13**). Its dating is disputed, some scholars advocating for the middle of the 16th century,[72] others for the first half of the 17th century.[73]

All these details could have the 16th century as a common denominator. The reference to Moldavia as a possible training place for the painter has been made several times. However, the functionality of the triptych and the identity of the first beneficiary remain unclear. Unlike the triptychs from Bica and Agârbiciu, which have the lateral panels painted on both sides and do not seem to have been moved from the churches until the 18th century, in the context of the construction of new places of worship, the triptych housed in the Brukenthal National Museum presents two crossbars intended to mitigate the tendency to curve on the back of the lateral panels. This is a sign that the painter did not at all intend to lay down a painted decoration. There is, how-

Notes

org/789349; example of an icon from the 15th century; https://www.icon-art.info/masterpiece.php?mst_id=575; example of an icon from the 16th century: https://icons.pstgu.ru/icon/3313 (all accessed on January 24, 2023).

66 Sabados 2018, p. 196-197.

67 For a recent illustration, see Porumb 2023, p. 16 and 59.

68 Dobjanschi, in *Romanian Icons* 1993, p. 126-127.

69 The motif of the central panel is similar to the background decoration of the oklad of the *Gospel from Feleac* from the end of the 15th century. The relief background of the two side wings has as a decorative motif the rhombus in which a stylized quatrefoil is inscribed, a decoration found on the silver *oklad* of some Balkan icons from the 14th century and in the mural painting from Transylvania (Crișcior, beginning of the 15th century). Based on these details, Marius Porumb proposed the dating in the second half of the 15th century (Porumb 1977, p. 52; Porumb 1981, p. 51; Porumb 1998, p. 357). The same opinion in Chituță 2019, p. 375-376. For the dating in the 16th century, see Efremov 2003, p. 128, 220 and Dobjanschi, in *Romanian Icons* 1993, p. 126-127. For the dating in the 17th–18th centuries, see Nicolescu 1968-1969 and Popescu s. a., p. 40. On the occasion of its first mention in scholarly literature, the triptych was estimated to date from the 18th century (Popa 1964, p. 51-52).

70 chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/http://www.medieval.istoria-artei.ro/resources/Sucevita%2C%20naos%20%2B%20altar%20%2B%20exterior%2C%20I%20parte.pdf (accessed on January 2, 2023).

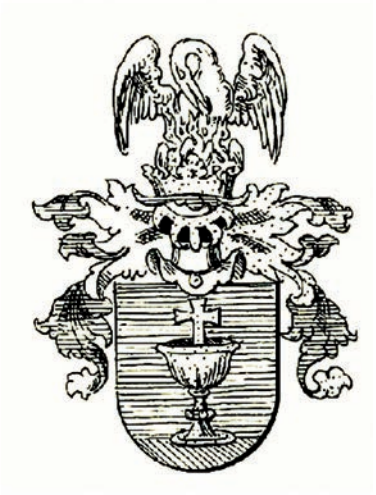
71 Chițulescu, Duicu, Văetișı 2016, p. 24 and 26.

72 Efremov 2003, p. 87. See also the contribution of M. P. Kruk in this volume.

73 Dobjanschi, Simion 1979, p. 61.







▲ Fig. 31. a-b) The coat of arms from the back of the lateral panel of the *Deesis* triptych from the Brukenthal National Museum; c) the coat of arms of the family Pop from Negrești and Turț.

Credits: Ana Dumitran (a-b).

Source: *Szatmár vármegye* 1908.

⏩ Fig. 32. Similarities between the decorative elements of the *Deesis* triptych in the Brukenthal National Museum, the icon of *Saint John the Baptist* in Budești-Josani and the icon of the *Pantokrator* in Lupșa.

ever, apart from the three series of inventory numbers received since the tryptich became a museum piece, a sign made in red paint by a not very skilled hand, repeated almost identically on both panels.

The composition consists of an oval inside which there is a chalice. A cross is placed in it. A larger cross rests on the upper part of the oval, its extremities decorated with circles joined by diagonal lines. At the top there is a flower imitating the outgrowths on the upper part of the triptych. On the sides of the oval, other outgrowths try to take the form of trilobes, in the representation on the panel with the icon of Saint John the Baptist, while the signs on the other panel continue with two thick lines that encircle the lower part of the oval and overlap below it. Next to it, the same sign is rendered in charcoal, but only on the panel with the icon of the Mother of God (**fig. 31a-b**).

The repetition of the design on the two panels, even if not with all its components, proves its investment with a meaning that must have mattered to someone or to the periods when the triptych was closed. In search of a meaning, the heraldist Drăgan-George Basarabă recommended me to compare the sign with the coat of arms of the Pop family from Negrești and Turț (**fig. 31c**), a Romanian family from the Oaș region who received their coat of arms from Emperor Leopold I of Habsburg in 1689.[74] The family had ramifications in the counties of Ugocsa, Szatmár and Sălaj. The most brilliant member of the family was George Pop of Băsești, the politician whose career was crowned by the position of president of the Great National Assembly that voted for the union of Transylvania with Romania on December 1, 1918. It is possible that George Pop of Băsești himself gave the triptych to the "Astra" Association, following its appeal in 1904 to found an ethnographic-historical museum of the Romanians of Transylvania in Sibiu.

The ennobled ancestor was undoubtedly a priest. Hence, the symbols with which his coat of arms was adorned: the chalice with a cross and the pelican sacrificing itself to feed its young, both metaphors of the Eucharist. The motivation for the ennoblement must have been heroic deeds of arms, as it happened in most of the cases of ennoblement of Romanian priests. The oval shown on the back of the triptych panels at the Brukenthal National Museum could therefore be an escutcheon bearing the nobility insignia of the family that commissioned it, but not necessarily for display in a church, at least not initially. It was rather

Notes

74 *Szatmár vármegye* 1908, p. 600.

75 Porumb 1977, p. 52-54.



meant for the use by those members who were supposed to represent the family in military campaigns. Their reality is suggested by the two thick lines that intertwine under the escutcheon, in such a way that its sword-like shape becomes obvious.

The coat of arms of the Pop family of Negrești and Turț is the only one that bears elements in common with the insignia on the back of the triptych in the Brukenthal National Museum. This implies that, if those insignia are indeed of noble origin, this family was given the status of ktetor. But the family's nobility came late, and its origin in today's northwestern Romania was not among the options for locating the triptych or the workshop where the tryptich was painted. In addition, even if in the history of the tryptich's publication there were voices that dated it to the 17th–18th centuries, such an option is inadmissible from a stylistic point of view. The option remains that the tryptich is much older, and that the insignia were outlined on its back only after obtaining the status of nobility, thus explaining the rudimentary nature of the drawing, which may have been made by the tryptich's owner at that time. How old is it, though, and to what extent do the earlier analogies and proposed datings still hold up?

I have already mentioned Marius Porumb's opinion regarding the attribution to the same hand, of the "much-sinning George", of the triptych in the Brukenthal National Museum, of the icon of *Saint John the Baptist with scenes from his life* from Budești-Josani (Maramureș County) and of the icon of the *Pantokrator* from Lupșa, the latter repainted by Simion Silaghi-Sălăgeanu, most probably in 1810.[75] Beyond the subtleties of the argumentation, Marius Porumb was primarily led to this conclusion by the elements in the decorative register, especially given that the icon from Lupșa only retains that much from the initial phase. These elements refer to the vine with eight petal flowers that decorates the relief nimbus of the faces in the icons from Budești-Josani and Lupșa, and in a much elaborated version also the background of the central panel of the trip-

tych in the Brukenthal National Museum; further, they refer to the quadrilobe inscribed in a rhombus that decorates the backgrounds of the lateral panels of the triptych and the background of the icon from Lupșa; lastly, they refer to the belt with semi-palmettes that decorates the halos of the intercessors on the lateral panels of the triptych and the frame of the icon from Lupșa, and to the sequence made out of *V*s that delimits the central figure from the miniature scenes, in the icon from Budești-Josani, sequence that is also found on the frame of the icon from Lupșa (**fig. 32**).

About the vine with flowers and leaves that decorate the halos of the icons from Budești-Josani and Lupșa, we saw that it also circulated in Moldavia in a variants where the flowers have six petals.[76] In the same variant, the vine in question frames a scene of the *Annunciation* from a processional banner from the second half of the 17th century that belonged to the church in Tročany, a village in the Bardejov district (Slovakia).[77] The variant with eight petals is found in Maramureș, on the frame of an icon of the Saviour from Plopiș and on the iconostasis wall of the church in Budești-Josani, painted at the end of the 17th century (for which the halo of the icon of *Saint John the Baptist* discussed previously could have served as a model).

The floral / cruciform motif framed in a rhombus is among the motifs most commonly used as a background decoration in Western illuminated manuscript art, from where it most likely entered the decorative repertoire of Ruthenian icons, acquiring a wide variety of shapes and dimensions. Its use was attested from the end of the 15th century until late in the 17th century. Among the many preserved specimens,[78] a single icon contains a variant similar to the one used to decorate the triptych in the Brukenthal National Museum and the icon in Lupșa, the differences being partly due to the different techniques by which the relief was obtained. The icon in question is a *Deesis* icon from Rovné (today in Slovakia), with Christ seated on a throne in an asymmetrical hemicycle, just like in the representation in the Brukenthal National Museum. The icon was part of an iconostasis, constituting the central panel, flanked laterally by other panels with representations of archangels, apostles, evangelists, holy archbishops and military saints. The ensemble does not belong to the same hand, and its components may not have been made simultaneously. The four lateral panels are estimated to date from 1540-1560, and the *Deesis* panel, of superior artistic quality, from 1550-1580.[79] To its anonymous author are attributed the icon of the *Praises of the Mother of God*[80] and that of *Saint Paraskeva*[81] from the same iconostasis, a sign that, at Rovné, the author could have teamed up with the painter to whom the other panels are owed. This narrows the dating of the *Deesis* panel to the 1550s. Taking into account the great variety of the motif, the same manner of ornamentation of both the Lupșa icon background and the lateral panels of the triptych in the Brukenthal National Museum is the best argument that I am dealing with a single author.

The belt with semi-palmettes can be considered the decorative element with the widest circulation, longevity and frequency in the entire history of Christian art. It is found in the illustration of manuscripts, Byzantine and Western alike, in mosaics, frescoes and architectural decoration, whether Byzantine, Romanesque, Gothic or Renaissance, as well as in the ornamentation of icons, especially frames and halos. Looking for analogies in such a large number of specimens is totally unproductive for the dating of both the icon in Lupșa, and the triptych in the Brukenthal National Museum.

Notes

76 Chițulescu, Duicu, Văetișî 2016, p. 24 and 26; Nicolescu 1964, fig. 41.

77 Giemza 2020, p. 252.

78 For a fairly numerically consistent group, the best illustration can be consulted in the color material published as an appendix to Ярема 2017, fig. 7, 27, 30, 33, 35, 39, 42, 50.

79 Grešlik 1994, p. 22-25 (the illustrations), p. 65-66 (the description).

80 Grešlik 1994, p. 28-29 the illustrations), p. 67 (the description).

81 Grešlik 1994, p. 32 (the illustration), p. 68 (the description).

The sequence with *Vs* has also had a multi-secular existence, both in Western and Eastern art. We find it as a decorative element of the throne on which Christ is seated in the representation of the *Coronation of the Virgin* by the Florentine painter Maso di Banco, dated between 1335 and 1340.[82] The painters of the chapel of the Holy Trinity in Lublin (Poland, prior to 1418)[83] and the author of the frescoes in the choir of today's evangelical church from Mălâncrav (Germ. Malmkrog, Hung. Almakerék, Sibiu County), prior to 1405, also used it to separate the scenes. At the end of the 15th century or the beginning of the 16th century, the sequence was among the options for framing the miniatures that adorn the *Gospel from Serniv* (Ukr. Сернів, near Lviv).[84]

A review of these decorative details, with their multiple upgrades and reinventions, proves the lack of certainty of a dating established solely with the help of such details. Taking into account the obvious difference between the icon from Budești-Josani and the triptych in the Brukenthal National Museum in terms of coloring and especially the manner of treating the physiognomy, I can conclude for now that "the much-sinning George," the signatory of the icon from Budești-Josani, was not the author of the triptych and implicitly neither the author of the icon in Lupșa. The two common decorative elements: the sequence with *Vs* and the vine with eight petals, do not represent sufficient grounds to assume there was a single authorship, as long as their circulation was quite widespread among the painters working in the Orthodox milieu in Hungary, Poland-Lithuania and the Romanian Principalities, despite the scarcity of the examples that have reached us.

We continue by discussing the other decorative elements on the frame of the icon in Lupșa, with semi-spherical buttons strongly embossed, for which we have as an analogy an image of the *Mother of God with the Christ Child* in Bica (Cluj County) (**fig. 33**). Its gilded background with incised small squares and archaic painting served Marius Porumb as arguments for a possible dating in the 15th–16th centuries.[85] Without going into other details, I consider that the elongated bust of the Virgin dates the icon to the end of the 16th century or even to the 17th century. The association between the buttons and the background divided into small squares becomes an archaic expression of a late icon, unless we are actually dealing with the Venetian-inspired fashion of frames decorated with cabochons. This took hold of Ruthenian icon art beginning with the last years of the 16th century, where the background with small squares can easily find its origin.[86]

The motif with the zigzag line winding through three-lobed leaves used as decoration for the upper and lower frames of the icon in Lupșa completes the repertoire of manuscript illustrators from the 14th–15th centuries,[87] but it also exists in the repertoire of the Ruthenian[88] and Cretan iconographers from the 15th–16th centuries,[89] in different variants, being one of the most commonly encountered element for framing scenes in mural painting, whether it Gothic or Byzantine.

The only decorative element on the frame of the icon in Lupșa for which I have not found any close analogies is the branch with oak leaves on the lateral medians. A belt made of leaves (acanthus or oak), which sometimes look very similar to the string of semi-palmettes discussed previously, is called *bihunets* in the scholarly literature dedicated to Ukrainian icons.[90] Compared to this Ukrainian motif, the one in the icon in Lupșa seems more stylized and coherent, but it is too small and does not allow for a more informed opinion to be issued.

No longer having a painting sample to justify the continuation of the search for a reliable analogy for dating the icon in Lupșa, I will



▲ Fig. 33. *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, Bica
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Notes

82 Бошкович 1966, fig. 5.

83 Александрович 2010, p. 913-914.

84 Запаско 1995, p. 315-317.

85 Porumb 1998, p. 39.

86 In the 15th century this motif was used in the ornamentation of halos (Biskupski 1991a, fig. 6-7, 16).

87 Examples are periodically published on the website ENLUMINURES EUROPE - VIe – XVIe s. - ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS EUROPE.

88 The icons belonging to the so-called Belz-Drohobych workshop, for which see Somak, Covaci 2022, p. 81-98.

89 Vassilaki 2008, p. 89, fig. 20.

90 Драган 1970, p. 26-27.


ΙΣ ΧΣ

bring into discussion an icon from the vicinity, a *Deesis* from Sub Piatră Monastery (Alba County) (**fig. 1**) estimated to date from the Brancovan era.[91] Its incised decoration on the background and on the halo of Jesus descends – certainly not by chance – from a cruciform motif in the ornamental repertoire of Ruthenian icons dating back to the 15th century.[92] The icon in Sub Piatră, however, has something similar to the triptych in the Brukenthal National Museum, namely the shape of the ears of the holy characters, whose unnatural elongation of the lobes gives them a tubular appearance with a strongly individualizing character. Another detail that may not be unimportant is the discretion and unusual position of the names, both on the triptych in the Brukenthal National Museum, where Christ's monogram was never written, and on the icon in Sub Piatră. Common to the two works is the minimized form of the Forerunner's name, from which only the letters **IΩ** and the overwritten **N** are reproduced. Only the location of the names differs: on the vestment, below the level of the hands – in the icon in Sub Piatră; in the upper left side, outside the halo – on the lateral panel of the triptych.

I may conclude that the icon in Sub Piatră, the tryptich in the Brukenthal National Museum and, implicitly, the icon in Lupșa were painted in the second half of the 16th century by a highly experienced painter; hence, his apparently archaic manner. He was most likely trained in Moldavia and traveled to Maramureș, Ugocsa and Sătmar, where he was contacted by a customer from the future noble family Pop of Negrești and Turț. This brought him into contact with important Ruthenian masters, whose decorative repertoire he took over and interpreted.

The Praises of the Mother of God Icon in Țelna (Alba County)

The icon in Țelna (Hung. Celna) belongs to the *Hodegetria* type. Its particularity is the representation of six prophets on the frame, three on each side (**fig. 34**). In Romanian iconography, their rendering as whole figure seemed to be an important differentiating element, usually prophets, in various numbers, being presented as bust. In fact, the image is much more than an illustration of the *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, regardless of its typological variants. This is a particular icon, with a well-individualized theological and dogmatic subject, but it did not receive a specific name in the Romanian area, being usually indicated as the *Mother of God and the Christ Child flanked, framed or surrounded by prophets*, depending on each case.

The development of this manner of representing the Virgin was not determined by the special piety enjoyed by any of the numerous famous icons of Byzantium, as we equally find prophets around *Hodegetria*, *Blachernitissa*, *Kikkotissa*, *Nikopea* or *Glykophilousa* type images. As older and newer research admirably summarized by Mirosław Piotr Kruk has proven,[93] the beginnings of this representation date back to the 11th–12th centuries. This was a time when the emphasis was particularly strong in terms of illustrating the concordance between the Old and New Testaments in regards with the Incarnation of Christ,[94] as a result of the particular impetus that homiletics and hymnography dedicated to the Mother of God had taken.[95] A first peak of the popularity of icons where various types of representation of the Mother of God were associated with groups of prophets was reached

Fig. 34. *Praises of the Mother of God*, unknown painter, end of the 16th century or turn of the 17th century. Țelna.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Notes

91 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 124-125; Porumb 1998, p. 392.

92 Somak, Covaci 2022, p. 89-94 (the "Belz-Drohobych" group of icons, for which the diagonal orientation of the four petals of the flower-cross is characteristic); Biskupski 1991a, fig. 17-18, 19 (with the perpendicular orientation of the petals, as in the case of the icon from Sub Piatră).

93 Kruk 2019, vol. I, p. 193-215.

94 Kruk 2009b, *passim*.

95 Kruk 2017b, *passim*.

Notes

96 Babić 1968, p. 150.

97 Kruk 2000; Гелитович 2005b.

98 *Ikonen uit Polen* 1991-1992, p. 36; Kruk 2001, p. 242.

99 I can only make the observation that, out of the 309 Russian icons of the *Mother of God with the Christ Child* dating up to the end of the 17th century, presented on the website https://icons.pstgu.ru/icon, only two consist of representations of prophets similar to those discussed in this context: a *Kursk Root Icon of the Mother of God of the Sign* from the 16th century, where 9 prophets and God Sabaoth are depicted as bust around the two main figures (https://icons.pstgu.ru/icon/350), and the Kremlin icon depicting the *Praise of the Mother of God, surrounded by 25 scenes inspired by the Akathist Hymn* (Vassilaki (ed.) 2000, p. 380-381; Onasch, Schnieper 2001, p. 6; Popova, Smirnova, Cortesi 2003, p. 74; Ciobanu 2010b, p. 81, fig. 2; https://icons.pstgu.ru/icon/3976), which is an atypical presentation of the subject, because the Infant is seated both on the Mother's knees and above her, in a mandorla, and the prophets – rendered standing – do not form the usual mystical dance around the throne of the Virgin, but stand in groups of 6, on each side, presenting their established attributes.

100 Porumb 2003, fig. 29; Dumitran, Cucui, Pop 2009, p. 241, fig. 6.

101 Гукова 2005, p. 225-258, pl. 20-21.

102 Deichmann 1984, p. 98-106.

103 The detail appears at the Sienese painters Andrea Vanni, Dietisalvi di Speme, Bartolo di Fredi (*Guide artistique de la Province de Sienne*, https://provincedesienne.com/, accessed on September 3, 2021), Pietro Lorenzetti and Giovanni di Paolo (*Kult Bild* 2006, pl. 45, 50), to the Florentines Agnolo Gaddi and Silvestro di Gherarducci (*Kult Bild* 2006, pl. 55, 71), generalizing at least in Italy, as evidenced by his presence in the work of the Renaissance painter Macrino d'Alba, active in Piemont (*Kult Bild* 2006, pl. 76).

104 The icon has been published several times, but the only reproduction where this detail is visible is in Giemza 2020, p. 437.

in the 14th century,[96] and a second one, much richer in quantity, even if restricted to the territory inhabited by Ruthenians, occurred in the 16th century.[97] Moreover, an "innovation"[98] was added to the diversity determined by the stylistic and quality differences of the craft with which the Ruthenian icons were made, namely, the inclusion of the Virgin's parents in many compositions: Saint Joachim and Saint Anna, as well as one, two, three, maximum four hymnographers, depending on the iconographers' artistic competence.

Tracing the evolution of the image of the *Praises of the Mother of God* from the earliest known representations until the end of the 17th century imposed, as an important conclusion, the rarity of compositions where the prophets were rendered full figure, compared to those where painted as bust or in medallions, except for the same Ruthenian milieu, where the proportion is definitely against the bust figures. Discussing in clear numbers, in the other areas of Orthodoxy (excluding Russia, for which I did not have enough bibliography[99]) there are, on average, two or three representations with full-figure prophets in a century. If we change the counting according to the political boundaries, the numbers range from 1 to 5 for a timeframe of around about half a millennium. Only in the Ruthenian churches do we find – and the research is not exhaustive – over 10 representations in the 15th century and over 60 in the 16th century. In the 17th century, the number decreases significantly, but remains much higher than in any of the other territories in question.

Regarding Transylvania, if we ignore the icon in Ţelna, which is the subject of this discussion, the oldest image of the *Praises of the Mother of God* with the prophets rendered full figure dates from 1720 and was painted by Ivan and Nistor from Răşinari in the church in Certege (Alba County).[100]

The three stars of perpetual virginity are details that should not be missing from a representation of the Mother of God, although this is not always the case. Diversely stylized, they have their place on Mary's head and shoulders. Their decor is not always the same, the star on the head usually receiving more attention from the iconographer. The decorative aspect has generally developed around a cross, by adding straight and serpentine lines, rhombuses and stylized vegetal elements,[101] to finally suggest a star shape. When represented directly, the star had either eight rays, reminiscent of the star that led the Magi to Bethlehem,[102] or six rays, perhaps as a sign of Mary's descent from King David. The strong semantic load of these two forms determined – in the artistic environment of Byzantine tradition – a real inhibition in the unequivocal rendering of stars with more than eight rays. Artificial forms, resulting from combining straight lines with serpentine lines and dots, were preferred. In Western painting, much less rigorous with symbolism and more prone to renewal, we find – starting from the *Trecento* – various variants of reunion of many rays around a central point.[103]

A small star, but very similar to those in the icon in Ţelna, shines on the head of *Hodegetria* in Owczary (Poland), dating from the middle of the 15th century. The stars on Mary's shoulders are no longer represented.[104] The example remains unique until the end of the 16th century, when a star with 13 rays was painted on the head of the *Virgin glorified by prophets* in the icon from Skole (Ukr. Ско́ле). But the star on the shoulder still has only six rays, between which are inserted three-line bundles, in order to increase its brightness. The rest of the identified representations date from the 17th century and belong to

the Ruthenian milieu or to the painters originating there. The closest to the shape of the stars in the icon in Țelna – a large, heavy drop, the contents of which were scattered irregularly in all directions – can be found in the composition of a *Last Judgment* from 1623 from the church in Powroźnik (Poland),[105] on an icon of the *Mother of God Platytera* painted around the middle of the 17th century for a church in the area of the Przemyśl Bishopric[106] and on the previously discussed icon of the *Hodegetria enthroned* from Budești-Josani, painted around 1640 by the Ruthenian painter Mykhail Popovych of Kolomyia (**fig. 15**). Another Ruthenian, the Master of the Hodegetria in Mrashnytsa, painted the icon of the *Hodegetria* in Călinești-Susani, sometime in the first half of the 17th century, the stars he placed on the shoulders and on the Virgin's head amounting to 10, 11 and 12 rays (**fig. 12**). From the same artistic area comes the icon of the *Hodegetria* in Banica (Poland), dating from the second half of the 17th century.[107] The point of irradiation of this detail must have been one of the Ruthenian workshops active in the last decades of the 16th century, most likely in Lviv, where a profound renewal of the icon art began in those very years, under the influence of the Western Renaissance and Baroque.

Little Jesus also shows some deviations from the most frequently followed canon, the most important and easily observable being the position of the hand granting the blessing. This is not directed – as usual – towards the praying hand of his Mother, but blesses in the direction of the beholder. The antiquity of the images where the dialogue between the believer and his Savior seems to be a direct one goes back to the 6th century, this posture of the Infant being found especially in representations where the Virgin is seated on the throne, holding Jesus on her knees.[108] After the iconoclasm, it was only sporadically rendered under the patronage of the Eastern Church,[109] but it continued to develop in the West.[110] Through the production of Italo-Cretan workshops[111] (an important role being given to the icons of the *Madre della Consolazione* type), it returned in the Orthodox area and became frequent in the icons painted in the 17th–18th centuries.[112]

In the Romanian area, the oldest representation on panel of Infant Jesus blessing the beholder dates from the second quarter of the 16th century. It comes from the Văleni-Piatra Neamț Skete and is kept in the Museum of Agapia Monastery. The composition centers on the Virgin enthroned, with the Infant on her knees, flanked by a group of the Pious and the Righteous Martyresses.[113] The icon of the Mother of God rendered full figure, with the Infant carried on the left arm, now in the Museum of the Metropolitanate of Iași,[114] has the same origin and dating. The icon of the *Burning Bush* dates from the end of the 16th century or the beginning of the following century. It also came from the Văleni – Piatra Neamț Skete, and ended up in the Museum of Agapia Monastery.[115] For the 17th century Moldavia, another example is the icon of the *Mother of God enthroned, flanked by archangels and glorified by twelve prophets* rendered full figure. It is now in the Museum of Antim Monastery.[116] From Wallachia we have, for the second half of the 16th century, the *Hodegetria* in Ostrov Skete (**fig. 35**).[117] Also south of the Carpathians, a representation similar to the one that ended up in the Museum of Antim Monastery, was painted by Tudoran for the church of Băjești-Bălinești (Argeș County), around 1668.[118] The composition, with prophets rendered bust, was reproduced around 1683 in an icon destined for Bistrița-Vâlcea Monastery.[119] Without prophets, the image returns at the beginning of the 18th century, in the spirit of the Brancovan School.[120]

Notes

105 Janocha 2010, p. 412; Giemza 2020, p. 502.

106 *Unter Deine Schutz* 2005-2006, nr. 41, p. 97, 150; *Ikony* 2008, p. 43; Giemza 2020, p. 343.

107 *Unter Deine Schutz* 2005-2006, nr. 31, p. 87, 138-139.

108 Vassilaki (ed.) 2000, p. 28-29: ivory diptych, 6th century, Berlin; p. 167-168: ivory diptych, 6th century, Paris; p. 266-267: ivory plate, 6th century, London; p. 96: mosaic, 7th century?, Koimesis church, Iznik; p. 98: mosaic, 11th century, Santa Maria in Domnica church, Rome; p. 100: mosaic, 11th century, katholikon of Hosios Loukas Monastery, Phokis; p. 51, 78: polyptych painted by Angelos Akotantos. For the Russian area: the *Mother of God with the Christ Child, enthroned, flanked by two holy hierarchs*, 14th century, Museum of Vologda, https://icons.pstgu.ru/icon/99.

109 *Mother of God Hodegetria, surrounded by 12 feasts*, 14th century, Athens (Αχειμαστου-Ποταμιανου 1998, p. 60-61).

110 *Mother of God Nikopoia, c.*1275-1285, Chicago (*Kult Bild* 2006, p. 32); *Glory of the Mother of God*, Cimabue, *c.*1290-1300, Florence (Bologna 1963, fig. 71); *Mother of God and the Christ Child, flanked by Saint John the Baptist and Saint John the Evangelist*, fresco attributed to Pietro Cavallini, end of the 13th century, basilica Santa Maria in Aracoeli, Rome (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Santa_Maria_in_Aracoeli_Cappella_Pasquale_Baylon.JPG, accessed on January 1, 2022).

111 *Mother of God with the Christ Child, enthroned*, central panel of a Cretan polyptych, 15th century, Boston (Vassilaki 2009, p. 51 and 78); *Mother of God with the Christ Child, enthroned, Brephokratousa, c.*1500, Corfu (Βοκοτοπουλος 1990, fig. 15); icons of the *Mother of God with the Christ Child, enthroned*, produced by the workshops of Patmos, 1607 (Χατζηδακης 1977, no. 87), *c.*1600-1610 (Χατζηδακης 1977, no. 90), *c.*1610-1630 (Χατζηδακης 1977, nos. 106, 116): Emmanoil Tzanes, *Mother of God with the Christ Child, enthroned*, 1650 (Βοκοτοπουλος 1990, fig. 54); Konstantinos Tzanes, *Mother of God with the Christ Child, enthroned, crowned by angels*,



▲ Fig. 35. *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, 16th century, Ostrov Skete (Vâlcea County).
Credits: Cristina Cojocaru.

Notes

1654 (Βοκοτοπουλος 1990, fig. 59); Michail Damaskinos, *Mother of God with the Christ Child, enthroned, Brephokratousa*, 16th century (Βοκοτοπουλος 1990, fig. 115); *Mother of God with the Christ Child, enthroned*, 17th century, Corfu (Βοκοτοπουλος 1990, fig. 330, 331).

112 For the Ruthenian and Serbian milieu: Сидор 2003, p. 70, 94, 114, 146; Davidov 1969, fig. 2. For the Balkan milieu: Paskaleva 1981b, p. 144-145; Paskaleva 1987, p. 190-191.

113 Sabados 1997, p. 14-16; Efremov 2003, p. 80, fig. 132; Sabados, Lambru [2016], p. 2.

114 Sabados 1997, p. 20-21; Efremov 2003, p. 91, fig. 155.

115 Sabados 1997, p. 12-14; Efremov 2003, p. 95, fig. 164; Sabados, Lambru [2016], p. 10.

116 Chițulescu, Duicu, Văetișii 2016, p. 26-27.

117 Sabados 2013, p. 44.

118 Efremov 2003, p. 58, fig. 76.

119 Efremov 2003, p. 60, fig. 83.

120 Efremov 2003, p. 67, fig. 106.

121 Ярема 2005, p. 76.

122 Гелитович 2005b, p. 50-51, Puskás 1991, cat. no. 11.

123 Tkáč 1980, p. 188-189.

124 Гелитович 2010, p. 78-79, 80-81, 82-83, 86-87.

In the neighboring Ruthenian milieu, the bibliography consulted offers, for the 15th–16th centuries, only four representations where the Infant Jesus blesses the beholder: an icon of the *Mother of God of the Sign*[121] and the icons of the *Hodegetria glorified by prohets* from Poverhiv (Ukr. Поверів),[122] Równia (Poland, **fig. 36**) and Šemetkovce (Slovakia).[123] As for the representations from the 17th century, they must have been more than what the same bibliography allows us to quantify.

Even if he did not have a Byzantine icon in which the Infant Jesus is represented thus at his disposal, the author of the icon in Țelna could most probably have met it in Moldavia starting from the middle of the 16th century, yet the possibility of meeting it in the Ruthenian milieu remains open, starting from the same period.

The icon of Równia also contains a detail that brings it closer to the icon of Țelna and differentiates it from the other representations of the *Praises of the Mother of God* painted in the Ruthenian milieu, namely the draping of the himation on the left shoulder of the Infant Jesus. The two rows of folds with triangular openings, the falling of which results in a row of three rhombs, acquire a different geometric interpretation in the icon of Țelna, determined – perhaps – by the need for symmetry with the trapezoidal openings of the folds of the maphorion on the head and shoulder of the Virgin. The source of inspiration for this type of draping may have been the Ruthenian icons of Christ in Glory from the end of the 16th century,[124] when the trapezoidal shape of the distribution of folds seems to have prevailed over the triangular one, the trapezoidal shape being also found sporadically in the draping of the garments of other saints.[125] However, there may have been icons of the *Mother of God with the Christ Child* that explicitly contained this detail, as evidenced by an image of the late 15th-century *Hodegetria Sedmiezerskaya* in Rybinsk (Rus. Рыбинск), whose author appears to have also been interested in the symmetry of the draping on the shoulders of the two holy characters.

In the Romanian area, this style is visible only in the icon of the *Praises of the Mother of God* from Hunedoara (openings with irregular geometric shape, lack of interest in symmetry; see below, p. 136, **fig. 45**), in the icon of the *Hodegetria* in Ostrov Skete (the succession of rhombs is only partially visible, but it can be guessed under the Infant's arm), in the icon of the *Mother of God with the Christ Child, enthroned, glorified by prophets* in Băjești-Bălinești, painted by Tudoran around 1668[126] (also openings with irregular and asymmetrical shapes), and in the today lost icon of *Hodegetria* in Cocorăștii de Sus (Prahova County), likewise dating from the 17th century[127] (the forms closest to the icon of Țelna).

Equally rare in the Romanian territory is the presentation of the rotulus. Despite the apparent diversity, this gesture of the Infant usually involves holding the rotulus with the back of the palm, seen from the side, and the arm left in the air or resting on the knees, or, just as often, resting one end of the rotulus on the knee. Compared to these postures and all their possible variants, holding the rotulus with the back of the palm up is very rare.

The oldest illustration was found on an icon of the *Mother of God with the Christ Child* from the 12th century, exhibited in the Museum of History and Ethnography of the Svaneti region of Mestia (Georgia).[128] Two icons with this manner of conveying the gesture, considered to date from the 14th century, enjoyed great fame in Russia: the *Hodegetria* in Tikhvin Monastery (**fig. 37**)[129] and the *Hodegetria* in the Trinity Lavra



Fig. 36. *Praises of the Mother of God*, 16th century, Równia (Poland). Source: Giemza 2006.

founded by Saint Sergius of Radonezh (**fig. 38**).[130] There are enough similarities between them to assume that they are descended from each other. In both images, Jesus is rendered in a semi-side view, with his legs crossed, blessing with his right hand towards His Mother and holding the scroll wrapped in his left hand, suspended above the knees. But the common detail of the greatest interest to us is the position of the fingers around the phylactery, with the index finger highlighted by a slight distancing from the rest of the fingers, as in the icon in Ţelna and Yasenytsia (Ukr. Ясениця, Pol. Jasionka Masiowa).[131] In the complicated succession of numerous reproductions and combinations with other images of the Mother of God, this detail was not always retained, but the fingers were all brought side by side, leaving only the fist with the back of the palm up. Such examples are the icons of the *Praises of the Mother of God* from Rovné (Slovakia, *c.*1550-1580[132]), Tysovytsya (Ukr. Тисовиця, second half of the 16th century), Novshyn (Ukr. Новшин, second half of the 16th century[133]), the one from the collection of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (17th century[134]) and the one from Căluiu Skete (Wallachia). Supposedly the work of the Greek painter Mina and considered to date from 1593-1594 (**fig. 40**),[135] its echo could be the *Hodegetria* in the Archbishopric Museum in Râmnicu-Vâlcea, dating from the second half of the 17th century (**fig. 39**). At other times, it may have received a special significance, which led to an emphasis on the detachment of the index finger. This was no longer rendered as bent around the rotulus, but straight, pointing to something, most like-

Notes

125 For an icon of *Saint John the Baptist with scenes from his life*, see Ярема 2017, fig. 634.

126 Efremov 2003, p. 58, fig. 76.

127 Iorga 1934, fig. 18.

128 https://georgiantravelguide.com/ru/svanetskiy-istoriko-etnograficheskiy-muzey (accessed April 6, 2023).

129 *Ikony* 2004, p. 20-21, 72-73; https://icons.pstgu.ru/icon/532.

130 Chatzidakis 2001, p. 71; Popova, Smirnova, Cortesi 2003, p. 72-73.

131 Гелитович 2005b, p. 40-41; Яарема 2017, p. 116.

132 Grešlik 1994, p. 28-29, 67; Овсійчук 1996, p. 262; Puskás 2008, p. 56; Ярема 2017, p. 58.

133 Гелитович 2005b, p. 120-121.

134 Гелитович 2005b, p. 154-155.

135 *Monasteries of Oltenia* 2018, p. 102, 105.



Fig. 37. *Mother of God of Tikhvin*, 14th century.
Source: https://icons.pstgu.ru/icon/532.



Fig. 38. *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, 14th century, The Holy Trinity-Saint Sergius Lavra.
Source: Popova, Smirnova, Cortesi 2003.



Fig. 39. *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, second half of the 17th century, Râmnic Archdiocese Museum, Râmnicu-Vâlcea.
Credits: Cristina Cojocaru.



Fig. 40. *Praises of the Mother of God*, end of the 16th century, Căluiu Skete.
Credits: Elisabeta Negrău.

ly the message contained in the phylactery. Such pointing out would be justified if the rotulus was presented unfolded, as we see in an icon of the *Praises of the Mother of God* with the prophets rendered bust, appreciated to date from the 15th–16th centuries, now in the collection of the National Museum in Lviv, but whose provenance is unknown.[136] However, there are also shapes that combine the wrapped rotulus with the index finger held straight, pointing out to the intercessory hand of the Virgin, as suggested by the icon of the *Praises of the Mother of God* with the prophets rendered bust in Dunayiv (Ukr. Дунáїв)[137] and the similar one in Hunedoara. But such an explanation is not always supported, as there are icons where the Infant only seems to rest his hand with the rotulus on his knee, yet keeps his index finger straight. Examples are the *Hodegetria* of Starychi (Ukr. Старичі), from the beginning of the 16th century,[138] the icons of the *Praises of the Mother of God* with the prophets rendered bust from the neighboring localities of Busk (Ukr. Буськ, first half of the 16th century, see above, p. 90, **fig. 22**) and Ripniv (Ukr. Ріпнів, signed "by Fedir from Lviv" and dated to 1599).[139]

Notes

136 Гелитович 2005b, p. 36.

137 Гелитович 2005b, p. 150; Ярема 2017, p. 149.

138 Ярема 2005, p. 314, fig. 377.

139 Ярема 2017, p. 150.

140 Ярема 2017, p. 72.

141 Гелитович 2005b, p. 147; Ярема 2017, p. 153.

The possible significance must have been completely forgotten by the iconographers who rendered the Infant's hand with two pointed fingers, as we see on an icon of the *Hodegetria* in the second half of the 16th century,[140] or even with all four of them, as did the author of an icon of the *Praises of the Mother of God* with the prophets rendered bust from the beginning of the 17th century.[141] In the last years of the 16th century, there are also cases when the iconographers gave up putting the rotulus in the Infant's hand, rendering His palm fully outstretched, resting on his leg.[142] Such situations – possibly inspired by the miracle-working icon from Vilna (Lith. Vilnius, Pol. Wilno, Ukr. Вільно), which seemed to have had this detail[143] – became common in the 17th century.[144]

I consider this long digression necessary to emphasize, on the one hand, the fragile but precious similarity between the icons in Țelna and Hunedoara, and on the other hand, their singularity among the icons in Romania: the first one for holding the rotulus in the fist of the Infant, rendered with the back of the palm up, and the index finger away from the other fingers, as in the two prototypes from Russia, and the other one for the index finger of the left hand of the Infant pointing to the Virgin's prayer. These small details, which today give them uniqueness in the Romanian area, were not the result of an initiative of the authors of the two icons, but of a familiarization with representations that featured these characteristics and that could be seen and intensely analyzed. The meeting with the details may have taken place in the Ruthenian milieu, where they must have been quite frequent and where such representations seem to feel "at home", but they may have also been present in Moldavia, and perhaps in Transylvania as well, in the 16th century. However, the direction from which they arrived here remains the northern one, i.e. Ruthenian, even if the icons in Căluiu and Râmnicu-Vâlcea (**fig. 39-40**) suggest that such influences could also have radiated from the South-Danubian milieu. It was there that the painter Mina trained. It was also there that the diptych, now at Sinai Monastery,[145] and the 14th-century icon from the Byzantine Museum in Athens,[146] in which the Infant holds the rotulus in his fist with all his fingers put together and supported on his knees, with the back of his palm up, were certainly not one-of-a-kind images, even if their echo has not yet been intercepted by the scientific literature.

Another detail of the representation of the Infant that deserves attention is the position of the feet, which in the icon in Țelna are bound together along their entire length and are oriented to the left of the beholder. In the icons where the Infant is presented in front, we see a kind of *contrapposto* most of the time. This is meant to suggest the swiftness of the movements specific to the young age. The left leg, slightly raised, is ready to take a step towards the beholder, while the right one is oriented towards the Virgin and rendered at an angle of about 90° from the left foot. The closeness between them is greater or lesser, depending on how much dynamism the painter managed to imprint on the scene as a whole. Probably the most common of the positions, its antiquity goes back to the 6th century,[147] but we know it better from the panel painting of the 13th century,[148] when it begins to prevail over the other portrayals of Jesus depicted on the arm of His Mother.

For analogies, we will finally go to the *Hodegetria* on the lunette of the portal of Ostrov church (Hunedoara County) (**fig. 41**), the one indicated by previous researchers as the source of the icon in Țelna,[149] drawn close to the Țelna icon only by this detail of the depiction of the feet of Jesus bound together. The dating of this painting has not

Notes

142 *Mother of God with the Christ Child, glorified by prophets* rendered whole figure from Lishnya (Ukr. Lishnya) (Гелитович 2005b, p. 134; Ярема 2017, p. 132).

143 Cf. Друзюк, Скоп 2022, p. 4- 45.

144 *Українська ікона* 1994, nr. 17; Гелитович 2005b, p. 148, 158; Ярема 2017, p. 152.

145 https://www.sinaiarchive.org/s/mpa/item/2786#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=90%2C2874%2C5554%2C3512 (accessed on 1 January 2022); https://www.ruicon.ru/arts-new/icons/1x1-dtl/monastir_sv_ekaterini/bogomater_odigitriya_snyatie_so_kresta_diptih/ (accessed on August 7, 2021).

146 https://icons.pstgu.ru/icon?page=4&per-page=40.

147 *Mother of God with the Christ Child, enthroned*, fresco from the catacomb of Commodilla, painted to commemorate the widow Turtura, Rome, *c.*530 (Vassilaki (ed.) 2000, p. 254); *Mother of God with the Christ Child, Empress enthroned*, fresco in the church of Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome, middle of the 6th century (Pentcheva 2006, p. 22, fig. 14); *Mother of God with thenChrist Child*, reliefs on ivory plates, 10th–11th centuries (Onasch, Schnieper 2001, p. 46; Pentcheva 2006, p. 115, fig. 80; Vassilaki (ed.) 2000, p. 303, 394, 397); *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, marble relief, 11th century (Vassilaki (ed.) 2000, p. 242, 246).

148 *Hodegetria*, mosaic from Ereğli (Paskaleva 1981b, p. 64-65; Paskaleva 1987, p. 18-19; Bakalova *et alii* 2002, p. 148, fig. 149); *Mother of God Peribleptos* of Belgrade (Vassilaki (ed.) 2000, p. 402 – 403; Bakalova *et alii* 2002, p. 122, fig. 97; Nikolovski 2011, p. 42, fig. 38); *Mother of God Psychosostria* from Ohrid, the beginning of the 14th century (Georgievski 1999, p. 49-50; Onasch, Schnieper 2001; Popova, Smirnova, Cortesi 2003, p. 65; Nikolovski 2011, p. 30); *Hodegetria* from the Archaeological Museum of Sofia, 1342 (Boschkov 1969, p. 143, fig. 70. *Frühe Ikonen* 1972, p. 107; Bakalova *et alii* 2002, p. 54).

149 Pop 1974, p. 82-83; Porumb 1977, p. 52-53.



Fig. 41. *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, fresco on the west façade of the Ostrov church (Hunedoara County).
Credits: Dragoș Năstăsoiu.

been clarified so far. The old historiography hesitated between the end of the 14th century,[150] the first half of the 15th century,[151] and the end of the same century.[152] Later, the second half of the 14th century was proposed, based on the documentary attestation at Ostrov of an archdeacon.[153]

The oldest representation with this detail: an icon of the *Mother of God with the Christ Child* from the 11th century, comes from Lagurka, Svaneti region, Georgia.[154] Next, from the first third of the 12th century, there is a fresco image in the church of Saint George of the Yuryev Monastery near Novgorod.[155] Just as old is the icon of the *Hodegetria* in the Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin in Kremlin, considered to be a 12th-century artefact produced in a workshop in Kyivan Rus', which imitates, with utmost accuracy, a Byzantine model (**fig. 42**).[156] In the 13th century we find the detail in an icon painted in a workshop in Tver,[157] while in the collection of the Sinai Monastery there are examples from the 13th–14th,[158] 14th[159] and 15th centuries.[160] Sporadically, this way of rendering the Infant's feet also appears in the works of Cretan painters.[161] In the Ruthenian milieu, in the 16th century, it is attested in the icons of the *Praises of the Mother of God* from Smil'na (Ukr. Смільна),[162] Novshyn (Ukr. Novshyn),[163] Volya Vysots'ka (Ukr. Воля-Висоцька),[164] Čertižné (Slovakia),[165] the one found today at Stydion Monastery,[166] and the one at Kostarowce (Poland, **fig. 43**).[167] This detail becomes more and more common starting with the last decade of the 16th century, when the icon of Terlo (Ukr. Терло) dates (1590),[168] then the one in Ripniv (Ukr. Ріпнів) signed "by Fedir from Lviv," dated to 1599, the oldest of the icons of the *Praises of the Mother of God* from Dolyna (Ukr. Доли́на),[169] as well as those from Potelych (Ukr. Потелич),[170] Poverhiv (Ukr. Поверхів),[171] Dunayiv (Ukr. Дуна́їв),[172] the one from the Boykivshchyna region,[173] and the icon of unknown origin from the collection of the Lviv Art Museum.[174] Dated a little later are a second icon from Dolyna (Ukr. Доли́на),[175] an icon from Poland of unknown origin,[176] the *Hodegetrias* from Volosh-

Notes

150 Vătășianu 1959, p. 402-403.

151 Drăguț 1970, p. 47-48.

152 Ștefănescu 1932, p. 259.

153 Porumb 1981, p. 15.

154 *Иконе* 1981, p. 108.

155 *Живопись* 1982, fig. 114.

156 12th century, Kremlin Cathedral of the Assumption of Mother of God, https://www.ruicon.ru/arts-new/icons/1x1-dtl/rus_rossiya/fragment_ikony_5/?p_f_11_75=1.

157 Tretyakov State Gallery, https://www.ruicon.ru/arts-new/icons/1x1-dtl/rus_rossiya/bogomater_odigitriya17/?p_f_11_75=1.

158 https://www.sinaiarchive.org/s/mpa/item/19890#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=-1910%2C-201%2C6325%2C4000.

159 https://www.sinaiarchive.org/s/mpa/item/12862#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=-2155%2C-223%2C7027%2C4444.

160 https://www.sinaiarchive.org/s/mpa/item/13450#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=-847%2C401%2C4392%2C2777.

161 Nikolaos Lamboudis, *Mother of God Eleousa*, 15th century (*Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art* 1985, p. 117; *Afreschi e icone dalla Grecia* 1986, no. 70, p. 117; *Holy Image, Holy Space* 1988-1990, no. 50, p. 131); Cretan workshop, *Mother of God Glykophilousa*, late 15th century (Baltoyianni 1994, pl. 94).

162 Гелитович 2005b, p. 110-111.

163 Гелитович 2005b, p. 120-121; Ярема 2017, p. 146, fig. 167.

164 Гелитович 2005b, p. 130-131.

165 Гелитович 2005b, p. 138-139.

166 Гелитович 2005b, p. 62-63; Ярема 2017, p. 145.

167 Hordynsky 1981, p. 52, fig. 12; Kłosińska 1989, no. 46; Biskupski 1991b, no. 43; Kruk 2000, p. 255, nr. 22; Ярема 2005, p. 339; *Ikony* 2001, p. 54.





Fig. 42. *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, workshop from Kyivan Rus', 12th century, Kremlin-Moscow.
Source: https://www.ruicon.ru/arts-new/icons/.

Fig. 43. *Mother of God with the Christ Child, glorified by the prophets David and Solomon*, , second half of the 16th century, Kostarowce (Poland).
Credits: Waldemar Deluga.

chyna (Ukr. Волощина),[177] Lviv,[178] and Călinești-Susani (**fig. 12**), the *Mother of God Glykophilousa* donated in the middle of the 17th century to the church from Sâmburești (Olt County),[179] and the icons of the *Mother of God enthroned*, glorified by prophets rendered bust from Sârbi-Susani (**fig. 19**) and Boiereni (Maramureș County). All these Romanian icons listed here have a strong influence of Ruthenian art. The proliferation, in the Ruthenian space, of representations with this detail is possibly due to the fame of the miracle-working icon from Vilna, which apparently also contained it.

Elisabeta Negrău drew my attention to the bottom of the Infant Jesus' chiton, as she interpreted the numerous creases of the chiton's bottom as an expression of an archaic tendency on the part of the painter. Looking for the "archaic" sources that could have inspired him, I found myself again in front of an unusual option, like all the ones discussed so far. For it is astonishing how few images of Jesus in the arms of His Mother have the bottom of the chiton visible. In addition, they fall into several categories: some depend on the draping of the himation, which either covers only the right foot,[180] or only the left one,[181] others depend on the degree of liberty of the feet, which remain more or less bare,[182] others depend on the manner the two clothes slid over each other when the Infant was placed on the arm. The Țelna case falls into the latter category. Its chronological course coincides in part with the one pursued for the representation of the feet bound together and oriented to the left. We recall, for the 12th century, the fresco representation in Saint George Church of Yuryev Monastery near Novgorod,[183] the icon of the Cathedral of the Assumption of the Virgin in Moscow Kremlin, and the icon of Sinai Monastery from the 13th–14th centuries.[184] The detail also appears in the West, in an English miniature from the 12th century,[185] but especially in the Italo-Byzantine art of the 13th–14th centuries,[186] continued by the Cretan masters. From the second half of the 16th century, we also find it in the Ruthenian milieu,[187] where the examples multiply in the 17th century.[188] In the Romanian area, the detail exists in Wallachia, in the icon of the *Hodegetria* in Stoenești-Vâlcea and in the one from the Ostrov Skete (**fig. 35**); in Moldavia at the Saint George church of the Monastery of Saint John the New of Suceava, the fresco icon from the lunette of the portal, painted in 1532-1534;[189] in Transylvania, in the icon of the *Praises of the Mother of God* from Hunedoara (**fig. 45**). The only example that can compete with the exuberance with which the folds of the chiton in the

Notes

168 Гелитович 2005b, p. 92-93; Гелитович 2010, no. 87; Kruk 2019, vol. I, p. 216 sqq., vol. III, p. 181 sqq.; Ярема 2017, p. 65.

169 Гелитович 2005b, p. 126-127.

170 Гелитович 2005b, p., p. 132-133.

171 Гелитович 2005b, p., p. 148-149; Ярема 2017, p. 154.

172 Гелитович 2005b, p. 150-151.

173 Ярема 2017, p. 148.

174 Гелитович 2005b, p. 146-147; Ярема 2017, p. 153, fig. 179.

175 Гелитович 2005b, p. 152-153; Ярема 2017, p. 153, fig. 180.

176 http://icon.org.ua/gallery/bogorodytsya-z-pohvaloyu/, no. 69.

177 *Українська ікона* 1994, no. 17.

178 Ярема 2017, p. 152, fig. 177.

179 Șerbănescu 1978, p. 80-81.

180 Icons of the *Mother of God with the Christ Child, glorified by prophets* from the second half of the 16th century from Lopushanka (Ukr. Лопушанка) (Гелитович 2005b, p. 82-83), Zadil's'ke (Ukr. Задільське) (Гелитович 2005b, p. 83-84), Smil'ne (Ukr. Смільне) (Гелитови 2005b, p. 110-111), Dolyna (Ukr. Доли́на) (http://icon.org.ua/gallery/bogorodytsya-z-pohvaloyu/, no. 64), the one from the collection of the Museum of Art in Lviv, of unknown origin, from the last quarter of the 16th century (Гелитович 2005b, p. 88-89), those from the late 16th century from Yasenytsia (Ukr. Ясениця, Pol. Jasionka Masiowa) (Гелитович 2005b, p. 90-91) and Pidlisky (Ukr. Підліски) (http://icon.org.ua/gallery/bogorodytsya-z-pohvaloyu/, no. 66), the one from 1590 from Terlo (Ukr. Терло) (Гелитович 2005b, p. 92-93).

181 *Hodegetria*, Muscovite school,

Notes

the end of the 14th century (Onasch, Schnieper 2001, p. 165, fig. 6); *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, Greek workshop, second half of the 16th century (Иконе 1997, p. 118).

182 Andreas Ritzos's workshop (attribution), *Mother of God enthroned, crowned by angels*, the second half of the 15th century, with the Infant's feet bare til below the knees (Chatzidakis 1993, no. 10, p. 52-53); Cretan workshop, *Mother of God enthroned*, the second half of the 15th century, with the Infant's feet bare til below the knees (Chatzidakis 1993, fig. 9, p. 55); Cretan workshop, *Mother of God with the Christ Child, Saint Joseph and Saint Catherine*, the 16th century, with the right foot of the Infant bare til below the knees (Baltoyianni 1994, pl. 157); Cretan workshop, *Mother of God with the Christ Child, Saint John the Baptist and Saint Sebastian*, the first quarter of the 16th century, with the right foot of the Infant bare til below the knee (Chatzidakis 1993, no. 30, p. 130-131); Cretan workshop, *Mother of God with the Christ Child, enthroned, flanked by Saint Francis and Saint Vincent Ferrer*, 15th century, with the Infant's feet bare til below the knees (Baltoyianni 1994, pl. 180); Monk Kalinikos, *Mother of God enthroned*, 1640, with the left foot of the Infant bare til above the knee (Chatzidakis 2001, no. 11, p. 122-123).

183 *Живопись* 1982, fig. 114.

184 https://www.sinaiarchive.org/s/mpa/item/19890#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=-1910%2C-201%2C6325%2C4000.

185 Татић-Ђурић 1969, fig. 6.

186 Bologna 1963, fig. 48, 70, 77.

187 http://icon.org.ua/gallery/bogorodytsya-z-pohvaloyu/, no. 35 and 73.

188 http://icon.org.ua/gallery/bogorodytsya-z-pohvaloyu/, no. 90, 91; Skrobucha 1971, no. 39; *Українська ікона* 1994, no. 13, 17, 31; Сидор 2003, no. 27; *Студіон* 2005, p. 74; Puskás 2008, no. 50, p. 135.

189 *Arta din România* 2018, vol. I, p. 446 and fig. 752.

190 *Saint Nicholas*, 13th–15th centuries (https://www.sinaiarchive.org/s/mpa/item/10759#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=-2720%2C-

icon in Țelna are twisted is the one offered by the icon in Hunedoara, whose author was however surpassed by his own fantasy in rendering the draping of the himation, thus proving an almost unnatural inclination for archaization.

The green background is also an unusual aspect, both in itself and in the messy brushstrokes. At first glance, they leave the impression that the icon has been scratched over time, as a result of too insistent cleaning.

The gilded background was not a rule, yet its replacement was usually the colors red and blue. However, several icons from the collection of Sinai Monastery have a green background.[190] This is a sign that this color was also approved, both in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine period.

In the Romanian area, an icon of *Saint Constantine and Saint Helen* housed in the Museum of Văratec Monastery, thought to date from the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century,[191] has a green background obtained from coarse brushstrokes, but this "effect" was attributed to repainting.[192] However, it exists, rendered in the same manner, in icons from the 16th century, such as that of the *Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel* from Măşcăteşti (Neamț County), painted between 1525-1527,[193] now on display in the Museum of the Metropolitanate of Iași (see above, p. 31, **fig. 16**). The green background was also used by the Moldavian author of the triptych in Bica dated 1563.[194] A century later it was preferred by the Wallachian painter to whom the iconostasis of the wooden church of Lupșa Monastery (Alba County) is owed, whose icons have the green background, sprinkled with golden stars.[195]

In the Ruthenian milieu, the "fashion" of the green background was a characteristic of the icons from the 15th century,[196] when both icons of the saints[197] and images of the Mother of God were painted in this way (see above, p. 62, **fig. 21**).[198] According to the information provided by the preserved icons, it can be assumed that this characteristic was exported in the neighboring Moldavia in the 16th century. From there, it was taken to Transylvania, by itinerant painters, such as the authors of the triptychs in Bica and Agârbiciu and of the icon of the *Hodegetria* in Dezmir (Cluj County).[199]

At the end of this seemingly useless dissection of the artistic act, the biggest gain is the awareness of the presence in its composition of the most unexpected solutions to solve gestures, draping and symbolic message, very rarely encountered until the 17th century, and some of them even until the 18th century. I could say, almost without hesitation, that the iconographer "hunted" patiently and diligently everything that was unusual in the representations he knew, making – probably after many decades of research and experience – an admirable synthesis of several typological, stylistic and chronological models. The opposite of this statement would be the mechanical reproduction of an icon that would have contained everything out of the ordinary in the icon of Țelna, but to know such a work the iconographer would have had to invest as much time and just as much effort and curiosity.

An archaic image of *Hodegetria*, the work of a Byzantine workshop from the 12th–14th centuries, should be included in the equation. That Byzantine source was able to cumulate all the details that took centuries until they became relevant again, such as the Infant's blessing the beholder, holding the rotulus with the back of the palm pointing upwards, the feet bound together and facing left, and the presence of stars instead of miniature angels. But other sources of inspiration

were still needed, as evidenced by the golden flowers on the garments (spread by Cretan art), the distancing of the index finger from the other fingers of the hand holding the rotulus (mediated by the Ruthenian copies of the icons of Tikhvin and of the Trinity Lavra of Saint Sergius), the decoration with the stars on the frame (also used by the iconographers from Moldavia), and the green background (specific to the Ruthenian icon, but present in the 16th century in the Moldavian icons as well). These possible contacts with the art of Moldavia, to which is added the brooch on the Virgin's collar and the decoration with multifaceted precious stones on the cuff, can be considered minor in the whole composition. However, they are decisive for locating the ambience where the author of the icon in Țelna was schooled. He reveals himself either as one of the itinerant craftsmen in Transylvania, like those who painted at Bica, Agârbiciu, Dezmir, Păniceni and Nadăşu (all in Cluj County), or as a disciple of theirs, endowed with a lot of talent and a real vocation for travel. The latter possibility opened the horizon to the Ruthenian milieu, where most of the icons of the *Praises of the Mother of God* were painted with the prophets rendered full-figure. It was also there that, in the second half of the 16th century, the representations with the Infant's feet bound together, facing to the left, with the Infant holding the rotulus with the back of the palm pointing upwards and even with the Infant blessing the beholder became more and more widespread. Moreover, it was there that, especially in the last years of the same century, sun-shaped stars could be seen on the Virgin's head and shoulders.

The context in which the author of the icon in Țelna came to be acquainted with that star shape can no longer be reconstructed today. Had their meeting occurred earlier, the iconographer would have been closer to disseminating that decorative element further inside the Ruthenian territory. And thus, a whole series of other details could be taken directly from the Ruthenian icons, all the more so since those details do not seem to have aroused the interest of other Romanian painters neither in the 16th century nor in the next century. I am thinking again of the Infant's blessing the beholder, the feet bound together and oriented to the left, the arrangement of the folds of the himation on the left shoulder of Jesus, but also the unveiling of the bottom of the chiton from under the himation.

This outlines two possible biographical scenarios. In one, the author of the icon in Țelna was a Transylvanian who mastered the craft of painting in Moldavia, sometime in the second half of the 16th century. He will have traveled for refining his craft in the Ruthenian territory and returned home in the early years of the 17th century. In the second, he was a Moldavian well acquainted with Ruthenian icons, who, in his early 17th-century travels in search for clients, came to also work for communities in Transylvania. The possibility that he was contacted in the workshop by customers from Țelna seems very unlikely, due to the appearance of the Infant's face, on which he did not show the same attention as in the case of the Virgin's face. Laying the highlights directly over the proplasm seems to be the consequence of his difficulty in procuring the necessary materials, or of his rush. Such situations rarely appear when the work is carried out in the comfort of one's home.

I must, therefore, conclude that the icon of Țelna was painted by an itinerant iconographer, familiar both with Moldavian art and the art of the Ruthenian painters from south of the Polish-Lithuanian State in the last years of the 16th century or in the early 17th century. Its artistic value is doubled by the profound modernizing spirit in which

Notes

1%2C8216%2C4000), *Saint Irene and donor*, 8th–9th centuries (https://www.sinaiarchive.org/s/mpa/item/10695#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=-835%2C-66%2C2337%2C1137), *Saints Procopius, Demetrius and George*, 15th–16th centuries (https://www.sinaiarchive.org/s/mpa/item/10099#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=-668%2C0%2C5334%2C2596), *Christ Pantokrator*, 7th century (https://www.sinaiarchive.org/s/mpa/item/6943#?c=&m=&s=&cv=5&xywh=-803%2C0%2C4019%2C3599).

191 Sabados 2016, p. 162, nr. 33.

192 Efremov 2003, p. 100, fig. 171, p. 210, nr. 96.

193 Sabados 2021, p. 640-642.

194 Efremov 2003, p. 125, fig. 238.

195 See illustrations in Porumb 2023, p. 353.

196 Deluga 2019, p. 81.

197 From the 15th century: *Saint Basil the Great, with scenes from his life*, unknown provenance (Ikony 2008, p. 118; Janocha 2010, p. 289); *Saint Nicholas of Myra with scenes from his life*, unknown provenance (*Ikony* 2008, p. 124); *Saint Nicholas of Myra with scenes from his life*, Owczary (Poland) (Janocha 2010, p. 351); *Saint Paraskeva with scenes from his life*, Żohatyn (Poland) (*Ikony* 2008, p. 130; Janocha 2010, p. 371); *Saint Paraskeva with scenes from his life*, Uście Gorlickie (Poland) (*Ikony* 2008, p. 132; Janocha 2010, p. 375). From the 16th century: *Saint Nicholas of Myra with scenes from his life*, unknown provenance (Ярема 2017, pl. 32).

198 From the 15th century: *Hodegetria*: Dolyna (Ukr. Доли́на) (*Ikony* 2008, p. 44), Owczary (Poland) (*Ikony* 2008, p. 45; Janocha 2010, p. 23, fig. 15); *Praises of the Mother of God*: Żohatyn (Poland) (*Ikony* 2008, p. 46), Nowa Wieś (Poland) (Kruk 2000, p. 249, no. 6; Janocha 2010, p. 96; Maszczak 2010, p. 24, fig. 1; Herea 2017, p. 134, fig. 5/, see above, p. 62, fig. 21). From the 16th century: *Praises of the Mother of God*, Yasenytsia (Ukr. Ясениця, Pol. Jasionka Masiowa) (Гелитович 2005b, p. 41).

199 See illustrations in Porumb 2023, p. 185.



▲ Fig. 44. *Praises of the Mother of God* (detail), Pângărați Monastery.
Copyright: National Museum of Art Bucharest.



▶ Fig. 45. *Praises of the Mother of God*, unknown painter, late 16th century, Hunedoara.
Credits: Daniel Constantinescu.

the iconographer gathered and combined the most unusual details with the most varied sources. All of them are expressions of both the archaic tendencies of the provincial workshops and the innovative breath of Humanism, which – through numerous exchanges of ideas, knowledge and models – made it possible to discover and bring some forgotten details back to the present, just as the Renaissance style had begun to win the hearts of the Orthodox believers.

The Icons in Hunedoara

The two icons discussed here (fig. 45, 46) were cut at the base in order to be placed in the structure of the iconostasis made in 1654 at the initiative of the protopope Ioan. This iconostasis was commissioned to the painters Constantin and Stan, probably summoned from Wallachia via the Macedonian-Vlach merchants who had business in the city. The cuting is a detail that made Marius Porumb look for another

Notes

200 Porumb 1973, p. 685-686; Porumb 1981, p. 50.

201 Rusu 1986, p. 48.

202 Rusu 1986, *passim*.

203 Porumb 1998, p. 164.

204 "[...] likewise the bells, icons, priestly garments of the Plosca Monastery located in the church of Hinidoara" (Radu 1913, p. 376).

205 Radu 1913, p. 376.

206 Efremov 2003, p. 130.

207 Vătășianu 1959, p. 169; Nicolescu 1971, p. 27, 40, cat. no. 31.

208 Sabados 2003b, p. 151.

209 Sabados 2003b, p. 152.

210 Sabados 2003b, p. 150-151.

211 Firea, Firea 2023.

212 Ярема 2005, p. 314, fig. 377.

213 See the article authored by W. Michalczuk in this volume.

214 Ярема 2017, p. 150.

initial destination, noting – quite rightly – the stylistic difference compared to the works signed by Constantin and Stan. They seem to be the authors of the second layer of mural painting in the old church in Hunedoara, according to a now missing list of names painted in the proskomedia niche, which mentioned the "Painters Hieromonk Gavril, Stari Dragotin, Constantin, Erei-Simeon."[200] Stan is missing, and Erei-Simeon can be identified as Popa Simion from Pitești,[201] a painter originally from Wallachia settled in Silvașu de Sus (Hunedoara County), active throughout the second half of 18th century. The list of names was, therefore, either periodically updated or reconstructed with a real awareness of its documentary value, all the names of the long line of servants of the altar being proven by inscriptions. Related information was collected from archives or from worship books.[202] This accuracy must have been reflected on all the categories of people it included. Hence, Marius Porumb's conviction that the first layer of painting must have been laid in the 15th century, when the church was rebuilt apparently from the foundations, in place of the one demolished by order of the inquisitor John of Capistrano.

The name similarity with the author of the mural painting in Bălinești (Suceava County) generated the next step in the interpretation of the information provided by the list of names. Gavril the Hieromonk was imagined as an itinerant painter in Transylvania before he was employed by chancellor Ion Tăutu.[203] Apart from the painting of the church in Hunedoara, an iconostasis that must have adorned Plosca Monastery, destroyed during the religious conflicts from the middle of the 18th century, was attributed to Gavril the Hieromonk. Plosca Monastery was the place the two icons in Hunedoara originated from. The icons are suspected of having been the object of a request addressed to the Bishop of Blaj in 1775, in the hope of recovering them for Prislop Monastery.[204] The hierarch's answer was somewhat equivocal: "Whatever art objects are found in the church of Hinedoara ought to stay there instead, until we see the objects more closely."[205] Other decisions related to the respective adornments could have been made later, without any documentary traces remaining. However, such a possibility was not taken into account. Hence, Alexandru Efremov's vehement contestation of this opinion, as he saw in the icons in Hunedoara a valuable example of Romanian art from the era of Matei Basarab. He therefore attributed the icons to Constantin and Stan, the two painters from 1654,[206] just as the older historiography had seen them.[207] A somewhat conciliatory interpretation belongs to Marina Sabados, in whose vision the two icons are "the provincial reflex of the assimilation of a more experienced stylistic typology."[208] In other words, their author was a Transylvanian educated in Moldavia, who had his own, fresher vision, more unconventional compared to the canons of Byzantine tradition. His activity will have taken place in the second half of the 16th century.[209] The arguments in favor of the new dating and the proximity to Moldavia are the rendering of the prophets' busts on the sides of the icon of the *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, the presence of golden tints and the virtuosity of the line of the folds. Frequently found in Moldavian painting in the first half of the 16th century, their abundance makes them lose their logic, requiring a later dating.[210] Very recently, Elena and Ciprian Firea, who claim that the two icons were originally destined for the church in Hunedoara, have reanalyzed them in comparison with an icon from Gregoriou Monastery on Mount Athos and with Moldavian frescoes from the period 1490-1510. The identification of similar stylistic features in the murals from Bălinești, Rădăuți, Popăuți and Arbore has led them to conclude that the Hunedoara icons belong to the Moldavian ambience of around the year 1500.[211]

An overview of these opinions proves that the dating of the two icons still remains a subject of scientific dispute. Without pretending to elucidate this enigma, I will introduce a few observations into the debate.

A first detail is related to the index finger of the hand with which Jesus holds the rotulus. This singles out the icon among the representations of the *Mother of God with the Christ Child* from the Romanian and South-Danube area. Analogies exist only in the Ruthenian environment, where this way of representation was popular in the 17th century. Estimated to date from the end of the 15th century, the oldest icon that contains it comes from Starychi (Ukr. Старичі).[212] The next example is the icon in Busk (see above, p. 90, **fig. 22**), attributed on the basis of documentary sources to the painter Gregory Bosykovich from Suceava. He was hired in 1532 by Theodor Sanguszko and his wife Ana, daughter of the Serbian Despot Jovan Brankovici and sister of the Moldavian Voivode Petru Rareș's wife, to paint the iconostasis at Jableczna Monastery, considered to be the first tall iconostasis in the Podlasie – Brzesko – Chełm area.[213] The detail reappears in the icon from Ripniv (Ukr. Ріпнів) at the end of the 16th century, signed "by Fedir from Lviv" and dated 1599.[214] After 1600 it became more and more frequent, equally due to the success the work of Teodor Senkovich enjoyed. The closest to the icon in Hunedoara is the icon in Dunayiv, from the first half of the 17th century. In both icons the index finger of the Infant seemingly points to the guiding hand of His Mother.



Fig. 46. *Saint Nicholas of Myra*, unknown painter, late 16th century, Hunedoara.
Credits: Daniel Constantinescu.



Fig. 47. *Saint Nicholas of Myra*, interior painting from the church in Bălinești.
Credits: Viorel Maxim.

We return to the icon in Busk not only because of the presence of this detail, but also because of the manner the edges of the himation are treated, gathered in the lap of the Infant, with one of the folds outlined in the shape of an umbrella. Marius Porumb would have called it an ear-type fold.[215] The presence of this type of fold, generally in the painting of Byzantine tradition, be it mural or panel, is discreet in the periods of stylistic maturity, but intensely visible in the periods when Mannerist tendencies become predominant. In the icons of the *Mother of God with the Christ Child* we have this detail in the Ruthenian milieu as well, dating from the end of the 13th century.[216] An icon with this detail enjoyed special reverence in the 15th century, having numerous copies. Some were made in the old artistic centers of Tver or Suzdal in Central Russia.[217] In the Romanian space, the only icon in which we find this detail is the one in Hunedoara. Hence, the assumption that although the author of the icon in Busk was an important painter active in Moldavia, he did not have this detail in his repertoire. He rather included it in the composition as a

Notes

215 Porumb 1973, p. 679-681; Porumb 1981, p. 49.

216 Сидор 2003, no. 1.

217 Stuart 1975, no. 22.





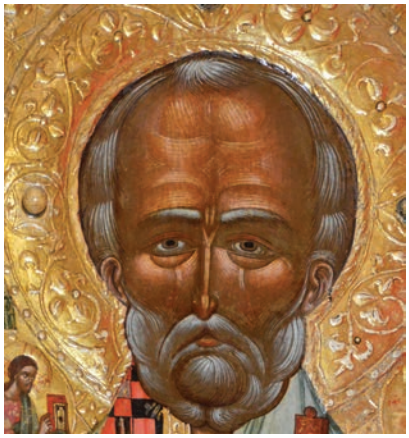


Fig. 48. *Saint Nicholas of Myra*, exterior painting from the church in Bălinești.
Credits: Viorel Maxim.

Fig. 49. *Saint Nicholas of Myra with scenes from his life* (detail), Lybohora.
Source: Яарема 2017.

Fig. 50. *Saint Nicholas of Myra with scenes from his life* (detail), 1539, Urisiu de Jos.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

result of his contact with the Ruthenian icons. The same explanation can be given for the representation of the index finger extended and not bent around the rotulus. Both details came, therefore, from the Ruthenian artistic environment, either through Gregory Bosykovich, or through other Moldavian painters who were commissioned to work for customers from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. However, in the case of the icon in Hunedoara we are dealing with something more than just an "influence" coming from Ruthenian representations. The entire surface of the himation is subjected to an unnatural folding, as if the artist had developed a special affinity for this type of draping. A similar exuberance in the rendering of the garments can be seen in the mural painting in Rădăuți (Pol. Radowce, Ukr. Радивци, Suceava County),[218] and especially in the painting in Arbore, where both the umbrella-folds and the meandering ones are present more than in any other fresco in Romania, regardless of the century. I think this excessive decorativism can be considered a sufficient argument to see in the author of the icons in Hunedoara a descendant of the team

Notes

218 Firea, Firea 2023, fig. 21.



▲ Fig. 51. *Saint Nicholas of Myra with scenes from his life* (detail), Kamianka-Buzka.
Source: Ярема 2017.



▶ Fig. 52. *Saint Nicholas of Myra with scenes from his life*, Gorlice.
Credits: Міляєва, Гелитович 2007.

▶▶ Fig. 53. *Saint Nicholas of Myra*, Vânători – Piatra Neamț.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

from Arbore, who nonetheless lost or misunderstood the significance of the swirling of the drapings, despite the talent and the exceptional artistic quality of his iconographic performance. The problem remains the dating of the Rădăuți frescoes[219] and especially those in Arbore, for which researchers still oscillate between the years when the founder was alive (1503-1523)[220] and the year 1541, inscribed in the nave, next to the name of the painter Dragoșin Coman.[221] At this point of the discussion, I think it is worth returning to the workshop of the painters from Hunedoara. The name of one of them, *Stari Dragotin*, Dragotin the Elder, or Dragoșin, may have been misread due to the altered shape of the letter ш, very similar to the letter т. The similarity with the name of the icon painter from Arbore, who may have been an old man at this time, could solve both the dating of the icons in Hunedoara and the identity of the author of the icon of the Mother of God.

Regarding the icon of *Saint Nicholas* in Hunedoara, Dimitrij Jarema has pointed out surprising physiognomic similarities with the icon of *Saint Nicholas with life scenes* in Lybochora (Ukr. Либохóра, Pol. Libuchora), dating from the end of the 16th century (**fig. 49**).[222] The detail that makes the two physiognomies so similar and renders the Lybochora icon as one-of-a-kind among other representations of Saint

Notes

219 Dumitrescu 2023 accepts the end of the 15th century, based on the characteristics of the iconographic program.

220 Dragnev 2023.

221 Constantin I. Ciobanu, in *Arta din România* 2018, vol. I, p. 457-460.

222 Ярема 2017, p. 236-237.

223 Міляєва, Гелитович 2007, fig. 32, 75, 76, 79, 96, 112, 118, 132, 140, 167, 170, 173 184, 271.

224 Firea, Firea 2023, fig. 12.

225 Năstase 1996.

226 Ulea 1964, p. 419.

227 Firea, Firea 2023, fig. 13.

228 Sabados 2021, p. 653.

229 Firea, Firea 2023, p. 331-333, fig. 14.

230 Efremov 2003, p. 88-89.

231 Sabados 2003b, p. 151.



Nicholas in Ruthenian art is the small, almost perfectly round tuft of hair on the top of his head, with a central point from which the hairs go in all directions. This detail almost singles out the icon in Hunedoara among the older representations of Saint Nicholas in the Romanian space. In the Ruthenian icons of the 15th century, the high forehead of the Saint gains in size also due to his extensive baldness, delimited by two strands of hair that meet at the crown of the head in a tuft shaped like round bangs (**fig. 52**). In representations from the 16th century this will continue to widen, as if attempting to unite the two extremities of the forehead (**fig. 51**).[223]

In Romanian icons, that tuft has either the shape of earcorn, as in the painting from the narthex of the church in Popăuți-Botoșani (Botoșani County), datable to the last years of the 15th century[224] and in the exterior painting from Bălinești (Suceava County), dating from the same period,[225] or seems to be combed at the front, as in the interior painting from Bălinești, also from the end of the 15th century, signed by the hieromonk Gavril,[226] and in the icon of *Saint Nicholas with life scenes* from Urisiu de Jos (Mureș County), dated 1539 (**fig. 50**). That small tuft, from the center of which the strands spread in all directions, seems to adorn the half-profiled forehead of the representation in Rădăuți, dating from the time of Stephen the Great.[227] We also find it, with a slightly ellipsoidal tendency, in the icon of *Saint Nicholas* from Vânători – Piatra Neamț. This is deemed by Marina Sabados to date from the time of the first reign of Petru Rareș (1527-1538)[228] (**fig. 53**).

In all these cases, the contour of the skull is doubled by thin strands that end in a beautiful capillary ornament above the ears. Only the icon in Hunedoara is somewhat different, as the extendice baldness continues on the back of the head. Similar, but to very limited proportions, this extended baldness is found in the Moldavian icon of *Saint Nicholas* flanked by twelve miniature representations of holy hierarchs discovered by Elena and Ciprian Firea in the treasury of Gregoriou Monastery on Mount Athos, which they consider to date from around 1500,[229] and in the icon from Râșca (Suceava County) attributed to Stamatello Cotronas and painted around 1552.[230] Taking into account the way the strands of the beard are arranged, the contouring of the cheekbones and especially the united eyebrows, which are shaped like some eaves (a particularity considered decisive by Elena and Ciprian Firea and interpreted as a distinctive characteristic of the Moldavian representations of Saint Nicholas), only the figure belonging to the interior painting from Bălinești, the icon in Gregoriou Monastery and the one in Vânători – Piatra Neamț remain as possible analogies. Seen in comparison with these creations that certainly date from the first decades of the 16th century, but have roots in the painting of the previous century, the icon of *Saint Nicholas* from Hunedoara really turns out to be the "provincial reflex of the assimilation of a more experienced stylistic typology,"[231] as Marina Sabados puts it. This translates into a dating that is almost a century later than the one proposed by Marius Porumb.

Arguments in favor of the last statement include the striking contrast and the large amount of white used in conveying the skin of the faces and hands. Practically, there is almost no ochre, the shades of which make the transitions from shadow to light appear to be so smooth in the icons painted in the 16th century. Of course, this aspect was almost impossible to notice before the restoration of the icons in



▲ Fig. 54. *Deesis*, Ruthenian painter, 1646, Dobra, now in the collection of the Orthodox Protopopiate of Bistrița.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.



▲ Fig. 55. *The Ascension of the Lord*, Ruthenian painter, 1646, Dobra, now in the collection of the Orthodox Protopopiate of Bistrița.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

▼ Fig. 56. *Deesis*, Ruthenian painter, mid-17th century, Oroiu.
Copyright: Ana Dumitran.



▼ Fig. 57. *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, Ruthenian painter, mid-17th century, Oroiu.
Copyright: Ana Dumitran.





Fig. 58. The iconostasis from Dobra, now in Livezile, Ruthenian painter, 1646.
Credits: Sergiu Petru Timbuș.

Fig. 59. *Saint John the Baptist* (fragment), Ruthenian painter, mid-17th century, Oroiu.
Copyright: Ana Dumitran.

Hunedoara, which now seem much closer, from this point of view, to the icon of the *Praises of the Mother of God* in Pângărați, for whose chronological dating historians oscillate between the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century (**fig. 44**).[232]

Another detail worth remembering in support of dating the icons in Hunedoara in the second half of the 16th century or perhaps towards the end of this century is the abundance of chrysography. This manner of suggesting volume, practiced by Moldavian iconographers since the first half of the 16th century, becomes an illustration of the threads of the fabric rather than of the direction of the drapings in the icon of the Mother of God from Hunedoara, just as we see in another icon of a Moldavian master, who traveled to the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom, i.e. of the *Pantokrator* from Tseptsevytchi (Ukr. Цепцевичі), dated 1592.[233]

Based on the details analyzed, I agree that the author of the two icons located today in the old church in Hunedoara was trained in Moldavia, and that he came into contact with the Ruthenian iconography, which inspired the rendering of the hand of the Infant Jesus with the index finger outstretched, drawing attention to the guiding / intercessory gesture of His Mother. The emphasis of the chrysography, the decorativism of the drapings, and of the prosopographic characteristics of Saint Nicholas, as well as the strong contrast of light and shadow of the faces, are arguments in favor of a late dating in the 16th century.

The Iconostasis in Dumbrava (Bistrița-Năsăud County)

Although its history was one of the most convoluted, its components are most likely preserved in their entirety. The icons of the sovereign tier of the iconostasis are three, but if the structure of the iconostasis respects the traditional form, specific for Transylvania, with only two passages to the apse of the altar,[234] then their group is complete (**fig. 54-55**; for the icon of the *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, see below, p. 158, **fig. 5**). They are kept today in the collection of the Orthodox Protopopiate of Bistrița, where the icons were brought from Susenii Bârgăului (Bistrița-Năsăud County). The frieze of the apostles, the cross of the *Crucifixion* and the trafored icons from the crest of the iconostasis (**fig. 58**) traveled together with the wooden church, first from the village of Dobra (Hung. Dobratanya, Mureș County) to Susenii Bârgăului, then – in 1909 – from Susenii Bârgăului to Livezile, and in 1957 from Livezile to the neighboring village of Dumbrava. Dismantled and rebuilt three times, the church lost its original planimetrics, as well as its iconostasis, whose dimensions were adjusted by

Notes

232 Kruk 2001a, p. 243, considers it a possible work of one of the authors of the painting from Sucevița from 1598; Efremov 2003, p. 105, fig. 181, dating from the beginning of the 17th century; Sabados 2016, p. 159, nr. 15, dating from the end of the 16th century.

233 Ярема 2017, p. 213.

234 Timbuș 2023, *passim*.







▲ Fig. 60. *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, Ruthenian painter, mid-17th century, repainted at the end of the 18th century, Mura Mică.
Credits: Silvia Marin-Barutcieff.

◥ Fig. 61. *Deesis*, Ruthenian painter, mid-17th century, repainted at the end of the 18th century, Mura Mică.
Credits: Silvia Marin-Barutcieff.

cutting out the holy characters from the ends of the board on which the frieze of the apostles was painted, and by arranging three openings in the lower part of the iconostasis. The names of the customers were written on the various components: Guțul Toma and his wife Solomiia on the frieze of the apostles, Ciot Riza on the icons from the sovereign tier, and Terpe Pașcul from Sărmășel on the icon of the patron saint. According to the spelling, all customers were Romanian, although a shadow of doubt hovers over the name Guțul, frequent even today in Mureș County. This could also be read as *Huțul* (Ukr. *Гуцул*), according to the rules of Ruthenian pronunciation. In this Ukrainian form, the name Guțul could thus be the connecting element with the painter, whose origin in the Polish-Lithuanian space is confirmed by both the stylistic and formal characteristics of the icons: frames with cabochons and stylized vegetal decoration, painted in white against a blue background; the gilded background, with floral decoration in flat relief; writing Christ's monograms with **Σ** instead of **C**; the position of the fingers in the blessing gesture; the typology of the icon of the Mother of God, which had as its model the miracle-working icon from Vilna; the typology of the icon of Jesus, with the physiognomy characteristic of Ruthenian icons from the 17th century, and of the intercessor characters rendered in miniature, but full figure; the rendering of the apostles standing, some accompanied by specific attributes (Peter with the keys, Paul with the sword), others with closed books in their hands (the four evangelists), others with wrapped phylacteries; the manner of writing the names of the apostles; the trafored cross and icons on the crest of the iconostasis; the vegetal decoration rendered in the manner characteristic of Ruthenian icons from the 16th century. The dating is recorded several times, both with letter-numerals (7154) and Arabic numerals (1646). The shading of the faces with strong black strokes characterizes the manner of this painter. Similarities are offered by the icon of the *Pantokrator* from Witryłów, from the collection of the History Museum in Sanok.[235] But it does not seem to be the same hand. At most, it seems to be a painted who was apprenticed in the same workshop.

Notes

235 *Ikony* 2008, p. 30; Winnicka 2018, p. 31, cat. nr. 57, p. 154. For other possible analogies, see Biskupski 1991a, fig. 68, 83, 101.

236 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 283-284.

237 Moga 1932, p. 152.



▲ Fig. 62. Mural painting, Nicolaus Poloni, 1674, Săliștea Sibiului; foto from *c.*1930, "Astra" Library Sibiu.
Credits: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.

Beyond the undeniable artistic quality of this iconostasis, what makes it special is its initial location in Dobra: a mixed, Romanian-Hungarian, very small community, where not even the memory of the existence of a church, either for Romanians or for Hungarians, has been preserved. The financial effort of the donors is obvious. None of the families was able to assume the total cost of the work alone. In addition to this, the involvement of people from a wider area is visible, making it all the more difficult to understand the mechanism that brought them together and the manner in which they commissioned the painter. The icons could be bought directly from the workshop, so they could have been imports, but the existence of the frieze of the apostles leaves open the possibility that the painter came personally to Transylvania.

This suspicion is strengthened by the similarities of the icons from Susenii Bârgăului with three icons from Oroiu (Mureș County): *Deesis*, the *Mother of God with the Christ Child* and *Saint John the Baptist* (**fig. 56-57**, **59**). It is possible that the sovereign tier icons of *Deesis* and of *Mother of God with the Christ Child* from the church in Mura Mică (Hung. Kisszederjes, Mureș County, **fig. 60-61**), whose original appearance is hidden by a repainting from the end of the 18th century, are also owed to the same anonymous painter. Stylistically close to this group are the icons of *Deesis* and the *Ascension of the Lord*, which decorated the church – today disappeared – in Jabenița (Mureș County), estimated to date from the 18th century,[236] although the relief decoration and the features of the physiognomy obviously belong the previous century.

▼ Fig. 63. *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, Vasili Stashoskii Muliar (?), second half of the 17th century, Lujerdiu.
Credits: Sergiu Petru Timbuș.



Other Ruthenian Itinerant Painters in the 17th Century Transylvania

The wall church in Săliștea (Hung. Szelistye, Germ. Grossdorf, Sibiu County), which disappeared during the interwar period, was painted, at least partially, by *Nicolaus Pictor Poloni* in 1674. It is not clear whether the three layers of painting, which are said to have covered "both the dividing wall between the porch and the pronaos, and the interior of the church,"[237] were visible as a result of the continuing degradation,





▲ Fig. 64. *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, Luke from Iclod, *c.*1681, Nicula; image before restoration.
Source: after a postcard.

◥ Fig. 65. *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, Luke from Iclod, 1673, Ilișua.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

or were discovered following investigations carried out specifically for the purpose of documenting and subsequently demolishing the edifice. From the information made public, it appears that the painting signed by Nicolaus Poloni represented the second layer. Its existence was ascertained "on almost the entire painted surface of the church," but "nothing could be brought to light, being too stuck to the plaster of the newest layer, i.e. the third layer,"[238] laid in 1739. However, in the pronaos, the scenes were etched from the entire western wall, part of the southern wall and an inscription located on the supporting arch between the pronaos and naos, written in an approximate Romanian language, dated and signed by the painter. The style of Nicolaus Poloni shows a pronounced difference from the painting of Byzantine tradition (fig. 62), which makes his employment all the more unusual, because the Romanian community in Săliștea, one of the richest in Transylvania, through the practice of transhumance, was strongly linked to the Romanian South Carpathian and even Balkan environments.

We have another strange situation in Lujerdiu (Hung. Lózsárd, Cluj County), where an icon of the *Mother of God with the Christ Child* was made in the manner specific to the Ruthenian workshops of the second half of the 17th century. Its frame is decorated with stylized vegetal elements and cabochon imitations are painted in white against a blue background. The icon was bought and donated by *Vasili Stashoskii Muliar* on Christmas day of a year that was no longer written (fig. 63). The donor's name identifies him both as a Ruthenian and as a painter. However, the inscription in the Slavonic language speaks very clearly about the purchase of the icon: Рабъ Бжіи Васили Сташоскіи Мѧлнар

Notes

238 Moga 1932, p. 153.





Fig. 66. *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, Luke from Iclod, , second half of the 17th century, Strâmba Monastery.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Fig. 67. *The Archangel Michael*, Luke from Iclod, second half of the 17th century, Boiereni.
Credits: Marin Cotețiu.

И жєна єго Орисıа І синй єго Теодоᵖ, Іwань, Гєоргиє кѯпиⁿ сію Іконѯ за wᵐѯшчіє Грєхов Своиˣ І дадє Єго До сєла Ложєᵖди (The servant of God, Vasili Stashoskii, painter, and his wife, Orisia, and his sons, Teodor, Ioan, Gheorghe, bought this icon for the forgiveness of their sins and gave it to the village of Lujerdiu).

The most famous icon in Transylvania, the *Mother of God with the Christ Child* from Nicula (Hung. Füzesmikola, Cluj County, fig. 64), was painted around 1681 by a painter named Luke, a Ruthenian native, living in the neighboring village of Iclod (Hung. Nagyiklód) (*pictor fuit nomine Lucas, gente Ruthenus, non longe domo a fano S(ancti) Nicolai ex vico Iklod nuncupato*).[239] The icon became famous after weeping in February 1699. Its fame throughout the following centuries was maintained through numerous miracles, meticulously recorded by the Jesuit monks from Cluj (Hung. Kolozsvár, Germ. Klausenburg), to whom the icon was given. Immediately becoming a *palladium* of the Kingdom of Hungary, the weeping icon's copies spread to almost all churches in Transylvania, some of them becoming miracle-working icons too. In parallel, however, part of the Romanian population looked at it with suspicion, claiming that a copy had been sent to Cluj, while the real weeping icon remained in Nicula, where the most important Romanian Marian pilgrimage in Transylvania developed. Recent research on the two icons that disputed for three centuries the status of "the true image that wept in 1699" (*vera effigies Beatae Virginis Mariae flentis ad Claudiopolim Anno 1699*),[240] admitted the paternity of Luke from Iclod for the icon in Nicula, by comparison with another icon of the *Mother of God with the Christ Child* who wept in February 1729, in the church

Notes

239 *Historia* 1736, p. 122-123.

240 Title that accompanied almost all engraved representations circulated by the Jesuits in the 18th century, as well as a large part of the copies painted for Catholic customers. For the extent of the propaganda that accompanied the cult of this icon, see Dumitran, Hegedűs, Rus 2011.



Fig. 68. *Jesus Christ enthroned, flanked by apostles*, Gregory from Kolomyia, 1692, now at the National Museum of Art, Bucharest.
Copyright: The National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest.



Fig. 69. *Saint Nicholas of Myra*, Ruthenian painter, second half of the 17th century, now at Nicula Monastery.
Credits: Sergiu Petru Timbuș.

Fig. 70-72. *The Archangel Michael*, *Mother of God with the Christ Child* and *Deesis*, unknown painter, second half of the 17th century, Runcu Salvei.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.







Fig. 73. *The Ascension of the Lord*, Ruthenian painter, second half of the 17th century, Sânbenedic.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.







▲ Fig. 74. *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, unknown painter, second half of the 17th century, Tăure.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

◥ Fig. 75. *Deesis*, Ruthenian painter, 1700, now at Nicula Monastery.
Credits: Sergiu Petru Timbuș.

◥ Fig. 76-77. *Deesis* and *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, Ruthenian painter, end of the 17th century, Ocna Sibiului.
Credits: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.

Notes

241 Dumitran, Hegedűs, Rus 2011, p. 393.

242 I am grateful to Roksolana Kosiv for correctly identifying the source of inspiration of the painter Luke from Iclod, previously thought to be the miraculous icon of Krekhiv (originally from the monastery of Verkhrata), painted in the last decades of the 17th century.

243 Dumitran 2015, p. 25-41.

244 The *Presentation of the Lord in the Temple* and the *Dormition of the*

in Ilișua (Hung. Alsóilosva, Bistrița-Năsăud County, fig. 65). About the latter, one of the witnesses of the weeping testified that "it was made at the request of my father, Sztancs Griga, when he was still a boy, by an icon painter named Luke, 53 years ago."[241] The icon has the following inscription on the lower frame and in the lower right corner: Рокѕ Божого ≠ĀX̄ŌĪ̄, мєсєца фєврѕаріа Раб Бжіи МаТθє и жєна єго Анійца й ....дй єго Грига, Щєфан ... ори сию иконѕ и дадєю до храма С. Іwана ѕ сєло Елишоа (The year of the Lord 1773, the month of February, the servant of God Matei and his wife Anița, and his sons Griga, Stefan ... this icon and gave it to the church of Saint John in the village of Ilișua). This confirms part of what the witness said, a sign that the rest must have been true, especially since he was the only one who referred to the name of the painter.

The icon in Ilișua had as its model the mid-17th century miracle-working icon from the Polish village Łopienka (Ukr. Лопінка), now in the Roman-Catholic church in Polańczyk (Ukr. Полянчик).[242] This also inspired the icon of the *Mother of God with the Christ Child* in Strâmba Monastery (Sălaj County, fig. 66), whose faces claim the paternity of Luke from Iclod, just like the icon of the *Archangel Michael* in Boiereni (Hung. Boérfalva, Maramureș County, fig. 67).[243]

If we can say that Luke from Iclod was the most talented Ukrainian itinerant painter in Transylvania, who was even naturalized in a Transylvanian village, where it is believed that he also served as a priest, we must say that Gregory from Kolomyia (Ukr. Коломия) had the most productive activity. We have only two signed icons, painted in 1690[244] and 1692[245] (fig. 68), i.e. the icons commissioned by Petrașco from Dumitra (Hung. Nagydemeter, Germ. Mettersdorf, Bistrița-





Năsăud County), given to the monastery in Deda (Mureș County). Other works are the royal doors located today at the Museum in Năsăud (Hung. Nassod, Germ. Nussdorf), the royal doors from Ibănești (Hung. Libánfalva, Mureș County), the icons of *Deesis* and the *Mother of God with the Christ Child* from Săcalu de Pădure (Hung. Magyarerdőszakál, Mureș County), *Deesis* from Cesari (Cluj County), repainted in 1795,[246] the *Transfiguration* from Vidrasău (Hung. Vidrátszeg, Mureș County),[247] then the icon of the *Archangel Michael*, together with the two representations of the *Mother of God with the Christ Child* from Papiu Ilarian (Hung. Mezőbodon, Mureș County)[248] and perhaps the icons of the *Mother of God with the Christ Child* and *Deesis* from Ocna Sibiului (Hung. Vízakna, Germ. Salzburg, Sibiu County, **fig. 76-77**).[249]

Other Ukrainian presences can be considered the *Ascension of the Lord* from Sânbenedic (Hung. Magyarszentbenedek, Alba County, **fig. 73**), *Saint Nicholas of Myra* (**fig. 69**) and *Deesis* (**fig. 75**) from Nicula Monastery (Cluj County), the latter dated 1700, and the *Last Supper* from Susenii Bârgăului (Bistrița-Năsăud County), also dated 1700.[250] Related to Ruthenian workshops, but maybe painted by local paiters are the icons *Mother of God with the Christ Child* from Tăure (Hung. Tóhát) (**fig. 74**), *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, *Deesis* and the *Archangel Michael* from Runcu Salvei (Hung. Runk) (repainted, **fig. 70-72**), the royal doors dated 1695 from the collection of the Museum in Năsăud (all of them from Bistrița-Năsăud County), *Deesis* dated 1677 from Ciubăncuța (Hung. Felsőcsobanka),[251] *Nativity of Christ* from Osoi,[252] *Deesis* from Sălișca (Hung. Szelecske)[253] and *Deesis* from the

Notes

Mother of God, the latter signed and dated 1690 (Porumb, Sabău 1978, p. 112; Porumb 1998, p. 150.

245 *Jesus Christ enthroned, flanked by apostles*, icon signed and dated 1692, with the name of the donor scratched out on purpose (Dobjanschi 2003, p. 234-237).

246 Dumitran 2014, p. 129-130.

247 *Mănăstiri și biserici din Transilvania* 2022, p. 359.

248 Dumitran 2014a, p. 130.

249 Porumb 1998, p. 271.

250 *Monumente istorice* 1982, p. 167; Porumb 1998, colored illustration from the group of unnumbered illustrations, located at p. 312-313.

251 *Monumente istorice* 1982, p. 220.

252 *Monumente istorice* 1982, p. 221; Porumb 2023, p. 456.

253 *Monumente istorice* 1982, p. 223.

Museum of the Cluj Metropolitanate, dated in 1682 (fig. 78) (all of them from Cluj County).

Conclusions

Quantitatively, this series of icons from Transylvanian Romanian churches that can be attributed to Ruthenian masters, or craftsmen who had an intimate kowledge of the Ruthenian artistic environment, does not have a particular consistency. However, this series of icons comprises at least half of the total preserved works of art. For some territories, such as that of Maramureș and Crișana, the percentage is even higher, within the limits of the time frame analyzed. This reality forces us to conclude that, no matter how aleatory the survival of the works was, the presence of Ruthenian painters and their contribution to the endowment of Romanian churches and the training of local iconographers were significant. It could not have been otherwise, due to the special momentum of Ruthenian iconography starting from the last decades of the 15th century, of the constant relations of religious subordination to Ruthenian hierarchs, of the daily contact between Romanians and Ruthenians in ethnically mixed communities, where they probably attended the same church, and of the long political *condominium* between Hungary and Poland, which continued in the era of the Principality of Transylvania. The contribution of Moldavia is added. Important Western influences came via the Ruthenian environment were also felt there, even if artistic exchanges were also done the other way around, with painters from Moldavia being employed by important customers from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. But the painters from Moldavia integrated into the artistic phenomenon in which they were invited to create, rather than influenced it in the sense of getting closer to the Moldavian pattern, perhaps because Moldavia was only a stage in a more ample itinerary, some of them coming from south of the Danube or from the Athonite or Italo-Cretan environment.

We find the repetition of some patterns: a master comes, on his own initiative or at the invitation of a customer, to carry out a work. His activity then expands. At first, he is invited into the communities immediately adjacent, then at greater distances. Some, perhaps the most talented artists, thus managed to cover a large part of the space targeted by the present research. The anonymous author of the triptych in the Brukenthal National Museum was active from the north of Hungary to the Western Carpathians, and the network of models used by the anonymous author of the icon in Țelna is overwhelming. Some chose to settle here, like Luke from Iclod, perhaps also because of the large number of orders. Others never reached the Romanian territories, considering that their icons could also be bought directly from workshop or from fairs.

Another pattern is the survival in the Romanian environment, at least for another century, of some stylistic and decorative features most likely brought by masters who could not adapt to the changes in manners in the Ruthenian environment, but whose activity with archaizing traces could flourish unhindered here. The features include paradisiacal vegetation, backgrounds decorated in relief, initially by punching tool, then by incision in the gesso, with frames with cabochons, which had been spreading in Maramureș and Transylvania as they were going out of fashion in the Ruthenian environment.

Last but not least, the diversification of the holy characters's garments (a shirt instead of the chiton, a belt over the Infant's waist, the headscarf of the Mother of God replaced by a transparent veil), the diversification of the gestures (the Infant's blessing of the viewer, the orientation of the legs and the position of the hands), the diversification of the attributes and of their manner of presentation (the rotulus in the Infant's hand replaced by a globe, a book or a flower, the closed codex in the Pantokrator's hand replaced by the globe or an open book, the selection of the Gospel verse), all these brought to the Romanian space the first echoes of piety towards the famous icons in the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom, such as those of the *Mother of God* from Krekhiv (Ukr. Крехів, Pol. Krechów), Łopienka, Vilna or Częstochowa, or of increasingly widespread Western typologies, such as that of the *Salvator Mundi*. What exactly was the percentage of these compositional changes by the end of the 17th century, we can no longer know, but it should not be minimized simply because there are not enough examples preserved from before the 18th century, when they would have become dominant in local iconography, partly due to the fame of some 17th-century icons, which would manifest themselves as miracle workers.

Fig. 78. *Deesis*, Transylvanian painter with Ruthenian style, 1682.
Courtesy by the Cluj Metropolitanate Museum.


ГС
ХС



The Stylistic Influences of Ruthenian Painting in the Wallachian Principality in the 17th Century.

A Few Considerations

Elisabeta Negrău

"George Oprescu" Art History Institute, Romanian Academy, Bucharest

Prior to the 17th century, Ruthenian[1] art was seldom commissioned or traded in the Principality of Wallachia. Between the 14th and the 16th centuries, Wallachian art maintained close ties with the large centers in the Balkans, but not significant relations with the East. Although stylistically one cannot find conspicuous connections between the Wallachian and the Ruthenian icons of the period, Ukrainian and Polish scholars have pointed out occasional contacts with the south that took place through Greek peregrine artists and through the movement of population, painters and models during the 16th century, especially in the Western area of the present-day Ukraine.[2] Chronicler Jan Długosz (1415-1480) recorded that the region on the right bank of the Dniester River, reaching Hungary in the south and covering the basin of the Stryi River, gained the name *Wallachia* because of the many Wallachian and Vlach migrants that settled there.[3] Possible interchanges of artistic practices between the Southern Polish territories and the Principality of Wallachia during the 16th century cannot thus be excluded, but historical evidences about them are scarce. The presence of full-length, double-figured iconostasis icons produced in the Wallachian Principality in the early 16th-century[4] may only be hypothetically correlated with the Ruthenian iconostasis icons of this kind.[5]

Conservative and Innovative Trends

Beginning with Alexandru Efremov, scholars considered that icon painting in the Wallachian Principality, in the interval informally defined by Romanian historiography as the *Age of Matei Basarab*, was marked by two different trends and by a third that may be considered a synthesis.[6] The period, named after Voivode (Prince) Matei Basarab, ruler of Wallachia between 1632-1654, lasted roughly the four decades between 1630s and 1670s, which were concurrent with the activity of

Fig. 1. *Mother of God Hodegetria*, Andrey of Lviv, 1646; Stelea Monastery from Târgoviște (?). Today, at National Museum of Art Bucharest.

Copyright: National Museum of Art Bucharest.

Notes

1 Instead of "Ukrainian", we preferred to use the Latin-inspired name "Ruthenian", a historical term that became a fixture in Polish documents and chronicles as well as Latin documents issues by the ducal chancery in Lithuania by the 14th century (Danylenko 2017, p. 166). The term was also coined by Mirosław Piotr Kruk to replace the earlier term "Carpathian", to define the Orthodox icons produced in the 15th-16th centuries in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, an area corresponding to parts of present-day Poland, Slovakia, Ukraine, and Belarus, "to some extent alluding to a philological notion indicating one language family before the development of national languages;" Kruk 1996, p. 40; Kruk 2019, vol. I, p. 14. On the history of the term "Ruthenian", see Danylenko 2017, p. 161-173.

2 See Deluga 2019, p. 82-86, 99-101.

3 *Apud* Kruk 2019, vol. I, p. 15.



Fig. 2. *Descent into Hell*, Andrey of Lviv, 1646; Stelea Monastery from Târgoviște (?). Today, at National Museum of Art Bucharest.

Copyright: National Museum of Art Bucharest.

Metropolitan Stephen I of Wallachia (1648-1668).[7] The two trends were seen by Efremov as competing tendencies: of keeping the Byzantine tradition and, respectively, of adopting a more naturalistic view, generally inspired by Central-European art. Through "naturalism", we understand an image in accordance with the human optical perception, an endeavor started by the Renaissance painters and subsequently continued in the Baroque period. Certainly, the definition of 17th-century Orthodox art like Russian and Ruthenian painting as "naturalistic" should be seen with the necessary nuances, of spotting a trend manifested subtly in images otherwise remained completely anchored in the post-Byzantine iconographical tradition of icon painting. It came up from the interaction of the Late Gothic, Renaissance and then Baroque Central-European painting and engraving with the Byzantine canon of the Orthodox icons. The result was a hybrid between two almost opposing sets of pictorial strategies: the material and carnal view of the West and the hieratic and graphic stylization of Byzantine tradition were grafted upon each other. Among the gains of this *ad-hoc* "naturalism" in the Ruthenian and Russian icons we mention a sense of atmosphere and space context, of tactility of the surfaces and of volumetry of the figures.

Notes

4 A discussion around the connections between the double-figured iconostasis panels of the *Deesis* icons from Curtea de Argeş, the one at Hurezi, and the *Deesis* iconostasis row at Krušedol in Serbia, at Costea 1990a, p. 19-33. An extended analysis of the 16th-century Wallachian iconostases, at Negrău 2022.

5 Ярема 2017, p. 30-40, 42, 45; Kruk 2019, vol. III, p. 70, 99.

6 Efremov 1982, p. 476; Efremov 2003, p. 52.

7 Efremov 1982, p. 467.





Fig. 3. *Mother of God Hodegetria*, mid to third quarter of 17th century, the Art Museum in Râmnicu-Vâlcea.
Credits: Cristina Serendan.

Fig. 4. *Christ Pantokrator*, mid to third quarter of 17th century, the Art Museum in Râmnicu-Vâlcea.
Credits: Cristina Serendan.

Although Efremov stressed that the import of innovative elements should have entered Wallachia from Central-European art, he mentioned only briefly the possibility of a Ruthenian or Russian route for this trend, without developing further his idea.[8] Marina-Ileana Sabados demonstrated that these imports arrived in the Romanian Principalities filtered and processed via Ruthenian art.[9] In the following pages, I will discuss all the known painting works marked by this "innovative trend"[10] in Wallachia and I will deal primarily with their stylistic aspects, also addressing the question of the "politization" of the trend in Wallachian art toward the end of the 17th century.

The "new style" came to Romanian Principalities, as already stated, through contacts with both Ruthenian and Russian channels. However, the process of adopting the Eastern stylistic innovations was not homogenous. In both Moldavia and Wallachia, the Ruthenian artistic contacts came first, perhaps in late 15th century, and were manifesting freer. In Wallachia they became a conspicuous trend during the times of Matei Basarab when Wallachian donors and ktetors oriented toward importing icons in a Ruthenian style, a phenomenon triggered by the propagation of the illustrated theological works through printing by the Pechersk Lavra in Kyiv. By the end of the 17th century, as the political vision of the Wallachian rulers became more strongly oriented toward imperial models and the reinforcement of a theology of power of Byzantine origin filtered through the Russian political model of the time, the trend was overtaken by an import of Russian imperial provenance.[11]

A conservative tendency[12] that kept the traits of the post-Palaiologan painting was still strong in Wallachia in the first decades of the 17th century.[13] It mainly perpetuated the late Palaiologan iconography and stylistic paradigms that had been acclimated in Wallachia since the 14th to the 16th centuries, now with an increasing influx of Kastorian and Epirote painters bringing their models and influencing the local painters.[14] This conservative trend which strove to revivify the late

Notes

8 Efremov 1982, p. 484-485.

9 Sabados 2002-2003; Sabados 2003a.

10 Efremov 1982, p. 480-483.

11 Cristina Cojocaru was the first to analyze in more depth the growing presence of Russian icons in Wallachia in the period of Brâncoveanu's reign, particularly in the foundations of the ruling prince and his relatives, the Cantacuzino boyar family. The ongoing research is conducted within the ERC project RICONTRANS directed by Yuliana Boycheva, 2020-2025.

12 Efremov 1982, p. 476-479.

13 See Efremov 1982, p. 476-479; Efremov 2003, p. 52-53; see also Costea 2008, p. 129, 140.

14 Negrău 2020-2021, p. 3-15, at 7, 13-14.



Fig. 5. *Mother of God with the Christ Child,* 1646, Susenii Bârgăului. Today at the Orthodox Protopopiate in Bistriţa.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Byzantine artistic canon was being present not only in the Wallachian Principality but also in the Greek areas such as Macedonia, Epirus, Crete, and up to Cyprus. Seen as the proper canon for Orthodox icon painting, it was being maintained in Wallachia not only by the rulers, the hierarchs, the boyar donors and the local painters but also through several Greek hierarchs, theologians, and artists who came along a Greek diaspora of merchants and craft workers and started to settle in Wallachia by the end of the 16th century.[15] The artworks of the *scriptoria* opened by the bishops Luke of Cyprus and Matthew of Myra at Dealu Monastery in Târgoviște, where were copied and illustrated manuscripts, were conservative in iconography and style.[16] At the Metropolitan Cathedral in Bucharest, the mural paintings completed under Voivode Radu Leon, a ruler of Greek origin from Constantinople, in 1665-1668, the year Metropolitan Stephen I died, were also traditional in style, as shown by a single fragment preserved, the dedication icon of *Saints Constantine and Helena*, above the church entrance.

A document in the collection of the History Museum in Moscow, published by Vera Tchentsova, offers valuable data about the painting craft in Wallachia at the time of Matei Basarab. The document is a letter addressed to the Patriarch of Moscow Nikon, dated July 25, 1655, and signed by two painters, brothers Ioannis and Georgios from Macedonia.[17] The artists offered themselves to come to Moscow to

Notes

15 See Negrău 2020-2021, p. 13-14; Negrău 2020a, p. 316-321.

16 See Popescu-Vâlcea 1981; Sinigalia 2011, p. 33-47.





Fig. 6. *Mother of God Glykophilousa*, Ruthenian School, mid-17th century, National Museum in Cracow.
Source: Guminska 2012.

Fig. 7. *Mother of God Hodegetria*, post 1644, Saint Paraskeva Church in Lviv.
Credits: Alexandru Baboș.

paint frescoes and train mural painters. They also listed to the Russian Patriarch their portfolio of works, murals they had completed in different places: the church of Prince Vladimir in Kyiv – which Tchentsova identified with the church of the Transfiguration in Berestovo, restored and painted under the Metropolitan of Kyiv Peter Movilă (Rom. Petru Movilă, Pol. Piotr Mohyła, Ukr. Петро Могила) in 1643[18] –; several monasteries in Wallachia: Căldăruşani, Brebu, Strehaia, Cornăţel, Plătăreşti, and Plumbuita; and Soveja Monastery in Moldavia.[19] All the seven churches that they painted in the Romanian Principalities were princely foundations, built by the Wallachian Voivode Matei Basarab between 1638-1651. As the number of the monuments is quite large, the painters may have been contracted for the ruler soon after November 1643, after they had finished the murals at Berestovo,[20] and they must have worked for the Wallachian ruler until his death on April 9, 1654, while the next year they headed toward Russia to look for new contracts. Little has been preserved from the works of the two Macedonian painters, brothers Ioannis and Georgios, but the fragments conserved can be framed into the same conservative, post-Byzantine traditionalist tendency, marked by the perpetuation, through the hermeneiai, of the post-Palaiologan Macedonian and Epirote painting trends of the mid-16th century shaped by the Theban painters Frangos Katelanos and the brothers Georgios and Frangos Kontaris.[21]

The phenomenon of orientation towards more "naturalistic" images was recorded both in Moldavia and Wallachia, by 1600. It was mainly inspired by the increasing integration of naturalistic elements in portraits and icon painting in Eastern Europe and first of all in the Ruthe-

Notes

17 Synod. Gramm. 2289 / Vlad. 511; Tchentsova 2007, p. 311-345.

18 Лопухина, Питателева, Ченцова 2015, p. 180, 182.

19 See Tchentsova 2017, p. 77-94; Negrău 2020a, p. 299-322.

20 Tchentsova 2017, p. 78, 84-86.

21 Negrău 2020a, p. 321-322. See also Negrău 2021, p. 259-268.



▲ Fig. 8. Iconostasis for the chapel of Neamţ Fortress, Malar Baraski, 1643. Today, at the Museum of Neamţ Monastery.

Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Notes

22 The Movilă dynasty tied close relations with Poland and became Polish protegees. The daughters of the Movilă families married Polish noblemen of Ruthenian origin. For the Moldavian foundations erected in Galicia, see Panaitescu 1929.

23 The Brotherhood was an influential religious organization that possessed stavropegion rights and was constituted to defend the Orthodox Church, particularly against Polish and Latin influences. It had its own publishing house from which it issued in 1630 a Slavonic *Oktoechos* that praised the financial aid given to the printing press by Prince Miron Barnovski; Kruk 2009a.

24 Meteş 1929, p. 31.

25 Moldavia headed to Moscow for icons since the late 1620s; see Dragomir 1911-1912; p. 1081-1088, 1145-1148; Lapedatu 1912; Firea 2021.

26 Dragomir 1911-1912, p. 1082-1083,

nian lands, an area with which both Romanian Principalities and particularly the Moldavian dynasties tied cultural relations in the late 16th and the 17th centuries.[22] Moldavian princes supported financially, in the 16th and 17th centuries, the Lviv Dormition Brotherhood (Ukrainian: Львівське успенське братство) at the Dormition of the Mother of God Church in Lviv – also known as "the Wallachian Church", built by the Movilă family and Miron Barnovschi.[23] Wallachian Voivode Michael the Brave (Rom. Mihai Viteazul, r. 1593-1600) took at his court a painter from Lviv, Peter Grigorovich, an Armenian by descent, who also served as chronicler and diplomat for the ruler. Of course, the leading role of Russia in the region played an important role too, although the icon workshops of Kremlin were not yet at their peak, a phenomenon which will manifest from the 1650s on. Painter Peter Grigorovich of Lviv recorded in a document that Voivode Mihai Viteazul received from the tsar of Russia "icons for the churches in Wallachia", before 1599.[24] Unfortunately, neither Grigorovich's paintings nor the Russian icons have survived to this day.

The icons which experimented with the innovations of the Stroganov "school", produced in the workshops of the tsar from *c.*1600s and up to the 1640s, became exceptionally praised in the Romanian Principalities by 1630s, on the grounds of the perceived scarcity of good local icon painters in both countries. The Moldavian Princes Miron Barnovski (r. 1626-1629; 1633),[25] Vasile Lupu (r. 1634-1653) and the Wallachian Matei Basarab complained in letters to Moscow about the lack of good icon painters and the decadence of the painting craft in Moldavia and Wallachia, asking for artists from the tsar's workshop.[26] Paul of Aleppo, deacon of the Patriarchate of Antioch and the son and companion of Patriarch Macarius III Zaim on his trips through the Orthodox lands of the Eastern Europe, saw in 1652 the marvelous ico-





nostasis of the Three Hierarchs church in Iaşi, a foundation of Voivode Vasile Lupu.[27] The icons, made in 1638-1641, were the joint work of Moldavian and Muscovite painters from the imperial workshop whom Vasile Lupu had asked the tsar for and whom, according to documents, Tsar Mikhail Feodorovich had sent in 1641 to Moldavia: Sidor Pospeev, Deiko Iakovlev, and Prokop Nikitin.[28] Visiting the Golia Monastery, the foundation of Vasile Lupu in the same Moldavian city, the Syrian traveler accounted that its iconostasis was an "unusual and ... exquisite work, more beautifully made even than those of the Cretan painters."[29] The tall iconostasis had four rows of icons on the architrave, framed by arches: the *Great Feasts*, the *Miracles of Christ*, *Deesis* with the apostles, and the *Holy Trinity* with the prophets. The influence of the tall Russian iconostasis is evident,[30] as it is the case with the murals; in the sanctuary's conch was depicted *Christ on throne* wearing an archbishop vestment in green color[31] an iconography and coloring that will be promoted later by the Kremlin Armory painting shop ruled by Simon Ushakov. Unfortunately, neither the iconostasis nor the mural paintings of Golia and Three Hierarchs have survived. The church of Golia Monastery was built by masons brought from Poland, as recorded by the same Syrian author.[32] Other examples of an influence from the Ruthenian area may be spotted in the description Paul of Aleppo made to the – now lost – votive portrait of Prince Miron Barnovschi at his monastic foundation in Iaşi (1627-1633), which displayed him mounted on a white horse,[33] a curious choice for a portrait in an Orthodox church, which evoked Gothic-inspired examples like the votive portrait of the Lithuanian noble Theodor Vitold at Lujeni

◤ Fig. 9. *Mother of God Eleousa,* Russian School, Plătărești Monastery.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

◢ Fig. 10. *Saint Demetrius,* Russian School, Plătărești Monastery.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Notes

p. 1088-1092, 1145-1148, 1151-1152, 1156-1162; Sabados 2002-2003, p. 33.

27 Paul din Alep 2014, p. 190-191.

28 Dragomir 1911-1912, p. 1088-1091.

29 Paul din Alep 2014, p. 178.

30 The influence of the tall Russian iconostasis entered Moldavia as early as 1602. The iconostasis of Moldovița Monastery displayed four rows of icons on the architrave: Sabados 2008. A growing influence of Russian art manifested at the end of the 16th century already, during the rule of Movilă dynasty; Costea 1993; Sabados 2008.

31 Paul din Alep 2014, p. 178.

32 Paul din Alep 2014, p. 177.

33 Paul din Alep 2020, p. 359.





▲ Fig. 11. *Saint Nicholas*, Stroe of Târgoviște, 1643-1644, Arnota Monastery. Today, at the National Museum of Art, Bucharest.

Copyright: National Museum of Art Bucharest.

◥ Fig. 12. *Saint Nicholas*, 1642, Saint Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv. Today at the National Art Museum of Ukraine, Kyiv.

Credits: Agnieszka Gronek.

(Ukr. Лужани) (post 1452-1456)[34] and that of King of Poland Władysław II Jagiełło from the Holy Trinity Chapel at Lublin Castle (1418).[35]

In Wallachia, Matei Basarab received such icon gifts from the Muscovite tsar in 1650.[36] Another exemplar of Russian painting in Wallachia was the decoration of the – now lost – Mărgineni Monastery, rebuilt by *postelnik* (seneschal) Constantin Cantacuzino in the 1640s. In 1654, Paul of Aleppo described the murals as belonging to the same "great master who painted the monasteries of Vasile Lupu, the voivode of Moldavia", while the icons of the iconostasis "cannot be likened but with the ones in the monasteries of Vasile Lupu."[37] While nothing from the monastery complex has survived, we can but suppose, based on the account of Paul of Aleppo, that the paintings were the works of the Muscovite painters sent by Tsar Mikhail Feodorovich to Vasile Lupu in Iaşi and who, after completing the foundations of the voivode of Moldavia, may have passed to the grand *postelnik* Cantacuzino in Wallachia.

Ruthenian Icons in Wallachia

For Wallachia however, while the Russian paintings at Mărgineni remained an isolated case, it was mostly Kyiv and Lviv that provided the closest products of the new style. The Wallachian relations with the Ruthenian lands became more tighten when Peter Movilă (1596-1646), the son of the Moldavian Voivode Simeon Movilă and former abbot of Pechersk Lavra in 1628, came to the Orthodox Metropolitan Seat of Kyiv (1632-1646). Metropolitan Peter Movilă patronized a Latino-Polish Orthodox college in Kyiv, *Collegium Kijoviense Mohileanum*, among other schools, with a *curriculum* modeled on that of Jesuit colleges.[38]

Notes

34 Ciobanu 2011, fig. 10.

35 On the significance of this portrait and its link with the motif of Constantine the Great, see Walczak 2022.

36 Bevziconi 1947, p. 53.

37 Paul din Alep 2014, p. 280.

38 On his two-decades activity at the College in Kyiv, see Ševčenko 1984, p. 9-44.



Fig. 13. *Mother of God Eleousa / Glykophilousa*, Târgoviște workshop, *c.*1646-1651, Sâmburești church. Today, in the Museum of Clocoviov Monastery.

Copyright: Elisabeta Negrău.

He also supported several cultural reforms in the Orthodox Ruthenian milieu, including the adoption of visual forms of expression borrowed from Central-European Catholic art and their adaptation to the underlying principles of post-Byzantine iconography. The typography of the Pechersk Lavra in Kyiv, founded in 1615, played such a double-folded role, both in promoting the Orthodox tradition through texts and in adopting Central-European schemes in their woodcut book illustrations.[39] The Dutch Illustrated Bibles, as the *Merian Bible*, 1627 (of Matthaeus Merian the Elder), and the *Piscator Bible* from 1650 (illustrated by Claes Janszoon Visscher / Nicolas Joannes Piscator), functioned as *Kunstbuch*, i.e., art manuals for the painters and engravers at Pechersk Lavra in Kyiv;[40] the corrupt Ukrainian term for them was *kuzhbushky*.[41] Through such works, the naturalist trend of Western origin entered the repertoires of Ruthenian painting and engraving. With the support of Peter Movilă, Wallachian Prince Matei Basarab set up two printing houses at the Câmpulung Monastery (1635) and at Govora Monastery (1637) in Wallachia after the model of that of the Pechersk Lavra.[42] Movilă contributed by sending printing presses and Ruthenian printers[43] who were adapting German and Dutch engravings to the Orthodox principles of iconography.

A second channel of influence was the model of the Manyava Skete (Ukr. Манявський Скит) which, after the union with Rome of the

Notes

39 Каменева, Гусева 1976.

40 See Deluga 1996c.

41 See such *kuzhbushky* at http://www.irbis-nbuv.gov.ua/, *Цифрова бібліотека історико-культурної спадщини, Колекція Києво-Печерської іконописної школи (кужбушки).*

42 Popa, Iancovescu 2009, p. 53.

43 Panaitescu 1996, p. 20-22.



Fig. 14. The iconostasis of Stelea Monastery, Târgovişte, 1658-1659: a) *molenie / lypiron* of Saint John the Evangelist; b) central panel of *Deesis* row.

Credits: Ana Dumitran.

eparchies of Przemyśl and Lviv, remained the bastion of the Orthodox faith in Galicia. The reforms initiated by Job the egumenos of Manyava toward the regulation of anchoritic life around cenobitic monasteries were imitated by Wallachian Prince Matei Basarab at his monastic foundation in Câmpulung (1638) and later by Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu at Hurezi Monastery (open in 1692),[44] and contributed to interchange of theological literature and experience between Wallachia and the Ruthenian lands.

Apart from printed engravings, also Ruthenian icons were recorded in Wallachia during this time. Two exceptionally large icons (**fig. 1-2**), the *Mother of God Hodegetria* (141,2 x 100 cm) and the *Descent into Hell* (141,5 x 102 cm), signed by painter Andrey of Lviv presumably come

Notes

44 Popa, Iancovescu 2009, p. 45-53.



from the lost original iconostasis of Stelea Monastery, a monument built in the capital city of Târgoviște by the Moldavian Voivode Vasile Lupu as a gift to Matei Basarab, in 1645-1646.[45] The iconostasis was destroyed by fire in 1658[46] and the two icons by Andrey of Lviv seem to be the only pieces that survived. Andrey painted them in the city of Lviv, as mentioned in the signature inscription on the icon of the *Descent into Hell*: "Andrey the servant of God, wrote in Lviv, 1646".[47] The Syrian traveler Paul of Aleppo saw the iconostasis paintings in 1657, describing them as excellent exemplars of what he defined as "Russian work"[48] (*sic!*). The mislabel must be a slip by the author, who visited many churches and saw a plethora of paintings in Eastern Ukraine and Russia, but probably did not have the time to process and reflect upon all the differences between the paintings in the two countries. In the "Cossacks' Lands" he visited Uman, Bohuslav, Kyiv, Putyvl and others on the way in 1654. Crossing the board in the Russian Tsardom, he saw Novgorod and stayed at Moscow for 14 months, in 1655-1656.[49] According to his own account, the best examples of naturalistic painting that he had the occasion to see were in Ukraine and not Russia. He even left an enthusiast description of an icon in the naturalist style which he admired in Vasylkiv not far from Kyiv. The account is relevant for the visual fascination these lifelike naturalistic paintings produced to their contemporaries: "Inside the church [of Saints Anthony and Theodosius the Great] there is an icon of the Mother of God which is very large and wonderful like no one else I saw before or afterwards. It was so beautifully painted that it seemed it would begin to talk. Her vestment was, as usual, of thin velvet in dark red. I have never seen such craft. Her features, set against a dark

Notes

45 Dobjanschi, Georgescu 1998, cat. 5, cat. 6, p. 68, 106.

46 See Efremov 1973, p. 53-56.

47 Dobjanschi, Georgescu 1998, cat. 5, p. 106.

48 Paul din Alep 2014, p. 243.

49 Paul din Alep 2014, p. 14-15.



Fig. 15. *Saint Paraskeva*, mid-17th century. The Art Museum in Râmnicu-Vâlcea.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

background, were smooth like velvet. […] And the Lord at her chest is wholly wonderful, supernatural, as if He were about to talk. As I said, I have seen a large part of the lands of the Romans (Byzantines / Greeks), those up here and those from here up to Moscow and I have never seen an icon similar to this, because the painters of the Cossacks borrowed the craft of icon painting, portraits and vestment colouring from the great Western masters of the Poles, and now they paint icons for the Orthodox. And thus, the local painters have become very skilled masters and they paint human faces perfectly, as if they were alive."[50]

Some of the most remarkable examples of Ruthenian artworks of the "new style" in Wallachia are two very little-known despotic icons, today found in the Museum of Art in Râmnicu-Vâlcea (**fig. 3-4**). The icons, of small dimensions in comparison with other contemporary despotic icons (65.5 x 57 cm), were the work of a highly skilled painter.[51] He supposedly belonged to the Moscow milieu according to a fragmentary inscription read by museographer Ioana Ene: "Alex[ander] … [M]os-c[ow] … [16]71 day Oct. 5."[52] Today, the inscription is almost completely lost. However, the restorers found that the technique used for the support preparation of the two icons is not similar with the usual techniques used by the Russian artists and that, stylistically, the icons share more similarities with Ruthenian artistic practices than with Russian ones.[53] Although the painter proves of excellent training, which seems superior to other contemporary Ruthenian preserved examples regarding the modelling of the flesh on the hands, the elegant drapes

Notes

50 Paul din Alep 2020, p. 508 [my translation from Romanian].

51 Ene 2011, cat. 1 and 2, p. 122 and figs 1-2. The icons were recently restored at the Conservation Lab of the Faculty of Conservation and Restoration in the National University of Arts in Bucharest, by a team led by dr. Cristina Serendan. I thank dr. Cristina Cojocaru for making this information known to me and providing me with relevant photos.

52 Ene 2011, cat. 1 (Christ Pantokrator), p. 122.

53 Serendan, Firea, Işvanca, Chelmuş 2020, p. 13-26, at p. 16, 21, 23.



Fig. 16. *Pantokrator-Deesis*, Wallachian workshop, mid-17th century. Today at Museum of Cozia Monastery.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

of the vestments, and the graceful background decoration with fleshy acanthus leaves, vines and open seed capsules modelled in stucco, he also seemed to have had extensive experience with Ruthenian artistic practices. The facial types, the red waistband of the Infant Christ tied in a bow, the background decoration in stucco, and the frame design of the two icons are typical to mid-17th century Ruthenian icons (**fig. 5-6**).[54] The iconographic details and the stylistic features evoke works such as the icons in the church of Saint Paraskeva in Lviv, attributed to the painters Lavrin Puhala and Fedor Senkovych, a monument erected with funds provided by Moldavian Voivode Vasile Lupu in 1644 (**fig. 7**).[55] A Ruthenian icon of the Mother of God in the Creţulescu Church in Bucharest, brought in the 1980s from a private collection, seems to come from the same milieu.[56] The 1643 iconostasis of the Ruthenian "Malar" Baraski (Maler, Germ. "painter") for the chapel of Neamţ Fortress[57] (**fig. 8**) and the Galician icons of the iconostasis at Rădeana,[58] both in Moldavia, display the similar "realistic" approach to images.

Toward a New Wallachian Synthesis

The third tendency in 17th-century Wallachian painting was represented by a local synthesis produced between the post-Byzantine conservative and the Ruthenian innovative visions.[59] While the intimidating Muscovite manner did not generate any known imitators in Walla-

Notes

54 See several high-quality Ruthenian icons which share common traits with the two icons at Râmnicu-Vâlcea, at Melnyk, Chlenova 2005, p. 93 fig. 46, p. 152 fig. 90; *Волинська ікона* 2018, p. 13, fig. 1; Gumińska 2012, vol. 2, p. 72.

55 Panaitescu 1929, p. 9; Deluga 2019, p. 54-56.

56 Deluga 2019, p. 55 and pl. v, fig. vii.

57 Sabados 2002-2003, p. 35-37. The iconostasis was brought in 1720 to the church of Saint John in Vânători-Neamţ and, since 1965, is being exhibited in the Museum of Neamţ Monastery. The painter's inscription was first published by Dumitru Năstase in his chapter "Icoane", in *Istoria artelor plastice în România* 1968, vol. ii, p. 143.

58 Sabados 2010, p. 31-55.

59 Efremov 1982, p. 484-485.



Fig. 17a-b. *Dormition of the Mother of God*, Wallachian workshop, mid-17th century. Museum of Cozia Monastery.
Credits: Elisabeta Negrău.

chia before 1690s, the more approachable Ruthenian icons inspired between 1640s and 1660s many Wallachian icon painters. Such are Stroe of Târgoviște, the painter of the icons of Arnota Monastery, the foundation of Matei Basarab, from which only two have survived, *Saint Nicholas* (signed and dated 1643-1644)[60] and *Archangel Michael*,[61] and the anonymous painter of the four icons from Sâmbureşti (*c.*1646-1651) (**fig. 11**, **13**).[62] The icons were all apparently worked in the same painting workshop in Târgoviște, the capital of the Wallachian Principality.[63] The typology of the figures and their pictorial treatment stylistically belong to Subcarpathian Ukraine and Southern Poland[64] (**fig. 12**), while the gilded modellings in stucco on the background are a mixture of Renaissance and Turkish floral motifs.[65] Alexandru Efremov, who coined the terms "conservative" and "innovative" analyzing the 17th-century Wallachian painting trends, categorized these works as forms of local synthesis, together with the three panels conserved from the *Deesis* row of the 1658-1659 iconostasis at Stelea Monastery in Târgoviște[66] (**fig. 14a-b**). Their elongated silhouettes and the treatment of their faces manifest a freer manner of drawing and a type of facies characteristic of Ruthenian art, marked by the contacts with Central-European panel painting.

The Russian icons commissioned for the iconostasis of Saint Mercurius Monastery in Plătăreşti (founded by Matei Basarab in 1640-1646) tried to closely imitate the stucco decorated background of Ruthenian

Notes

60 *Inscripţii Bucureşti* 1965, p. 739, cat. 1106.

61 Sabados 2002-2003, p. 37; Efremov 2003, p. 53 and 55 fig. 68.

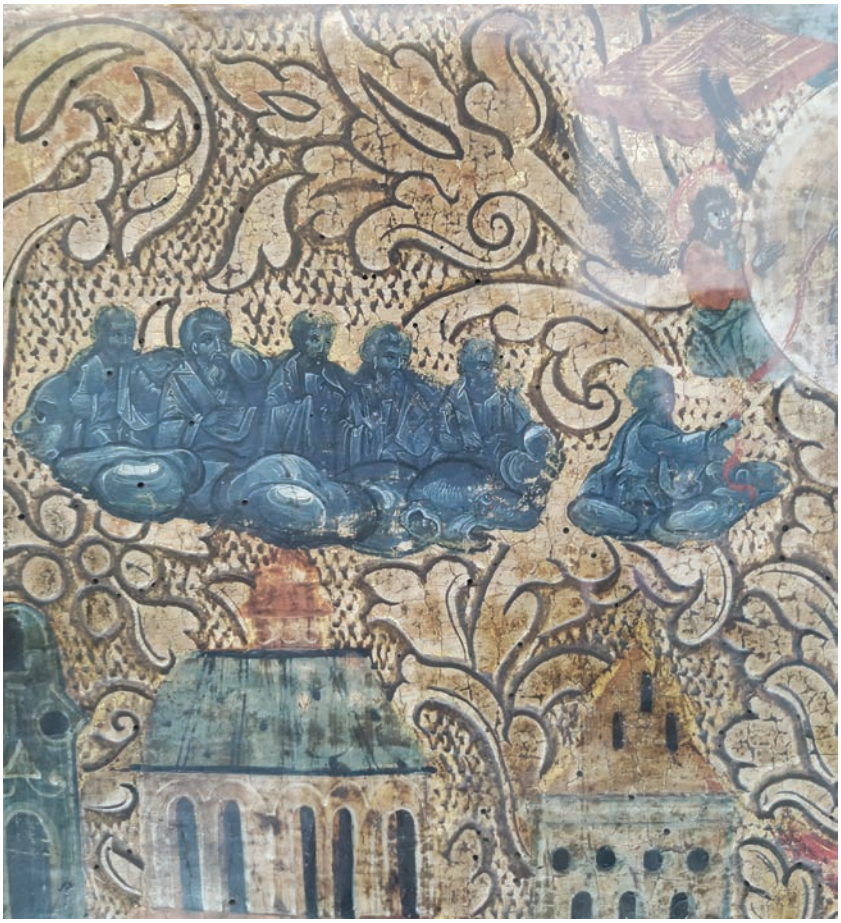
62 Şerbănescu 1978, p. 78-84.

63 Şerbănescu 1978, p. 83. On the hypothetical painting workshop(s) in the capital of Târgoviște, see Costea 2008, p. 129, 140.

64 Melnyk, Chlenova 2005, cat. 29, p. 216, fig. at p. 68; various other examples of such 17th-century icons are found in the Archdiocese Museum and in the National Museum in Przemyśl.

65 For the Turkish floral motifs and their circulation in the Romanian Principalities through Iznik ceramics, see Nicolescu 1967, 287-308.

66 Efremov 1973, p. 53-55; Efremov 1982, p. 485; Dobjanschi, Georgescu 1998, cat. 7, p. 68-69, 106-107.



tradition, which became an omnipresent vogue in Wallachia between 1640 and 1660.[67] The icon of the *Mother of God* (**fig. 9**) reproduced an *Eleousa / Glykophilousa* type with Christ holding a phylactery, which had been experimented with in Wallachia from the late 15th century up to the first part of the 17th century (see **fig. 13**) and whose model originated in late Byzantine and Cretan icons.[68] The stucco carvings of the Plătăreşti icons have sharper edges and a deeper cut than the usual stucco moldings of contemporary Ruthenian icons. Also, its decorative repertoire is not the one commonly used by the Ruthenian artists but has connections with the one manifest in Wallachian mural painting at the time of Matei Basarab.[69] The same is true for the icon of *Saint Mercurius*, the patron of Plătăreşti Monastery (**fig. 10**). Wallachian icons or drawings that had Ruthenian influences should have been sent in advance to the Russian painters in Moscow as models for the commissioned icons.

An icon of *Saint Paraskeva* in the Art Museum in Râmnicu-Vâlcea, dated by museographers to the third quarter of the 17th century, was painted by a Wallachian artist following a more traditional Ruthenian style (**fig. 15**). The inscription reads *Petka*, the traditional Southern-Slavic name variant of the saint, and not *Pyatnitsa*, the Eastern-Slavic form used more often in Russia in the 17th century. Also, the frontality of the figure and the linear painting style point to a more traditional Ruthenian vision than the typical 17th-century "naturalism".[70] The painting manner, together with the stucco patterns on the nimbus and the background, are very similar to other two icons from Vătăşeşti-Bărbăteşti (Vâlcea County), found today in the Cozia Monastery Museum (**fig. 16-17**). All three icons were executed by the same painter, most likely as a set for an iconostasis.[71] The icons share the same inclination toward graphism, like the icons from Arnota and

Notes

67 The date of the four icons is disputable. Sabados 2003a, p. 479-494 and Sabados 2002-2003, p. 37 dated them to 1644 by relating them to the Russian monk and painter Grigorij, mentioned by Matei Basarab in a letter to the tsar. Lately, Cristina Cojocaru redated them on stylistic grounds toward 1700, a far-stretched date considering their 1650s Wallachian models.

68 On this type of icons in Wallachia, see Negrău 2023. See also Sabados 2003a, p. 481 and Efremov 2003, p. 50-51. Similarly, but not directly related to the phenomenon in Wallachia, *Glykophilousa* icons of Cretan model were in vogue in Ruthenia in the 17th century (see **fig. 6**). For this type of icons in Ruthenian art, see Sygovski 2020 and Puskás 2022.

69 Pillat 1980, p. 38 fig. 46; p. 42, fig. 49, 50; p. 76 fig. 85.

70 See a traditional 16th-century icon of *Saint Paraskeva* from the Dormition of the Mother of God church in Wola Krzywiecka, National Museum in Przemyśl; *Ikony Przemyślu* 1981, cat. 27 and fig. 10.

71 Ene 2009, p. 286-289.



Fig. 18. *Pantokrator-Deesis*, Wallachian workshop, *c.*1656, Păușa Hermitage. Today, in the Art Museum in Râmnicu-Vâlcea.
Credits: Diana Mirea.

Sâmbureşti, but their Baroque-inspired pattern of the stucco background displays more similarities with the 1658-1659 despotic icons of the iconostasis of Bălăneşti-Râmeşti in Vâlcea[72] (see **fig. 27-30**) than with the Ottoman-style decoration of the icons from Arnota and Sâmbureşti (see **fig. 11-12**). Stuccos with a very similar Baroque-inspired treatment of the decoration can be found in mid-17th century Southwestern Ruthenian icons like those of Andrey of Lviv (see **fig. 1-2**) and in the icon of the *Mother of God* at the Franciscan church in Kraków, dated by M. P. Kruk to the mid-17th century and attributed to an workshop in Lviv.[73] The origin for these patterns laid probably in textiles – silks and brocades of German or Venetian origin. The overall effect of the gilded stucco backgrounds creates the impression of a luxurious golden silk brocade or tapestry on which the saintly figures are projected. This type of icons formed a visual accord with the richly sculpted and gilded Baroque iconostases of the time in the Ruthenian lands. They reveal the taste of the period for opulence, agglomeration, sumptuously rich decoration, and elaborate structures, an aesthetic cultivated by the ruling courts and the Church in Central Europe during the Baroque period.[74] The decoration of the icon backgrounds in gilded stucco was practiced in Wallachia during a relatively short period, between 1640 and 1660s.[75] In our opinion, it was faultily attributed

Notes

72 Efremov 2003, p. 53-56; Efremov 1974, p. 69-74.

73 Kruk 2020c.

74 See Оляніна 2019.

75 Cf. Efremov 1982, p. 481.

76 Efremov 1982, p. 480, 481, 482, 483.

77 Ene 2008, p. 203-209.

78 Ene 2008, p. 209.

79 *Волинська ікона* 2018, p. 15, fig. 5; *Волинська ікона* 2017, p. 123, fig. 3.

80 *Сию икоиу исписах азъ костанзинъ. / зографъ въ лѣтъ ахнѳ* (I, Konstantin the painter, made this icon in the year 1654).

to a direct reminiscence of the Gothic panel painting.[76] From the examples discussed above, it becomes evident that they were a product of the Wallachian contacts with contemporary Ruthenian icon painting.

Conspicuous attempts to mimic the Ruthenian manner can also be seen in two despotic icons from Păuşa Hermitage near Călimăneşti,[77] *Christ Pantokrator* found today in the Art Museum in Râmnicu-Vâlcea (**fig. 18**), and the icon of the *Mother of God* in the Museum of Cozia Monastery.[78] Both display an iconographic type often used in the Cretan and Greek Epirote area during the 17th century, in which the figures are depicted enthroned. Despite the iconography and the fact that they suffered subsequent repainting, the "naturalistic" approach and the physiognomic typologies prove affinities with the Subcarpathian Ukraine and Southern Polish area.[79]

Other paintings marked by Ruthenian influences are the icons made by painter Constantin for the iconostasis of the church of Saint Nicholas in Hunedoara, in Transylvania. The painter signed himself in Slavonic on the icon of *Christ Pantokrator*, dated to 1654.[80] The cross, the *Deesis* row, the icons of *Christ Pantokrator* and the *Dormition of the Mother of God* of the sovereign row display smooth shadows that model the facial volumes (**fig. 19-21**). The two icons were decorated with stucco moldings on the frames and nimbi, and the inscriptions of Christ were framed in carved cassettes, a feature common to all 17th-century Ruthenian-inspired Wallachian icons. Constantin, together with Stan, also executed the mural paintings of the church, completed on August 20, 1654, a donation of several presbyters and merchants of Hunedoara.[81] The mural paintings have many stylistic and iconographic elements that closely link them to the Wallachian mural paintings of the times of Matei Basarab.[82] This leads us to consider Constantin and his associate to be Wallachian painters. Several scholars have attributed also the despotic icons of the *Mother of God* and *Saint Nicholas* to the same artist and period,[83] but the two icons have nothing to do with the style of Constantin and the 17th-century aesthetics.[84]

Aside from the local synthesis, the period is also characterized by a mix of artists of different ethnicities with various styles and artistic backgrounds working on the same monument or iconostasis. Such an example is the Dormition of the Mother of God church in Grămeşti, a wooden construction founded by Metropolitan Stephen I of Wallachia in his native village in 1664. An expressive mural portrait of the Metropolitan is found inside the church (**fig. 22**),[85] displaying the naturalistic traits of the East-Central European panel painting of the period. Possibly, it was reproducing a panel or canvas portrait of the metropolitan made by a Ruthenian or a Transylvanian painter. This was also hypothesized with regards to the portrait of Matei Basarab engraved by Marco Boschini, for which a model consisting of a painted portrait of the Wallachian ruler made by a Ruthenian artist has been suggested.[86] The despotic icons of the iconostasis were signed by the painter Ioannis Skoutaris, a Greek from Gramosta, a Vlach village in Western Macedonia, while a Wallachian painter, Bogdan, worked the Feast icons.[87] The icons of Bogdan are of rather modest quality, their rustic appearance showing the rural origin of the painter (**fig. 23a-b**). He tried to copy the iconography and style of Ruthenian Feast icons, a fact proved both by the structure of the compositions, the architecture features in the backgrounds, and the ornamental motifs on the frames of the icons, inspired by Ruthenian examples (see **fig. 5**).[88] The inclusion by Bogdan of the rarely represented Feast of *Circumcision* among the icons of the Twelve Feasts in the iconostasis is also a Ruthenian characteristic.[89]

Notes

81 See *Mănăstiri şi biserici din Transilvania* 2020, p. 201-202.

82 See Porumb 1998, p. 167.

83 Virgil Vătăşianu, in *Istoria artelor plastice în România* 1968, vol. II, p. 169; Nicolescu 1976a, p. 27, cat. 31, p. 40-41, il. 43, Efremov 1982, p. 475, 477-479; Efremov 2003, p. 129-131. For their illustration, see in this volume, p. 136 and 138, **figs 45-46**.

84 Marius Porumb and, more recently, Elena and Ciprian Firea have been linking them to a late 15th or early 16th century Moldavian workshop: Porumb 1981, p. 48-50 and figs. 64-65; Firea, Firea 2023, p. 313-332. See also the article of Ana Dumitran in this volume.

85 Efremov 1974, p. 74 and fig. 9; Bălan 2005, p. 390 cat. III 505.

86 Sinigalia 1998, p. 224. A description of the portrait, at Theodorescu 1987, vol. II, p. 5 and fig. 77.

87 Efremov 2003, p. 56-57 and il. 74,75 (Ioannis Skoutaris). Bogdan signed himself on a feast icon of the *Baptism of Christ*, found today in the Museum of Cozia Monastery: *лѣтъ 7177 (1668), м(еси)ца ноем(врие) 6 д(ь)нь. Зуграф Богдан, поп Стан грѣшник* (Year 7177 (1668), month of November, 6 days. Painter Bogdan, Stan the priest and sinner); Sacerdoţeanu 1935, p. 103.

88 Melnyk, Chlenova 2005, cat. 26, p. 67; Gumińska 2012, vol. 2, p. 72. See also the icons painted in 1646 for the church in Dobra (Mureş County). Today, the icons of the sovereign row *Mother of God*, *Pantokrator*, and the *Descent of the Holy Spirit* are found at Bistriţa, in the collection of the Orthodox Protopopiate. The rest of the Dobra iconostasis was brought to Dumbrava, Bistriţa County; Dumitran 2014a, p. 128-129, 134-138. For illustration, see in this volume, p. 142-143, **figs 54-55** and **58**.

89 See Gronek 2020, p. 105-125.



Fig. 19. The iconostasis of the Saint Nicholas church in Hunedoara. Credits: Daniel Constantinescu.

In the miniatures of the *Sluzhebnik* (*Hieratikon*) of the Metropolitan Stephen may be found discreet stylistic elements that point to the innovative style, such as the smooth shadows, the linear perspective, and themes adapted from East European iconography like *Mother of God the Unfading Rose* and especially from Ruthenian one like *Christ the Vine*.[90] The energic and cultivated Metropolitan was one of the main supporters of the "innovative' trend in Wallachia.[91]

The 17th-century lavishly sculpted iconostasis found today at Crasna Monastery in Gorj County is supposed to come from the Saint Demetrius Church in Craiova, a large cross-in-square monument built by Matei Basarab in 1651.[92] Its sculpture reproduces motifs which are also found in the Ruthenian-inspired stucco backgrounds of the icons of this period.[93] Before 1836, the iconostasis was dismantled and its central part, with the large crucifix, was brought to the small church of Crasna Monastery.[94] The mixed manner in which the iconostasis was painted (**fig. 24**), with the medallions with angels evoking the Greek Macedonian and Epirote tradition, and the three painted panels that form the *Crucifixion* scene that imitate the Ruthenian "naturalism," prove the effort of the painters of the time to master and mix in also Ruthenian innovations. The portraits of the two founders, the Voivode

Notes

90 Popescu-Vâlcea 1943, p. 105; Popescu-Vâlcea 1974; Negrău 2010, p. 359-362.

91 On his biography, see Creţeanu 1977.

92 Efremov 1982, p. 471. The original iconostasis in Craiova might have been much larger, covering the entire eastern front of the three apses, summing approximately 8.6 meters. Sinigalia 2002, p. 260.

93 On its rich, mixed Ruthenian and Oriental-inspired sculpted motifs, see Dumitrescu 1988, p. 40.

94 Efremov 1982, p. 471.





Fig. 20. *Pantokrator-Deesis*, painter Constantin, 1654, Saint Nicholas church in Hunedoara.
Credits: Daniel Constantinescu.

Fig. 20. *Dormition of Mother of God*, painter Constantin, 1654, Saint Nicholas church in Hunedoara.
Credits: Daniel Constantinescu.

Matei Basarab and Metropolitan Stephen, painted at the basis of the Holy Cross, are mimicking a Ruthenian manner[95] that recalls the portrait of Peter Movilă at the Berestovo Church in Kyiv (**fig. 26**), painted by the Macedonians Ioannis and Georgios in 1643.[96] The portrait of Movilă displays the typical naturalistic features of the 17th-century Ruthenian painting, inspired by his canvas portraits[97] in an attempt by the two Greek painters to mimic the current portrait painting style in Kyiv. The iconostasis at Crasna was possibly worked by the same painters Ioannis and Georgios, familiar with the Ruthenian "naturalism." Two more such examples are the icons of a sovereign tier from the mid-17th century found today in the Museum of Antim Monastery in Bucharest. On stylistic grounds, both icons probably belong to a Greek Macedonian or Epirote painter, but the icon of the *Enthroned Mother of God with the Christ Child* also presents conspicuous attempts of mimicking a "naturalistic" facial modeling.[98]

A second double portrait is preserved at the church of All Saints in Bălăneşti-Râmeşti (Vâlcea County), founded by Metropolitan Stephen I in 1657-1659.[99] This time, next to the prelate, was depicted the ruler Mihnea III of Wallachia (1658-1659). Both are represented face to face, kneeling before the Mother of God orant, in a mountainous landscape (**fig. 25a**). The four icons of the sovereign tier were also preserved (**fig. 27-30**) – three were brought to the Museum of Hurezi Monastery while the fourth, the *Sunday of All Saints* with the portrait of Metropolitan Stephen I, initially left at Bălăneşti,[100] was restored and today is on display at the Archbishopric Palace in Râmnicu-Vâlcea (**fig. 27**). The style of these icons, all worked by the same painter, keeps itself within the limits of the post-Byzantine tradition, although the physiognomic typologies and the gilded stucco background discreetly evoke Ruthenian models (see **fig. 25b**). But the strikingly innovative effect is produced by the "naturalistic" landscape depicted in the back-

Notes

95 Efremov 1971, p. 42, 44, 46-47; Efremov 1974, p. 69, 72-73.

96 See Negrău 2020a, p. 302.

97 Feodorov 2016, p. 176-177; Feodorov 2018, p. 712-728.

98 Chițulescu, Duicu, Văetişi 2016, "Icoane", cat. 2-3, p. 24-27 (Atanasia Văetişi); Negrău 2020a, p. 311 and p. 316, figs 17 and 18.

99 Efremov 1971, p. 44-45.

100 Efremov 1974, p. 69-74; Efremov 2003, p. 53-55.



▲ Fig. 22. Portrait of Metropolitan Stephen I of Wallachia, *c.*1665, Dormition of the Mother of God church in Grămești (Vâlcea County).
Credits: Alexandru Baboș.





◥ Fig. 23a-b. Feast icons of *Annunciation* and *Circumcision of Jesus*, painter Bogdan, 1656, Grămești church. Today, in the Museum of Cozia Monastery.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

ground of the double portrait and of the icon of *Saint Paraskeva* (**fig. 30a-b**), rightly appreciated as "the first landscape of Western conception" in the Wallachian icon painting.[101] The painter depicted the hagiographic scene of finding the relics of Saint Paraskeva in a seascape with a mountain shore to which a human figure in a boat is heading, paddling. The local artist, who certainly knew specimens of East-Central European or Ruthenian painting, reproduced with considerable comprehension innovative elements of pictorial language such as the chromatic perspective.[102]

(Re)turning to a Byzantine Imperialism

An important turning point for the later phase of the "innovative style" in Wallachia took place with the Synod of Iaşi, Moldavia, in September-October 1642. The primary purpose of the colloquium was the need of the Kyivan representatives for an official response from the Patriarchate of Constantinople to the controversies generated by the recent accusations of influences of Calvinist doctrines in the Orthodox Church, generated by the *Confessio fidei* that the former Ecumenical Patriarch Cyril Lucaris had published in Geneva in 1629. The Moldavian Voivode Vasile Lupu hosted the meeting at the Three Hierarchs Monastery in Iaşi. Metropolitan of Kyiv Peter Movilă did not come in person to Iași, but he wrote in Latin a *Confession of Faith* (*Expositio Fidei*) which he sent to Iaşi through three representatives. The discussions at the colloquium evolved around the text of Movilă, a refutation of the Calvinist doctrine written in a scholastic style. Meletios Syrigos, a renowned anti-Catholic and anti-Calvinist theologian, the chief representative of the Ecumenical Patriarch at the colloquium,[103] amended the passages about the consecration in the Eucharist and the Purgatory,[104] modeled by Movilă on the *Tridentine Catechism*.[105] Syrigos translated the corrected text from Latin into Vulgar Greek for the Ecumenical Patriarch, who approved it through a synodal act in Constantinople on March 11, 1643. Syrigos went afterward to Kyiv, where he met Metropolitan Movilă in person, at the Pechersk Lavra. After the arrival of Syrigos in Kyiv, Movilă began to restore and paint the Berestovo Church in Pechersk, which enabled Vera Tchentsova to assume that Syrigos might have been the one who recommended the two Greek painters to the Metropolitan Movilă,[106] who afterwards were passed to the Voivode Matei Basarab in Wallachia.

Notes

101 Efremov 1974, p. 73.

102 Efremov 1974, p. 74 considered the models to be "of Danubian school."

103 On his life and works, see Pargoire 1908-1909. A detailed bibliography, at Tchentsova 2007, p. 312, note 3.

104 Elian 1946, p. 90-101.

105 Ware 1997, p. 97.

The Synod of Iaşi in 1642 and the contacts with the conservative thinking of Syrigos[107] led to a cultural reorientation of Peter Movilă in 1643, and then of Matei Basarab later. This reorientation might have had as a central reason the necessity to encourage a religious art that reflected the true Orthodox faith established at the Synod in Iaşi. The Greek theologian played an important role in promoting the two painters from the conservative Macedonian environment to Kyiv, Moscow, and the Wallachian Principality – here probably through the Metropolitan Stephen I, with whom Syrigos maintained close contacts.[108]

In Wallachia, the "conservative" and the "innovative" trends had not been seen as divergent or situated in conflict with each other. The two were often found in the same church and had their place and importance in the visual syntax, defining what had been seen as a "Wallachian synthesis."[109] As Russian and Ruthenian mural art was perceived as less strongly developed than the icon painting, which created a much greater emulation,[110] the "innovative" trend in Wallachia manifested mostly in the icon painting and in portraits, while the conservative vision continued to dominate the frescoes. But, with the new process of encouraging an art that should have reflected the true Orthodox faith, a traditionalist trend was reinforced and gained more ground, coming to prevail in the last decades of the 17th century in Wallachia, especially with the constant presence of Patriarch Dositheos II Notaras of Jerusalem (1669-1707) at the Wallachian court, an anti-Catholic, anti-Calvinist and ardent admirer of Meletios Syrigos. Dositheos is the only Greek patriarch who had a portrait painted in a Wallachian church. His presence face-to-face with the portrait of Wallachian Prince Antonie of Popeşti at Băjeşti (1669),[111] the frescoes being executed in the first year of each one's mandate, is intriguing and its motives are still unelucidated. Dositheos struggled to gain protection and finances for the Holy Land in the Romanian Principalities and in this respect, he visited frequently and counselled Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu in his cultural initiatives, supporting the Greek printing presses in Wallachia. A biographer of Syrigos, Dositheos printed in 1690 in Bucharest a volume containing his refutation of Calvinism and the polemical work against Catholicism by Meletios Syrigos.[112]

The revitalization of the Orthodox iconography seen through the lens of Byzantine tradition took Wallachia on progressively and, within a few decades, gained momentum during the reigns of Şerban Cantacuzino (r. 1678-1688) and Constantin Brâncoveanu (r. 1688-1714).[113] A conscious "re-Byzantinization" program characterized their reigns,[114] favoring the return to the Byzantine tradition in art, revisited and reinterpreted through the Baroque aesthetics and ethos of the time. Russian imperialism and the "Byzantinism" promoted by Patriarch Nikon were favored as sources of inspiration, as Russia was presenting itself as the greatest defender of Orthodoxy. This was happening in the context of the Russian expansionism that resulted in the subordination of the Metropolitanate of Kyiv under the authority of the Patriarchate of Moscow in 1686, by removing it from the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The reign of Tsar Peter I (1682-1696 and alone thereafter in 1696-1725) promoted large transformations in the Russian Tsardom and brought a new sense of Orthodox imperialism, which also inspired the Wallachian rulers of the late 17th century.

The experimentation with naturalism during this period continued through local painters like Pârvu Mutu, who tried to develop the art of portrait in an autodidact manner, but apparently without appealing to Ruthenian models more than the engravings in the church books.

Notes

106 Tchentsova 2017, p. 81.

107 See Negrău 2020a, p. 316-318.

108 Papacostea 1962, p. 187.

109 Efremov 1982, p. 485.

110 See Tchentsova 2007, p. 329-331; Negrău 2020a, p. 299-300, note 1.

111 Pillat 1980, p. 30, fig. 45-46.

112 Negrău 2020a, p. 320 and note 76.

113 Efremov 1982, p. 485.

114 Alexandru Elian, foreword to Dobjanschi, Iancovescu 1992, p. 7; Popa 2004, p. 139-156.









Fig. 24a-e. Crasna Hermitage, iconostasis from Saint Demetrios church in Craiova, *c.*1651, with the portraits of Voivode Matei Basarab and Metropolitan Stephen I.

Credits: Daniel Constantinescu.



Fig. 25a-b. Bălănești-Râmești church, details of the iconostasis: Voivode Mihnea III and Metropolitan Stephen I, 1658-1659.

Source: Efremov 2002.











▲ Fig. 26. *Deesis*, detail: Metropolitan Petru Movilă, painters Ioannis and Georgios, 1643, Berestovo Church, Kyiv.
Credits: Waldemar Deluga.

◥ Fig. 27. *Sunday of All Saints*, 1658-1659, Bălăneşti-Râmeşti church. Today, in the Palace of Râmnicu-Vâlcea Archbishopric.
Credits: Elisabeta Negrău.

◥ Fig. 28. *Enthroned Mother of God*, 1658-1659, Bălăneşti-Râmeşti church. Today, in the Museum of Hurezi Monastery.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

◥ Fig. 29. *Pantokrator-Deesis*, 1658-1659, Bălăneşti-Râmeşti church. Today, in the Museum of Hurezi Monastery.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

▶ Fig. 30a-b. *Saint Paraskeva*, 1658-1659, Bălăneşti-Râmeşti church. Today, in the Museum of Hurezi Monastery.
Source: Efremov 2002 (a).
Credits: Ana Dumitran (b).









Fig. 31. *Christ Enthroned*, painter Athanasie, 1699, the Metropolitan Church in Târgoviște. Today, at the National Museum of Art Bucharest.
Copyright: National Museum of Art Bucharest.

On the contrary, painter Athanasie is a different and rather rare case, as he was a Wallachian most likely trained in the Kremlin Armory Palace workshop in Moscow. He signed the icons of the Metropolitan Church in Târgoviște in 1699 (**fig. 31-32**) and may have also worked the icons of the iconostasis of the Saints Apostles Church in Bucharest, commissioned by Prince Ștefan Cantacuzino in 1715 (r. 1714-1715).[115] The Greek Konstantinos, the chief painter of the Brâncoveanu's monastic foundations, experimented with the "naturalist" manner in his icons for the iconostasis of the Princely Church in Târgoviște in 1698. His own understanding of Russian and Ruthenian naturalism is quite different from the expert knowledge of their painting technique shown by painter Athanasie. It resembles more the attempts of the Macedonian and the Epirote painters of the time to mimic the naturalistic effects of the East-European painting. The spectacles of a saint hierarch in the icon of the *Dormition of the Mother of God* (**fig. 33a-d**) are a detail that appeared in Late-Gothic to early Renaissance painting in Italy by 1350s and spread through Alps in Central Europe in the 15th-century panel painting.[116] The Wallachian icon displays a 1600s model of German glasses. Although contemporary engravings or paintings with this detail are unknown, the source may have been a Ukrainian Baroque icon.

Notes

115 Costea 1990b, p. 53; Dobjanschi, Georgescu 1998, cat. 51-53, p. 92, 117-118; Sabados 2002-2003, p. 64-65. For the icons in Saints Apostles church, see Negrău, "Sfinții Apostoli", in Cojocaru, Negrău, Polizu, Văetișî 2017, p. 73-75, 80-81.

116 Malanca 2016, p. 307-323. The icon was recently restored and cleaned of later repainting; Scărlătescu, Malanca 2015.



Fig. 32. *Saints Constantine and Helena*, painter Athanasie, 1699, the Metropolitan Church in Târgoviște. Today, at the National Museum of Art Bucharest.

Copyright: National Museum of Art Bucharest.

Although the Russian icons were much appreciated at the time, especially through the Cantacuzino family, who donated several such exemplars to their monasteries,[117] their naturalism had but a limited influence on the local painting style. Instead, the engraved printed books of Pechersk Lavra in Kyiv were an important source for iconographic innovation in Wallachia during the reign of Constantin Brâncoveanu.[118] Two Ruthenian engravers, Ivan Bakov and Joanikije Bakov, father and son, came to Wallachia to work woodcuts for books printed at the bishopric presses in Bucharest, Buzău, and Snagov.[119] However, all these innovations in iconography and style were attentively circumscribed within the limits of the post-Byzantine stylistic and iconographic tradition.[120] Archimandrite Ioan, the abbot of Hurezi Monastery (the most important foundation of Brâncoveanu, built between 1690-1695), was the principal advisor for all the iconographic programs of the Brâncoveanu's ruler's foundations in Vâlcea County, while the Greek painter Konstantinos, the chief master of Brâncoveanu's mural painters, filtered the innovations inspired by the Kyivan printed books through the stylistic lens of the post-Byzantine Macedonian-Epirote tradition. The main theme of the painting programs in Brâncoveanu's times may be seen primarily as a manifest of Orthodoxy.[121]

Notes

117 Cristina Cojocaru analyzed the presence of Russian icons in Wallachia in the times of Brâncoveanu's reign within the RICONTRANS project; see above note 11. Cojocaru, "Colțea", in Cojocaru, Negrău, Polizu, Văetișsi 2017, p. 35, 41; Negrău, "Sinaia", in Negrău, Cojocaru 2017, p. 126.

118 Iancovescu 2008.

119 BRV 1903, p. 217, 221, 402, 424, 436, 454.

120 See Iancovescu 2006; Iancovescu 2008, p. 101-116; Negrău 2008; Negrău 2010, p. 359-370.

121 See Iancovescu 2006; Popa, Iancovescu, Bedros, Negrău 2008, vol. I, *passim*.



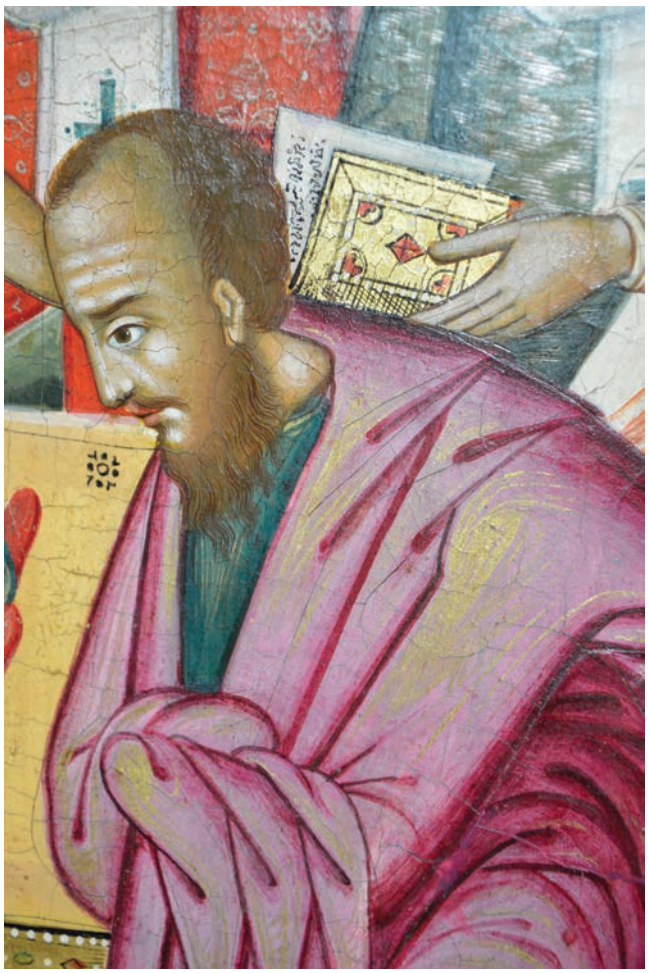








Fig. 33a-d. *The Dormition of the Mother of God*, painter Konstantinos, 1698, Princely Church in Târgoviște. Today, at the "Curtea Domnească" National Museum, Târgoviște.
Source: Malanca 2016 (a).
Credits: Ana Dumitran (b-c).

Fig. 34. *Christ Pantokrator*, end of 17th century or early 18th century, Coteşti Monastery.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Virtually all the Ruthenian-inspired icons from the 17th-century Wallachia are found in Oltenia, the homeland province of Matei Basarab, Metropolitan Stephen I and Constantin Brâncoveanu. The only exception is a despotic icon of Christ in the Museum of Coteşti Monastery, today in Vrancea County, then belonging to the diocese of the Bishopric of Buzău in Wallachia (**fig. 34**).

The former hermitage of Coteşti functioned before 1757 and had connections with the hermitage at Poiana Mărului in Buzău County, ruled between the 1730s and the 1760s by Saint Vasile (1692-1767), born in Poltava, senior abbot of Saint Paisie Velichkovsky (1722-1794).[122] The icon of *Christ Pantokrator* is a Ukrainian work, probably dating to the end of the 17th century or the beginning of the 18th century. As the unwritten tradition about the Coteşti Hermitage as a 15th-century foundation is doubtful, and the most reliable data about its existence falls into the time span when Saint Vasile ruled the Poiana Mărului hermitage in Buzău, it is reasonable to assume that the icon was brought at Coteşti by Ukrainian monks who likely lived as hermits along Wallachian ones in the Buzău region toward the mid-18th century.

Naturalism would have to wait from the end of the reign of Constantin Brâncoveanu and the beginning of the Phanariot administration through all the long 18th century to regain a central interest among local Wallachian painters[123] and manifest both in religious painting[124] and non-religious painting, specifically painted portraits.[125] In iconography however, the Ruthenian environment will continue to offer models to religious painting long after 1700, mainly through the engraved books printed in Wallachia and Moldavia after prototypes of the Lavra Pecherska, which are used as a source for Wallachian iconographic innovations in mural painting throughout the 18th century and the first decades of the 19th century.

Notes

122 Constantinescu, Cocora 1964, p. 487.

123 By the mid-18th century, some patrons from the elite favored the Central European-style portraits, like Prince Constantin Mavrocordat, who were then imitated in mural paintings, but the overall impact of these initiatives remained limited at the time; see Negrău 2020b, p. 120-121.

124 Cojocaru 2021.

125 Negrău 2020b.



The Protection of the Theotokos: *An Iconographic Theme at the Intersection of the Eastern and Western Traditions (17th-19th Centuries)*

Cristina Bogdan

University of Bucharest

Throughout Christian history, those items that belonged to or were touched by holy persons (from Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary, to martyrs and saints) have been regarded as relics and greatly venerated for their thaumaturgical properties. The piety of the faithful has taken visual expression, by integrating such items into the iconographic program of religious places. *Christ's tunic*, *Veronica's veil* (bearing the imprint of the Savior's face), the *maphorion*, *omophorion*, and *belt of the Holy Virgin*, are precious relics that have been repeatedly relocated across various areas. They used to be taken out of the shrines to be venerated during the celebration of holy days or, under extreme circumstances, whenever divine help was urgently needed and insistently required (for instance during invasions or sieges).

These artifacts, sanctified by a holy person's touch or use, have often been part of miraculous events, which, in their turn, have been represented in religious iconography. For instance, the Virgin's *maphorion* (long kept in the Blachernae church in Constantinople, together with a miracle-working icon known as the *Blachernitissa*, carried in procession in many instances after the 6th century in order to protect the city from invaders) is mentioned in the accounts of two miracles that occurred in the church of Blachernae – one before Romanos the Melodist (who composed the *Kontakion of Lord's Nativity* in the 6th century); the other in the 10th century in the presence of Andrew the Blessed Fool-for-Christ, who together with his disciple Epiphanius had a vision of the Holy Virgin extending her mantle over the Christians gathered in prayer in the church of Blachernae.[1]

Despite their different contexts and significances, both miracles point to the same constant protection offered by the Mother of God. The second one is still celebrated today (especially in the Slavic countries), during a major feast – the *Pokrov* – set on October 1 and known to have been held since the 12th century. At that time, it was instituted by the pious Prince Andrey Bogolyubsky, who also commissioned the construction of the first church dedicated to this feast, at the confluence of the rivers Nerl and Klyazma.

Fig. 1. *Winged Theotokos*, katholikon of Govora Monastery (early 18th century). Detail of fig. 5.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Notes

1 The vision experienced by Andrew the Blessed Fool-for-Christ took place as follows: during a vigil service held in the Blachernae church, he saw a very tall Lady who walked to the altar, followed by a group of saints in white vestments. She was flanked by Saint John the Baptist and Saint John the Evangelist. The Holy Virgin prayed with tears to her Son for a long time, then rose in the air and extended her veil to cover the people in the church, as protection provided to all. The *Synaxarion* in the *October Menaion*, day 1, also describes this miracle in detail. The *Kontakion* of the feast reads: "The Virgin today doth stand before us in the church, and together with the choirs of the saints she doth invisibly pray to God for us. The angels worship with the hierarchs; the Apostles exult with the Prophets; for the Theotokos prayeth for us to Christ, the pre-eternal God" (*October Menaion*, day 1, Orthros, Kontakion, p. 31-32).



▲ Fig. 2. *Protection of the Theotokos*, 1696-1697, chapel on the western side of Hurezi Monastery.
Credits: Cristina Cojocaru.

The present paper addresses the theme of the *Holy Virgin's protection*, extended to humankind, which is epitomized by figures belonging to ecclesiastical and lay elites (emperors, officials, archbishops, bishops, priests, or monastics). Since the theme has both visual (iconographic) and liturgical expressions (the feasts dedicated to the protection of the Mother of God, marking certain events in Church history), this paper confines itself to discussing the iconographic representations of the *Protection of the Theotokos* in Brancovan and post-Brancovan iconography, extending into the early decades of the 19th century, in the churches of Wallachia.

The investigation begins with the scenes glorifying the Mother of God and invoking her protection that are part of the decoration of buildings included in the monastic complex of Hurezi Monastery, the most important religious foundation of Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu. These representations do not belong to the iconographic program of the main church (the katholikon dedicated to the Holy Emperor Constantine and Empress Helena, completed in the summer of 1692), but to the decoration of the chapel of the Nativity of the Theotokos and of the Monastery's refectory. Both were erected under the close supervision of abbot Ioan, who had been transferred by Prince Brâncoveanu from Câmpulung Monastery in September 1692, in order to organize the cenobitic life of Hurezi.



▲ Fig. 3. *Pokrov*, 1696-1697, chapel on the western side of Hurezi Monastery.
Credits: Cristina Bogdan.

Built and adorned with frescoes between 1696 and 1697, the chapel on the western side of the Monastery, located above the refectory, displays two Marian scenes flanking the patronal feast's icon of the *Birth of the Theotokos* on the eastern wall of its porch and narthex: the *Protecting Veil of the Theotokos* and the *Pokrov / Protection of the Theotokos* (also known as the *Intercession of the Theotokos*). The painters who decorated the chapel were not part of the team that painted the katholikon: their names, written on the wall of the prothesis – the side apse on the north side of the sanctuary – can be found among the authors of the paintings adorning the infirmary of Hurezi (the painter Preda in 1699, later working at Cozia Monastery between 1704 and 1705) and the katholikon of Mamul Monastery (the painter Marin, in 1699).

Represented as a large tent, or canopy (reminiscent of the *Tent of Meeting*)[2] – held by two angels above the *Mother of God as Orans* (standing on a marble pedestal, her arms wide open, and oversized in relation to rest of the characters) – the *Protecting Veil* scene includes, on either side of the Holy Virgin, several groups of kneeling men as a visual compendium showcasing the lay and ecclesiastical ranks of the 17th-century social hierarchy. Metropolitans, bishops, priests, and deacons (standing at the right hand of the Virgin), as well as emperors and noblemen of various ranks (recognizable by the opulence of their vestments) on the opposite side, all await and implore the protection of the Virgin who, in this context, symbolizes the Church itself.

Notes

2 Hymns call the Mother of God *Heavenly Tent*, pointing to the Old Testament *Tent of Meeting* (the Tabernacle) and also the *Temple of Solomon*, which replaced the tent where God had dwelt among the children of Israel in the desert.



▲ Fig. 4. Patronal feast icon, 1711-1712, katholikon of Polovragi Monastery. Credits: Cristina Cojocaru.

The scene is surmounted by an inscription (in Church Slavonic) from the Great Compline (*Apodeipnon*) service: "All my hope I place in thou, O Mother of God, keep me under thy protection."[3] The background is adorned with flowers,[4] possibly as a reference to Paradise, according to Corina Popa's interpretation. Her study also explains that "the scene can be related to the troubled and unstable political context in which the Orthodox Church was threatened by Calvinist and Roman-Catholic propaganda, which worried the Wallachian rulers and hierarchs."[5]

Opposite the icon depicting the chapel's patronal feast, there is another scene illustrating the theme under discussion (that is, a representation of the Virgin as protectress and intercessor): the *Pokrov*, highly popular in Russian iconography after the 18th century, depicted not only in mural paintings but also in icons. Interestingly, the two miraculous Marian apparitions are juxtaposed in a single setting at Hurezi (they both took place in the same church of Blachernae, albeit centuries apart). The lower tier of the painting shows Romanos the Melodist and Andrew the Blessed Fool-for-Christ, the two witnesses of the respective miracles, standing before the church. On either side of these figures stand male characters, which is reminiscent of the composition of the *Protecting Veil* icon. The upper tier, delineated by

Notes

3 Popa, Iancovescu, Bedros, Negrău 2008, p. 120.

4 Popa, Iancovescu, Bedros, Negrău 2008, p. 110.

5 Popa, Iancovescu, Bedros, Negrău 2008, p. 110.



▲ Fig. 5. *Winged Theotokos*, early 18th century, katholikon of Govora Monastery.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

a row of rosy clouds separating it from the lower part as a symbolic indication of the different ontological regimes, is dominated by the image of the Virgin (surrounded by a mandorla), holding a large veil that covers the world below; she is standing in the midst of a group of angels and saints (apostles and hierarchs – on the right; prophets and righteous men – on the left of the central figure), all bearing the halos of saintliness.

The inscription (in Church Slavonic), placed near the church steeples in the lower tier of the picture reads: "Today the Virgin gives birth to the Transcendent One, and the earth offers a cave to the Unapproachable One."[6] This line is borrowed from the kontakion of the Lord's Nativity, composed by Romanos the Melodist, as if to reinforce the presence of the saint (implicitly reminding of the miracle he witnessed in the 6th century). Clothed in rags, as befits a true fool for Christ, Saint Andrew raises his hand toward heaven, pointing to the Protectress he is contemplating.

Unlike the *Protecting Veil* scene, which is present in other churches in the area of Vâlcea and Gorj Counties until late into the first half of the 19th century, sometimes modelled directly after the Hurezi frescoes (for instance, the iconographic representations of the Polovragi and Govora Monasteries' churches), the *Pokrov* scene appears to be a singular occurrence.[7] In the words of Corina Popa, "The representation at Hurezi is an isolated case, as this feast is only occasionally mentioned in the books printed in Wallachia after mid-17th century. The *Pokrov* feast is often referred to in the books brought from Ukraine and Russia. Such texts can be found in the book collection of Câmpulung Monas-

Notes

6 Popa, Iancovescu, Bedros, Negrău 2008, p. 120.

7 In other regions, such as Banat, under the influence of an Ukrainian icon dating to the early 18th century, the *Pokrov* scene is part of a series of icons of the Marian cycle (the *Birth of the Mother of God*, the P*resentation to the Temple*, the *Dormition of the Mother of God*, the *Lord's Resurrection*, the *Lord's Ascension* and *Pokrov*). They used to be the property of Holy Apostles Peter and Paul church, Socolari village, Caraș-Severin County. Cf. Pârvulescu 2006, p. 84.



▲ Fig. 6. *Protection of the Theotokos* (winged), 1824, church from Capu Dealului-Drăgășani.
Credits: Cristina Bogdan.

tery, the community of archimandrite Ioan, and in the Russian *Menaia* of Bistrița Monastery."[8] The same theme of the *Protection* was later (1705-1706) reiterated in the mural painting adorning the entrance to the monastery's refectory, also a project of abbot Ioan, as the votive inscription painted in Cyrillic script reveals.[9]

The other text, inscribed on the rotulus unfolded by the two angels placed under the scene of the miracle, reiterates the prayer words that are also featured in the chapel, in a similar depiction of this episode. In this example, however, it is written in Cyrillic script, replacing the verb "to keep" with the synonymous "to preserve": "All my hope I place in thee, O Mother of God, preserve me under thy protection."

Following the advice of the same archimandrite Ioan, Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu also commissioned the restoration of Polovragi Monastery, which he had reclaimed from the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and turned into a metochion of Hurezi Monastery. Under the new administration, the church was restored and fully painted, as well as fitted with a porch. According to the votive inscriptions, the works were completed in 1703. The iconographic representation of interest for the present study, located on the western wall of the porch – *The Protecting Veil of the Theotokos* – dates to a later period (1711-1712) and is the work of the painter Konstantinos (whose signature also appears on the façade). It replicates the painting at Hurezi, maintaining all its elements and their arrangement: the oversized Virgin stands under the folds of a large tent, or canopy, carried by two angels, with her arms stretched out in a protective gesture toward groups of laymen and clergymen, all kneeling. They appear as representatives of the higher social strata due to their distinctive attire and various insignia of their standing. The figures are arranged in three rows on either side of the Virgin, who is the central character.

The inscription along the top border is one more element that relates this icon to the similar representations adorning the chapel and

Notes

8 Popa, Iancovescu, Bedros, Negrău 2008, p. 110.

9 "† This hallowed, beautiful refectory, gracious like a benevolent mother towards all brethren gathered around the table, was made as a token of remembrance, furnished and adorned with paintings by the humble Ioan archiman[d]rite, hegumen of the monastery until works were completed. Year 7214 since Creation."



Fig. 7. *Protection of the Theotokos* (winged), 1831, church from Curtișoara.
Credits: Cristina Bogdan.



Fig. 8. *Protection of the Theotokos* (winged), 1830, church from Brădiceni.
Credits: Cristina Bogdan.

refectory of Hurezi Monastery, as it reiterates the same quote from the Great Compline service: "All my hope I place in thee, O Mother of God, keep me under thy protection."

Moreover, during the early years of the 18th century, having secured endorsement from the prince, the founder of Hurezi, abbot Paisie had the church of Govora Monastery restored. This took place between 1701, the date inscribed on the iconostasis painted by master Nicolae, and 1711, the year indicated by the votive inscription carved inside the porch. On the eastern wall of the porch, between the *Flight into Egypt* and the *Anapeson – Christ's Unsleeping Eye* (also known as *Reclining Infant Jesus*, or simply *Jesus Sleeping*), the Mother of God bearing a crown appears with her mantle (*maphorion*) extended over groups of faithful kneeling in prayer. The painter of this ensemble was priest Ștefan.

At Govora, unlike in the chapel and refectory of Hurezi and the porch of the katholikon at Polovragi Monastery, the Holy Virgin is no longer represented under a tent or canopy upheld by two angels. Instead, she has open wings in an embracing gesture symbolically paired with her open arms, extended to receive the lay and monastic devout Christians under her mantle. The eagle wings point to a verse in the *Book of Revelation* (12, 14), describing the Virgin facing the Dragon: "And to the Woman (the Woman who had birthed the Child, that is, the Holy Virgin, according to the previous verse 12, 13) were given the two wings of a great eagle (…)."[10] This is the oldest such representation in Roma-

Notes

10 In the iconography of the *Apocalypse*, illustrating these verses, the Virgin is sometimes winged. One such instance is the fresco belonging to the apocalyptic cycle depicted on the porch walls of the church dedicated to the Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple, Mierlești hamlet, Bărbătești village (Vâlcea County), painted between 1775 and 1785, by painters Popa Ioan, Popa Tudor and Gheorghe.



Fig. 9. *Protection of the Theotokos* (winged), 1825, church from Cojani – Târgu Cărbunești.
Credits: Cristina Bogdan.

nian iconography, most likely based on both visual sources (Ukrainian woodcuts), and liturgical sources (fragments of the Pokrov service, of Russian origin).[11] The Slavonic inscription on the phylactery above the Virgin's head – "Guard the place where my name is venerated" – is borrowed from the Synaxarion text of October 1, the date of the Pokrov feast. The captions on the side point to the verse of the Revelation (12,14): "The Virgin was given [the] two wings of [the] great eagle." The interpretation put forth by Ioana Iancovescu accounts for the winged Virgin representation as conveying a symbolic message that encouraged resistance, in the context in which Orthodoxy felt threatened by the Catholic and Reformed Churches' expansionist agenda: "The juxtaposition of the three episodes mentioned above, in the painting on the eastern wall of the porch, expresses – in our opinion – the hope for the Virgin's support while the Lord withdraws – in the "lower lands" of Egypt or the deep sleep of the Sacrifice: dramatic moments, compared by this iconography with the time of apocalyptic disasters when she appears as the "woman clothed with the sun," who was "given the two wings of a great eagle" (*Revelation* 12,1; 12,14). This was a time associated by the contemporary viewers with the persecution of the Orthodox Church in the regions threatened by Uniatism and the Reformation. The pertinence of this complex symbolism of the paintings in the porch indicates the agency of abbot Ioan of Hurezi, whose great interest in the life of the Church was evinced by the pictorial ensembles he supervised, especially that adorning the katholikon of Hurezi Monastery."[12]

It is worth noting that on the outer wall, where the icon of the patronal feast is usually placed, the church of Govora Monastery does not display the *Dormition of the Theotokos*, but the image of Virgin Mary seated on a throne and surrounded by angels (flanked by the archangels Michael and Gabriel), accompanied by the caption "the

Notes

11 Popa, Iancovescu, Bedros, Negrău 2008, p. 353.

12 Popa, Iancovescu, Bedros, Negrău 2008, p. 353.

defender of all," as a counterpart to the icon of her protection, present inside the porch.

It cannot be ascertained exactly how this depiction of the winged Virgin reached Romania, or how it was disseminated among other places of worship built and decorated a century later on the territories of today's Vâlcea, Olt, and Gorj Counties.

At Capu Dealului-Drăgășani (Vâlcea County), in the church built by captain Giura and his wife Alexandra in 1824, there is a mural modelled on the painting in the porch of Govora. In this example, however, the Virgin is not wearing a crown, and female characters are also taking shelter under her mantle. This had never been the case with the frescoes dating to the beginning of the previous century. This wider range of figures included in the embrace of the Mother of God could be perceived as evidence of modernization, even in an environment that was inherently traditionalist. A similar composition can be found in other places of worship such as Brădiceni (Gorj County), painted after 1830. The original paintings are no longer extant in the churches of Optași-Măgura (originally painted in 1783, but repainted in 1998) and Floru (originally painted in 1819, repainted in the 21st century), both in today's Olt County, but it is worth noting that the contemporary artists who redecorated them also included female figures under the protecting mantle of the Virgin.

In Gorj County, the *Protection* scene is part of the painting of several churches, either located not very far apart (Curtișoara and Brădiceni) or painted by the same artist. This accounts for the circulation of this iconographic theme from one edifice to the next (as in the case of the churches of Cojani and Târgu Cărbunești – today the church of Cămărășeasca Monastery – both executed by a painter known as Matei, according to the votive inscriptions, assisted by the apprentice Gheorghe in painting the church of Târgu Cărbunești). Painted just a few years apart (in 1825 the church of Cojani and, in 1831, the church of Târgu Cărbunești – the foundation of *polkovnik* Mihai Colțescu), the *Protection* scenes contain similar elements and the same caption – the *Tent of Salvation* – a variant derived from the Old Testament designation the *Tent of Meeting*. The only difference lies in the fact that the fresco of Cojani church two of the figures kneeling under the mantle wear scrolls inscribed in Cyrillic script – "Rejoice, O Bride, ever vir[gin]" and "Rejoice, O Mother, ever vi[rgin]", respectively. Thus, both her fundamental attributes – her Perpetual Virginity and her status as Birth-Giver / Mother of God (Theotokos) and Mother of all people – are indicated in the texts of these two inscriptions.

A highly interesting representation, where the Virgin's wings are depicted both visually and verbally, by means of the caption accompanying the *Protection* scene, can be found in the narthex of the church of Voloiacu (Mehedinți County), painted between 1809 and 1810 by a team from Craiova: master painters Gavrilă and Stancu and their apprentice Gheorghe. The phrase concluding the inscription: "the shadow of thy wings" points to similar constructions in the text of the *Psalms*, which addressed God (Ps.17, 8: "Keep me as the apple of the eye, hide me under the shadow of thy wings"). In the Ukrainian etchings, which might have been used as models by the painter of Govora – one of them included in the *Paterikon of Pechersk Lavra* (Kiev, 1678), the other in the writing of Saint Dimitry of Rostov, *Dewy Wool* (Tchernihiv, 1696) – the accompanying captions reiterate this supplication, also pointing to a winged image of the Mother of God: "Shelter us under the shadow of thy wings."

Unlike the above-mentioned frescoes in Vâlcea, Olt, and Gorj Counties, this representation sets the oversized figure of the Virgin against the silhouettes of buildings placed in the background – most likely, a symbolic allusion to the ardently desired Heavenly City, surrounded by walls, as it is depicted in the *Last Judgment* iconography.

Further differences lie in the absence of ecclesiastical figures (by contrast, in the Ukrainian etchings mentioned above, the only ones taking shelter under the Virgin's veil or flanking the church in the tier below her feet, in the *Pokrov* scene, are clergy members). On the right side of the Theotokos (where bishops, priests, and deacons would usually be placed) stands the group of emperors, while on her left stands a crowd of men – probably representing the middle-class society as their vestments and bare feet suggest.

Another version of the winged representation of the Virgin in the *Protection* scene is still extant (regrettably, in a fresco largely damaged today) in the chapel of Sinaia Monastery. This was originally decorated (as was the old church of the Monastery) by the painter Pârvu Mutu, whose work was altered by repainting in 1792. It is not known whether this scene had also been part of the original iconographic program, or it was introduced as the church was being repainted, in the late 18th century.

It is worth mentioning here the scene depicted on the northern façade of Saint George – Olari church in Câmpulung. Interestingly, on this façade, the upper tier displays a number of iconographic themes (some of them usually placed inside in other churches), from left to right, as follows: *Saint Zosimas Offering the Holy Communion to Mary of Egypt*; *Saint Marina holding the devil by the hair while she is threatening him with the semantron's mallet*; a two-tiered scene with the *Philoxenia of Abraham* in the upper tier and



Fig. 10. *Protection of the Theotokos* (winged), 1809-1810, church from Voloiacu.

Credits: Cristina Bogdan.



Fig. 11. *Protection of the Theotokos* (winged), originally painted by Pârvu Mutu, repainted in 1792, chapel of Sinaia Monastery.

Credits: Sinaia Monastery.

Fig. 12. *Protection of the Theotokos*, Saint George – Olari church from Câmpulung Muscel.

Credits: Ștefan Ionescu-Berechet.

Notes

13 Paleolog 1984, p. 61.

14 The text of the *Paraklesis Hymn*, kathisma IX, similarly states: "In great sorrow you are joy, And for the oppressed, a protection, And for the hungry, their food, Comfort unto those estranged" (https://www.goarch.org//small-paraklesis).

15 It appears in the exterior mural painting of Sucevița Monastery, in a very beautiful fresco showing the Virgin under a tent anchored with three sets of ropes, no longer needing to be held up by angels. It is the only such representation known on Romanian territory so far, where the Virgin is holding the Infant on her chest (a *Platytera* type of Marian representation). This depiction, which includes Christ with arms raised in blessing, is closest to the prescriptions of *Hermeneia* (*cf.* Dionisie din Furna 2000, p. 258). The theme of the *Protection* is also included in the iconographic program of Transylvanian churches (for instance, Saint Nicholas church of Mohu (Sibiu County), painted in 1804, by Nicolae and Alexandru Grecu of Săsăuș) or other churches in Banat region.

16 Donadieu-Rigaut 2001, p. 1: "la fonction protectrice de la *Mater Dei* ne doit donc pas être posée *a priori* mais au contraire déconstruite afin de ménager un espace à la polysémie de ces images et à leur variabilité. Aussi, il n'est pas indifférent que se blottissent sous le manteau de Marie tous les « statuts » de la société ou bien les seuls ordres religieux dont la cohérence spécifique repose avant tout sur des relations de parenté spirituelle".

Abraham's Sacrifice in the lower tier; and the figure of the *Saint Paraskeva*. Two more scenes are juxtaposed close to this set of four scenes, depicted as a continuum: the *Protection of the Theotokos* and the *Life of the True Monk* (usually part of the decoration of monastery infirmaries) followed by the portraits of the church founders (the priest Ghermano and his wife Maria) and a larger portion, by no means merely decorative, which includes the cross flanked by two possible representations of the *Tree of Life*. Andrei Paleolog aptly notes that the presence of these elements does not pertain to the construction



of the iconographic program but is rather "evidence of the authority exerted by the person who commissioned the painting."[13] The inscription adjoining the scene of the *Protection* ("Ever-victorious Mother of God, accept the offering of thy humble servant <Gh>eorghie, *Pi(s) az*, Hriza"), suggests that the painting was commissioned by a certain Gheorghe, while the artist's name was Hriza.

The *Protection* scene in Saint George – Olari church of Câmpulung abounds in iconographic elements: the two angels who, in this context, are not unfolding the large tent under which the Virgin is standing, but are instead holding the crown above her head (as in the *Coronatio Virginis* iconography), complement two more angels who accompany the multitude of the faithful. Divided into three groups on either side of the Mother of God, clergymen and laymen have attires specific to Romanian garb of the 18th century. Above the Virgin's shoulders two scrolls display the following words, pointing to the text of the supplicatory canon *Paraklesis to the Theotokos*: "Merc<iful> <que>en […] grant rejoicing (the right shoulder)." / "For the oppressed a protection, for the hungry their food"[14] (the left shoulder).

This iconographic theme is worth investigating across all Romanian territories[15] in order to identify the local influences specific to every region (Ukrainian, Russian, possibly Polish or Serbian influences – the latter in the Banat area), and to ascertain how this theme was circulated from one church to the next by itinerant teams of painters, how peculiar elements were included, or how inscriptions were introduced to echo fragments of religious texts (the *Psalms*, the *Paraklesis Hymn to the Theotokos*, the *Revelation*). Further investigation should be conducted into the significance of the image, the message it conveys, in addition to the idea of protection granted by the Holy Virgin to humankind.

Also, the recurrence of this scene in today's church mural paintings or contemporary icons calls for further in-depth research into the reasons for revisiting it, especially in the case of the Orthodox places of worship found in the Western cultural sphere, where its inclusion in the iconographic programs might be due to a possible blending or adaptation with the Western type of representations emerging within the Cistercian order during the Middle Ages. Personally, I completely agree with the opinion of Dominique Donadieu-Rigaut: "The protective role of *Mater Dei* should not be postulated *a priori*, but should be deconstructed in order to allow reflection on the polysemantic nature of these images and their variability. It is not irrelevant whether Mary's mantle covers representatives of all walks of life, or only those of the religious orders, whose coherence largely relies on spiritual kinship."[16]

The complex character of this theme, the variants appearing in various cultural environments, their persistence over centuries as part of iconogra-phic programs (even in present times, especially in the iconography of churches built or decorated by Romanian diaspora communities in Western European countries) are sufficient arguments in favor of undertaking a more comprehensive investigation of a greater number of representations, so as to produce a more nuanced interpretation of each of these works.



Christ – The True Vine. *Images in the Church Art of the 17th–19th Centuries: Ukrainian and Romanian Cases*

Roksolana Kosiv

Lviv National Academy of Arts, Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv

Some images and scenes of church art have a complex context of development and specific reasons for spreading into a particular environment. Therefore, require more attention from researchers. One such example is the image of *Christ – the True Vine*, which is of Eucharistic meaning and had an active development in Ukrainian and Romanian art in the 17th–19th centuries. Because of the great popularity and prevalence of this image in Ukrainian and Romanian art, we consider it appropriate to carry out a comprehensive analysis of its development during the 17th–19th centuries.[1] The study of this image raises a number of broader tasks and issues rather than a simple elaboration of compositional variants or prototypes.

First of all, we will briefly explore the context and preconditions of the appearance of *Christ – the True Vine* in art, in the above-mentioned territories. The 17th century was a turning point for Ukrainian icon painting, when new images and designs began to develop, mostly borrowed from Western European iconography. During this period, art gradually began to take on realistic features, new symbols and allegorical compositions appeared, and these became more widespread later, during the Baroque period.

Among the new compositions, Eucharistic images and symbols that highlight Christ's suffering and sacrifice for the salvation of humanity were developing. The emphasis on Eucharistic iconography and the promotion of the reality of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist in Catholic theology was prompted by the spread of Protestantism.[2] Counter-Reformation movements also developed among the Ukrainian and Romanian hierarchs and gentry. At the same time, more attention was paid to the scenes of the *Passion of Christ*. The new Eucharistic themes were especially reflected in the church art of the 17th–18th centuries. These are: *Christ standing in the Eucharistic chalice*, the *Risen Christ in the sarcophagus from Whose wounds blood flows into the Eucharistic chalice, Christ*

Fig. 1. Fr. Vasyl Hlibkevych, *Pieta with Christ – The True Vine* altar icon from the Saint George church in Drohobych (Lviv region), 1749. "Drohobychchyna" Museum in Drohobych.

Credits: Roksolana Kosiv.

Notes

1 The image of *Christ – The True Vine* attracted the interest of Ukrainian and Romanian scholars, who paid attention to the stylistics and iconography of the works, studied icons of one collection or emphasized the symbolism of the image. See: Щербаківський 1921; Popescu-Vâlcea 1943; Скоп 1994; Gânscă 1999; Боднарчук 2002; Василевська 2001; Nicolae 2007; Nicolae 2008; Сивак 2009; Nicolae 2010; Косів 2010; Косів 2012; Косів 2016; Chiroşca 2016; Nicolae 2016.

2 Some Protestant churches believe that the communion is only a symbol of the body and blood of Christ, not the true body and blood of the Lord.

crucified on a vine tree, *Christ in the grindstone*, the *Risen Christ from Whose rib a vine grows*, and *Christ squeezing out a bunch of grapes into the Eucharistic chalice*.[3] The latter image is usually described in the literature as *Christ – The Vine*[4] or *Christ – The Vine of Life*[5] / *Source of Life* or *Christ – The Vinegrower*.[6]

As far as they can be traced, the outlined images do not have a specific name and captions on the icons or murals. Such compositions emphasize the importance of the Sacrament of the Eucharist and the reality of the transfigured body and blood of Christ at the consecration of the gifts during the Divine Liturgy. Thus, inscriptions of prayers or quotations from the Gospels sometimes accompany them. In addition to these plots, the reality of the Eucharistic body and blood of Christ is demonstrated by the scene of the *Appearance of Christ to Peter, the Patriarch of Alexandria*, which developed on Ukrainian engravings in the 1630s, then on icons and, in Romanian art, on church wall-painting. This plot also exposes the heretical teachings of Arius (which in the 17th century resonated with the false teachings of Protestants). In Western European Catholic iconography, the ideological equivalent of this scene is the *Liturgy of Saint Pope Gregory*. This iconography is not known in Ukrainian art.

Another aspect of the attention paid to Eucharistic images, especially to *Christ – The True Vine* in the 17th–18th centuries, can be linked to the difference between the practice of communion in the Catholic and Orthodox rites: with both species – the body and blood of Christ, or only one – the body of Christ, as Catholics began to do in the 13th century. As it is known, some Ukrainian bishops signed a Union with the Roman Church in 1596. Because of that, the issue of communion arose. This is indicated by a number of theological works. In particular, special attention to the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist is reflected in the work of the Orthodox Ukrainian theologian Zacharia Kopystenskyi[7] entitled *The Book of the Only Faith* (*Книга про віру єдину*), published in 1620 in the printing house of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra. In a large chapter entitled "The Sacred Mysteries of the Body and Blood of Our Savior, God and Lord Jesus Christ," the author, quoting from the Gospels and the writings of Church Fathers, emphasizes the importance of partaking for all faithful, not just priests, with both the body and blood of Christ. The author emphasizes the reality of the Sacrament, arguing that the Eucharistic elements are not just symbols,[8] as some Protestant teachers were claiming.

Metropolitan Peter Movilă (Pol. Piotr Mohyła, Ukr. Петро Могила; Rom. Petru Movilă) also speaks of the importance of receiving the body and the blood of the Lord under both kinds in his work *A Brief Science of the Articles of Faith* (*Събраніе короткои науки о артикулах вірыправославнокаѳолическои хрістіянскои*), co-authored with Isaiah Trofymovych-Kozlovskyi (published in 1645).[9] Therefore, it was important for Orthodox hierarchs to defend the traditional rite of communion under two species. The image of the *Christ – The True Vine* emphasizes the communion with the blood.

Ukrainian scholar Pavlo Zholtovskyi suggested that the image of *Christ – The True Vine* could have become popular in the environment of the Ukrainian Uniate Church as a result of the decrees of the *Zamoyskyi synod* (1720),[10] which emphasized the celebration of the Eucharist outside the Liturgy. However, we believe that this decision did not particularly affect the popularization of the *Christ – The True Vine* iconography. First, this image had spread long before, and second, the decrees of the *Zamoyskyi synod* were not implemented as quickly as required by the higher hierarchs and they did not spread among the clergy in central part of Ukraine.

Notes

3 This series of Eucharistic scenes also includes the symbolic image of a pelican feeding its chicks with its body and blood, which is associated with Christ Himself.

4 Василевська 2001; Сивак 2009; Косів 2010; Косів 2012; Косів 2016. Fr. Jan Nicolae in the latest monograph identified the image as *Christ – The True Vine*. See: Nicolae 2016.

5 Nicolae 2007; Nicolae 2008; Nicolae 2010.

6 Скоп 1994; Боднарчук 2002.

7 Zacharii Kopystensky was a native of the village Kopysno near Przemyśl (now in Poland), in 1616 he moved to Kyiv, where he joined the Brotherhood at the Epiphany Monastery. From 1624 until his death in 1627 he was archimandrite of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra.

8 Копистенський 1620, арк. СГ – СЛ.

9 Могила 1645, арк. И – ИВ.

10 Жолтовський 1978, p. 73.

As noted, among the outlined versions of the Eucharistic images of the Savior in Ukrainian and Romanian art, the *Christ – The True Vine* developed the most. Our task is to consider in what environment and circumstances this took place and where this image spread in the 17th–19th centuries. The starting point for the study of the appearance of this image in Ukrainian art is the description of the paintings of the eastern part (wall) of the apse of the refectory church in the Brotherhood Monastery in Kyiv, documented by archdeacon Paul of Aleppo in the mid-17th century.[11]

Unfortunately, the testimony of the Syrian archdeacon remains the only one in regard to these paintings, which have not survived. Among the compositions of this mural, we come across new plots for Ukrainian church art, including *Christ – The True Vine*. Since the general compositional idea of the paintings is important here, we consider it appropriate to provide descriptions of these plots:

> At the bottom of the apse, the temptation of Christ in the desert, by the devil, who hands the Lord three stones was depicted. The second[12] scene represented Christ exposing the devil. The third depicted Christ pouring wine and water on the Samaritan beaten by robbers. The fourth scene represented Christ the Good Shepherd – as described by Paul of Aleppo, Christ was depicted with a lamb on his shoulders, and another lamb was tied to the top of the mountain between trees. The fifth scene depicted 'on the arch of the apse' belonged to the Passion of Christ cycle – 'Christ is beaten on the head by two warriors, and the third gives him a branch' – this was obviously the mockery of Christ. The second scene depicted a bound Christ led by two warriors, the third image at the top of the arch represented Christ 'naked, wounded, sitting on a chair, a vine coming out of his womb, overshadowing his head; in his hands he holds a bunch, which he squeezes into a cup according to His words in the Gospel 'I will drink something new in the kingdom of my Father'. Below that image there was the 'fourth' – the Scourging of Christ, where Christ was tied to a pillar and beaten by two warriors. Below was the 'fifth' image – Christ before Pilate. On the front of the arch there was the 'sixth' image – the Road to Golgotha, where Christ fell under the cross, 'Mary – not His mother – wiped the sweat from His face with a handkerchief'. 'At the top' there was the seventh image – the Crucifixion of the Lord and the robbers and the Virgin, who lost consciousness. At the bottom of the north side of the arch there was the eighth image: 'Christ was led to the crucifixion; Pilate washed his hands.' Paul of Aleppo explained that the image of Crucificixion was painted at the top of the arch so that anyone who might enter could see it. The author of the description further said that the entire refectory was also painted.[13]

It is worth mentioning that the subject of these paintings probably intrigued the Syrian traveler, so he paid more attention to them and counted the plots in detail. The archdeacon did not identify the apocryphal scene where Veronica wipes the Savior's face with a veil when he falls under the weight of the cross; apparently, he was not familiar with this plot. In Ukrainian art up to the 17th century the story of Veronica and the image of the *Savior not made by human hands* was also unknown. It appeared only in the 1630s under the influence of Western European models, especially engravings. Thus, the paintings of the refectory of the Brotherhood Monastery are regarded as its oldest example. In the same way, the image of *Christ – the Good Shepherd* or the image of the wounded naked *Christ, who squeezes a bunch into a Eucharistic chalice*, as far as can be traced, were recorded for the first time in Ukrainian art.[14]

From the description, it is clear that the image of *Christ – The True Vine* was located in the center of the apse arch, as the climax of the overall

Notes

11 *Путешествие* 1897, p. 78-79.

12 Hereinafter, the numbering of scenes is given according to the text of the description.

13 *Путешествие* 1897, p. 78-79.

14 Unfortunately, not much of the icons and frescoes of Kyiv and Central Ukrainian lands dating back until the middle of the 17th century have survived. It is extremely difficult to draw conclusions about how local church art developed at the time. More information on this topic may be drawn from the engravings of the printing house of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, founded in 1615 on the basis of Stryatyn (now Rohatyn district, Ivano-Frankivsk region of Ukraine) printing house of Balaban brothers.



▲ Fig. 2. *Christ – The True Vine* miniature in the Service Book (*Sluzhebnik*) of Metropolitan Ștefan of Ungrovlachia, *c.*1650-1653 (?). Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest.
Credits: Ovidiu Olar.

composition. The general idea of the paintings is the sacrifice of Christ emphasized by the *Passion* scenes. Almost all of them are taken from the Gospels, except for the already mentioned apocryphal story about Veronica and the image of *Christ – The True Vine*. The archdeacon explained the image of the Saviour with a bunch of grapes with the words from the Gospel of Matthew: "I tell you, I will not drink from this fruit of the vine from now on until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom" (Matt. 26:29). The questions that arise are: who was the ideological inspirer of these unusual scenes in the apse paintings and when were they created?

The Brotherhood Monastery located in Podil area in Kyiv played a very important role in the development of Ukrainian lands. The time of the monastery's foundation is determined by the fact that in 1615 Elyzaveta (Halshka) Hulevychivna made a large donation for its activities, noting that it should be Orthodox at all times.[15] The fraternity ran a school at the monastery, which very quickly grew into an academy. The special support of the Brotherhood Monastery by Hetman Petro Konashevych Sahaidachnyi, who joined the fraternity with the entire Zaporozhian army (1620) was also of great importance. Therefore, Paul of Aleppo noted that this monastery was called the monastery of Sahaidachnyi.[16] At the time we are interested in, the abbots of the monastery were highly educated people: hieromonk Isaiah Kopynskyi, hieromonk Tarasyi Zemko. The rectors of the Brotherhood school were Yov Boretskyi, Kasiyan Sakovych, and Toma Yevlevych. In 1620, Patriarch Theophanes

Notes

15 Some researchers date the foundation of the monastery to the 16th century because in the will of Halshka Hulevychivna the monastery is already mentioned. The fraternity itself may have been originally associated with the Assumption church in Podil. See: Мухин 1893, p. 25, 44; Бєлікова 2019, p. 13-18.

16 *Путешествие* 1897, p. 78.

of Jerusalem lived in the Brotherhood monastery for a year, granting the monastery the right of stavropegion. It was with the participation of Patriarch Theophanes that another very important event took place – the restoration of the Orthodox Kyiv Metropolitanate with newly ordained bishops of Przemyśl (Ukr. Перемишль) (Isaiah Kopynskyi), Polotsk (Meletii Smotrytskyi), and Kyiv and Halych (Yov Boretskyi).

Metropolitan Peter Movilă had a great impact on the history of the Kyiv Brotherhood Monastery and school. In 1632, by his efforts, the Brotherhood school merged with the school of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra and Peter Movilă became its vice-rector (headed until 1646). The mentioned paintings of the refectory, which was intended for the meetings of the fraternity and students of the school and functioned as a church dedicated to Saints Borys and Hlib, were accomplished at a time when he headed a Brotherhood school, famous for its academic level and quality of education. The construction of the refectory,[17] which at that time was the only masonry church of the Brotherhood Monastery,[18] dates back to 1631.[19] The time of the paintings should thus be attributed to the 1630s and 1640s. It is not known who painted this mural. However, it is obvious that it was intended to be seen by the students of the school, the clergy of the monastery and those who visited the monastery. The refectory church was the place where official gatherings and ceremonial receptions of respectable people were held, so it had to have a representative appearance, and its paintings had to be illustrative.

It should be noted that the images described by Paul of Aleppo are not typical for the composition of the apse paintings of the Eastern rite church, based on the Byzantine tradition. As already noted, all the compositions of the apse emphasize the person of Christ and his sacrifice, but in a rather realistic narrative way. Of all the scenes, *Christ – The True Vine* is the most symbolic, but it also clearly and realistically demonstrates the reality of the blood of Christ in the Eucharist.

As noted, the time of the painting of the refectory suggested the participation of Metropolitan Peter Movilă in its program. Movilă invited Greek masters to paint the church of the Savior in Berest area in Kyiv, which he rebuilt through his efforts, but we have no information of where the masters of the paintings of the refectory of the Brotherhood Monastery came from or if they were of local origin. As it is known, Peter Movilă was focused on the level of Western European education. He compiled liturgical books based on local and Greek manuscripts and prints, and his *Great Trebnyk* (*Euchologion*) of 1646 is still popular today. The Metropolitan's library, which was kept in the Brotherhood Monastery, had more than 2,000 books. Peter Movilă was from the Moldavian family of prince Simeon Movilă. For political reasons, Peter Movilă found himself first in Lviv and then in Kyiv, where he became active. Nevertheless, the sphere of contacts and influences of the metropolitan also extended to his native lands. In 1640, he sent a group of teachers to Iași, led by the abbot of the Kyiv Brotherhood Monastery, Sofroniy Pochaskyi, to found a school based on the model of that of the Kyiv Brotherhood and to establish a printing house. The school and printing house were established at the monastery of the Three Hierarchs. As O. Yurchyshyn-Smith found out, engravings for the books of the printing house in Iași in 1641-1642 were prepared by master Ilya, who had previously (between 1639-1640) moved from Lviv to Kyiv, where he worked in the printing house of Pechersk Lavra.[20] Ilya was an extremely prolific master. He is the author of almost 500 engravings,[21] but the image of *Christ – The True Vine* was not found

Notes

17 As Paul of Aleppo described, it was a one-nave church with a long vault and marble doorways. It had two tables. *Путешествие* 1897, p. 78.

18 The main church of the monastery was dedicated to the Epiphany, and the church above the gate – to the Annunciation.

19 Later, the church was dedicated to the Holy Spirit, and with this denomination it is active today on the territory of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy.

20 BRV 1903; Yurchyshyn-Smith 2003, p. 148-158; Юрчишин-Сміт 2021, p. 14. Engraver Ilia used traditional local iconography in his compositions, but he also borrowed a lot from the works of Western European masters, including the *Piscator Bible* (1643).

21 Юрчишин-Сміт 2021, p. 8.



Fig. 3. *Christ – The True Vine* engraving in the *Akathists* (*Акафістиу*) printed in the Pechersk Lavra in Kyiv, 1674.
Credits: Roksolana Kosiv.

Fig. 4. *Christ – The True Vine* engraving in the Lazar Baranovych's book *Trumpets on the solemn days* (*Труби на дні нарочиті*) printed in the Pechersk Lavra in Kyiv, 1674.
Credits: Roksolana Kosiv.

among his works. The Monastery of the Three Hierarchs was founded by Vasile Lupu – Voivode of Moldavia and father-in-law of Tymish Chmelnytskyi – Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi' son. Vasile Lupu is also known as a donor to the church of Saint Paraskeva (*Piatnytska*) in Lviv, which was rebuilt in the early 1640s after a fire. So at the first half of the 17th century we see a fairly strong support for the development of education and church culture in both directions.

Meanwhile, the image of *Christ – The True Vine* in the version described by Paul of Aleppo begins to appear on engravings in printed books, miniatures in manuscript, icons and church wall-paintings of the second half of the 17th century. Let us see how this image developed in various types of art and where it was given a place in the church space. Unfortunately, the small number of works that have survived from the first half of the 17th century does not allow us to find out how this image developed (and whether it developed) at that time. It is not known whether the *Christ – The True Vine* image in the refectory of the Kyiv Brotherhood Monastery was the first such representation in local church art.

If we consider the development of the *Christ – The True Vine* iconography in Romanian and Ukrainian art on the basis of preserved works, we should mention the miniature in the trilingual manuscript of the *Sluzhebnyk* of Metropolitan Ștefan of Ungrovlachia, created in the Wallachian city of Târgoviște between 1650-1653,[22] during the reign of Matei Basarab.[23] In this manuscript we see an achromatic full-page miniature of the *Christ – The True Vine* (**fig. 2**). As noted by Elisabeta Negrău, the miniature clearly imitates the engraving, and the style of painting is at odds with other color miniatures of the *Sluzhebnyk*. The author admitted that this miniature could have been drawn later than others.[24] We will add that the drawing of a miniature shows that the sample was probably taken from chalcography, instead of woodcut, as it can be seen from the fine lines of the drawing. Here Christ is represented facing right, sitting on a throne covered with cloth, his body shown naked and wounded with active drops of blood, a large crown of thorns sitting on His head. The composition of the miniature is placed in a rectangular frame with a large number of passion instruments around.[25] The fact that Christ is depicted in this way and the nature of the framing may also indicate the later execution of this miniature. The

Notes

22 George Popescu-Vâlcea and Elisabeta Negrău date the *Service Book* (*Sluzhebnyk*) around 1653. See: Popescu-Vâlcea 1974, p. 14; Negrău 2010, p. 365, il. 1. Also see: Nicolae 2010, p. 29-56; Olar 2020, p. 163-188. An approximate copy of this *Service Book* was made in 1799: http://byzantion.itc.ro/web/Manuscrise/Slujebnic-arhieresc-739.

23 Matei Basarab also had contacts with Metropolitan Peter Movilă, with whose support he started the printing houses in Govora and Câmpulung.

24 Negrău 2010, p. 360.

25 Similar frames with instruments of passion were common on the antimensia of Ukrainian hierarchs in the late 17th–18th centuries. In particular, on antimensia by Ivan Shchyrskyi. See: Ткачук 2018, il. 33, 57, 59-65, 73, 75, 80.

26 Nicolae 2010, p. 33, 48.

27 This is a quote from the prophet Isaiah (Isaiah 53:2), Gospel of John (John 15:1), Psalm 33(34):8, which is also read at the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts, and Gospel of Matthew (Matt. 26:27-28). See: Nicolae 2010, p. 33.

28 In Latin editions these verses are included into Forth book of Ezdra.



Church Fathers stand at the right hand of Christ. On the scroll, next to them is a quote from the 6th ikos of the *Akathist of the Saviour*: "Jesus, Source of wisdom, give me, thirsty, to drink." The words on the second scroll, "Come, let us drink a new drink" are supposed to be from the first irmos of the third canticle of the Pascha canon of Saint John of Damascus.[26] It can also be an interpretation of the words of Revelation, "He who was seated on the throne said, 'I am making everything new!'" (Rev. 21:5). The composition has many other inscriptions of symbolic content, which were read by Fr. Jan Nicolae.[27] The author did not find the source for the inscription at the top of the composition: "blood drop from wood." These prophetic words "the sun shall suddenly shine forth at night, and the moon during the day. Blood shall drip from wood, and the stone shall utter its voice" come from the Third[28] Book of Ezdra (chapter 5, verses 4-5),[29] which is called the Old Testament apocalypse. These words are also included as an epigram at the beginning of the sermon on the Resurrection of Christ by the Ukrainian theologian Ioanykiy Halyatovskyi in a book entitled *The Key to Understanding* (*Ключ розуміння*), published in Kyiv in 1659.[30] It should be noted that I. Halyatovskyi was a student, teacher and rector (1657-1659) of the Brotherhood School and abbot of the Brotherhood Monastery in Kyiv,[31] where the *Christ – The True Vine* image was first described.

In addition to the *Christ – The True Vine* miniature, the *Sluzhebnyk* of Metropolitan Ștefan also has a black-and-white miniature with the

Notes

29 All three books of Ezdra with the mentioned verses were included into Ostroh Bible printed in 1581 by Ivan Fedorov on the initiative of Ukrainian prince Konstantyn Ostrozkyi. See: Библія 1581, p. 490.

30 The book was reprinted in 1665 in Lviv. We worked with the Lviv edition: Галятовський 1665, арк. 167; Reprint: Галятовський 1985, p. 215.

31 Halyatovskyi restored the refectory church of the Brotherhood Monastery after the fire of 1658 in Podil in Kyiv. It was in this church that the miraculous icon of the *Brotherly Mother of God* was placed, as the Church of the Epiphany suffered more in the fire. In 1665 the Monastery was destroyed by Polish troops. See: Бєлікова 2019, p. 31.

image of *Christ the High Priest* (*Archiereus*) *on the throne*, which is drawn similarly to the *Christ – The True Vine* miniature. Both miniatures are thematically related, as one depicts *Christ as the Head of the Church and High Priest*, and the other shows His sacrifice and the institution of the Sacrament of the Eucharist. In our opinion, both images, as well as the achromatic drawing of two men on the background of a branch with flowers, placed under the text on the page next to the page with the *Christ – The True Vine* image were drawn by one author. Other colour miniatures, such as *Passion* scenes and initial compositions are painted in a different manner. If we analyze the general idea of the miniatures of the manuscript, we see that there is also an emphasis on the sacrifice of Christ and the Eucharist, which echoes the program of paintings of the refectory in the Kyiv Brotherhood Monastery. Elisabeta Negrău pointed out that the image of *Christ – The True Vine* in the *Sluzhebnyk* of Metropolitan Ștefan is the only such example in the Wallachian art of the 17th century, noting that it developed only in the 18th century during the period of Constantine Brâncoveanu, under the influence of Ukrainian models.[32] In our opinion, in the Ukrainian art it was transferred from Western European iconography through printed sources or manuscript miniatures.

Among the works outside the spectre of our study on this topic there are compositions known in the Flemish,[33] Mexican,[34] Polish[35] art of the 17th century, as well as Georgian and Armenian[36] of the 18th century. There are several South Netherlandish tapestries (approx. 1500), with the image of *Christ – The Child*, which is depicted in half figure, squeezing a bunch into a bowl.[37] On one of the tapestries there is a text from the book of Wisdom of Sirach concerning the high priest Simon, the son of Onias: "he stretched out his hand for the cup used for drink offerings and he poured a libation of wine. He poured it out at the base of the altar, a pleasing aroma to the Most High" (Sirach 50:15).[38] This passage is a prophecy about Christ, the High Priest, who sacrificed himself and blessed this sacrifice.

In the second half of the 17th century the *Christ – The True Vine* image began to develop in Ukrainian art and can be seen in the engravings of printed books. It is known that the *Christ – The True Vine* image was placed in the *Book of Akathists* printed in the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra in 1674 with the blessing of Archimandrite Innokentiy Gisel.[39] Here the image is placed at the beginning of the *Akathist of Christ*, surrounded by a text from the Anaphora of Saint Basil the Great (**fig. 3**). A similar text also belongs to the ninth kontakion of the *Akathist of Christ*: "All the angels in heaven are constantly glorifying Your most holy name, Jesus, Holy, Holy, Holy, – proclaiming. And we, sinners, on earth with unworthy lips sing: Alleluia!" Notice that in the richly illustrated with miniature *Akathist of Christ* from 1663 from the same printing press,[40] as in the earlier ones, there is no image of *Christ – the True Vine*.

During our research, we found out that the same engraving was included in Lazar Baranovych's book *Trumpets on solemn days* (*Труби на дні нарочиті*), which was published the same year in the same printing house of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra. The engraving is placed at the beginning of the text on the Lord's Circumcision[41] (**fig. 4**). Interestingly, at the ribbon on the top of the composition of *Christ – The True Vine* is written "The Lord's Circumcision," which looks as a caption to the image. In interpreting the event of the Lord's Circumcision, Lazar Baranovych cited various symbolic parallels. In particular, he wrote that then the Lord's special humility was manifested and the blood of the Lord was shed for the first time, and he compared it with Christ's

Notes

32 Negrău 2010, p. 361-362. This opinion is shared by Fr. Jan Nicolae: Nicolae 2010, p. 48-49.

33 The Flemish artist Gabron Guilliam, active in 1634-1678, created a small painting with the *Christ – The True Vine* image, which is close in composition to the miniature in the *Service Book* of Metropolitan Ștefan. http://balat.kikirpa.be/object/80992.

34 Similar in composition *Christ – The True Vine* image is drawn approx. 1690 by Mexican artist Juan Correa. In Mexican art, this image is represented with sheep at the bottom of the composition. See: https://www.denverartmuseum.org/en/object/2015.570.

35 On the closet door in the chapel of Saint Anne of the *Corpus Christi* church in Kraków a similar image of *Christ – The True Vine* is painted, with monks standing opposite Christ and holding instruments of passion. This figure dates back to the 17th century. See: *Katalog* 1987, il. 274.

36 Meinardus 1978, p. 132-137, pl. 2-4.

37 Wardwell 1975, nr. 62, p. 17-23; Cavallo 1993, p. 334-340; Cleland 2009, nr. 16, p. 141-164.

38 Cleland 2009, nr. 16, p. 141-164. Also: Kosiv 2016, p. 6, il. 2

39 *Акафісти* 1674.

40 In the *Akathists* of 1663, the image of the Savior standing naked in the Eucharistic chalice is placed next to the fifth Kontakion, which begins with the words "You redeemed us from the curse of the law by Your Divine-flowing Blood." Blood flows from Christ's wounds into a chalice. Thus, here we have another example of Eucharistic iconography. See: *Акафісти* 1663.

41 Баранович 1674, f. 137r.

Passion. The author further wrote: "Christ chose to be circumcised as the True Vine, as he called himself: I am the True Vine." It is worth noting that in the engraving on the right side of the composition the vine is cut by a knife, therefore this is an illustration of what has been said. Thus, the engraving was prepared for this edition, and in the Akathist it was repeated with a knife crossing the branch. The parable of the workers of the vineyard was interpreted next in the text of Lazar Baranovych. The theologian wrote: "The time will come when this True Vine, seeing how the clusters have multiplied on it, will take to crushing the cross and grind all the wine from the clusters with thorns, nails, spears, the blood of the innocent spilled grape".[42] Therefore, in this work Lazar Baranovych gave a thorough explanation of the *Christ – The True Vine* image. It should be borne in mind that this image could have spread under the influence of this talented theologian. He, like Ioanykiy Halyatovskyi, was a student, teacher, rector (1650-1657) of the Kyiv Brotherhood School, and later bishop and archbishop of Chernihiv and Novhorod-Siverskyi.

Inscriptions and additional images supplement the image of the Saviour on the engraving of 1674. Below the ribbon with the inscription "The circumcision of the Lord," on the other ribbon, above the three angels, the word "heavenly" (*нбныхъ*) is written. Angels hold a ribbon with the inscription "holy, holy, holy" (*стьстьстьѣ*). Below them, on the ribbon, the words "every knee will bow to the name of Jesus" (*ωімени їсовъ всяко колѣно поклонис*) are written.[43] Next to and above Christ on the ribbon there is an inscription: "I create everything"[44] (*всяку творящу*) "fruit […] multiplying will bring fruit" (*да множаши плод принесе*). The last words are not quite clear to us, but supposedly this is an interpretation of the quotation from the Gospel of John: "Very truly I tell you, unless a kernel of wheat falls to the ground and dies, it remains only a single seed. But if it dies, it produces many seeds" (John 12:24). These words explain the relevance of one sacrifice for the sake of many other lives. Christ is depicted turned to the left, sitting under a large vine, growing from his pierced rib. With both hands, Christ squeezes a few bunches into a wide bowl standing next to Him on the sarcophagus. There is no cross behind the Savior. In the center of the composition a monogram of the name Jesus, "IC", is scripted, surrounded by a medallion with rays of light. On the left there are the riders with crowns over which it is written "all the kings of the earth bow down to him" (*поклоняся ему вси цріе земстіи*) (Psalm 72: 10-11), "earthly" (*земных*). Below there is a multi-headed dragon with the inscriptions "underworld" (*преисподних*), "devils" (*бѣсы*) "believe" (*вѣруют*) and "tremble" (*и трепещут*). The quote "devils believe and tremble" is taken from 2 James 2:19. It is noticeable that in some books of the 1674 *Akathists*, the inscription "The circumcision of the Lord" above *Christ – The True Vine* image is smeared with black paint. This inscription, apparently, was specially disguised, because it did not fit the text of the *Akathist*.

Let us pay attention to the definition of the image under study in different sources. Lazar Baranovych used the definition "True Vine", appealing to the Gospel words, but, obviously, also interpreting the image in his book. In addition to the definition of the "True Vine", in the documentary sources we come across the definition of this image as "Source of Life." As already noted, in the sixth ikos of the Akathist of Christ, the Savior is named the "Bread of Life" and the "Source of Wisdom." The word "Source" became the key to identify the image in the documents of the 18th–19th centuries. In the second half of the 18th century, in the visitation documents of the churches of the Przemyśl

Notes

42 Баранович 1674, f. 140-140r.

43 This may be an interpretation of the words of the Paul's epistle to the Philippians: "That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and every tongue acknowledge that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father" (Phil 2:10-11).

44 This may be an interpretation of the words of Revelation: "He who was seated on the throne said, 'I am making everything new!'" (Rev. 21: 5).



Fig. 5. *Pietà with Christ – The True Vine* engraving in the Lazar Baranovych's book *New Measure of the Old Faith* (*Nowa miara starey wiary*), printed in the Novhorod-Siverskyi (Chernihiv region, Ukraine), 1676.
Credits: Roksolana Kosiv.

and Lviv dioceses of the Ukrainian Uniate Church and in the inventories of non-Uniate churches, the image of *Christ – The True Vine* is usually mentioned under the definition "Source of Life." For example, this definition is used in the description of the icon above the prothesis in the sanctuary of the church of the Intercession of the Virgin in Blyshchyvody[45] (Lviv region), the icon placed above the altar in the sanctuary of the church of the Annunciation of the Basilian convent in Kamianka-Buzka[46] (Lviv region), the icon above the prothesis in the sanctuary of the church of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in village Pyly[47] (Lviv region), and two icons that were above the prothesis in the sanctuary of the church of Saint George in Ozerna village[48] and the church of Saint Paraskeva in Koshlyaky village[49] (both in the Ternopil region). This definition is also found in the descriptions of the veils for the chalice. For example, during the 1802 inventory description of the Transfiguration cathedral in Izyum (Charkiv region), a veil with a shape of a cross[50] with the image of the "Savior, Who is called the Source" was mentioned.[51] The same definition of this image – "Source of Life" may be seen in the text on the icon from Polonychna (Lviv region), painted in 1747.[52] However, we come across other variants of the description of this image. Thus, in the documents of the 1758 visit of the church of Assumption of the Virgin in Sheptychi village (Lviv region) the description states that on the altar was: "the image of the Savior Who is squeezing the grape from His side."[53] In the church of Assumption of the Virgin of Leżajsk (Poland) in the tabernacle of the large altar there was "an image of Christ near the cross with a crown of thorns with grapes around."[54]

Notes

45 *Генеральна візитація 1763-1764*, f. 192.

46 *Генеральна візитація 1763-1764*, арк. 107.

47 *Візитація Жовківського деканату 1792-1793*, p. 98.

48 *Генеральна візитація 1760-1761*, f. 541r.

49 *Акти 1783-1784*, f. 703-704.

50 The cross-shaped veils usually were used for the chalice.

51 *Книга описи 1802*, f. 52r-55r.

52 Косів 2016, p. 74.

53 *Описи церков 1758*, p. 71.

54 *Візитація Лежайського деканату 1777 і 1780*, p. 7.



Fig. 6. *Christ – The True Vine* icon, 1730s–1740s. Podillya (Ukraine). Tempera on board. Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv (НМЛ і-1713).
Credits: Roksolana Kosiv.

Lazar Baranovych's attention to the image of *Christ – The True Vine* is also seen in the illustration of his other book entitled *New Measure of Old Faith*, which was published in Polish in the Novhorod-Siverskyi printing house in 1676.[55] Here the image of the Savior is presented differently – in the composition of *Pieta* (**fig. 5**). Christ squeezing a bunch into a chalice is depicted sitting on the knees of the Virgin. Thus, the compassion of the Theotokos for Christ is emphasized here. The full-page engraving is supplemented by a symbolic baroque poetic text that explains the image. The text begins with a passage from the 1st Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Corinthians: "Who plants a vineyard and does not eat of its fruit?" (1 Cor. 9:7). Next, the author compares the Virgin with the trunk and Christ with the sprout and says that without the trunk the sprout can not bear fruit.[56] Here the archbishop interprets the words of chapter 15 of the Gospel of John (John 15: 1-10). The author further emphasizes that Christ is the true and living God and urges priests to hold the bunch in their hands (meaning the blood of Christ in the Eucharistic cup). Such complex interpretations of the texts connected with both images of *Christ – The True Vine* in the works of Archbishop Lazar Baranovych testify the profound de-

Notes

55 Baranowicz 1676a. The printing house in Novgorod-Siverskyi (Chernihiv region, Ukraine) was founded by the archbishop himself at the Transfiguration Monastery.

56 Baranowicz 1676a.



▲ Fig. 7. *Christ – The True Vine* icon, second half of the 17th century. Provenance is unknown (possibly Lviv region). Tempera on board. Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv (НМЛ д-859).

Credits: Roksolana Kosiv.

velopment of Ukrainian theology in the 17th century. It may also be noted that in another treatise, *Memory of Death or the Cross of Christ*, published in 1676 in the same printing house in Novhorod-Siverskyi, Lazar Baranovych speaks on behalf of the Savior in poetic symbolic and allegorical style: "I am the Grape / I squeeze into a cup for you My bunches, / What has grown in My pain / I give to drink, / Who is thirsty, let him hurry to Me, / Wine cheers, / He will delight himself with wine."[57] This text directly explains the image of *Christ – The True Vine*, although the book itself does not have an engraving on this topic. The mentioned engraving from Lazar Baranovych's book of 1676 was not ussualy painted on icons. Obviously, this is because the book itself was not widely spred and used, and as far as we know, in other, more popular prints, the image was not repeated.

We could mention one more example of a similar composition. Probably, the 1676 engraving of the *Pieta and Christ – The True Vine* was used for the altar image of 1749, painted by Fr. Vasyl Hlibkevych for the church of Saint George in Drohobych[58] (Lviv region) (**fig. 1**). Here, the Mother of God holds in her hands the dead body of Christ; from His pierced rib a vine grows and descends to the right down, where a chalice is represented under the bunch. Christ does not squeeze the bunch here. From a theological point of view, such an image is a bit contradictory. If in the 1676 engraving Christ is depicted as alive, emphasizing the true Eucharistic sacraments of the living Christ, then in the Drohobych icon this idea is not so clearly presented.

In the last quarter of the 17th century, the engraving of *Christ – The True Vine* 1674, which was placed in the *Akathists* and in the book *Trumpets on solemn days*, became a source for local icon painters. No other prototypes for the images of *Christ – The True Vine* were found. On the 17th century icons the Savior is shown turned to the left, as in the engraving of 1674. This is observed on several icons from the Lviv region (not many 17th century icons with this theme have been preserved). One of the oldest icons from the second half of the 17th century comes from the collection of the Museum of Stavropegion in Lviv,[59] which was situated at the church of the Assumption (**fig. 7**). The exact provenance of the icon is not known,[60] but in the inventory card it is written that it was at the top of the iconostasis. Here we have a rare example of when this type of icon was placed on the iconostasis. The icon has a simpler composition than the engravings, without additional details.

Notes

57 Baranowicz 1676b, p. 79.

58 Stored at "Drohobychchyna" Museum in Drohobych. The icon is partially repainted.

59 This museum was closed by Soviet authorities after the Second World War and icon was transferred to the Lviv Museum of Ukrainian Art (now Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv).

60 The style of painting testifies to an authorship of a local master, possibly from the Lviv region environment.





Fig. 8. Nykodym Zubrytskyi, *Christ – The True Vine* engraving in the *Service Book* (*Служебник*), Stavropegion Brotherhood printing house in Lviv, 1691.

Credits: Roksolana Kosiv.

Fig. 9. Nykodym Zubrytskyi, *Christ – The True Vine* engraving in the *Akathists* (*Акафісти*), Stavropegion Brotherhood printing house in Lviv, 1699.

Credits: Roksolana Kosiv.

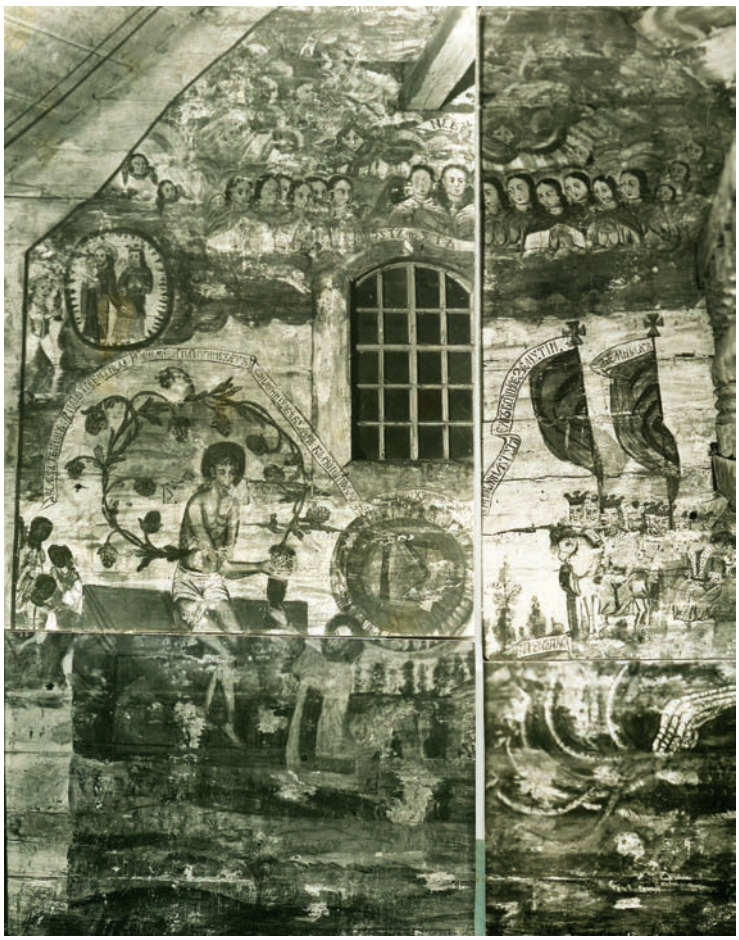
Two more engravings of the theme of *Christ – The True Vine* appeared in the liturgical books of the Lviv printing house, founded in 1591 by the Stavropegion Brotherhood at the church of the Assumption. One engraving is placed in the *Service Book* (*Служебник*) of 1691 (fig. 8), the other – in the *Akathists* (*Акафісти*) of 1699 (fig. 9). The author of both compositions was the famous engraver Nykodym Zubrytskyi. In the first engraving, Christ sits facing left; the chalice into which the blood flows from the bunch is held by the Apostle James, the first bishop of Jerusalem – this further emphasizes the Eucharistic significance of the image, as well as the establishment of the Church of Christ. To the right there is the Apostle Peter with the keys, and below, in the arch, there is a pelican feeding his chicks with his body and blood. In addition, here we see the Old Testament spies of the land of Canaan with a giant bunch of grapes. The second engraving of 1699 has a simpler composition. Here Christ sits facing right, which allows us to better see his pierced right side, from which grows a vine with bunches. This engraving depicts the instruments of passion next to the Saviour: a column with ropes. The column with ropes was sometimes depicted on the 18th century Ukrainian icons of *Christ – The True Vine*, which were drawn according to this engraving.

The influence of these three engravings on the theme of *Christ – The True Vine* is clearly traced in the Ukrainian iconography of the late 17th–18th centuries. In the 18th century, two older engravings were less common than the engraving of 1699, which, we assume, became the prototype for most icons.[61] There are many more icons preserved with the theme of *Christ – The True Vine* in Ukrainian art as compared with church wall-paintings. In our opinion, the reasons for the popularity of such a Eucharistic image of the Savior in Ukrainian and Romanian art are connected with the worldview of the Baroque era. The mentality of Ukrainians was better matched by the somewhat lyrical and decoratively interpreted image of the Savior surrounded by a lush vineyard with bunches, which had allegorical interpretations in the works of Ukrainian theologians in the 17th century. This image was expressive, less detailed than the complex dramatic Eucharistic image of the Savior in the grindstone, which developed and was popular in Western Catholic Europe. In Ukrainian and Romanian art, the image of Christ in the grindstone is extremely rare. In Ukrainian art we see it only on one icon from the Kyiv workshop of the late 17th century. The icon comes from the church of Motyzhyn village[62] (Kyiv region). Its composition is most probably based on an engraving by Hieronymus

Notes

61 Косів 2016.

62 National Art Museum of Ukraine (Kyiv). Published: *Шедеври* 1999, il. 31.





Wierix. In Western Ukrainian art, the image of *Christ in the grindstone* is not found at all.

Among the murals of Ukrainian churches which had the image of *Christ – the True Vine*, we can highlight, unfortunately, the unpreserved composition of the wooden church of Saint Nicholas in the town of Horodok (Lviv region) (**fig. 10**). (The church, built in 1696, burned in 1944.) The composition in this church was an interesting example of how engravings influenced icon painting. Here, the image of *Christ – the True Vine* was placed on the south wall of the nave as one of the subjects of the general composition of symbolic content. The main source of the iconography of *Christ – The True Vine* was the Kyiv engraving of 1674, but it is noticeable that the master borrowed some motives from the 1691 engraving of the *Service Book* of the Lviv printing house. However, in the painting the Savior is facing right, not left, as in both engravings. This is probably because the composition on the left was adjacent to the corner of the wall. The painting is accompanied by inscriptions on white ribbons, as in the engraving of 1674. At the feet of the Savior a saint in episcopal robes with a halo is depicted standing on his knees. We can assume that this is the Apostle James, as in the engraving of 1691. In the background, to the right, there is a landscape with small trees. Above Christ there are ribbons with the same inscriptions as in the engraving of 1674: "I create everything" […], "multiplying fruit will bring" "every heavenly and earthly knee will bow to the name of Jesus." Just as in the engraving of 1674, a large medallion with the monogram of the name of Jesus in rays of light is placed. In the right part of the composition, crowned horsemen with two flags facing Christ are painted. Ribbons with inscriptions explaining the image are attached to their flags. On

▲ Fig. 10. *Christ – The True Vine* wall painting in the nave of wooden Saint Nicholas church in town Horodok (Lviv region), Late 17th–early 18th century (after 1696). The church does not exist. Photo from the collection of Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv.

Copyright: Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv.

◥ Fig. 11. *Christ – The True Vine* icon, 1715, from the Exaltation of the Holy Cross church in Vara (Podkarpackie Voivodeship, Poland). Tempera on canvas. Historical Museum in Sanok (MHS/2538).

Credits: Roksolana Kosiv.





the first we read: "all the kings of the earth bow down to him," and on the second: "earthly." Beneath the riders there is a large dragon-like monster, above which it is written on the ribbon: "underworld," as in the engraving of 1674. In the upper tier, above the Christ and horsemen, various ranks of angels on the clouds are shown, while on the left, in a medallion with rays – small full figures of the Saviour and the Virgin with crowns. In front of them there is a woman with a vessel, possibly a myrrh-bearer. Considering the stylistic, the painting may be dated to the late 17th–early 18th century (after the construction of the church in 1696). The composition testifies to the interpretation of the image of *Christ – The True Vine* and the Sacrament of the Eucharist in the context of its significance for the Church.

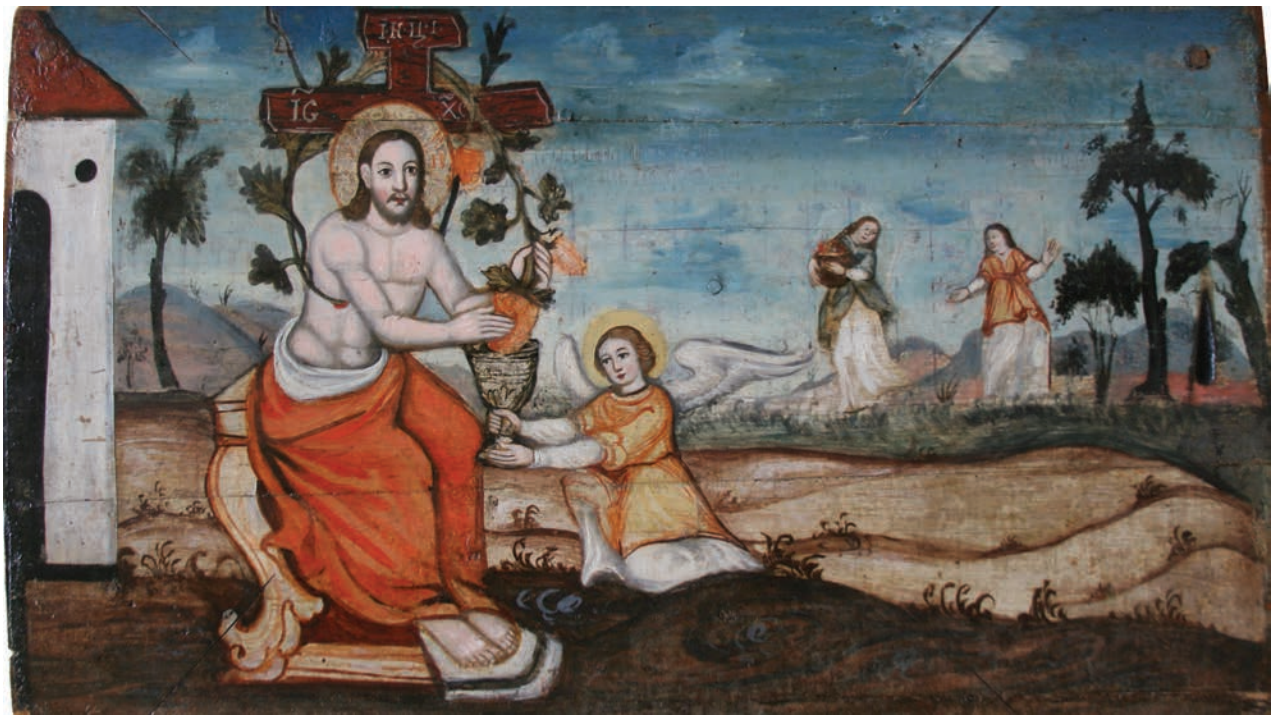
An engraving from the *Service book* of 1691 became the source for the icon of *Christ – The True Vine* painted in 1715 for the church of Vara (Podkarpackie Voivodeship, Poland) (fig. 11). The Saviour is depicted facing left. A pelican feeding his chicks with its body and blood is placed at the top of the composition, and the *Last Supper* scene in the arch at the bottom. Similar with the 1691 engraving, two angels hold a white cloth behind the Savior. Images of Virgin Mary and Saint John the Theologian standing on both sides of Christ (as in the iconography of the *Crucifixion*) are added to the composition. The icon was painted by the master from the workshop of Rybotychi (now in Poland). Masters of this big iconpainting center used to depict Virgin Mary and Saint John the Theologian on both sides of Christ standing in a chalice, which is another Eucharistical composition represented by these masters in the late 17th century – first quarter of the 18th century. As stated in the text scripted above the *Last Supper*, the

Fig.12. *Christ – The True Vine* icon, first half of the 18th century. Provenance is unknown (possibly Lviv region). Tempera on board. Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv (HMJI i-3374).

Credits: Roksolana Kosiv.

Fig. 13. *Christ – The True Vine* icon, 1741. Provenance is unknown. Tempera on board. Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv (HMJI i-3327).

Credits: Roksolana Kosiv.





▲ Fig. 14. Marko Shestakovych (Марко Шестакович), *Christ – The True Vine* icon, 1720s–1730s, from the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple church in Mezhyhiria (Lviv region). Tempera on board. Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv (НМЛ і-3752).

Credits: Roksolana Kosiv.

sponsor of this icon was a local priest, Luke, and his wife Anna. This attests to the great significance of such work for the Church.

At the end of the 17th century – first half of the 18th century, the image of *Christ – The True Vine* was actively developing in Ukrainian art in Kyiv, Chernihiv, Volyn, Galicia, Lemko, Transcarpathia regions. As we have noted, the image was usually painted on icons, not on church walls (though not many Ukrainian church wall-paintings have survived since then). As already mentioned, in the 18th century masters preferred the image of the Savior sitting facing right, without additional details of complex meaning, as in the engraving from the *Book of Akathists* of 1699. On a couple of 18th century icons, the Saviour is shown in the S-shaped Baroque pose. For example, this can be seen on the icon from the first half of the 18th century (provenance unknown). The iconography of the Saviour stands out, because His blood does not flow from the bunch, but from the wound on the side, directly into the chalice. This variant does not reflect the main idea of the image – to illustrate the mystical Sacrament of the Eucharist, the transformation of wine into the blood of Christ (**fig. 12**).

Studying the 18th century icons, we can distinguish two versions of the iconography of *Christ – The True Vine*: symbolic and narrative. In the symbolic iconography the Savior was depicted sitting on a throne or on a rectangular seat resembling a sarcophagus or an altar table, on a local background. Sometimes the scene was complemented by an inscription of a liturgical prayer for the consecration of the gifts. The composition represented Christ as a living sacrifice on the altar in the temple. Such is the icon of 1741 of unknown origin (**fig. 13**), the icon of the 1720s–1730s by Marko Shestakovych from the church in Mezhyhiria village (Lviv region) (**fig. 14**). In the narrative version, the masters painted a landscape, sometimes a building, which, apparently, should be associated with the Lord's tomb. The Savior was depicted sitting on a sarcophagus or on a throne (**fig. 15**). This variant of iconography was most popular in the works of the masters of the Volyn (Ostroh) center, who actively worked in the 1730s and 1740s and used two examples of the image. These masters interpreted the image of the



Fig. 15. *Christ – The True Vine* icon, 1720s, from the Synaxis of Archangel Michael church in Yasenytsia Zamkova (Lviv region). Tempera on board. Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv (HMJI i-1764).

Credits: Roksolana Kosiv.

Fig. 16. *Christ – The True Vine* icon, 1730s–1740s, from the Saint George church in Ozerna (Ternopil region, Ukraine). Tempera on board. Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv (HMJI i-609).

Credits: Roksolana Kosiv.

Savior especially decoratively and, on some icons, they emphasized the idea of the sacrifice. One example they used shows Christ himself opening the wound in the rib and blood flowing from it into the chalice held by an angel (**fig. 16**). On the other side of the Savior, another angel holds the same chalice into which the blood from the bunch drips. A branch with bunches grows from the pierced rib of Christ. Here the reality of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist is very clearly emphasized. This version was popular only in this workshop.[63] A second variant of the iconography is more traditional, with Christ facing right and squeezing a grape into a chalice (**fig. 6**, **17**).

In some of the compositions of *Christ – The True Vine* we see a hint of a vineyard, a reminder of the parable of the vineyard workers (Luke 20: 9-16). The vineyard is painted on the icon of 1721 from the church of Synevidsko Nyzhne (Lviv region) (**fig. 18**). The Savior is often depicted with a crown of thorns, or sometimes without it; the crown of thorns can be depicted hanging on a cross that is painted behind Christ. The cross was a mandatory depiction for 18th century icons.

On the early 18th century icon from the church of Reped[64] (Podkarpackie Voivodeship, Poland) and on the 1774 icon from the church in Yavoriv (Lviv region), the body of the Savior is covered with drops and streams of blood (**fig. 19**). This finds a parallel with a miniature from the *Sluzhebnyk* of Metropolitan Ștefan of Ungro-Wallachia, where Christ is also shown wounded.

As noted in the documents describing the churches of the 18th century, the icon of *Christ – The True Vine* was mostly present at the prothesis in the sanctuary, being associated with its symbolism. The

Notes

63 Косів 2012.

64 Historical Museum in Sanok. Published: Janocha 2008, il. 31.





▲ Fig. 17. *Christ – The True Vine* icon, 1730s–1740s, from the church in Brody (Lviv region). Tempera on board. Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv (НМЛ і-2678).

Credits: Roksolana Kosiv.

◥ Fig. 18. *Christ – The True Vine* icon, 1721, from the Dormition church in Synevidsko Nyzhne (Lviv region). Tempera on canvas. Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv (НМЛ і-3232).

Credits: Roksolana Kosiv.

prothesis is symbolically associated with the Nativity of Christ and His sacrifice. Accordingly, the iconographical program in this section of the sanctuary, as well as the embroidery of the liturgical veils for the chalice and discos, reflect this symbolism. Several examples of Ukrainian liturgical veils with the image of *Christ – The True Vine*, apparently for a chalice, dating from first half of the 18th century, have been preserved[65] (**fig. 20**).

According to the inscriptions on the icons, the shape of the icons and the preserved examples in the churches, it is known that the image of *Christ – The True Vine* could also be part of the ciborium of the main altar in the sanctuary or of the side altar. In the Ukrainian Uniate churches of the 18th century, under Latin influence, there were large ciboria, with an icon in a decorative carved frame and a box or a locker with a door, attached to the icon.[66] In particular, such ciboria were popularized in the first half of the 18th century by the masters of the Rybotychi center. These masters also quite often painted the image of *Christ – The True Vine*: more than a dozen icons of their authorship on this theme have survived.[67] It should also be noted that the image of *Christ – The True Vine* of those authors was often placed on the ciboria on the main altar of the church. On the icon for the prothesis, they often represented another Eucharistic image of Christ standing naked in a chalice, whith blood flowing from his wounds. Virgin Mary and Saint John the Theologian stood on both sides of the chalice, as in the iconography of the Crucifixion.[68]

The image of *Christ – The True Vine* could be painted on the door of the ciborium or on the main large icon above it. Small icons of *Christ –*

Notes

65 Косів 2016, p. 12, il. 13.

66 Another type of ciborium looked like a longitudinal pedestal, often with several images. Ciboria of this shape have survived less.

67 Косів 2019, p. 125-127, 199-200, il. 103-104, 203-206.

68 Косів 2019, p. 135, 198-199, il. 120, 200-202.





Fig. 19. *Christ – The True Vine* icon, 1774, from the church in Yavoriv (Lviv region). Tempera on board. Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv (НМЛ і-2854).

Credits: Roksolana Kosiv.

Fig. 20. *Christ – The True Vine* chalice veil, second quarter of the 18th century. Provenance is unknown (possibly Lviv region). Oil on silk. Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv (НМЛ і-1935).

Credits: Roksolana Kosiv.

The True Vine from the churches of Zohatyn (Podkarpackie Voivodeship, Poland) (**fig. 21**) and Kulchytsi (Lviv region) (**fig. 22**) testify that they were for the doors of a ciborium. Both icons belong to the authors of the Rybotychi painting center of the late 17th–early 18th century. The image of *Christ – The True Vine* is painted on the door of the 1740s ciborium in the church of the Archangel Michael of Ladomirova (Slovakia). *Christ – The True Vine* is represented on the 1717 ciborium from the church of Nizhny Svidnik[69] (Slovakia) and in the center of the early 18th century ciborium from the monastery in Skyt Manyavskyi[70] (Ivano-Frankivsk region, Ukraine). *Christ – The True Vine* is placed as the main image on the ciborium by Rybotychi master, which is still on the altar of the church in Kalna Roztoka (Slovakia). On the icon of 1730 of unknown origin from the collection of Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv it is indicated that the icon is from the "cymborium" (*цимборію*) (**fig. 23**). Therefore, as we can see, the image *Christ – The True Vine* belonged to the iconographic program of the sanctuary and could be located on the altar or on / above the prothesis.

There are double-sided icons with the image of *Christ – The True Vine*. One of them is the above-mentioned icon of 1774 from the church in Yavoriv, where on the other side the *Virgin with Jesus Child* are painted.[71] It is a small octagonal icon that could be permanently hung in the church above the tetrapod in the nave or above the altar in the sanctuary. Another icon of the first half of the 18th century could be processional (exact provenance is unknown). It is larger and ends at the top with a decorative carved frame, topped with a crown. On the other side, the image of the *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception* is painted (**fig. 24**).

Notes

69 Published: Косів 2019, іл. 103, 99.

70 Станкевич 2002, p. 299.

71 Косів 2016, p. 80.





▲ Fig. 21. *Christ – The True Vine* icon, late 17th century, from the Saint Demetriuss church in Zohatyn (Podkarpackie Voivodeship, Poland). Tempera on board. National Museum of the Przemyśl Land in Przemyśl (MPH-6008).

Credits: Roksolana Kosiv.

◥ Fig. 22. *Christ – The True Vine* icon, early 18th century, from the Dormition church in Kulchytsi (Lviv region). Tempera on board. Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv (НМЛ і-550).

Credits: Roksolana Kosiv.

◥ Fig. 23. *Christ – The True Vine* icon, 1730. Provenance is unknown. Tempera on board. Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv (НМЛ і-3172).

Credits: Roksolana Kosiv.

Another source of the development of the Eucharistic iconography of the Saviour were antimensia. Patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem, while in Kyiv in 1620, presented to the church of Pechersk Lavra his antimension with the image of the risen Christ standing in the sarcophagus. This iconography developed on the 1620s–1650s antimensia of Ukrainian bishops (of the Uniate and non-Uniate churches): Yosyf Kurtsevych, Yov Boretskyi, Jeremiah Tysarovsky, Atanasyi Puzyna, Sylvester Kosiv, and Yakiv Susha. The image of the chalice in which the blood from Christ's pierced rib flows was added to the iconography of these antimensia.[72] Such iconography is also found on some Romanian antimensia from the 1690s and 1700s. It is important to note that on the 1695 antimension of bishop Mitrofan of Buzău and on the 1704 antimension of his successor Damaschin Dascălul, Christ is depicted standing frontally in a sarcophagus, a vine branch growing from His pierced rib with a bunch hanging over a chalice standing on the right part of the sarcophagus.[73] Here we have a sample of the image of *Christ – The True Vine*. Subsequently, antimensia with such iconography have not been widespread. Two surviving examples show that at the end of the 17th century the iconography of *Christ – The True Vine* began to develop more actively in Romanian art.

In Romanian art, images of *Christ – The True Vine* became very popular in the 18th century church wall-paintings as proved by numerous examples. In contrast to the Ukrainian context, fewer Romanian

Notes

72 Ткачук 2018, il. 18-22, 25.

73 Nicolae 2016, p. 228-229.





▲ Fig. 24. *Christ – The True Vine* double sided icon, first half of the 18th century. Provenance is unknown. Tempera on board. Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv (НМЛ і-3387).
Credits: Roksolana Kosiv.

icons of *Christ – The True Vine* of the 18th century have survived, and probably the image was not popular for icons in that period. Elisabeta Negrău paid attention to the first preserved murals with the image of *Christ – The True Vine*, painted in the early 18th century during the reign of Constantine Brâncoveanu when church art was on the rise.[74] We will pay attention to these murals as they represent interesting examples of the iconography of *Christ – The True Vine*.

Christ – The True Vine is preserved at the prothesis of the sanctuary in the church of the Skete of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul in the Monastery of Hurezi (1700) (**fig. 25**), at the prothesis of the Monastery church of Cozia (1704-1705) (**fig. 26**), and at the prothesis of the church of Arnota Monastery (*c.*1706)[75] (**fig. 27**) (all monasteries are in Vâlcea County). On the murals of the churches of Arnota and Cozia the Saviour is depicted facing right, a vine growing from His pierced rib. It is difficult to trace the prototypes used by the masters. These could be the already mentioned Kyiv and Lviv prints or icons, which could have become sources for these images.[76] The topic could have been popularized either by Romanian or Ukrainian masters who traveled in both directions. It is possible that Western European sources may also have had an impact. This is however doubtful, because, as already mentioned, the theme of *Christ – The True Vine* in the version we are studying here, was not popular in Catholic European art and had not developed in the Balkans, Greece[77] or Russia.

It should be noted that in the above-mentioned churches all the murals of *Christ – The True Vine* are found at the prothesis. There is

Notes

74 Negrău 2010, p. 361.

75 Negrău 2010, p. 361; Nicolae 2010, p. 46.

76 Iancovescu 2008, p. 105.

77 In the post-Byzantine Greek art another image of the Saviour developed, which is depicted on a trunk of a vine, on the branches of which are the Apostles. This image is also named in the literature *Christ – The True Vine* or the *Savior – The Winegrower*. This image emphasizes that Christ is the head of the Church and the Apostles are his successors. Christ usually blesses with both hands as the High Priest. See: Mantas 2003, p. 347-360. This image was not widespread in Ukrainian and Romanian art.



Fig. 25. *Christ – The True Vine* mural in the Skete of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul in the Hurezi Monastery (Vâlcea County, Romania), 1700.
Credits: Elisabeta Negrău.



Fig. 26. The painters Preda, Ianache, Sima, and Mihail, *Christ – The True Vine*, mural in the Cozia Monastery church (Vâlcea County, Romania), 1704-1705.
Credits: Elisabeta Negrău.

Fig. 27. *Christ – The True Vine* mural in the Arnota Monastery church (Vâlcea County, Romania), *c.*1706.
Credits: Elisabeta Negrău.

more emphasis on the idea of Christ – The Victim offered on the altar. In all three compositions there is no image of the cross behind the Savior, as in the Kyiv engraving of 1674. The Body of Christ is not wounded. In the churches of Hurezi and Arnota, Christ is depicted sitting on a throne, which looks like an altar or is sitting on a throne near the altar (Arnota) next to a large Eucharistic chalice into which He squeezes a bunch. There may be several angels. They either hold the chalice, as in Ukrainian icons, or stand respectfully or fly near it or the Savior. The images of standing angels resemble the scene of the *Heavenly Liturgy*, which appeared in sanctuary frescoes in Greece and the Balkans in the 14th–18th centuries. This scene was also known among Ukrainian and Romanian medieval icon painters. In particular, it is presented in the paintings of the sanctuary of the monastery church of Cozia. Special attention should be paid to the murals of this church. Here, at the prothesis under the arch, there are three scenes related to the Proskomedia and the Eucharistic Liturgy. These are the *Nativity of Jesus Christ*, *Don't cry for Me, Mother* (*Akra Tapeinosis*)

Notes

78 The scene illustrates the last Sunday of the Pentecostal cycle, entitled "Sunday of the Church Fathers" in memory of the Fathers of the First Ecumenical Council of 325, which condemned the teachings of Arius and proclaimed the Creed. About the iconography of this cycle in the works of Ivan Rutkovych from Zhovkva see: Зілінко 2006, p. 143-150.

79 Косів 2019, p. 195-197, il. 41, 198-199.

80 *Források* 2015, p. 460, 471.



and *Christ – The True Vine*. It is worth noting that in the last image the Savior holds a closed book with his left hand and blesses with his raised right hand as Pantocrator. He sits in the front, while the vine grows from behind Him and descends to the right, where under it an angel stands facing the Savior. Christ does not squeeze the bunch into the chalice. We don't come across any other images of *Christ – The True Vine* where the Savior is pictured in frontal position with a book and a vine. It is worth noting that a real Eucharistic chalice now stands on a pedestal on the prothesis in this church. If you look at the chalice, it is clearly seen that it is placed under a bunch of grapes painted on the wall. Thus, here the composition *Christ – The True Vine* is combined with real liturgical practice, which further emphasizes the reality of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist. It is not known whether such a composition of the prothesis was designed from the beginning of the creation of the murals, but it deserves attention as an example of an integral arrangement of sacred space in synthesis with art and ritual. The mentioned examples of murals in the Romanian monastic churches show how well the theme of *Christ – The True Vine* has taken root in the system of paintings of the prothesis in local art.

This tradition of *Christ – The True Vine* is also seen in the paintings of a large number of wooden parish churches in Romania, from the 18th–19th centuries. The theme was popularized by masters of lower and higher professional level in the iconographic art. This indicates a general awareness of the iconography of the sanctuary and the popularity of the plot. Thus, master Aleksander Ponehalsky, who worked in churches from Maramureș in the 1750s and 1770s, depicted this scene in at least two of them: in the church of Călinești-Căeni (1754) and in that of Ieud Deal (1765). Both villages are located close to each other. In the church of the Nativity of the Virgin from Călinești-Căeni, *Christ – The True Vine* is located at the prothesis (**fig. 28**). To the right, at the center on the eastern wall there is a large scene of the *Intercession of the Virgin*, and to the left – on the northern wall of the sanctuary – the *Lamentation of Christ*. In the church of Ieud-Deal, next to *Christ – The True Vine* at the prothesis there is the scene of the *Appearance of Christ to Peter the Patriarch of Alexandria* (**fig. 29**). As we have noted, this scene also emphasizes the reality of the Sacrament of the Eucharist. In this scene, Christ is depicted half-naked, which also reminds of His sacrifice. The scene appeared in the books of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra printing house; it is found for the first time in the *Didactic Gospel* of 1637, from where it was borrowed by icon painters. In particular, in Ukrainian icon painting, the masters of the Zhovkva school in the 1680s and 1740s included this scene in an additional tier of the iconostasis with scenes from Pentecost Sundays.[78] Masters of the Rybotychi painting center in the 1680s and 1750s sometimes depicted this plot on the *predella* icons of the iconostasis.[79] The scene in the wall-painting at Ieud-Deal was done according to the pattern from the engraving, which testifies that Aleksander Ponehalsky saw a similar composition, as it may be assumed in the works of the masters of the Rybotychi center. It is also possible that the master used liturgical books printed in Kyiv and Lviv. According to documents from 1750-1751 containing descriptions of church visits made in Maramureș County by Manuil Olshavskyi, Bishop of Mukachevo (Ukr. Мукачево, Hung. Munkács) (including the mentioned villages), some churches had the books *Ruthenici et Valachici*[80] of Ukrainian and Romanian printing houses. It is also interesting to see with which scenes the masters combined the image of *Christ – The True Vine*.



Fig. 28. Aleksander (Alexandru) Ponehalsky, *Christ – The True Vine* wall painting in the Nativity of the Virgin wooden church in Călinești-Căeni (Maramureș County, Romania), 1754.

Credits: Alexandru Baboș.

Fig. 29. Aleksander (Alexandru) Ponehalsky, *Christ – The True Vine* wall painting in the Nativity of the Virgin wooden church in Ieud-Deal (Maramureș County, Romania), 1765.

Credits: Alexandru Baboș.

In both churches, Ponehalsky used the same type of iconography of the Savior, who sits facing right, squeezing a bunch into a chalice; next to the Savior there is an angel with a scroll with an inscription in Romanian. On the scroll in both images the same text is placed (this is a prayer from the *Proskomedia*): "You have redeemed us from the curse of the law with your precious blood on the cross being crucified and with the spear pierced, you sprang immortality to the people, Our Sa-vior, glory to You." (*Răscum/păra/tu[...]ne-i/ pre noi/ din/ ble/stemul/ legii cu/ scump/ sângele/Tău pre/ cruce fiind/ răstignit/ și cu sulița/ împuns ne/murire ai iz/vorât/ oameni/lor Mân/tuitoriul/ nostru/ mărire/ Ție*[81]). This text is abbreviated on the angelic scroll in the church of Călinești-Căeni.[82] Both images have identical inscriptions which identify the scene: "This is (Jesus) the Giver of Life" (*Acesta este IC Dătătoriul de Viață*).

In the wall-painting of *c.*1754 sanctuary of the wooden church of Saint Nicholas in Bogdan Vodă (Maramureș County), which is a neighboring village to Ieud-Deal, we also see a typical representation of Christ, who with both hands squeezes a bunch into a chalice (**fig. 30**). A large cross leaning towards the Savior is painted behind, thus giving the impression that He is supporting it with His body. Scenes are accompanied by Cyrillic captions. The inscription above the Christ reads: "Taste and see that the Lord is good" (*вкусите і увиδите, яко благ Гδь*). These are the words of the psalm (Ps. 34:8), which are also said at

Notes

81 We are grateful to Dr. Dumitrița Filip for translating the Romanian inscriptions.

82 Note that in the late 17th–the first half of the 18th century the Rybotychi masters, when painting the image of the Savior in a chalice for the prothesis, also wrote this text at the bottom of the image. See: Косів 2019, p. 200, 202.



the Lenten Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts during the Communion Rites.[83] Note that a similar iconography has a 1735 painting by Stefan Pashetskyi[84] (**fig. 32**). The painting is located on the northern wall of the sanctuary (prothesis) of the wooden church of the Birth of the Virgin from Graziowa (the church was transferred to the Museum of Folk Architecture in Sanok, Poland). Here, *Christ – The True Vine* is paired with the scene of the *Old Testament Trinity*, which emphasizes the idea of the Triune God and the realization of God's plan for the salvation of humanity. In the church of Bogdan Vodă, *Christ – The True Vine* is placed next to the scene, which illustrates the parable of the Good Samaritan (this scene is on the left). Symbolically, the Good Samaritan is Christ himself, so this composition is not accidental. To the right of *Christ – The True Vine* is Christ depicted as High Priest standing near the altar and blessing the chalice with both hands. Next to the Saviour, two saints of the early Church – Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria – are placed. This scene testifies to the founding of the Church and the institution of the Sacrament of the Eucharist by Christ himself.

At the prothesis in the church of the Holy Archangels in Borșa din Jos (Maramureș County) (painted in 1775) *Christ – The True Vine* (**fig. 33**) is pictured next to the image of Melchizedek standing before King David[85] depicted on his knees. Melchizedek is known to be a prefiguration of Christ the High Priest according to the words of Paul: "For it is declared: 'You are a priest forever, in the order of Melchizedek'" (Heb. 7:17). Abraham paid tithes to Melchizedek as a priest who was higher than the later generations of Old Testament priests under the law of Moses. Melchizedek blessed Abraham with bread and wine, which are the prototypes of the Eucharist. Here we also see a deep idea of both

Notes

83 Words from the rite of *Proskomedia*: "You have redeemed us from the curse of the law with your precious blood on the cross" on the wall-painting of this church are written above the scene, where a naked Christ is represented standing. Blood flows into a chalice from His wounded rib.

84 Jara 2008; Косів 2020.

85 As can be seen from the inscription it is King David, but in this iconography, it would be logical to see Patriarch Abraham.



Fig. 30. *Christ – The True Vine* wall painting in the wooden church in Bogdan Vodă (Maramureș County, Romania), c.1754.
Credits: Alexandru Baboș.



Fig. 31. Toader Hodor, *Christ – The True Vine* wall painting in the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple wooden church in Bârsana (Maramureș County, Romania), 1806.
Credits: Alexandru Baboș.

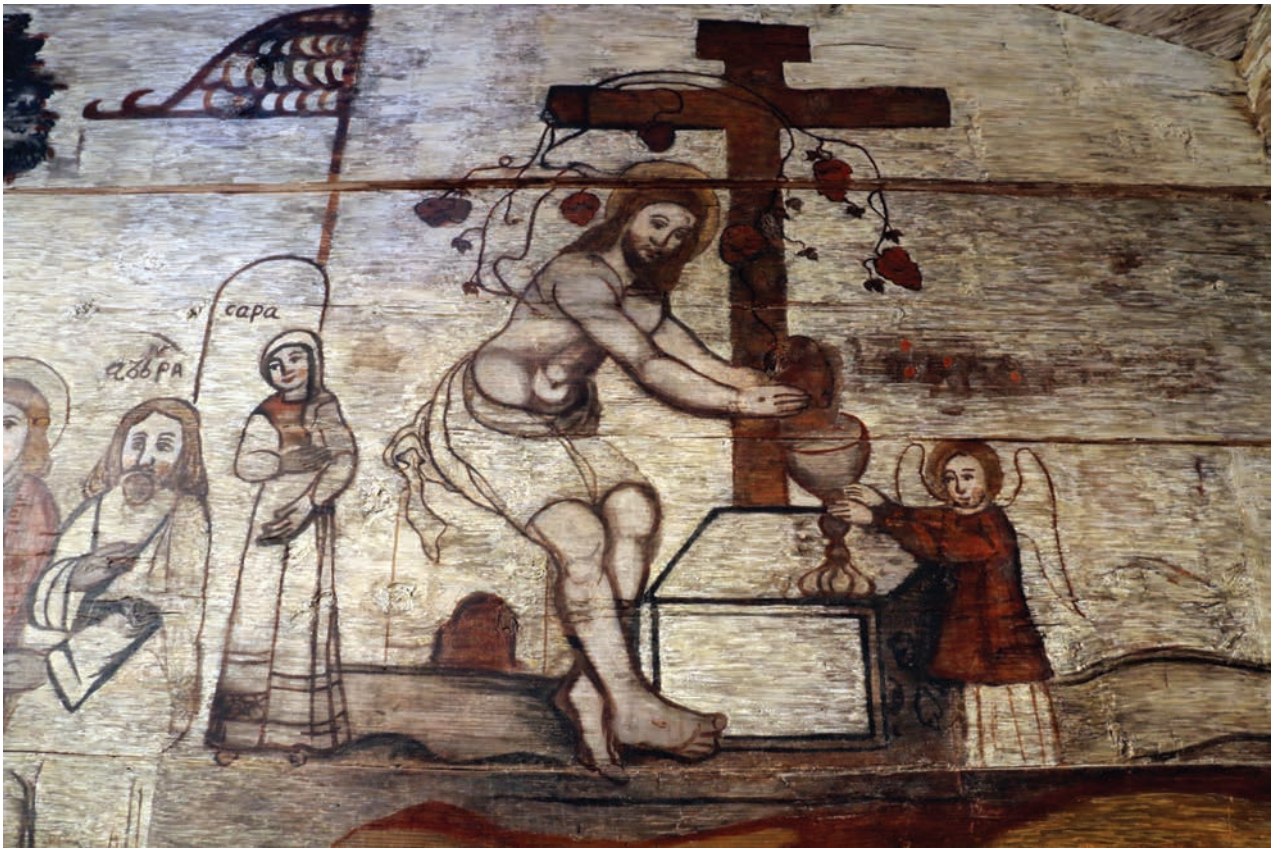




Fig. 32. Stefan Pashetskyi (Стефан Паше[тс]кий), *Christ – The True Vine* wall painting in the wooden Nativity of the Virgin church from Graziowa (the church was transferred to the Museum of Folk Architecture in Sanok, Poland), 1735.

Credits: Roksolana Kosiv.

Fig. 33. *Christ – The True Vine* wall painting in the wooden Holy Archangels church in Borşa din Jos (Maramureş County, Romania), 1775.

Credits: Alexandru Baboş.



Fig. 34. The painters Gheorghe, Nicolae and Ioan, *Christ – The True Vine* wall painting in the Archangel Michael and Annunciation of the Virgin wooden church in Urși (Vâlcea County, Romania), 1843.

Credits: Alexandru Baboș.



Fig. 35. Alexandru Pop from Hășmașu Ciceului, *Christ – The True Vine* wall painting in the Saint Nicholas wooden church in Muncel (Cluj County, Romania), 1792.

Credits: Ana Dumitran.



Fig. 36. *Christ – The True Vine* icon, 1784. Provenance unknown. Tempera on board. Astra Museum, Sibiu (Sibiu County, Romania).

Credits: Alina Geanina Ionescu.



compositions. To the right of *Christ – The True Vine* there are full-length images of Christ and the Virgin. In the open book of the Savior, the Gospel text "Come to me, all you who are weary and burdened, and I will give you rest" (Matt. 11:28) is written with Cyrillic letters. In this way, these images are also associated with the Eucharistic Christ, who is the only source of joy and peace.

In the church of Bârsana (Maramureș County), *Christ – The True Vine* is also placed at the prothesis (**fig. 31**). The wall-painting of church was made by Toader Hodor in 1806. Here is a typical image of the Savior squeezing a bunch into a bowl. The inscription reads: "When Christ squeezed the grapes" (*Când au stors XC struguri*). In this wall-painting next to *Christ – The True Vine*, as in the church of Ieud-Deal, the scene of the *Appearance of Christ to Peter the Patriarch of Alexandria* is illustrated.

In the small wooden church of the Archangel Michael (Annunciation of the Virgin) in Urși (Vâlcea County), the painting of *Christ – The True Vine* is also located at the prothesis (**fig. 34**). Although the painting dates back to 1843 (the authors of the wall-paintings are Gheorghe, Nicolae and Ioan) it is made according to ancient models. The drawing of the Savior's body and the graphic manner of the folds of fabric on the loin cloth are similar to the early 18th century images in the monastic churches of Arnota and Hurezi, which are located in the same region. Probably, the masters who painted *Christ – The True Vine* in the church of Urși were influenced by the patterns of these monastery churches or other similar examples. Here the Savior sits on a richly decorated throne and there is no cross behind Him, as in the mentioned churches of Arnota and Hurezi. On the scroll above the window, we read in Romanian the words of the Gospel of John "Whoever eats my flesh and drinks my blood has eternal life" (*Cela ce mănâncă Trupul/ Mieu, și bea sângele Mieu/ are viața vecilor*) (John 6:54).

In the church of Saint Nicholas in Muncel village (Cluj County), in the prothesis niche, *Christ – The True Vine* was painted in 1792 by

▲ Fig. 37. *Virgin with Jesus Child (of Rome), Christ – The True Vine, Saint Nicholas, Saint Barbara*, mid-19th century. Provenance is unknown (possibly Lviv or Ternopil region). Oil on canvas. Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv (HMJ i-3249).

Credits: Roksolana Kosiv.





▲ Fig. 38. Savu Moga, *Christ – The True Vine* icon, 1874. Tempera on glass. Carmen and Gheorghe Mușat collection, Bucharest.
Source: Dumitran 2018.

◥ Fig. 39. Painter from Grecu family workshop, *Christ – The True Vine* icon, second half of the 19th century. Tempera on glass. Carmen and Gheorghe Mușat collection, Bucharest.
Source: Dumitran 2018.

Alexandru Pop from Hășmașu Ciceului. The composition is typical for this period, but it is worth mentioning that the Saviour is shown here in a red, not a traditionally white loin cloth (fig. 35). This detail is seen on a Romanian icon from 1784, painted on board (fig. 36),[86] and appears in some Romanian icons on glass with the same theme, as well as on some Ukrainian shrouds of the 19th century. On the glass icons this detail can be explained by the fact that the masters painted the Savior's body white, so they had to highlight the loin cloth by using red or blue. On the shrouds, this can be explained by the desire to emphasize the symbolism of the Savior's shed of blood. The red loin cloth is also associated with the red eileton spread on the altar at the Divine Liturgy and the crimson veils on the chalice and discos used during the Lent. In the wall-painting of the church in Muncel, next to *Christ – The True Vine*, on the right, is the *Crucifixion of the Lord* with the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Theologian standing on both sides. Thus, the two scenes are also connected.

In the 19th century Ukrainian art, *Christ – The True Vine* is losing its popularity among professional masters. In our opinion, there were several reasons for this. The iconography art in the Ukrainian lands that were part of the Austrian Empire in the 19th century falls under the influence of realistic painting. Complex symbolic images as *Christ – The True Vine* were rarely used by masters of that time. Icon painting on the territory that became part of the Russian Empire in the 19th century was censored by the Russian Synod, which established the models to be used for the painting of icons and church arrangements. Old iconostasis and icons of the Cossack period were destroyed and replaced with new ones, made according to synodal models. Thus, in the 19th century *Christ – The True Vine* appeared on the so-called folk icons painted on board, and more often on canvas. Such icons sometimes have a frieze composition with several saints or scenes in a row. Among them are also icons with *Christ – The True Vine* (fig. 37).

Notes

86 "Astra" Museum, Sibiu (Sibiu County, Romania). The text on the icon says that "This saint icon was paid by the God's servant Băbuț Găvril with his wife Meletie, 1784." Translated from Romanian by Ana Dumitran.





Fig. 40. Ioan Pop from Făgăraș, *Christ – The True Vine* icon, mid-19th century. Tempera on glass. Carmen and Gheorghe Mușat collection, Bucharest.
Source: Dumitran 2018.

Fig. 41. Painter from Prodan family workshop in Alba Iulia, *Christ – The True Vine icon*, second half of the 19th century. Tempera on glass. Museikon collection, Alba Iulia.
Source: Dumitran 2011a.

Probably icons of this type were not intended for the sanctuary. However, we do not think that these were domestic icons, but were for church use. Actually, if in the 18th century the image of *Christ – The True Vine* was more intended for the contemplation of the clergy in the sanctuary, then in the 19th century it becomes more available to ordinary believers. At the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century the image of *Christ – The True Vine* appears on Central and Eastern Ukrainian icons painted in a realistic manner[87] with the stylistic features of *Art Nouveau*, which became popular under the influence of the paintings of Saint Volodymyr's Cathedral in Kyiv. Christ can be depicted with angels holding the instruments of passion.

In Romanian art, in the first half of the 19th century the image of *Christ – The True Vine* is still quite often painted in the sanctuary (at the prothesis), and from the middle of the 19th century this image is actively developing on icons painted on glass. In the local iconography there can be found works of several family workshops that painted this image. The masters of these workshops, as a rule, used common patterns. Masters from Făgăraș, such as Ioan Pop from Făgăraș, the Tămaș family and Nicolae Cațavei addressed this topic. Glass icons, including *Christ – The True Vine,* were also painted by Savu Moga and the Grecu family from villages near Făgăraș. In general, these masters interpreted the composition in a decoratively and flatly manner, which is typical for icons on glass, but adhered to the established iconography of *Christ – The True Vine*. In their icons, Christ sits on a sarcophagus and squeezes a bunch into a bowl. Christ can be turned to the right or to the left. His figure can also be represented in the mannerist *S*-shaped movement, as can be seen on the second half of the 19th century icons by Savu Moga or Grecu family (**fig. 38**, **39**). There are no inscriptions of symbolic content or prayers on such icons. Among these, the icons of Ioan Pop from Făgăraș stand out – painted in a graphic manner in toned-down colours (**fig. 40**). This master was one

Notes

87 Косів 2016, p. 27.





▲ Fig. 42. Ana Deji from Făgăraș, *Christ – The True Vine* icon, late 19th century. Tempera on glass. Carmen and Gheorghe Mușat collection, Bucharest.

Source: Dumitran 2018.

of the oldest who painted *Christ – The True Vine* on glass in the mid-19th century. It is worth noticing that icons on glass were also painted by women. The works of Ana Deji – daughter of Petru Tămaș senior are especially rich in color and decorations. The author used bright red, green and blue colors (**fig. 42**, **43**). A separate workshop of icons on glass operated in Alba Iulia, where in the second half of the 19th century the masters of the Prodan family, Maria[88] and Peter, worked. In their iconography, *Christ – The True Vine* is depicted facing left (**fig. 41**). Their icons are distinguished by rich dark colors, and are not as decorative as the works of the masters of the family of Petru Tămaș.

It is also worth mentioning that the works of the masters who painted icons on glass in Nicula, another version of the iconography of the Eucharistic Saviour prevails. The icons of these masters are especially naive regarding the interpretation of the figure, which is often deformed. Christ is depicted standing before or on a sarcophagus or altar (**fig. 44**). The vine has the shape of a circle with flowers, bunches and leaves. Instead of an elaborate Eucharistic chalice, a simple vessel is depicted. However, the gesture of the Savior, who squeezes the bunch with both hands, is preserved. It can be assumed that the masters of Nicula were inspired by the image of the *Saviour in the grindstone*; however, this image was not previously popular in local iconography. Thus, we suppose that here we see a kind of interpretation of the *Christ – The True Vine*. As we have noted, there are examples of the image of the *Savior squeezing a bunch into a bowl* while standing. In Ukrainian art, such is the icon of 1753 by Fr. Vasyl Hlibkevych, from the side altar of the church of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in Drohobych.[89] Here Christ is depicted standing slightly leaned forward, with one hand holdind the vine, and with the other squeezing the bunch into a large carved chalice.

Notes

88 Maria was the daughter of a painter from Șcheii Brașovului (Brașov city): Rustoiu, Dumitran 2007, p. 4.

89 "Drohobychchyna" Museum in Drohobych. Published: Nicolae 2016, p. 126; Кось 2016, p. 24.



Fig. 43. Ana Deji from Făgăraș, *Christ – The True Vine* icon, late 19th century. Tempera on glass. Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv (HMJI i-2870).
Credits: Roksolana Kosiv.

Fig. 44. Painter from Nicula, *Christ – The True Vine* icon in the Saint Nicholas church in Boiereni (Maramureș County, Romania), second half of the 19th century. Tempera on glass.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

It is also interesting to note that Ukrainian masters who painted the icons on glass in the Hutsul and Pokuttia areas, where glass paintings were also actively developed in the last quarter of the 19th century, never depicted *Christ – The True Vine*. We may explain this by the fact that the icons on glass from these family workshops had a domestic purpose. They were not intended to be placed in churches. These masters rarely used the independent image of Christ, but only the *Virgin with the Child Jesus* and the saints or the *Crucifixion* with other scenes or with the most popular saints.

Summing up, we note that the image of *Christ – The True Vine* was popular in Ukrainian and Romanian art for quite a short period – for two centuries.[90] We believe that its development in Ukrainian icon painting was influenced by engravings from the printed liturgical books of the 1670s and 1690s from the Kyiv and Lviv printing houses, which were widely distributed in churches not only in this region. The theoretical basis for the popularization of the image was to defend the rite of communion for the faithful under both kinds, which was relevant in the context of the disputes of the 17th century between the supporters of the union with Rome and those who opposed it. The second important point is that *Christ – The True Vine* clearly conveyed the idea of the reality of the body and blood of the Savior in the Eucharist, which was relevant in the context of the Counter-Reformation. Finally, the decorative composition, especially the grape branch with bunches and leaves, which could be interpreted in different ways, also contributed to the popularization of the image in the Baroque period, when lush plant motifs were significantly developed in church art.

Notes

90 Modern artists of 1990s–2010s in Ukraine and Romania also use this image in their paintings, but this is not the topic of our present research.



Liturgical Book Illustrations as Painting Prototypes.

A Few 18th-Century Altarpieces from the Territory of the Historic Eparchy of Mukachevo

Szilveszter Terdik

Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest
MTA-SZAGKHF Lendület Kutatócsoport, Nyíregyháza

From the second half of the 20th century, in scholarly enquiries on post-Byzantine art, a premium was also put on examining the influence of depictions made with the help of graphic reproduction processes on icon painting. It became clear that, with their role becoming increasingly more prevalent during Catholic-Protestant confessional struggles – frequently on account of their straightforwardly apologetic content – these engravings producible in large quantities would rapidly spread from western countries into Orthodox Christendom as well, making a powerful impact not only on the artists of the leading icon-painting workshops but also on less sophisticated, uneducated rural masters more adherent to traditions.[1]

The activities of the latter among the Greek Catholics living in the territory of the historic Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Kingdom of Hungary have been addressed by many in the past few decades. It has been demonstrated that, as of the 17th century, numerous engravings from the Netherlands were known even to these masters, suggesting that the use of graphic prototypes was not only the preserve of painters frequenting the art academies of Vienna, Moscow or Kyiv in ever growing numbers from the 18th century.[2] Apart from the fact that, in this period, painters already used sample books, thematic engraving collections and illustrated Bible editions – in many instances owned by themselves[3] – an important mediatory function was also assigned to printed liturgical books increasingly more widespread from the 17th century. At least the cover pages of these books were decorated with engravings, though several engravings were often placed inside individual volumes as well. It would seem that the majority of customers – probably, mostly local parish priests – could encounter engravings mainly through the illustrations of liturgical books. As evidenced by the protocols of canonical visitations from the middle of the 18th century, they

Fig. 1. Main altar, Saint Nicholas church, Olšavica.
Credits: Gábor Gayhoffer-Kovács.

Notes

1 The significance of engraved prototypes has been explored in a number of excellent monographs by Greek, Russian, Serbian and Romanian art historians. Examples include: in Greek-speaking areas about the influence of Art Italian: Chatzidakis 1969, p. 330-335; Russian scholarship first identified the influence of the copperplates of *Biblia Piscator* published in Amsterdam in 1650 in the painting of the church of the Holy Trinity in the Nikitniki District of Moscow, completed in 1652 and 1653: Овчинникова 1970, p. 32-133; the same phenomenon was observed for the murals of the church of the Holy Trinity at the Kyiv Monastery of the Caves, dated to about 1730: Кондратюк 2005; on the painting of the 18th century at Kyiv: Рыжова 2013, p. 110-135. On the use of the so-called *Biblia Ectypa*, see: Stošić 1992, p. 38-50. On the role of engravings in the post-Byzantine art of East-Central Europe, see, for example, Waldemar

Notes

Deluga's works: Deluga 1994b, p. 267-284; Deluga 2003a; Deluga 2019, p. 123-170.

2 See the case of the icon of the *Passion* in Hajasd (Ukr. Волосянка): Puskás 2011, p. 327-335.

3 For instance, the painter's manual of Jovan Četirević Grabovan, who, as a painter of Balkan origins, lived and worked in Hungary, has survived here (Hungarian Orthodox Parish, Nyíregyháza), while his richly illustrated Bible (*Biblia Ectypa*), which he may have acquired during his trip to Moscow (1756-1750), is kept in Belgrade. See: Кучековић 2014, p. 273-274, p. 281-284; Kučeković 2018, p. 362; Kučeković 2020, p. 138-139. At the Museum of Timişoara (Hung. Temesvár, Germ. Temeschburg, Serb. Темишвар), a painter's book and a drawing book are kept from the first half of the 18th century. For their detailed descriptions, with previous literature, see: Pârvulescu 2008.

4 The first visitation encompassing the territory of almost the entire Eparchy was conducted by Bishop Mihály Mánuel Olsavszky between 1750 and 1752. Only a handful of books were possessed by priests or parishes. Cf. *Források* 2015.

5 One may best form an idea about the printed liturgical books used in the territory of the Eparchy of Mukachevo with the help of the protocols recorded during the canonical visitations in the 18*th* and 19th centuries, as well as on the basis of the church inventories made at the time of priest changes. These are to be found in the Archives of the Eparchy of Mukachevo and of those seceding from it, as well as in the archives of individual parishes. A large number of Church Slavonic and Romanian liturgical books are kept in the Library of the Saint Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological Institute of Nyíregyháza. On this material, see: Ojtozi 1982; Ojtozi 1985; Ojtozi, Kárpáti 1987, p. 139-175; Голуб 2015, p. 465-476. Printed *Liturgikons* used in the territory of the Eparchy were examined in particular by Dobos 2022b, p. 293-301.

6 Puskás 2008, p. 215.

7 Dobos 2022a, p. 190-204.

8 It is an altar with a remarkable

hardly had any other books.[4] Little may be known of the relationships between painters and customers or the commissioning process; sources usually remain silent about such details. It may only be speculated that, in the case of rural churches, it was mostly local parish priests who had a say in the development of the decoration of church interiors – especially of sanctuaries and altars. The active involvement of the priest is most likely in instances when a particular composition closely conforms to a certain engraving of a liturgical book.

The present discussion presents specimens produced in the Eparchy of Mukachevo (Ukr. Мукачево, Hung. Munkács, Rom. Muncaci) – once the largest Greek Catholic diocese of the Kingdom of Hungary – in the second half of the 18th century. The model-setting function of liturgical book illustrations appears to be evident in these instances.[5] As this phenomenon is best observed in the case of altarpieces, the examples have been selected from that genre.

Encompassing thirteen counties in north-eastern Hungary, with over four hundred parishes, the vast majority of the churches of the Greek Catholic Eparchy of Mukachevo were still built from wood in the late 18th century. In the usually small sanctuaries of churches, altars began to accommodate images from the middle of the century. In Ukrainian scholarship, it is suggested that this phenomenon may be accounted for by the influence of the Greek Catholic synod held in the city of Zamość in 1720, seeking to promote the veneration of the Eucharist even further.[6] The impact of this synod in the Eparchy of Mukachevo was insignificant.[7] In the mid-18th century, however, in the time of Bishop Mihály Mánuel Olsavszky (Ukr. Мануїл Михайло Ольшавський) (1742-1767), the gradual dominance of Latin-type altars was already manifest: he also had such constructed in the spacious sanctuary of the medieval Greek Catholic – originally Latin-rite – church of Olšavica (Hung. Nagyolsva), his native village in the Spiš (Hung. Szepes) County (**fig. 1**).[8] This tendency is obvious in other Spiš parishes as well.[9] After all, this may not be so surprising as Rusyns lived among a Latin-rite majority in this region. Customers – especially if they were senior clergy men – completed their theological studies in Latin environments, where they were strongly affected by the Roman Catholic praxis of the period.

From the middle of the 18th century, altarpieces would emerge in wooden churches as well. This development was inspired less by the decrees of the Synod of Zamość than by itinerant painters from Polish areas, e.g., from the towns of Posada Rybotycka (Ukr. Посада Риботицька)[10] and Sudowa Visnya (Pol. Sądowa Wisznia; Ukr. Судова Вишня),[11] who, having travelled across the Carpathians, also worked in the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary, selling their finished products – including altarpieces often combined with tabernacles – at low prices affordable to rural communities, too (mainly at the time of pilgrimages).[12] The use of altarpieces in the Eparchy of Mukachevo in the time of Bishop András Bacsinszky (Ukr. Андрій Бачіньскый) (1772-1809) became an expectation. In one of his letters, he noted that altars were to be adorned with a picture or a four-columns baldachin.[13] As a subsequent result, both would be prepared, gradually becoming compulsory elements in a way.[14]

While the employment of an altarpiece and a baldachin gained ever greater popularity among Greek Catholics in Hungary, in Hungary's Orthodox communities – though, in some instances, construction of the latter would be exemplified as of the end of the 18th century – the use of altarpieces remained uncommon. In Orthodox communities, iconographic themes related to the Eucharist that, in Greek Catholic



Fig. 2. Main altar, former Greek Catholic Church of Abaújszolnok. Credits: Gellért Áment.

communities, may be found on the high altar and the table of oblation alike, would be strictly confined to the place of the *Proskomedia*, i.e. preparation, in the *Prothesis*.

Altarpieces are varied in theme (the *Crucifixion*, the *Last Supper*, the title feast of the church or the Theotokos), in many cases connected with the Eucharist. Except for Abaújszolnok, the examples described here attempt to interpret the mystery of the Eucharist by presenting a rare iconographic type. Perhaps thanks to their iconographic peculiarity, out of the individual iconographic themes included in the present discussion – excepting the specimen from Kalná Roztoka (Hung. Kálnarosztoka) – only one has survived in the territory of the entire Eparchy. Whereas this circumstance, of course, does not imply that there were not several of them at some point, it does suggest that they failed to gain wider currency.

Abaújszolnok

The former wooden church of Abaújszolnok dedicated to the Beheading of Saint John the Baptist was complete by 1758. In the new church constructed in place of the building demolished in the late 19th century, the *retabulum* of the earlier baroque high altar was retained (**fig. 2**).[15] Although the pediment of the altar and its pictures have been lost by now, the main painting and the two related side images have been preserved.[16] The altarpiece depicts *Jesus' Crucifixion*. In the richly carved "wings," two upright figures appear in irregular picture areas: King David on the left and the Prophet Nathan on the right; the former holds a harp, while the latter has an open scroll in his hand with a biblical quotation ("The Lord also has put away your sin …" – 2 Sam. 12: 13b). The inscription makes it unambiguous that the scene featured is the one in which, guided by God, the Prophet Nathan reprimands David for seducing Uriah's wife; once the king realises the severity of his

Notes

mechanism, on which an icon of *Saint Nicholas* – the patron saint of the church – is at times lowered in front of the altarpiece of the high altar, appearing to be a replica of the miraculous icon of Máriapócs. On the foundation of the altar, see: *Schematismus* 1903, p. 159; Güntherová 1968, p. 421-422; Terdik 2005, p. 52-53, p. 59, fig. 4.

9 For example, a grandiose baroque *reredos* was made in Nižné Repaše (Hung. Alsórépás) as well. *Cf.* Güntherová 1968, p. 387.

10 About the altars made by them, see: Kocis 2019, p. 123-137.

11 For example, a *Crucifixion* icon from the former altarpiece of the church at Stavne (Ukr. Ставне, Hung. Fenyvesvölgy), painted in 1729 by Stefan Wyszyński. Puskás 2020, p. 87, 88, fig. 8.

12 On the influence of the Ryboticze painters in the Eparchy of Mukachevo, see: Puskás 2020, p. 86-91. For a specialised catalogue covering the activities of the Ryboticze painters, see: Kocis 2019.

13 Terdik 2009, p. 145.

14 On the development of the form of the altar in the Eparchy of Mukachevo, see: Dobos 2022b, p. 336-340.

15 It was conserved in recent years; currently, it is on display at the permanent exhibition of the Greek Catholic Museum of Nyíregyháza. The construction history of the wooden church and the baroque high altar were discussed in detail by the author of the present paper: Terdik 2020b, p. 216-221. On the conservation of the altar, see: Bakonyi *et alii* 2020, p. 222-225.

16 In the 1877 inventory of the church, the altar was also described. The two pediment paintings (*Jesus' Baptism* and *God the Father*) were extant at the time. The overall height of the structure was 284 cm; at present, it is 242 cm tall. *Cf.* Kárpáti 1999, p. 689.



transgression, he does true penance, prompting him to compose the most well-known penitential psalm, Psalm 50. It seems clear that the side images were made after the cover illustration of the *Psalter with commentary* printed at the Kyiv Monastery of the Caves. This composition was displayed already on the front cover of the 1728 edition of the book (**fig. 3**) and would also emerge in subsequent versions, albeit with a slight modification.[17]

If, in Abaújszolnok, in painting the image of David and Nathan, the first variant of the engraving was used as a starting point, it is justifiable to propose that a copy of the *Psalter with commentary* could be available to the painter. This assumption appears to be reinforced by the protocol of the 1752 visitation of the parish, where it is emphasised that, in addition to the necessary liturgical books, the community also possessed a Psalter with commentary (*Psalterium explicatum*).[18] Based on the image of David and Nathan appearing on the altar, it would seem likely that they actually owned the 1728 Kyiv edition. Seldom is it the case that reference to the on-site existence of the engraved prototype of a baroque painting is available. Furthermore, it may also be inferred that, in the selection of the prototype, as well as in the specification of the iconographic programme of the altar, the local parish priest played a major role as the hitherto unidentified painter must have come from the Roman Catholic milieu of one of the major nearby towns, though the possibility that he was from a Polish area cannot be discounted, either.

Iconographically, the *Crucifixion* theme of the altarpiece was a straightforward choice since Christ's sacrifice of the cross is the archetype of the sacrificial act of the Divine Liturgy as well. The appearance of David and Nathan, however, is not known from elsewhere: most certainly, the intention was to clarify it to penitents that the death of Christ not only broke the curse of ancestral sin symbolised by the motif in the main picture – Adam's skull at the bottom of the cross – but, in the Sacraments of Confession and the Eucharist, it would also wash away the personal sins of true penitents, whose paragon could be David.

Bukivts'ovo (Ukr. Буківцьово, Hung. Bukóc / Ungbükkös)

The altarpiece of the (previously Greek Catholic, currently Orthodox) wooden church of Saint Anne in today's Transcarpathia built in the 18th century is a symbolic depiction alluding to the essence of the Eucharist (**fig. 4**): from a chalice represented in full, the frontally positioned three-quarter figure of Christ, wearing a loin-cloth, emerges opening His arms while surrounded by a text ribbon twisting in three foils, with a quotation from the Gospel of John: "Whoever feeds on my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me, and I in him" (John 6: 56). Behind the chalice, on its two sides, five wheat stalks tied around by a crown of thorns, as well as a grapevine, full of bunches, climbing up a cross refer to the material of the Species of the Eucharist.[19] This painting was undoubtedly produced on the basis of an engraving. Presumably accompanying the prayers before communion, the woodcut version of the composition was published in the *Book of Akathists* issued at the Kyiv Monastery of the Caves in 1695 (**fig. 5**),[20] but it is also found in a *Liturgikon* (*Sluzhebnik*) printed in Chernihiv (Ukr. Чернігів) in 1697.[21] It is reasonable to assume that the starting point in Bukivts'ovo must have been the former, and, similarly to Abaújszolnok, it was possibly the local parish priest who requested the painter to paint this theme, emphasising the identicalness of the Eucharist and the Body of Christ. For now, no other icon is known to conform to this engraving so closely.

Excursus I

Depictions aspiring to offer a symbolic visualisation of the mystery of the Eucharist include compositions featuring a half- or three-quarter-figure image of



Fig. 3. The Cover Page of a Kyivan *Psalter*, edited in 1728.
Source: Запаско, Ісаєвич 1984.

Fig. 4. Main altar, Saint Anne church, Bukivts'ovo.
Credits: Hieromonk Makariy.

Christ in a chalice. This type also exists in several variants: in one version, the suffering or resurrected Savior imparts blessing. In the latter, Jesus may be naked or even dressed, while, in the other version, He appears as Emmanuel, i.e. without a beard, as a child, blessing with both hands.

The Bukivts'ovo altarpiece represents the first group. Its other variants are to be found among the engravings of the books, issued at the printing press of the Kyiv Monastery of the Caves, containing various Akathists, Canons and prayers: one was issued in 1663 (**fig. 6**), while the other in 1674 (**fig. 7**).[22] In these compositions, the naked half-figure of Christ is seen in the basin of a well or rather in the cup of a chalice, with His arms raised but pressed to His body. In the second engraving, His blood pouring profusely from the wounds on His hands is collected by the chalice, evoking *Fons Pietatis* depictions known from Western iconography. The two engravings were made for the *Akathist to Our Sweetest Lord Jesus*; the letters *KO* and *E* in their upper sections unequivocally indicate that they serve to illustrate its 5th *Kontakion*: "As of old You redeemed us from the curse of the law by Your Divine-flowing Blood, O Jesus, likewise rescue us from the snares in which the serpent has entangled us through the passions of the flesh, through lustful suggestions, and evil despondency, as we cry to You: Alliluia!"[23] The emphasis is on Christ's work of redemption – more specifically on the purifying power of blood – which may be

Notes

17 Запаско, Ісаєвич 1984, cat. 1097. Later editions: Запаско, Ісаєвич 1984, cat. 1917, 1919, 2144. The text on Nathan's scroll is already absent from the engraving of the 1755 version.

18 *Források* 2015, p. 497. Unfortunately, this Psalter has not survived in Abaújszolnok; it was not even mentioned in the 1877 inventory: *cf.* Kárpáti 1999, p. 691-692. However, a copy of the 1755 edition of the work from Nyírgyulaj has been acquired by the Library of the Saint Athanasius Theological Institute of Nyíregyháza. On this, see: Terdik 2020a, p. 226, cat. III.26 (Xénia Golub).

19 The altarpiece was first described in: Приймич 2007, p. 74; Приймич 2014, p. 88. The church dates from the 17th century, but it was rebuilt in 1791. On its history, see: Syrokhman 2000, p. 72-73. Photographs of the altarpiece courtesy of hieromonk Makariy.

20 Гусева, Каменева, Полонская 1981, p. 284, cat. 1628. On the volume, see: Запаско, Ісаєвич 1981, cat. 694. The long-term influence of the engraving is demonstrated by the fact that a smaller replica surfaces in a book of *Akathists* published in Bucharest in 1823 as well: Tatay, Tatai-Baltă 2015, p. 76, p. 439, fig. 485.

21 On the volume, see: Запаско, Ісаєвич 1981, cat. 718. A picture of the engraving was published by: Стасенко 2003, p. 177, fig. 344. This woodcut was known in the Serbian Orthodox Church too, because it is used as a prototype on the depiction of Saint John Chrysostom, in an illuminated Episcopal *Liturgikon* made by Gavrilo Tadić (1640-1725) in 1712. See: Тодић 2013, p. 118-119, fig. 90.

22 For pictures of the engravings, see: Гусева, Каменева, Полонская 1981, cat. 1205 and 1333. On the



Fig. 5. *The Eucharistic Christ*, woodcut, 1695.
Source: Гусева, Каменева, Полонская 1981.



Fig. 6. *The Eucharistic Christ*, woodcut, 1663.
Copyright: National Library of Ukraine, Kyiv.



Fig. 7. *The Eucharistic Christ*, woodcut, 1674.
Credits: Roksolana Kosiv.

received again in the Eucharist regularly, though this is not suggested by the text but only by the engravings.

These engravings would have an impact on icon painting as well. It is reasonable to speculate that it was directly these or other icons produced under their influence that inspired Alexander Ponehalsky, a painter living and working in Máramaros (Rom. Maramureş, Ukr. Мармарощина), who made the triptych of the wooden church of the Nativity of the Theotokos in Călinești-Căeni (Hung. Kálinfalva) between 1760 and 1770, featuring this theme as well (**fig. 8**).[24]

In some parts of southern Poland, several icons inspired by these engravings survive, though these were enriched by additional elements: The half-figure of Christ clearly emerges from a chalice, with a dove hovering over Him as an allusion to the Holy Spirit, His Mother represented as the *Sorrowful Mother* on His right, with a sword piercing through Her heart, and with John the Evangelist on His left. One such example is exhibited at the Sanok History Museum (**fig. 9**),[25] formerly possibly part of the altar or Table of Oblation (*Prothesis*) of a wooden church. As a further new element, the text of the Good Friday *Troparion* is also featured, the opening line of which was echoed in the 5th *Kontakion* of the Akathist cited above as well: "By Your precious blood, You have redeemed us from the curse of the law. By being nailed to the cross and pierced by a spear, You have poured forth immortality upon men. O our Savior, glory to You!"[26] The two ancillary figures and the quotation are clear references to Christ's sacrifice on the cross. In fact, what is displayed is a symbolic representation of the *Crucifixion*, with the consequence, or constantly evident reality, of the sacrifice – i.e. the mystery of the Eucharist – shown in the central axis by the figure of the suffering Christ pouring His blood in abundance into the chalice.

In all probability, it was this group of engravings that acted as a source of inspiration for the 18th-century painting that has survived in the National Art Museum of Kyiv (**fig. 12**).[27] In its central axis, Christ is featured in a chalice, against a finely painted landscape background – actually, in a vineyard – with the two Princes of the Apostles standing by the Savior. Biblical passages referring to the Eucharist are inscribed on the painting; thus, at the very top: "Whoever feeds on My flesh and drinks My blood abides in Me, and I in him" (John 6: 56); above Christ's hands: "I am with you always, to the end of the age" (Matt. 28: 20); in front of Saint Paul, in mirror writing: "For I received from the Lord what I also delivered to you" (1 Cor. 11: 23a). The Eucharistic content of the composition is further explored by the quotations. On the basis of its form and size, it is conceivable that it was once the *antependium* of an altar.

This iconographic type also appears in Serbian Orthodox art in the course of the 18th century, under the influence of Kyivan Orthodox art – mainly drawings. A box-shaped silver tabernacle (*kivot*), the top of

Notes

volume, see: Запаско, Ісаєвич 1981, cat. 411, 514.

23 *Akathist to Our Sweetest Lord Jesus*. Source of the English text: http://www.liturgies.net/Prayers/Orthodox/akathisttojesuschrist.htm (accessed on 10 January 2023).

24 Brătulescu 1941, p. 54, fig. 49; Porumb 1975, p. 45 and p. 35. This also features the composition *Christ – The True Vine*. Porumb 1975, p. 45 and p. 36.

25 Dated to the 18th century, it is from the church of the Archngel Saint Michael of Dołżyca; 115 x 62 cm; Museum Hystoryczne, Sanok, inv. no. S/3897. See: Kułakowska-Lis 2008, p. 89; Косів 2019, p. 196, p. 198, il. 200. Another example was on display at the permanent exhibition of the National Museum of Przemyśl in 2012 (inv. no. MPS-145). See: Косів 2019, p. 197-198, il. 202. Two similar examples are in the National Museum of Lviv, one of them from 1708, the other one with an inscription (a detail from the prayer of *Proskomedia*): Косів 2019, p. 134-135, il. 120-121. About the origin of the iconographic type see also: Косів 2019, p. 198-199.

26 Source of the English text: https://www.oca.org/saints/troparia/2022/04/22/25-great-and-holy-friday (accessed on 10 January 2023).

27 It is dated to the mid-18th century. Oil, canvas, 112 x 195 cm. It was transferred to the Museum from Saint Nicholas' Military Cathedral in Kyiv in 1907. Мельник 2005, 147, cat. 97. Міляєва, Гелитович 2007, p. 522, cat. 487, p. 457, fig. 487.



▲ Fig. 8. Alexander Ponehalsky, a triptych (*pomelnic*), 1760-1770, Călinești-Căeni.
Credits: Alexandru Baboș.

which is already decorated with this composition, survives from 1735 at the Monastery of Beočin in Fruška Gora.[28] In 1750, at the request of Pavel Nenadović, Metropolitan of Sremski Karlovci (Hung. Karlóca) (1749-1768), one of the most versatile Serbian artists of Hungary, Hristofor Žefarović (1690-1753), produced the design of an *aër*, i.e. of the largest chalice veil, with one side adorned with a Eucharistic depiction and the other with the image of the Savior rising from the dead.[29] An even more direct Eucharistic interpretation of the composition is afforded by the copper printing block made by an anonymous master around 1770, preserved at the Library of the Serbian Monastery of Athos, Hilandar (**fig. 10**).[30] The upper oval medallion features the figure of Christ in a chalice – this time, not naked as previously but wearing a *chiton*. In its frame, an inscription runs: "I am the living bread that came down from heaven. If anyone eats of this bread, he will live forever" (John 6: 51). A smaller medallion below bears the portrait of Saint John Chrysostom, author of the liturgy, in liturgical vestments. The Church Father is surrounded by additional medallions on both sides. One of them shows a priest in frontal view, with a chalice in his hands, amid a crowd. Its circular inscription makes it clear that this picture captures the moment when the prayer before communion is said during the Divine Liturgy (the circular inscription reads: "O Lord, I believe and confess that You are truly Christ, the Son of the living God, Who came into the world to save …"). The other medallion represents communion. Its circular inscription reads: "Receive the Body of Christ, taste the fountain of immortality" (communion verse for Eastertide). The bottom of the block displays another summarising inscription: "Oh, taste and see that the Lord is good!" (Ps. 34: 8) – communion verse during the Liturgy of Presanctified Gifts in Great Lent).

Notes

28 Медаковић 2010, p. 49.

29 Давидов 2006, p. 273, cat. 51, fig. 59.

30 Давидов 2006, p. 374-375, cat. 158, fig. 294.



▲ Fig. 9. *The Eucharistic Christ*, icon, Museum Hystoryczne, Sanok.
Credits: Szilveszter Terdik.



◥ Fig. 10. *Christ – The True Vine*, copper printing block, Library of the Serbian Monastery of Athos, Hilandar.
Source: Давидов 2006.



◥ Fig. 11. *The Eucharistic Christ*, copperplate, Serbian Ecclesiatical Museum, Szentendre.
Copyright: Serbian Ecclesiatical Museum, Szentendre.

The half-figure depiction of Christ – dressed and imparting blessing with both hands – emerging from the chalice, was also published in painter Georgie Popović's drawing book,[31] but the same composition decorates the door of the tabernacle-shaped chalice-holding cabinet made around 1800 that used to stand on the Table of Oblation (*Prothesis*) in the Orthodox church of Győr as well (**fig. 13**).[32]

Another variant of the theme featuring not the adult Christ but Christ Emmanuel is mostly known from the engravings of Romanian liturgical publications. A woodcut of such iconography is already included in the *Liturgikon* issued in Bucharest in 1728.[33] In 1755, Sinesije Živanović (Serb. Синесије Живановић), Orthodox Bishop of Arad (1749-1768), commissioned an unknown master to prepare a more ornate copperplate version of it, with a Romanian inscription (**fig. 11**).[34] The printing block survives in the Serbian Ecclesiastical Museum of Szentendre. The inscriptions of the two compositions are also identical ("Christ, the life-giving bread, is food for all the faithful"). It might well be the case that the Bishop of Arad had the artist consult the woodcut in the Bucharest publication. This composition was by no means unfamiliar to Hungary's Serbs, either: it appears as a relief on the top of the box-shaped silver *kivot* of the Monastery of Šišatovac.[35] It survives in a remarkable variant in the *Prothesis* recess of the church of the Monastery of Bođani: the half-figure image of Christ emerges from a chalice, and blood issues forth from the wound in the resurrected Savior's side.[36]

This composition is also commonly found in publications from the Blaj (Hung. Balázsfalva) printing press of the Romanian Greek Catholics of Transylvania. It is first encountered among the works of Petru Papavici, a native of Râmnicu-Vâlcea, one of the most productive woodcut makers at the printing press, in a prayer book (*Polustav*) published in 1773.[37] This woodcut is believed to be a replica of the copperplate of the Serbian Bishop of Arad described above and issued twenty years later. The expansion of the composition and of the theme is represented by the woodcut in the *Book of Akathists* published a year later, in 1774, which was also made by Papavici, albeit in a further developed form as Christ appearing in the chalice is complemented by four corner medallions with the portraits of bishops: in the top left

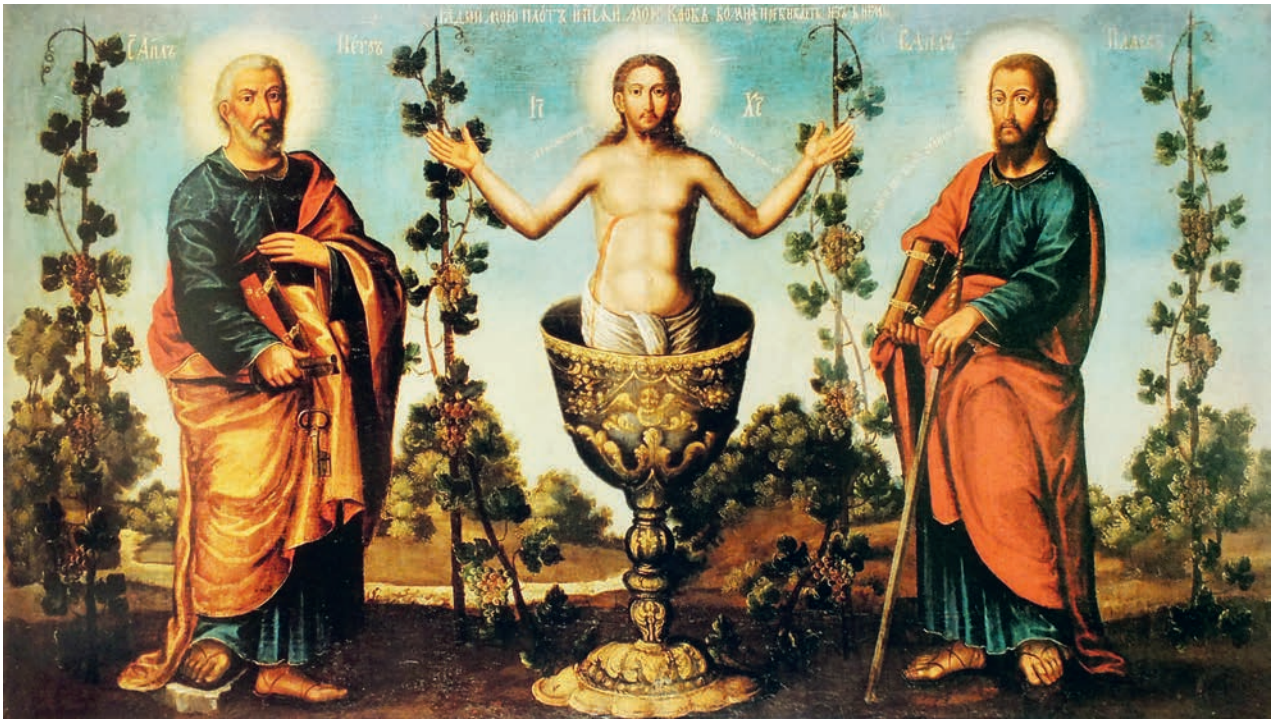
Notes

31 Although the drawings in the drawing book were published in 1979, the location of the original manuscript is currently unknown. The drawings were republished by: Cojocaru 2021, p. 253, p. 282, fig. 45. Its woodcut variant also appeared in the *Ceaslov* issued in Bucharest in 1785: Tatay, Tatai-Baltă 2015, p. 395, fig. 421.

32 Currently, it is found in the collection of the Serbian Ecclesiastical Museum, Szentendre: Вуковић, Королија Црквењаков 2011, p. 84-85.

33 Andreescu 2004, 107, Tatay, Tatai-Baltă 2015, p. 338, gig. 318. It would remain popular for long in liturgical books issued in Bucharest: Tatay, Tatai-Baltă 2015, p. 363, p. 386, fig. 358, fig. 402.

34 Давидов 2006, p. 352, cat. 127 and 216.



▲ Fig. 12. *Christ – The True Vine*, painting, National Art Museum of Kyiv.
Source: Мельник 2005.

corner, James, the Lord's brother, as the first Bishop of Jerusalem, is seen, while the remaining ones accommodate half-figure images of the three hierarchs and authors of the liturgy (Saint John Chrysostom, Saint Basil the Great and Saint Gregory the Dialogist). Later, this woodcut and its variants would recur in a number of publications all the way to the early 19th century (**fig. 14**).[38] In all probability it was a copy of the former variant, in which Emmanuel is surrounded not by the authors of the liturgy but by four two-winged cherubim, that inspired the painter of the wooden church of Derşida (Hung. Kisderzsida), painting this composition on the wall of the wooden church above the Table of Oblation.[39] The type presenting the four Church Fathers also survives in glass picture versions by artists from Ţara Făgăraşului (Hung. Fogaras vidék) from the 19th century.[40]

From the Eparchy of Mukachevo, two examples from the first half of the 19th century, in which Christ Emmanuel hovering over a chalice was carved as a relief on the door of the tabernacle, will be highlighted here: in the wooden churches of Repynne (Ukr. Репи́нне; Hung. Ripinye / Repenye) and of neighbouring Sukhyi (Ukr. Сухи́й; Hung. Szuha / Szárazpatak) (**fig. 15**).

It seems reasonable to ask whether the fact that the adult Christ or Christ Emmanuel is featured in the chalice could be seen as a reference to any theological difference. The former is essentially a motif borrowed from Western iconography alluding – especially through the emphatic representation of blood – to Christ's work of redemption on the cross, as well as to its effect in the Eucharist. The second version, showing Emmanuel in the chalice, is formally closer to the so-called *Amnos* (i.e. the Lamb, also the name of the centre of the Eucharistic bread marked with a stamp) depictions common from the late 12th century, in which the Infant lying on the *diskos* is a reference to Christ, Who is truly present in Eucharist, surrounded by hierarchs or angels.[41] In the modern types described here, instead of the *diskos*, the emphatic element is the chalice, and Emmanuel is not seen naked but with a blessing gesture. The theological message is thus the same for both types (the adult Christ and Christ Emmanuel): The Eucharist

Notes

35 Медаковић 2010, p. 628.

36 The murals were painted by Hristofor Žefarović in the 18th century: Тимотијевиић 1996, p. 152. The author of the present paper wishes to thank Xénia Golub for pointing to this study.

37 Tatai-Baltă 1995, p. 181, p. 232, fig. 42. Tatai-Baltă 2023, p. 275, p. 128-129, fig. 44, fig. 253-254. It was also published in other publications issued in Blaj though: *Ceaslov* 1778, 1786, *Polustav* 1793, 1808. The book is included in the 1807 Buda edition again: Tatay 2011, fig. 46.

38 Tatai-Baltă 1995, p. 183, p. 237, fig. 52. In Blaj, it was republished in a *Molitvenic* in 1784 and subsequently as part of an *Acatistier* in 1791, as well as later in Sibiu in 1792. Andreescu 2004, p. 286. It was republished in the *Acatistier* issued in Buda in 1807: Tatay 2011, p. 154, fig. 29. Tatai-Baltă 2023, p. 135-136, p. 281, fig. 54, fig. 265-266.

39 The once Greek Catholic wooden church in Szilágy County was built around 1700; its icons and murals were painted in 1771 and 1772. A photograph of the interior view of the sanctuary featuring the



Fig. 13. *The Eucharistic Christ*, Serbian Ecclesiatical Museum, Szentendre .
Copyright: Serbian Ecclesiatical Museum, Szentendre.



Fig. 14. *The Eucharistic Christ*, woodcut, 1791.
Source: Andreescu 2004.

is the Body of Christ, and, liberating one from one's sins, its reception is indispensable for eternal life. The only difference is though that, whereas one employs the accomplishments of the Western art of its age, the other more heavily draws on earlier arrangements of Byzantine visual tradition.

Kalná Roztoka (Hung. Kálnarosztoka)

The 18th-century altarpiece of the wooden church of Kalná Roztoka in Upper Zemplín (Hung. Zemplén) dedicated to the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist also features a Eucharistic iconographic theme, entitled *Jesus the True Vine* (**fig. 16**).[42] The name originates in the Gospel of John: "I am the true vine …" (John 15: 1-10). This quotation has given rise to a number of iconographic themes. Closer to the immediate context of the eponymous passage, one type includes a grapevine reminiscent of a tree as the underlying motif, with Christ appearing on its trunk, surrounded by the Twelve Apostles represented among the winding branches.[43] The other type is replete with Eucharistic allusions: wearing a loin-cloth, Christ sits on His grave of a form evocative of an altar while squeezing juice into a chalice from one of the bunches on the branch sagging under the weight of grapes that grows out of the wound in His side. The Holy Cross or other Instruments of the Passion may be behind Christ (e.g. the Column of the Flagellation), and He may also be accompanied by angels holding a cloth or a chalice.

It is usually the Western origins of the latter type that are stressed,[44] hough with the remark that the starting point in its development must have been precisely the Byzantine icon type evidenced from the 12th

Notes

respective mural was published by: Brăcăcescu 2021, p. 184.

40 Băjenaru 2012, p. 179.

41 An alternative name is *Melismos*, i.e. division, in allusion to the cutting of the Eucharist bread. The depiction appeared in the late 12th century and would quickly become widespread in the sanctuaries of Byzantine churches over the next century. It reflects the theological debates on the nature of the Eucharist in Byzantium in the period, while also having an anti-Latin, polemical edge: The "living"-body-form Eucharist is contrasted with the unleavened (non-living) bread of the Latins. On this subject, with previous literature, see: Gerstel 1999, p. 40-47.

42 On the history of the church, see: Кавачовичова-Пушкарьова, Пушкар 1971, p. 155-162. For a photograph of the altar, see: Pavlovský 2008, p. 56. The icon is dated between 1720-1750 by Roksolana Kosiv: Косів 2019, p. 127, il. 104. It







Fig. 15. Main altar, Saint Demetrios church, Sukhyi.
Credits: Szilveszter Terdik.

Fig. 16. Main altar, Saint John the Baptist church, Kalná Roztoka.
Credits: Maxim Mordovin.

Fig. 17. Nikodim Zubritsky, *Christ – The True Vine*, woodcut, 1699.
Source: Стасенко 2003.

century that features a half-figure depiction of Christ in front of the cross, sitting in the grave. In Byzantine tradition, this icon may be given the title *The King of Glory*. Its standard place in Byzantine churches has come to be the *Prothesis*,[45] whereas, in Western tradition, it is called *The Man of Sorrows* (*Vir dolorum*) or *Imago pietatis*. In its spirituality, the above type showing Jesus as the "True Vine" does evoke the symbolically loaded, allegorising image themes of late-medieval Western iconography with Eucharistic content, in which the grapevine, the vineyard and the wine-press are prominent in presenting Christ's work of redemption through the powerful visualisation (e.g. Christ in the press) of Old Testament (mainly Isaiah 6) and New Testament passages (the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen Matt. 21: 33-46; Mark 12: 1-12; Luke 20: 9-19).[46]

In the Orthodox context, the earliest variant of the type *Christ – The True Vine* is one of the engravings of the *Book of Akathists and Canons* issued at the printing press of the Kyiv Monastery of the Caves in 1674 (**fig. 18**). On the one hand, it was employed as the opening image of the *Akathist to Our Sweetest Lord Jesus* and, on the other hand, it was also used in the collection of orations entitled *The Trumpets of Preaching Words for the Feasts* (*Truby na dni narochitye praznikov / Tubae i. e. orationes in dies festos*) by Lazar Baranovych (1620-1693), a Kyivan Orthodox theologian.[47] The interpretation of the engraving is aided by the text ribbons featured in it. The title inscription reveals that the woodcut is a depiction of the *Circumcision of our Lord*. In the centre of the picture, the initial and last letter of Jesus' Greek name (ΙΣ) shines in an aureole. Above it, the *Trisagion* is sung by angels, while an inscription gives a fragmentary quotation from the Epistle to the Philippians: "So that at the name of Jesus *every knee should bow in heaven* and on earth and under the earth …" (Phil. 2: 10-11). In fact, it appears that – as the festive period of Christmas is still close – those on the earth are represented by the Three Magi, whereas the world below is symbolised by a seven-headed beast (*cf.* Rev 17: 3). Christ sits on an altar / on His grave, squeezing the grape bunch hanging from the tip of the vine branch over a bowl, while, behind Jesus' back, the branch is pruned by a (kosher butcher's?) knife. The inclusion of grapes in itself is a reference to the Eucharist: the first shedding of Jesus' Blood in a way anticipates His Blood pouring abundantly on the cross. It is

Notes

is possible that this picture – as the two principal sovereign-tier icons of the iconostasis – found its way here from a different place. Photograph of the altarpiece courtesy of Hieromonk Makariy.

43 For a more recent discussion of this iconographic tradition, see: Mantas 2003.

44 Puskás 2008, p. 215.

45 On the varied iconographic programme of the *Prothesis* during the early centuries of the second millennium, see: Altripp 1998.

46 On the corresponding rich Western tradition, see: Thomas 1953.

47 Гусева, Каменева, Полонская 1981, p. 18, p. 20, cat. 123, 127, ill. 1324. A pdf version of the *Tubae* is available at: https://books.google.hu/books?id=XqlhAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=hu&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false (accessed on 10 January 2023).



Fig. 18. *Christ – The True Vine*, woodcut, 1674.
Source: Гусева, Каменева, Полонская 1981.
See also p. 202-203, **fig. 3-4**, in this volume.

Fig. 19. Nikodim Zubritsky, *Christ – The True Vine*, woodcut, 1691.
Source: Запаско, Ісаєвич 1981.
For a detail, see p. 209, **fig. 8**, in this volume.

peculiar that a biblical episode is substituted by such a complex allegory. Whereas, in Western art, the theme of *Jesus' Circumcision*, as one of the *Seven Sorrows of the Virgin Mary*, would become increasingly more popular from the Late Middle Ages, it was never represented in Byzantine art: its first occurrences are actually seen in Ukrainian areas in this period, clearly under the influence of Western iconography. The allegorical image relates to Baranovych's oration written for the corresponding feast. Circumcision is at the same time the feast of name giving, i.e. Jesus' Name Day, which, in the Western tradition, would come to be linked to a special cult of the Name of Jesus by Franciscan Observantines and, subsequently, by the Jesuits,[48] and was given a unique liturgical form in Slavophone Orthodoxy in the *Akathist to Our Sweetest Lord Jesus*. It is worth pointing out that Baranovych's aforementioned collection of homilies was widely utilised in the Greek Catholic parishes of Upper Hungary as, when Bishop Mihály Mánuel Olsavszky visited all of his communities between 1750 and 1752, he found that this was the only book priests had in a number of places.[49]

One and a half decades later, in 1691, the section of the composition showing Christ and the bunch of grapes would emerge with a meaning unequivocally pointing to the Eucharist on the cover page of the *Liturgikon* issued at the printing press of the Orthodox Fraternity of the Dormition of the Theotokos in Lviv (**fig. 19**). The signed woodcut is the work of a local master, Nikodim Zubritsky.[50] The cover page is an iconographically versatile, well-constructed piece: squeezing grapes, Christ sits on a white shroud held by two angels, outside the frame of the area containing the title inscription, in the central axis; the chalice collecting the juice of the grapes is held by Saint James the Apostle and "Patriarch," who must be identical with the Lord's brother, the first Bishop of Jerusalem. It is fair to suggest that he was not included in the composition as the author of the liturgy since the Liturgy of Saint James was not familiar or practised yet in these regions, but because he suffered martyrdom (*cf.* Acts 12: 2): he was the first of the disciples to drink the cup that Jesus spoke about to them as a reference to their future fate (*cf.* Matt. 20: 22). The cover page also features Saint Peter

Notes

48 Galavics 2006, p. 321-344.

49 *Források* 2015.

50 Запаско, Ісаєвич 1981, p. 104-105, cat. 668.

51 Roksolana Kosiv published an icon from the Historical Museum of Sanok (inv. no. S/2538), which follows very strictly the Zubritsky's woodcut: Косів 2019, p. 200, il. 207-208.

52 Запаско, Ісаєвич 1981, p. 115, cat. 742; Стасенко 2003, p. 176, fig. 342. About the influence of this and the precedent woodcuts on the icon painting, see: Косів 2010, p. 75-82.

53 One of them is in the collection of the open-air museum (wood, tempera, 120 x 67 cm, Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego, Sanok); the other is found in the History Museum (wood, tempera, 104 x 61.5 cm, Muzeum Historyczne, Sanok), dated to the 17th or 18th centuries: Kułakowska-Lis 2008, p. 90-91; Winnicka 2018, p. 40, p. 119-120, cat. 29. About other similar items from Sanok and Lviv, see: Косів 2019, p. 198-199, il. 203-205.

54 Deluga 2019, p. 156, p. 160, p. 161, fig. 76; Косів 2019, p. 199, il. 206.





immersed in the Gospel, as well as the two authors of the liturgy, Saint John Chrysostom and Saint Basil the Great, in full figure below, with Saint Paul next to the former, inspiring his commentaries. At the bottom of the page, Saint John the Theologian is flanked by the half-figures of Saint Gregory (of Nazianzus) the Theologian and Saint Gregory of Nyssa. In the lower corners, the bunch of grapes of Canaan and the Ark of the Covenant are displayed as Old Testament prefigurations of the Sacred Species of the liturgy, while, above the title, a pelican ripping its breast and feeding its young with its own blood, is an allusion to the sacrifice of Christ.[51]

Zubritsky prepared an independent version of the image of *Christ – The True Vine* as well, which was published in the book of *Akathists* in 1699, presumably also as an illustration of the *Akathist to Our Sweetest Lord Jesus* (**fig. 17**).[52] In all probability, it was this latter engraving that served as a prototype for the painted icons produced in large quantities in Ukrainian and Polish areas, as well as in Orthodox and Greek Catholic environments in the Carpathian Basin – including Kalná Roztoka – in the 18th century.

This image type must have been transmitted to Greek Catholics living in the Kingdom of Poland as well by the engravings discussed above. Several of its examples of unknown origins, once probably functioning as icons of the *Prothesis* in the sanctuaries of wooden churches, are kept in the museums of Sanok (**fig. 20**).[53] The National Museum in Warsaw also holds a specimen though that closely adheres to Zubritsky's engraving.[54]

▲ Fig. 20. *Christ – The True Vine*, icon, Museum Hystoryczne, Sanok. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik.



A number of 18th-century instances are also evidenced from the territory of the historic Eparchy of Mukachevo. The piece decorating the door of the tabernacle on the high altar of the church of Saint Paraskeva in Ladomirova (Hung. Ladomérvágás) may date from the second half of the 18th century (**fig. 21**).[55] Nowadays, multiple specimens that belong to the Tables of Oblation of the churches concerned are known from Transcarpathia. All dating from the middle or second half of the 18th century, these are to be found in the wooden churches of Bukivts'ovo (Ukr. Буківцьово; Hung. Bukóc / Ungbükkös), Vyshka (Ukr. Вишка; Hung. Viska / Viharos) and Kostryno (Ukr. Кострино; Hung. Kosztrina / Csontos).[56] The painters are not known in any of the cases. Apart from local artists, Galician import or the involvement of itinerant masters hailing from there may be posited. The wooden church of Sukhyi (Ukr. Сухи́й; Hung. Szuha / Szárazpatak) is also situated in the territory of historic Mara-

Notes

55 On the history of the church, see: Кавачовичова-Пушкарьова, Пушкар 1971, p. 242-252. On the altar, see: Кавачовичова-Пушкарьова, Пушкар 1971, p. 245, fig. 36; Puskás 2008, p. 215; Pavlovský 2007, p. 74; Косів 2019, p. 126-127, il. 103. Roksolana Kosiv published similar items from different colections. One of the, a *kivot*, was made in 1717. Косів 2019, p. 124-126, il. 99, 101, 102.

56 Приймич 2007, p. 86-87; Приймич 2014, p. 98.



Fig. 21. Main altar, Saint Paraskeva church, Ladomírova.
Credits: Hieromonk Makariy.

Fig. 22. *Christ – The True Vine*, *Prothesis*, Saint Demetrios church, Sukhyi.
Credits: SzilveszterTerdik.

Fig. 23. *Fons vitae*, icon, Greek Catholic church of Ol'šavka.
Credits: Hieromonk Makarij.

Fig. 24. *Fons vitae*, woodcut, 1758.
Source: Andreescu 2004.









Fig. 25. Nikodim Zubritsky, *Fons vitae*, woodcut, 1699.
Source: Стасенко 2003.

Fig. 26. A. Kozachkivskiy and hieromonk Makariy, *Fons vitae*, copperplate, 1737.
Source: Медаковић 1988b.

Notes

57 See: Bratu 2015, p. 199, p. 375; Nicolae 2010, p. 45-46.

58 Brătulescu 1941, p. 38, p. 54, fig. 42, 49.

59 The icon was brought to the attention of the author of the present paper by Alexandru Baboş and Mihai Covaci, for which he wishes to thank them. Currently, it is conserved by Covaci.

60 One of them is from the 1740s (wood, tempera, 93 x 65.5 cm), while the other is dated to the late 18th century (canvas, oil, 64.5 x 79 cm). Мельник 2005, p. 116, p. 186, cat. 69, cat. 129. On the former, see also: Міляєва, Гелитович 2007, p. 459, p. 521, cat. 484. A specimen dated to the 17th century and another one dated to the 18th century were also published: Міляєва, Гелитович 2007, p. 375, p. 459, p. 512, p. 521, cat. 374, cat. 485. A 19th-century example from the collection of the Kyiv Monastery of the Caves was also published (oil, canvas, 99.5 x 88 cm), with Christ, squeezing grapes, accompanied by two angels: Шередега, Шульц, Карпенко 2008, p. 132-133.

61 It is kept in the Bucharest Library of the Romanian Academy of Sciences (MS BAR 1790.) The miniature was published by: Negrău 2010, p. 365, fig. 1. On the historical circumstances at the time of the making of the *Liturgikon* in the Church, see: Olar 2020, p. 163-188. A photograph of the miniature was also published in the same article: Olar 2020, p. 165, fig. 4. See in this volume, fig. 2 of the chapter signed by Roksolana Kosiv.

62 Iancovescu 2008, p. 104-105; Nicolae 2010, p. 46-48; Negrău 2010, p. 260-362. It seems that this illustration was added to the volume only later. The author of the present paper wishes to thank Ovidiu Olar for this information.

63 See, e.g.: Dumitran 2011a, p. 122-

mureş, where this composition is featured on the outer side of the door of the cupboard-shaped Table of Oblation (fig. 22). The largest number of specimens are found in the wooden churches of the part of Maramureş with a Romanian majority – usually on the north wall of the sanctuary, associated with the Table of Oblation. Most of them were made in the second half of the 18th century, chiefly by Alexander Ponehalsky, a local master.[57] Of course, the icon version of this type is not unknown, either: for example, it is featured in one of the panel paintings of the upper church of Budeşti-Susani (Hung. Budfalva) as well as on one of the wings of the triptych of the wooden church of Călineşti-Căeni (Hung. Kálinfalva), both by Ponehalsky (see fig. 8).[58] An icon with an ornate frame, belonging to the Table of Oblation of the church of Rona de Jos (Hung. Alsóróna), probably made around 1800, is by a different painter. The painter followed Zubritzky's 1699 engraving so accurately that he even reproduced the artist's initials (NZ) in the bottom left corner of the icon.[59]

Excursus II

Eighteenth-century specimens kept in Kyiv, the place of origin of this type, also speak to the painters' autonomy in matters of composition: in one piece, dated to the 1740s, Christ does not press grapes but widens the wound in His side with His hands so that His blood may pour more abundantly into a chalice held by an angel, while another angel holds a chalice under a bunch of grapes; in another icon, dated to as late as the end of the 18th century, Christ sits on a cloud, accompanied by two Archangels, who do not take part in collecting the juice from the grapes.[60]

In a Romanian environment, this iconographic type first surfaced in Wallachia, among the miniatures of the hand-written *Liturgikon* of Stephen, Metropolitan of Wallachia (1648-1668), dated to about 1653.[61] Subsequently enjoying incredible popularity in Romanian areas, the picture type was once believed to be of local origins, though experts nowadays consider the influence of Ukrainian engravings more likely.[62] In Transylvania, the type *Christ – The True Vine* would become mostly widespread in glass icons;[63] thanks to popular techniques, it continues to be a common theme to this day.





Fig. 27. Andrej Šaltist, *Fons vitae*, Grábóc, Serbian Orthodox Monastery. Credits: Iván Jaksity.

Fig. 28. *Fons vitae*, Serbian Ecclesiastical Museum of Szentendre. Copyright: Serbian Ecclesiatical Museum, Szentendre.

This iconography is encountered in Serbian environments, too. Specimens mainly from the Banat (Hung. Bánát) region were processed by Dejan Medaković, with special emphasis on the mediatory role of liturgical books issued in Ukrainian areas.[64] Of late, pieces from Slavonia have been described; these items were created by Ukrainian painter Vasiliy Romanovich working in the region. Every one of these pictures belonged to Tables of Oblation in churches.[65]

Under Western influence yet based on a Byzantine base form, the interpretation of the iconographic theme *Christ – The True Vine* may be aided by the fact that, with the Body of Christ on an altar-like tomb and with the fruit of the vine flowing into the chalice, it carries allusions to the Species of the Eucharist: to bread and wine. According to some, this picture is meant to teach the viewer what is said by the priest in the prayer during the Cherubic Hymn of the Divine Liturgy: "For it is You, O Christ our God, Who offer and are offered, Who receive and are distributed …"[66] Some others suggest that the key to interpretation may be offered by the *Irmos* of the Paschal Canon of Saint John Damascene: "Come, let us drink a new drink, not one wondrously brought forth from a barren rock, but incorruption's source, which pours out from the sepulchre of Christ, in Whom we are established."[67] In fact, it contains both.

Ol'šavka (Hung. Olysavka / Kisolysó)

An icon that could be accommodated on either the high altar or the Table of Oblation survives from the former wooden church of Saints Cosmas and Damian in Ol'šavka (**fig. 23**).[68] Iconographically, it represents the so-called *Fons pietatis* or *Fons vitae* type established in the Western Christian tradition.[69] Wearing only a loin-cloth, with a crown

Notes

126; Băjenaru 2012, p. 114, p. 168, p. 232; Bârz 2016, p. 86-91; Haustein-Bartsch, Ullrich 1991, p. 6. See in this volume also the chapter signed by Roksolana Kosiv.

64 Медаковић 1988a, p. 210.

65 Surviving in the monastery church of Drenovac, Croatia, one mural, signed, is believed to have been made in 1758. Painted on wood, part of the structure of a Table of Oblation in the church of the village of Obriježˇ, Croatia, the other one is attributed to Romanovich only on criticism-of-style-related grounds. Кучековић 2010, p. 259-278, fig. 1-3; Кучековић 2016, p. 182. Dating from 1761, the third example was made for the church of Saints Peter and Paul in Srednji Grahovljani, Croatia: Кучековић 2014, p. 141, fig. 52; Кучековић 2016, p. 181.

Notes

66 *The Divine Liturgy of Our Father Among the Saints John Chrysostom. Ruthenian Recension. A Study Text*, 2015, p. 53.

67 Paschal Canon by Saint John Damascene. Eighth Day Institute, 2. The miniature in the *Liturgikon* of Metropolitan Stephen is also accompanied by the first line of this *Irmos* and a line from *Ikos* 6 of the *Akathist to Our Sweetest Lord Jesus* (6th invocation: "Jesus, Source of knowledge, give me drink who am thirsty!"): Nicolae 2010, p. 31.

68 On the history of the church and for a photograph of the icon, see: Borza, Gradoš 2018, p. 196. On the history of the wooden church, see: Кавачовичова-Пушкарьова, Пушкар 1971, p. 368; Syrochman, Džoganík 2019, p. 47-49.

69 A work of lasting relevance on the history of the type in the Western tradition: Wadell 1969. More recently: Wipfler 2014, p. 39-88.

70 A woodcut version produced in 1758 was included in the *Liturgikon* issued in Iaşi one year later (1759): Andreescu 2004, p. 244, fig. 242. Very similar to it, another version was made in 1790 and was included in the *Ceaslov* issued in Dubašari in 1794. Andreescu 2004, p. 291, fig. 292.

71 For data on the book, see: Запаско, Ісаєвич 1981, p. 115, cat. 742. A photograph of the engraving was published by: Стасенко 2003, p. 177, fig. 343.

72 The copperplates were made by A. Kozachkivskiy and hieromonk Makariy. For data on the book, see: Запаско, Ісаєвич 1984, p. 54, cat. 1278. A photograph of the engraving was published by: Медаковић 1988b, p. 220.

73 It is from the area of Lviv; currently held in a private collection. Dimensions: 66 x 88 cm, incl. the carved frame. Лозинський 2007, p. 48, cat. 68.

74 By an unknown painter, second half of the 18th century, 115 x 76 cm. Serbian Ecclesiastical Museum of Szentendre, Inv. No. 813. Csáki, Golub 2019, p. 344, cat. 9.2 (Szilveszter Terdik).

75 For a detailed description, see: Golub 2020, p. 203.

of thorns on His head, Christ stands in a metal vessel (*diskos*?), with blood spurting forth from the wounds on His hands and feet into a stream, collected by two angels in a chalice at His hands raised slightly aside, while at His feet, it is gathered into the vessel. Christ's halo is surrounded by an inscription in Church Slavonic: "Whoever feeds on my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me, and I in him" (John 6: 56). It seems certain that this icon was also made on the basis of an engraved prototype, though engravings with the same composition, plausible as prototypes, could also be encountered in liturgical books issued in Ukrainian areas. This is suggested by the fact that it is featured in Romanian liturgical books as early as the mid-18th century (**fig. 24**),[70] similarly with a Church Slavonic circular inscription.

In an Orthodox environment in Ukrainian areas, one of the first manifestations of this depiction may be linked to Nikodim Zubritsky, whose woodcut was included in the *Book of Akathists* issued in Lviv in 1699 (**fig. 25**).[71] In this variant, Christ stands in a flat basin / vessel, collecting His Blood spurting from His wounds. Neither angels nor clouds are seen. Only the communion verse for Eastertide is displayed above Christ: "Receive the Body of Christ, taste the fountain of immortality."

A *Liturgikon* with the same iconographic theme reformulated in a more elegant copperplate in it was issued at the printing press of the Kyiv Monastery of the Caves in 1737: wearing a loin-cloth and with a crown of thorns on His head, Christ stands on a prismatic pedestal in the centre of the round stone basin of a well, with blood spurting from His wounds collected in the basin; in the background, details of buildings are hinted at, with two angels pulling a curtain to signal the mystical character of the dramatic sight (**fig. 26**).[72]

From Ukrainian territory, a late-18th-century, rococo-framed icon is also evidenced where, behind Christ standing in the vessel, the horizontal arm of the cross is seen, and the blood issuing forth from the wound in His side is collected by an angel into a chalice.[73]

The influence of this engraving is detectable in Hungary's Serbian communities as well. A large canvas painting was transferred from the gallery of the by now destroyed Serbian Orthodox Cathedral of Buda into a museum collection, which, apart from a few details (e.g. the angels' attire or the positioning of Christ's body), closely adheres to the Kyivan engraving (**fig. 27**).[74] In the sanctuary of the Monastery Church of Grábóc, inside the *Prothesis*, the fresco version of the theme was also executed (**fig. 28**).[75] In the lower section of the damaged mural, a fragment of the basin collecting Christ's blood is vaguely discerned. The bright rays by the blood flowing from the wound in Jesus' side are suggestive of water. To the left of Christ's right shoulder runs a fragmentary text in Church Slavonic: "Whoever feeds on my flesh and drinks my blood has eternal life, and I will raise him up on the last day" (John 6: 54). An icon with a lyre-shaped, ornate, rococo frame, painted by Jovan Četirević Grabovan in the second half of the 18th century survives from the territory of the Slavonian Bishopric of Pakrac.[76] This also lacks angels, the background is neutral dark, and the basin of the well is reminiscent of a chalice form.

The icon found in the village of Chernechchyna (Ukr. Черне́ччина, Sumi region, Ukraine) from 1887, widely believed to work miracles and labelled *Christ the Living Bread* (*Хліб Життя*), is also likely to have been painted on the basis of the 1737 engraving. Lost in the 1920s, the image was rediscovered in 2012, and its public veneration was restored.[77]



Fig. 29. The Main Altar in the Greek Catholic Church Șurdești.
Credits: Dumitrița-Daniela Filip.

The significance of the Ol'šavka icon is enhanced by the circumstance that other icon versions of *Fons vitae* are not known from the territory of the historic Eparchy of Mukachevo to date.

Șurdești (Hung. Szürgyefalu / Dióshalom)

The settlement Șurdești lies on the periphery of historic Sătmar (Hung. Szatmár) County, contiguous with Transylvania and Maramureş. Its Greek Catholic wooden church was dedicated to the Archangels Saints Michael and Gabriel.[78] In comparison with the hitherto discussed depictions focusing on symbolic elements, its altarpiece is a composition of a more historical character, with Christ, the Founder of the Eucharist, in its centre, in a way highlighting the central component of the Last Supper (**fig. 29-30**). The Saviour is surrounded by the Theotokos and Saint John the Theologian on the two sides. In the corners of the composition, the half-length images of the four authors of the liturgy (Saint James, the Lord's brother, Saint Basil the Great, Saint John Chrysostom and Pope Saint Gregory the Dialogist) are featured. The

Notes

76 Painted between 1777 and 1779. It is conservated at Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Metropolitanate in Zagreb, see: Тодић 2013, 288, fig. 236. A photograph of it was published, without indicating place of origin or storage, by: Кучековић 2014.

77 On the history of the picture, see: https://iconreader.wordpress.com/2012/09/27/lost-for-a-century-christ-the-bread-of-life-icon-returns-home/ (accessed on 1 June 2023). The canvas painting from 1912 kept in Kyiv, featuring Christ standing in a *diskos* filled with blood, with a curtain above, could be a replica of this icon. Oil, canvas, 105 x 54.5 cm. Мельник 2005, p. 202-203, cat. 143.

78 It is registered as World Heritage Site from 1999. Adorned with an extremely slim spire and four turrets, its 54-meter tall wooden spire was for a long time considered to be the tallest in the whole of Europe. Kovács 2004, p. 186-188. Ernő Myskovszky even published a watercolour of it in 1904: Myskovszky 1904, p. 301-306. On the wooden-church-related research activities of Myskovszky, who worked at the Town Museum of Baia Mare (Hung. Nagybánya) at the time, see: Kovács 2022, p. 45-49.



Fig. 30. *Christ the Bread of Life*, icon at the main altar, Şurdeşti.
Credits: Dumitriţa-Daniela Filip.

frontal view of the shelves arranged in a step-like fashion on the two sides of the tabernacle is also decorated by paintings: one displays the image of Christ sweating blood, while the other shows Christ carrying the cross. The themes of the two scenes on the pediment of the altar cannot be definitively identified owing to their contamination. Neither the carver nor the painter of the altar structure adorned with columns with fretwork carving and ornamental carved patterns is known. Possibly, it may be associated with the master István, who is commemorated by an inscription in the sanctuary, in conjunction with the painting of the church, dated to 1783.[79]

The engraved prototype of the large altarpiece is included among the illustrations of the *Molitvoslov* issued at the printing press of the Kyiv Monastery of the Caves.[80] This depiction is commonly called *Christ the Bread of Life*. In the central medallion of the engraving, the blessing Christ sits behind a table or rather an altar, with bread, as an unmistakable reminder of the prosphora used in the Divine Liturgy, and a chalice placed in front of Him. On the two longer frames of the medallion, inscriptions are displayed: "My flesh is true food" and "My blood is true drink". Longer quotations are featured at the bottom and at the top, between the medallions of the High Priest: "I am the living bread that came down from heaven" (John 6: 51a). "Whoever feeds on my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me, and I in him" (John 6: 56). From the territory of the Eparchy of Mukachevo, several copies were incorpo-

Notes

79 Ştefănescu 1967, p. 5. This must be a reference to the master "Ştefan din Şişeşti", who was active in the Greek Catholic churches of the area in the second half of the 18th century and the first decade of the 19th century. On his activities, with previous literature, though making no mention of this altar; see: Porumb 1998, p. 402-403, Porumb 2003, p. 135-136; Terdik 2018, p. 129-130.

80 For data of various editions, see: Запаско, Ісаєвич 1984, cat. 1359, 1745, 1827, 1912.

81 SZAGKHFK, M-1173 (Ant 136). The copy is incomplete. It is likely to be one of three editions issued at the Kyiv Monastery of the Caves (1751, 1753, 1755) (*cf.* Запаско, Ісаєвич 1984, cat. 1745, 1827, 1912). Identified by Xénia Golub.

SZAGKHFK, M-1125 (Ant 55). This is a fragmentary copy. Eszter Ojtozi identified it as the *Polustav* (prayer book) edition issued in Lviv in 1740 (*cf.* Запаско, Ісаєвич 1984, cat. 1360), Ojtozi 1985, cat. 86. It contains several copies of the full-page engraving *Christ the Bread of Life*, albeit of a poorer quality than in the Kyiv editions; some of the inscriptions in it were truncated.

82 This volume was also used in Hungary from as early as the end of the 18th century according to the 18th-century marginalia in it. For data on the edition, see: Запаско, Ісаєвич 1984, p. 59, cat. 1359.

82 With the authorial initials G. S., a replica of the woodcut also appears among the illustrations of the *Ceaslov* issued in Rădăuţi in 1745: Andreescu 2004, p. 263, fig. 261. It is also included in the Church Slavonic prayer book issued by the University Press of Buda in 1815: Давидов 2006, p. 396, fig. 360. Such a woodcut is featured on the frontispiece of the

rated into the Library of the Theological College of Nyíregyháza;[81] an edition from 1740 is familiar to the author from a private collection (**fig. 31**).[82] Variants of this engraving would continue to be popular in Slavonic and Romanian liturgical and para-liturgical publications.[83]

In the altarpiece of Șurdești, however, the painter expanded the composition with two additional ancillary figures – the Theotokos and Saint John the Theologian – abandoning the inscriptions framing the central section. Their presence evokes the Crucifixion, in which Christ's sacrifice becomes complete. For now, no comparable altarpiece is evidenced from elsewhere.

Conclusions

The altarpieces described in the present discussion are all from the territory of the Eparchy of Mukachevo from the second half of the 18th century. Some of them could be the works of local masters (Abaújszolnok and Șurdești), while others might be imports from Galicia (Bukivts'ovo, Kalná Roztoka and Ol'šavka). Except for the Abaújszolnok specimen, they are centred on Eucharistic themes, representing rare and, in some cases, even unique manifestations of an iconographic tradition becoming increasingly richer and more complex from the 17th century. It is, however, common to all of them that they copy the woodcuts of 17th- and 18th-century liturgical books from Ukrainian areas – rather accurately in a number of instances. These engravings were invariably created in Orthodox environments in the late 17th century, and their artists all drew on contemporary Latin iconography. Nevertheless, their makers must have adopted these in order to demonstrate precisely the correctness of the Orthodox position amid the polemic with Catholics (about the use of unleavened bread, communion under one Species, etc.). In the Eparchy of Mukachevo, where, in the absence of a printing press of their own, these liturgical books issued by the Orthodox continued to be used as long as the 20th century, this polemical angle cannot have been understandable or relevant anymore as, being Catholic, the Uniates could not even intend to criticise Latin praxis. The customers are likely to have thought that these engravings faithfully illustrated Catholic teaching, about which they were not wrong at all: the polemical element was gone, and the iconographic themes conveyed by the engravings were given a new lease of life "in their own settings."

The group of liturgical books containing the engraved prototypes could also be available in the rustic environments welcoming the altars, where – considering the reading habits of the contemporary rural population – apart from the priest and the cantor, not many could peruse these. It seems reasonable to suggest that, in the case of the altars presented, the customers – possibly local priests for the main part – selected prototypes for the paintings they desired to be produced, based on the books they regularly used. Naturally, in the absence of written sources, all this will remain hypothetical, though the extremely rare occurrences of the vast majority of the altarpieces described might corroborate this assumption as these themes would fail to become the target of "mass production" at the time.

This paper was written as part of the activities of the Research Group 'Greek Catholic Heritage' under the Joint Programme 'Lendület' (Momentum) of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Saint Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological Institute.



▲ Fig. 31. Unknown master, *Christ the Bread of Life*, woodcut, *Molitvoslov*, Kyiv, Monastery of the Caves, 1740, private collection.
Credits: Szilveszter Terdik.

Notes

first printed Romanian edition of the *Apocalypse of the Theotokos* as well: Dima 2012, p. 294. Its lithograph variant from about 1850, with German inscriptions, was kept in Zoltán Szilárdfy's collection. Szilárdfy 1997, p. 36, cat. 169. Expanded with additional ancillary figures, a painted icon version of it, probably made in Russia around 1860, has surfaced in art trade lately: *Bedeutende Russische und Griechische Ikonen 1, Hargesheimer Kunstauktionen Düsseldorf, Auktion 109, 16. April 2021*, Düsseldorf, 2021, p. 32-33, cat. 423 (https://www.kunstauktionen-duesseldorf.de/wp-content/uploads/wpallimport/files/kataloge/109-ii.pdf (accessed on 1 June 2023). A folk variant, dated to between 1870 and 1880, is also kept in the collection of the National Museum in Belgrade (canvas, oil), inv. no. 31_3404. Петровић 2020, p. 479, cat. 1393.



Catholic Counter-Reformation Art Forms Serving the Revival of Ukrainian Orthodoxy in the 17th Century

Svitlana Olianina

National Technical University of Ukraine "Igor Sikorsky Kyiv Polytechnic Institute"

Relevance

The stylistic characteristics of Ukrainian Baroque iconostasis have long been established and they have been repeatedly described in the academic literature. Features such as monumentality, the increase in the plasticity of forms, and the general decorative effect performed by the motifs of carvings, which were typical for the second half of the 17th century, have long been defined as influence of the Baroque style. The process through which the iconostasis acquired a new Baroque architectural appearance is traditionally seen as a reception of European Baroque artistic ideas, techniques, and decorative motifs creatively adapted by the Ukrainian carvers.[1] Obviously, the significant changes that distinguish the architectural and plastic composition of the Baroque iconostases in the third quarter of the 17th century from the iconostases of the first decades of the 17th century were grounded in a process of reassessing their visual concept. However, the ideological preconditions, which led to those features' appearance in Baroque iconostases, in many respects remain outstanding. This prevents an adequate assessment of the stylistic innovations' influence among other factors of the same importance. The search for answers to those ideas inevitably raises two main questions: who did they belong to and who assisted them with their implementation in the church art of Ukraine?

Being an important liturgical object of the Orthodox Church, the iconostasis appeared and was transformed on the basis of its liturgical functions and for theological reasons. Most probably in the 14th century, these religious needs led to the development of the iconostasis as a solid wall of icons, which replaced the open altar barrier of the early Byzantine period, when intercolumnar spaces remained free of icons and the rituals in the sanctuary were visible to the faithful.[2] However, it was not only the filling of the altar barrier with icons and the creation of extensive iconographic programs that were driven by

Fig. 1. The icons of festal and apostolic tiers within deep niches. The iconostasis of the *Piatnytska* church of the 1610s in Lviv.
Credits: Alexandru Baboș.

Notes

1 Драган 1970, p. 73-94. Гембарович 1968, p. 141-151. Вечерський 2011, p. 368. Щербаківський 1995, p. 109.

2 Epstein 1981, p. 1-28. Carr 2004, p. 143-152.

Fig. 2. The iconostasis of the *Piatnytska* church of the 1610s in Lviv.
Credits: Alexandru Baboș.

Fig. 3. The deep arche above the deacon doors. The iconostasis of the *Piatnytska* church of the 1610s in Lviv.
Credits: Svitlana Olianina.



theological advances. The same reason was apparently the basis for the changes in the design of the iconostasis, which led to its transformation into a monumental icon frame, determining equally the repertoire of architectural elements and ornamental motifs involved in its decoration. This is proven by the studies of architectural structures and plastic inventory of Ukrainian Baroque iconostasis that have been conducted to date. It had incorporated many symbolic meanings and was an important tool for the transmission of current theological concepts that defined the overall composition and decorative program of the iconostases.[3]

The use of iconostases as a tool of visual theology suggests the active participation of church hierarchs in the development of their design. However, this aspect of the activity of Ukraine church hierarchs, leading ecclesiastic intellectuals of the 17th and 18th centuries, remains unexplored, so clarifying the Church role in the process of Ukrainian iconostasis transformation is one of the most important aspects of its assessment. Therefore, a particularly relevant question is to what extent the prominent church leader and reformer Metropolitan Peter Movilă (Rom. Petru Movilă, Pol. Piotr Mohyła, Ukr. Петро Могила) was involved in the process of generating a new visual appearance for the Ukrainian iconostasis in the second quarter of the 17th century.

The purpose of the article is to show that the shift in the visual concept of Ukrainian iconostasis, which occurred till the middle of the 17th century, was initiated by Metropolitan Peter Movilă within the context of his reform activities.

The late medieval iconostases of Ukraine remain practically unknown, as their structures were not preserved. However, indirect evidence suggests they featured two main characteristics: in the 15th century and the first part of the 16th century, iconostases were not extending like a wall of two or three icon tiers, and they did not have frames, in the sense that the iconostasis architectural and constructive component was hidden.

Regarding the height of those iconostases, this can be inferred from quite complete sets of icons of the 15th–16th centuries preserved in Halychyna (Ukr. Галичина, En. Galicia). According to reconstructions proposed by Illarion Swiencyckyi, such iconostases did not exceed 4 m[4] in height. Let us incidentally note a fact that will later be of use to my arguing: the height of the preserved royal doors from the 15th–16th centuries varied from 1.1 m to 1.5 m.[5]

The inclusion of icon frames that transform the iconostasis into a monumental carved frame apparently occurred in the second half of the 16th century.[6] The reasons behind the shift in the design of the Ukrainian iconostasis, from frameless structures into framed ones, have not been studied yet, but this was obviously a turning point in its subsequent history. At the same time, the preserved Halychyna iconostases and other fragmentary evidence from the first decades of the 17th century show that iconostases had not reached a significant height by that time, although they had become higher in comparison to those of the previous century. For example, the iconostasis from the 1610s of *Piatnytska* church in Lviv is about 6 m[7] high up to the base of a *Crucifixion* (**fig. 1-3**), and the iconostasis of the church of the Transfiguration of Christ (*Spas*) in Lublin, from 1633, has a height of 5.6 m[8] (**fig. 4**).

As for the Kyiv and Chernihiv (Ukr. Чернігів) regions, the sparse sets of icons and royal doors preserved there from the beginning of the 17th century are also lacking a spectacular height. For example,

Notes

3 Оляніна 2019.

4 Свєнціцкий 1928, p. 89-92.

5 *Царські врата* 2012, p. 376.

6 Оляніна 2019, p. 66-78.

7 The author thanks Professor Mykola Bevz for the provided information about the dimensions of the *Piatnytska* church iconostasis in Lviv.

8 https://teatrnn.pl/leksykon/artykuly/ikonostas-cerkwi-przemienienia-panskiego-w-lublinie/ (accessed on 04.07.2023).





▲ Fig. 4. The iconostasis of the church of the Transfiguration of Christ (*Spas*) of 1633 in Lublin.
Source: Kuprianowicz, Roszczenko 1993.

the throne icon of Saint Nicholas of the beginning of the 17th century, belonging to the iconostasis of the church of Saint Nicholas on the Embankment in Kyiv, measures only 1.19 x 0.68 m.[9] This is consistent with the common tradition in the Kyiv Metropolitanate during the first decades of the 17th century of building iconostases in proportion with the human scale, so that a believer could easily perceive the upper tier icons.

At the beginning of the 17th century, the first features of the development in the Ukrainian iconostasis architectural frame became apparent, in the sense that it was acquiring a taste for spaciousness; the design attempted to be three-dimensional, as one can observe in the case of the already mentioned iconostasis from *Piatnytska* church in Lviv. Its icons of the apostolic tier are immersed in their niches, while the passages to the altar are framed by deep arches. However, this iconostasis still remains a flat screen that encloses the altar from the nave of the church. It does not express architectural order, which appears in the following decades and becomes an integral part of the Ukrainian iconostasis decoration during the 17th–18th centuries. However, the appearance of architectural order and the transformation of the iconostasis into a three-dimensional structure of three-dimensional components did not on their own transform the Ukrainian iconostasis into an amazing altar barrier, as it would be the case in the second half of the 17th century. For example, there is already an architectural order and columns appear on two of the tiers from the iconostasis of the Church of the Transfiguration of Christ (*Spas*) in Lublin, from 1633: they rest on high bases in the sovereign tier, and on consoles respectively, in the apostolic tier (**fig. 5**). However, commensurate to the human height, the low iconostasis and, respectively, "miniature" of its columns other architectural elements could not make a strong

Notes

9 Міляєва, Гелитович 2007, p. 68, 508.



Fig. 5. The architectural order and columns from the iconostasis of the church of the Transfiguration of Christ (*Spas*) of 1633 in Lublin.
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ikonostas,_sob%C3%B3r_Przemienienia_Pa%C5%84skiego_w_Lublinie_1c.jpg.

emotional impact on the viewer. But everything would change in the following decades of the 17th century.

Astonishing Monumentality

During the 1630-1640s, the artistic means of expression were being reassessed and the new visual concept of the Ukrainian iconostasis was being developed. Its main goal was to make it unprecedently monumental, making use of the already developed practice of incorporating details of classical order (columns with Corinthian capitals, entablature), carved decorative elements, and pronounced three-dimensionality of the structures into the general design. Kyiv became the centre for implementing these recent trends. The written records provide insight into this shift in the art of creating iconostases.

The first mentions of the Ukrainian iconostases' monumentality date back to 1654-1655. We find them in the *Travel notes* written by Paul of Aleppo. The descriptions of the iconostases he saw in major churches from Kyiv as well as from Kyiv and Chernihiv regions are the only source of information on these now lost monuments. Paul of Aleppo paid much attention to describing the iconostases, which spurred his admiration. Most notable is the description of the iconostasis from the main church of the Kyiv Metropolitanate, the Sophia Cathedral, which we shall quote in full:



▲ Fig. 6. The coat of arms of Metropolitan Peter Movilă. Reconstruction according to the fragments found in 1940 in the altar of Saint Sophia Cathedral of Kyiv.
Credits: Svitlana Olianina.

> The iconostasis at the doors of these altars is gracious and magnificent; it is new, extremely large, and amazes the viewer. No one can describe its beauty and variety of its carving and gilding. The Royal Doors are six cubits high, with an arch like the city gates, and 2 and 1/2 cubits wide. They have, as usual, double leaves and a kind of a deepened vault; they are different, including gilded.
> A stork[10] of silver is depicted on one leaf: it is piercing its side with its beak and its blood is flowing on its nestlings below it; no one can distinguish it from the relief work. Twelve icons are majestic, large; there are thick columns with carvings and gildings, a kind of deepened niche on their sides. The columns near the Lord and our Lady are large and very high, with carvings and deep cut-outs: the vines with shiny grapes, green and red, are depicted on them. There is quite a wide frame, carved and gilded, above the iconostasis and all the templons; it begins and ends along the doors of four altars and it does not go like a straight line but forms cavities. There is an exquisite crucifixion of the Lord above it; around it from the top down, there is a kind of carved frame with small circles containing the images of saints and apostles covered by glass.[11]

This text is particularly important to us for several reasons. Firstly, it depicts the newly built main iconostasis (finished in 1644)[12] placed in the Metropolitan Cathedral. This status must have made this iconostasis a pattern to follow, a specific model sanctioned by the head of the church, namely by the Metropolitan Peter Movilă,[13] who was engaged in the restoration of the Saint Sophia Cathedral a project that included the creation of a new iconostasis.

Secondly, although labelling the iconostasis as "extremely large" is a vague characterization, the text gives the precise size of the royal doors, which convinces us of the considerable height of the Sophia iconostasis. Translated into today's metric system, the doors' height reached 3 m. Considering that the doors had an architectural design in the form of a portal with a deep arch, the height of the central passage to the altar extended even more. It should be noted that when describing the iconostasis of the Dormition Cathedral of the Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery, Paul of Aleppo notes that it is "great but old," and does not refer at all to its height. This may suggest that the Syrian author was not impressed by its monumentality.

Thirdly, the archdeacon highlights the iconostasis three-dimensional composition punctuated by columns included in the sovereign tier, and by niches for icons.

Finally, another important evidence for the innovative appearance of the Sophia iconostasis is the presence of the Metropolitan's coats of arms, which decorated the brick predella of the iconostasis. Paul of Aleppo did not mention it at all, but during the excavations in 1940 in the altar part of the cathedral found sculptural fragments of two coats of arms (**fig. 6**) by Metropolitan Peter Movilă from the basement of the iconostasis.[14]

Paul of Aleppo expressed even more enthusiasm for the iconostasis of the Trinity catholicon of the Hustyn Trinity Monastery. It is important to mention that the Trinity Cathedral was built under the direct patronage of the Metropolitan of Kyiv. In 1639, Peter Movilă brought the new abbot Illia Torsky of the Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery to the Hustyn Trinity Monastery and placed the cross at the construction site of its new church.[15]

The catholicon was completed and consecrated in 1644 and its iconostasis was even more impressive and monumental:

Notes

10 Here Paul of Aleppo talks about the pelican, a symbol of Christ.

11 *Путешествие* 1897, p. 70-71.

12 Лебединцев 1882, p. 13.

13 Peter Movilă – hierarch of the Orthodox Church, Metropolitan of Kyiv, Galicia, and All Russia (1632-1647), archimandrite of the Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery (since 1627), church, cultural and educational figure, initiator of the creation of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. He carried out a fundamental reform of the Orthodox Church and education in Ukraine according to Catholic and Jesuit models. With the direct participation of Peter Movilă, Kyiv was revived as a cultural and theological center of Ukraine. That led to the flourishing of Ukrainian artistic culture in the 17th century. The bibliography about Mohyla and his influence upon the development of Ukrainian Church art and architecture: Голубев 1898; Krasny 2000; Krynicka, Wierzbicki 1959; Міляєва 2003.

14 Каргер 1961, p. 113.

15 *Літопис* 2012, p.202.

> We have not seen others similar and equal to them yet; there is no man who can describe this iconostasis, how immense, high, abundantly gilded and shiny it is. It rises from the ground to the big dome top; the holy icons of quite a big size are the peak of perfection; they are deep into the niches in order to their beauty and their gild mirror shine better seen. There is a surprisingly shiny frame in the form of the cornice of a big size so that the sets of lamps are fixed to it.
> There are quite big, high, thick columns with carving, hollow inside but they seem to be solid, soldered with a delicate art, different from the Saint Sophia columns, which are hollow in the back, near the majestic icons of the Lord and our Lady. They are untwined with vines: golden branches with leaves rise, grapes, the ones are red and shiny, and the others are immature, green, hanging as if they are the true creation of the Lord; the background is smooth. The columns rise from the ground at the height … The Royal Doors carving is wonderful, the gilding is gorgeous; they are made with all kinds of art and they are not different from the (gold) forged ones, shine and gleam with beautiful gilding, and they sparkle like a lightning at night. The deacons wearing stirrups with censers and the priests wearing the phelonies are depicted around their frame. These doors and the two others are seven cubits high.[16]

The quoted fragment shows that the iconostasis of the Trinity catholicon of the Hustyn Trinity Monastery was expanding the trends established through the Saint Sophia iconostasis. One may infer that it was of an even bigger height, because the main marker for its scale is given by the height of the royal doors, which was of 7 cubits, equivalent to about 3.5 m,[17] surpassing therefore the dimension from Saint Sophia Cathedral of Kyiv.

As we know, the later trend in iconostasis development enhanced the tendency of increasing the height of these structures; for instance, in the second half of the 17th century, iconostases in Kyiv could rise up to 15 m in height,[18] and in the 18th century the largest iconostases already reached 20–22 m.[19]

Patterns

The iconostases of Ukraine described by Paul of Aleppo represented a new version of artistic formulas that differ greatly from those encountered across the Orthodox world. Comparison to the Balkan and Moldavian iconostases built in the first half of the 17th century shows that their organization principle was different. The Balkans iconostases from the first half of the 17th century consisted of a wooden structure containing icons displayed within flat-relief carving that bestows to those barriers the appearance of a multi-tier, richly decorated frame.

However, the mere existence of icons frames did not always imply that the iconostasis had an architectural structure. The upper tiers of the Balkans iconostases at that time continued to consist of the epistyles carved from the same wood that constitutes the support for the images so that the framing was purely decorative and worked in low relief. Even if the framing from the upper tiers constituted a separate frame construction for placing individual icons, it was treated similarly with the decoration on the epistyles.

In the sovereign tier of the iconostasis, the icons were held in place as in a frame, but this was just as flat as the upper structure. There were no niches for the sovereign tier icons and deep arches for the passages

Notes

16 *Путешествие* 1898, p. 88-90.

17 *Путешествие* 1898, p. 90.

18 Шамурина 2006, p. 52.

19 Логвин 1968. p. 102. Сіткарьова 2000, p. 213.

to the altar, and instead of proper columns, only semi-columns or just carved posts were used. Such iconostases, which generally consisted of the sovereign tier and one or two tiers above it, were not particularly high, but their giant crucifixes from the top, that could reach 3.5-4 m, doubled the total height of the barrier.[20] This is the probable explanation for the remark of Paul of Aleppo when characterizing the iconostasis dimensions of the church in Vasylkiv: "its iconostasis is very big, similar to Greek iconostases."[21] In general, the monuments of this region show that although the iconostasis decoration in Balkans makes use of architectural elements, these barriers was not thought as voluminous architectural structures.

The iconostases from the end of the 16th–first half of the 17th centuries commissioned within the Metropolitanate of Moldavia had similar visual solutions those from the Balkans. Each icon had a carved frame worked in low relief, they were not set within deep niches, nor were there deep arches for the passages. Similarly, monumental crucifixes were placed on top of the iconostases. However, the iconostasis structure could still be quite high, even without this addition: sometimes the iconostases contained five tiers of icons separated by high carved friezes.[22] In accordance with the practices from the Balkans, the columns were not a mandatory element of their decoration. Paul of Aleppo mentioned only one time their existence in iconostases from Moldavia, namely when describing the iconostasis from the church of the Assumption Monastery in Jassy (Rom. Iași), monastery of the Voivode Miron Barnovschi-Movilă (Pol. Miron Barnowski-Mohyła. Ukr. Мирон Барновський-Могила): "The columns at the altar doors are decorated with the carving in the form of vines: golden branches, green grapes and bright red background."[23] The background indicates that the carving was relief, but there is no specific information on the dimensions of those columns.

By that time, the Russian iconostasis had developed in a slightly different manner. Since the 15th century, its characteristic feature had been its significant height due to the increasing in size of the icons from the *Deesis* tier, that were reaching 3 m.[24] In the 16th–first half of the 17th centuries, iconostases from the Tsardom of Muscovy were a flat wall of icons placed on horizontal beams. The icons were not framed, but could be separated by vertical bars or pillars. Such painted or carved construction could reach up to 4-6 tiers of images.[25] For example, while describing the iconostasis of the Dormition Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin, Paul of Aleppo was impressed by its immense size, height, and width.[26] The iconostasis was built under Patriarch Nikon, in 1653.[27]

It is clear henceforth that neither the idea of the three-dimensional design of the iconostasis that was established in the Kyiv Metropolitanate, nor its decoration with three-dimensional carving, columns, and other architectural elements, could have been borrowed from the Orthodox tradition. Instead, if done would compare the architectural and plastic organization of Ukrainian iconostases from that time not with the iconostases of other Orthodox churches, but with the altars of *Rzecz Pospolita* Catholic churches, one would find many resemblances. It has been noted before and explained that the same craftsmen were commissioned by both Catholic and Orthodox Churches, a fact that facilitated the transfer of artistic forms.[28] In our opinion, this is too simplified a conclusion, because it is limited to style and does not take into consideration the Church control over the visual embodiment of dogmatic ideas.

Notes

20 Гергова 2010, p. 367-378. Гергова 2012, p. 141-157, 373-376. Пажић 1983, p. 249-255. Ћоровић-Љубинковић 1965. Ћоровић-Љубинковић 1966, p. 119-137. Λιακοσ 2014, p. 99-107. Χατζητρύφωνος 1985, p. 451-484.

21 *Путешествие* 1897, p. 41.

22 Sabados 2008b, p. 27-43.

23 *Путешествие* 1896, p. 68.

24 Гусева 1990, p. 4.

25 Бусева-Давыдова 2000, p. 623.

26 *Путешествие* 1898, p. 104.

27 Качалова 1976, p. 104-108.

28 Бусева-Давыдова 2000, p. 628.

In fact, the monumentality that had appeared in the Ukrainian iconostasis by the middle of the 17th century may be grounded on two absolutely different reasons. On the one hand, it is the prevalent practice in the Orthodox world to include additional tiers of icons in the iconostasis, increasing its structure to 5-6 tiers, a fact which in itself enhanced the iconostasis height. On the other hand, there was an intense development of monumentality in the Catholic altars from churches in the *Rzecz Pospolita*, that became typical for the decades between 1620-1640s. We will focus on this second reason.

The patronage of local bishops at the end of the 16th century in the *Rzecz Pospolita* led to the emergence of a new altar type as the proper design for the reformed Post-Tridentine liturgy. Redecorating the interiors, the bishops recommended the use of monumental architectural altars similar to modern Roman designs. Thus, the choir screens, which closed the presbytery, were dismantled in order to allow a direct view upon the altar from the central nave.[29] Sometimes these altarpieces reached gigantesque dimensions. For example, the main altar from the Cathedral Basilica in Pelplin built in 1623-1624, which is the largest in Poland and one of the largest in Europe, is 25 m high.[30] There is another altar in the Saint Catalina Church in Kraków of 1634 of 22 m high,[31] and the main altar of *Corpus Christi* Basilica of 1634 is 21 m.[32]

Of course, the novel monumentality of the Catholic altar image and the effect produced by it could not remain unnoticed by the Orthodox people of *Rzecz Pospolita*.[33] However, in spite of the obvious religious pathos of the new Post-Tridentine art, its ideas needed to be assimilated, and the artistic techniques needed to be adapted before the Baroque spirit could penetrate Orthodox art. Paraphrasing this, the idea of turning the iconostasis into a grand Baroque architectural frame should have been formulated and clearly understood before being carried out.

Features of the Reception

The establishment of the new visual concept of the Ukrainian iconostasis was preceded by a unique historical and cultural situation: the Church of the Eastern Rite, Orthodox and Greek Catholic, was active in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, where Catholicism was the dominant faith. In these circumstances, enjoying the sufficient freedom that allowed to build and decorate its churches, the Church of the Eastern Rite was influenced constantly by the "Latin" world, adapting it to its "Greek identity." Examining Ukraine's religious life of the early modern period, Borys Gudziak pointed out that the theological views of the Rus' Church, back in the 15th–16th centuries, were influenced by its existence within a "Latin context": it was trying to balance between the East and the West. This was characterized by uncertainty and ambiguity with the attitude for the theological differences between the Greek and the Latin traditions. According to Natalia Yakovenko, this balancing was manifested also in spontaneous "penetration of the Catholic theology and Catholic Church dogmatic and ritual practices in the Kyiv Metropolitanate that originated in its early phases around the second half of the 16th century."[34] The researcher agrees with the expressive assessment of Borys Gudziak that the impetus was "the vigor of the Protestant Reformation, the Counter-Reformation, and the Catholic Reform confronted the Ruthenian community with the full richness of the Western theological, institutional, and pastoral legacy to which the Kyivan Church had remained largely oblivious for six

Notes

29 Krasny 2019, p. 146-147.

30 Laddach 2022, p. 146.

31 https://dzieje.pl/dziedzictwo-kulturowe/koniec-konserwacji-oltarza-w-kosciele-sw-katarzyny-w-krakowie (accessed on 04.07.2023).

32 http://www.bozecialo.net/index.php/bazylika/przewodniki-menu/przewodnik-bazylika/269-oltarz-przewodnik (accessed on 04.07.2023).

33 The Polish researcher M. Janocha already expressed his opinion about the influence of the altar images of the Polish Renaissance and Baroque, especially the main altar of the Cistercian church in Pelplin and the Augustinian church in Kraków in Kazimierz, on the formation of the vast iconostases of the Kyiv Metropolitanate. Janocha 2018, p. 92.

34 Яковенко 2016, p. 16.



Fig. 7. The iconostasis in the Lviv Dormition church, dated 1629-1638 (at present in Velyki Hrybovychi, Lviv region).
Credits: Svitlana Oleanina.

centuries. The revolution in communications caused by the explosion of the printed word brought the message home in no uncertain terms".[35]

Therefore, at the beginning of the 17th century, the religious identity of Kyiv Metropolitanate was already heavily exposed to Catholic influences. At the same time, the Orthodox community from the *Rzecz Pospolita*, deeply immersed in the Catholic context, was most familiar with the Counter-Reformation art compared to the rest of all Eastern Christendom.

As it is known, Peter Movilă's church reform, which aimed to bring about a renewal of Eastern Christendom, relied on the strategy of fighting Protestant challenges, that was developed by the Catholic Church after the Council of Trent (1545-1563).[36] The Metropolitan sought to strengthen Orthodoxy, using all available sources: church construction, book printing, sermons, and liturgical reforms. Aware of the success of Post-Tridentine reforms, Peter Movilă was certainly aware of the role that the visual arts played in that process. The characteristic features of Counter-Reformation art, such as the pursuit of exaggerated expression and visual effects, were determined by their ideological function – namely to serve as a powerful propaganda tool in the service of the Catholic Church. Due to the sharpened confessional struggle from the first half of the 17th century, the Orthodox art in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth had to undertake a similar task.

The fact that considerable intellectual and creative efforts of the Orthodox people within the *Rzecz Pospolita* were focused, during the second quarter of the 17th century, on this confessional issues, allowed for the future development of Ukrainian Baroque art, which, with no less pathos than the Western Baroque, proclaimed the teachings of the Orthodox Church. Taking into consideration all the above, one could assume that the idea of transforming religious art was a central one for Peter Movilă and that he was directly engaged in solving many fundamental issues related to it. We will try to assess his approach to this problem.

As mentioned before, The Metropolitan took advantage of the experience gathered by the Catholic Church. Its practices, among other things, led to the foundation of the Kyiv Collegium in 1632, using the model of the education system set by the Jesuit collegiums.[37] His books, *Litos* of 1644 and *Euchologion* of 1646, containing the explanations of the Orthodox Church liturgical practices and theological traditions, were informed by Catholic theological arguments and with

Notes

35 Gudziak 1998, p. 250.

36 Шевченко 2001, p. 175-198. Яковенко 1997, p. 190-192.

37 Кметь, Дух 2008, p. 21-24.

rituals borrowed from the Catholic liturgy.[38] He apparently acted in a similar manner while developing a new concept of religious art.

Throughout his period in office as Metropolitan, Peter Movilă was actively engaged in the restoration and repair of Kyiv churches, many of which had been sacked and abandoned by the beginning of the 1630s, when he became the head of Kyiv Church.[39] That activity was inextricably linked with the organization of the inner space of the church. Reflecting on the artistic design of the renovated churches, and assessing the effect of Catholic church decoration, the Metropolitan apparently decided to modify the outlook of the iconostasis, by bestowing to it a stunning expressive effect, that challenges a Catholic Baroque altar. For this purpose, it was necessary to add monumentality to the already established three-dimensional design of the architectural frame of the iconostasis, following the model of Polish altars. A piece of evidence to the fact that Peter Movilă carefully analyzed both artistic and semantic components of the Catholic altar is given by an innovation that he initiated: the placing of the donor's coat of arms on the iconostasis *predella*, which was a common practice for the *predella* in the case of the altars from *Rzecz Pospolita*. Later, in the context of the iconographic program of iconostases, the emblematic function of the coat of arms was replaced by the donor portrait, an image that bears memorial function.[40]

The conceptual analogy between the artistic solutions of the Baroque altar and the Ukrainian iconostasis, as this latter was reformed under Peter Movilă, is indicative of a process of cultural appropriation, in the comprehension of which the decisive factor is the nature of reception. We should reconstruct the plan of Peter Movilă, aiming at the transformation of the iconostasis, in the context of all his activity as the reformer of the Rus' Church and restorer of churches, that was framed by the ideological paradigm of "Kyiv is the second Jerusalem."[41] Educating the enlightened priests, correcting the liturgical practice, restoring and decorating the churches – all these activities were bringing Kyiv closer to the desired image of "the second Jerusalem." Efforts for developing a new concept for the design of the liturgical space, which was supposed to make a strong impression upon the Orthodox viewer and foster a visual experience of the new paradigm, were also connected to the implementation of this general plan.

Let us come back to the iconostasis of the 1640s from Saint Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv. Most probably, this was not the first but perhaps the most important iconostasis for Peter Movilă, that concentrated the Metropolitan ideological quests and his efforts to develop a new concept of design for the liturgical space. The iconostases that, in our opinion, could have served as models for Peter Movilă when creating the project for the iconostasis from Saint Sophia of Kyiv, and could even be considered the early stage in the development of his plan, are the most probably the following two. Firstly, the iconostasis of the Dormition church in Lviv, which was built with the financial support of Movilă family; Peter Movilă, as archimandrite of the Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery, attended the consecration ceremony in 1631. Secondly, the iconostasis from the church of the Transfiguration of Christ (*Spas*) in Lublin, which he consecrated in 1632.[42] The first of them has been preserved in a severely modified form so that now its architectural and decorative design is largely lost. However, two large spiral columns mounted on ample, far protruding consoles (**fig. 7**), that framed the central icon of the apostolic tier, attest that the iconostasis had a spectacular architectural frame. In spite of all the damage to the iconostasis

Notes

38 Ісіченко 2016, p. 113.

39 Голубев 1898, p. 411-463.

40 Оляніна 2019, p. 235.

41 Ісіченко 2016, p. 75-92.

42 Міляєва 2003, p. 166.

structure,[43] it may still be gathered that it was apparently designed to be of quite a significant height – its royal doors reaches 2.8 m. It is almost one meter higher than the iconostasis of *Piatnytska* church in Lviv, where the royal doors had a span of 1.87 m. The architectural frame of the second iconostasis, from the church of the Transfiguration of Christ (*Spas*) in Lublin, is well preserved and impresses through the plasticity of its façade, the combination of in-depth and protruding elements, especially in the case of the columns from the apostolic tier, mounted on large consoles. One does thus observe the effects of those techniques that were further developed in the iconostasis from Saint Sophia of Kyiv.

It could be posited that attributing to one man, albeit a powerful church official and theologian, the birth of a new visual concept for the iconostasis, one that would become widespread in the Kyiv Metropolitanate during the second half of the 17th century, is a rather daring assumption, as we cannot substantiate it with any direct evidence such as written sources. However, such situations are attested in other contexts. The first example that comes to mind is abbot Suger, author of the concept of the Gothic space in the cathedral of Saint Denis.[44] As for the iconostasis, most scholars who have investigated the history of high Russian iconostasis agree that its development was the result of spiritual reforms undertaken by Cyprian, the Metropolitan of Kyiv and all Rus' (about 1330-1406).[45] Moscow patriarch Nikon (1605-1681), considering that it was crucial to bring Russian Orthodox rites and books in agreement with the Greek ones, carried out his own church reform, that extended also to the sphere of the ecclesiastical art. It is known that, while building the New Jerusalem Monastery near Moscow, he ordered in Kyiv a copper copy of the iconostasis of the Dormition Cathedral from the Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery, to serve as a model for the iconostases from the church of his monastery.[46] The photo of the copper copy (**fig. 8**)[47] attests that Nikon intended to fundamentally change the artistic outlook of the Russian iconostasis, by turning it into an architectural frame. In conclusion, one could speculate that major transformations in religious art were initiated by great church officials and, as a rule, were related to reform activities that they were carrying out.

Regarding the written evidence for the development of a new concept of iconostasis by Peter Movilă himself, one should not expect the unexpected; such a text, like a detailed description, could hardly have been written at all. As Panofskyi notes, great patrons of the arts never settled to writing reviews of their plans.[48] The explanation of the concept of the Gothic space in the cathedral of Saint Denis, given by abbot Suger, is in fact an exception. However, it only describes, in the most general terms, the impression that the new type of church had to leave upon its beholder.[49] But in the texts of Peter Movilă, one can find indirect evidence indicating the particular attention that the Metropolitan paid to the architectural frame of the iconostasis. It comes from the consecration rites of church decoration, published in his *Trebnyk* from 1646. Among them are the "Rite for the Blessing of a New Church or Iconostasis" and the "Rite for the Blessing or Consecration of Catapetasma or Deesis, namely, all the church icons arranged in their places."[50] That is, the Metropolitan defined the architectural component as an iconostasis, and its iconography, as a whole, as *Deesis*. Note that it is common for the medieval Eastern Slavs to use the term "Deesis" for designating the iconostasis, and it was still actively used in the 17th century. The term "iconostasis" replaced it only in the 18th century.[51] The division of structure and images consecration rites in *Trebnyk* is

Notes

43 Gębarowicz 2016, p. 110-140.

44 Panofsky 1979.

45 Лидов 2000, p. 13. Евсеева 2000, 413-423.

46 Таранушенко 1994, p. 146.

47 Петров 1913, p. 488.

48 Panofsky 1979, p. 1.

49 Panofsky 1979, p. 26-29.

50 *Требник* 1996, p. 73, 128.

51 Konstantynowicz 1939, p. 36; Kruk 2001b, p. 207-230.



Fig. 8. The iconostasis of the Dormition Cathedral of the Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery (according to a photo print of the 90s of the 19th century of a model-copy, made by order of Patriarch Nikon).
Source: Петров 1913.

indicative of nuances in the Metropolitan's understanding of the words "iconostasis" and "Deesis" in relation to the altar barrier, and increased importance of the iconostasis constructive basis, whose monumental architectural frame deserves a separate consecration rite.

Conclusions

An integral feature of Peter Movilă's revitalization the Orthodox Church of 17th century Ukraine was his emphasis on the artistic aspect of church decoration, notably the Ukrainian iconostasis. His desire was to strengthen the standing of the Orthodox Church and the recently recovered Kyiv Orthodox Metropolitanate (in 1620) within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, where Roman Catholicism dominated.

He set himself the task of transforming the architectural image of the iconostasis, with its forms and carved décor, with greater artistic expressiveness. An inspiration for him were the altars of *Rzecz Pospolita* Catholic churches built in the Baroque style. These Post-Tridentine art forms had great emotional impact on the religious faithful, and were used by the Catholic Church as a tool against the inroads of the Protestant Reformation. Movilă introduced these Counter-Reformation art forms into the artistic language of the Kyiv Orthodox Metropolitanate, which after the Union of Brest, were faced with the dynamic assailed on the Ruthenian Orthodox ecclesial identity posed by Roman Catholicism.

The "Orthodox Counter-Reformation" carried out by Peter Movilă aimed at inhibiting potential religious conversions to the Catholic or Protestant faiths by convincing the believer of the superiority of the Orthodox faith. The Ukrainian iconostasis became a major vehicle for this ambition, competing directly with the Catholic altar. It evolved into examples of breathtaking monumentality, with plastic, sculptural decorative forms. In doing so, it attested to Peter Movilă's belief that the Orthodox Church was veritably catholic (universal) and by its artistic expressiveness, should dominate other Christian denominations.



An Artistic Melting Pot: The Building Site of the Greek Catholic Cathedral in Blaj in the Late 1740s

Radu Nedici

University of Bucharest

From its earliest mention in the 13th century up to 1738, Blaj (Hung. Balázsfalva; Germ. Blasendorf) was a small village on the banks of the Târnava river, which slowly meanders through central Transylvania. It all changed that year with the decision of Emperor Charles VI to transfer ownership of it to the Greek Catholic Church in the principality, which meant that it now belonged to the administrative centre of the diocese.[1] The imperial diploma issued on 21 August 1738 awarded the estate, which comprised of twelve adjoining villages, for the maintenance of the bishop. It also granted earlier requests to finance several prebendaries attached to a Basilian monastery, as well as twenty places in a local seminary and another three bursaries in Rome.[2] In parallel, plans were being drafted for the construction of a complex which was to include a new cathedral church, the bishop's residence, the monastic cells, and the intended seminary. The court architect, Johann Baptist Martinelli,[3] came up with a project that won the approval of the authorities. The contract he signed at the end of March 1738 detailed the technical characteristics of the buildings and afforded him five years and a total of 57,000 Gulden (Rfl.) for their erection.[4] Nevertheless, the work progressed at a slower pace than initially hoped for and it soon stalled, at first because of financial disagreements between the contributing clergy and the *Hofkammer*,[5] and later due to the troubles that shook the diocese from 1744 onward.

The establishment of the Greek Catholic or Uniate Church in Transylvania at the turn of the 18th century mirrored other early modern patterns of encounter between Catholic missionaries and Eastern Christian communities. As the Principality became part of the Habsburg Monarchy, union with Rome was the result of competition for securing political control over the province. Bringing the large Greek-rite Romanian population under the authority of the Catholic Church was a means to legitimize the grip on power of the group thought to be the most loyal to Vienna on account of sharing a common faith with the dynasty. In exchange for social promises, the Romanian ecclesiastical elite recognised the primacy of Rome, while insisting on keeping their

◀ Fig. 1. The Greek Catholic cathedral in Blaj, iconostasis, detail of the royal doors and the Great Feasts tier.
Credits: Radu Nedici.

Notes

1 Miron 2023, p. 55-76.

2 Nilles 1885, p. 533-540.

3 See, for a short biography, Hajdecki 1906, p. 63-64.

4 Terdik 2014a, p. 142-151 and Annex 3.1 on p. 272-274.

5 Bunea 1900, p. 19-24.

distinctive non-Latin liturgy and rituals. Its failure to develop any strategy to confessionalize the diocese in the half century that followed left it exposed to the Orthodox propaganda. This intensified notably with the involvement of the Serbian patriarch, who took up residence in the Monarchy after 1739. At the instigation of one of his emissaries, a popular movement broke-out in 1744, demanding the return to the earlier Greek Orthodox creed and the appointment of a bishop subordinate to the Serbian hierarch. The simultaneous departure into exile of the Greek Catholic bishop further complicated matters, leaving only a handful of young and inexperienced theology graduates to assume responsibility for dealing with religious opposition.[6]

In addition to lending them military support for crushing dissent, the Habsburg authorities also pressured the new elite in Blaj to improve communication with and control over the faithful. A printing press began operating in Blaj in the late 1740s to disseminate a freshly defined identity, at the crossroads between Catholic dogma and Byzantine rite.[7] The opening of primary and secondary schools followed shortly, in 1754, and a diocesan seminary was established by 1763.[8] From the late 1740s to the early 1780s, Bishops Petru Pavel Aron, Atanasie Rednic, and Grigore Maior adopted a missionary attitude, which translated into the frequent rural visitations they personally undertook or commissioned to the monks who gradually came to populate the monastery in Blaj. While this could not prevent the Orthodox from gaining a larger following, which led to their official recognition in 1761, it nevertheless paved the way to reclaiming some of the lost ground once religious violence subsided.[9]

It was in this context of intense institutional reconstruction that the authorities also committed to achieving the long overdue project of the cathedral church and of the residential and administrative buildings attached to it. The lack of a representative centre undoubtedly detracted from the symbolic capital of church union. More importantly, practical considerations linked to the imminent return to the diocese of the first generation of foreign-educated Greek Catholic clerics imposed the urgency to complete works on the monastery that was to house them. Plans received a boost after Bishop Ioan Inocențiu Klein's self-imposed exile since it allowed the Transylvanian Treasury to take over the management of the estate of Blaj and direct its revenues toward financing the construction effort. Decision, however, did not rest with the provincial department, but became the joint concern of the *Hofkommission / Hofdeputation in Transylvanicis, Banaticis et Illyricis*, the collegial body in Vienna charged with supervising the government of the easternmost territories of the Monarchy,[10] alongside the central *Hofkammer*. The latter's archive preserved most of the minutes, letter exchanges and expense accounts, thus providing unrivalled access to how such an enterprise was run.

Despite going through major renovation and extension works in the first half of the 19th century, when its façade transformed from the single central tower imagined by Martinelli to the present dual tower shape,[11] the cathedral's interior has largely been preserved in its original form. Two 18th-century elements stand out in testament to the Byzantine legacy of the Greek Catholic Church and as a more discreet call to the religious union with Rome: the iconostasis and the dome painting. Unexplained circumstances have led contemporaries to pass over the names of the artists. Their identity has not been revealed until recently. A full restoration of the cathedral three decades ago has rendered legible the signature of Iacov from Răşinari (Hung. Resinár; Germ. Städterdorf) on the fresco in the dome.[12] Ana Dumitran's diligence in tracing down his life and icons has in the meantime recovered him as one of the most sig-

Notes

6 Nedici 2013.

7 Nedici 2021, p. 85-104.

8 Mârza 1987, p. 47-52, 58-61.

9 Nedici 2013, p. 306-332. Later statistics confirm the trend, see the religious census data from 1779 and 1786 in Miskolczy, Varga 2013, DVD, 2. rész, Felekezeti összeírások 1750-1850, 1779_görög_katolikus_összegzés and 1786_görög_katolikus_összegzés.

10 Trócsányi 1986, p. 192-194.

11 Greceanu 2002, p. 153-162.

12 Porumb 2003, p. 56, note 8.



Fig. 2. The façade of the Greek Catholic cathedral in Blaj, remodelled during the first half of the 19th century, enclosed by the southern and eastern wing of the monastic complex.
Credits: Radu Nedici.

nificant Transylvanian painters of the post-Byzantine tradition in the 18th century.[13] Long time considered the creation of a mysterious Aldea from Târgu-Mureș (Hung. Marosvásárhely; Germ. Neumarkt),[14] the iconostasis has been correctly attributed by Szilveszter Terdik to master Konstantinos, based on stylistic analogies with the similarly carved wood panels from Máriapócs and Oradea (Hung. Nagyvárad; Germ. Großwardein).[15] The disjointed pieces of information and the absence of firm evidence for any of the various conjectures that had accumulated over time have nonetheless continued to hinder historians.

The present article builds on the aforementioned papers in the Austrian State Archives to obviate some of the persistent ambiguities by retracing the works carried at the cathedral and monastery in Blaj over the final stages of the project, from 1747 to 1751. The first segment of this investigation proceeds from the financial records and the periodic reports about the progression of the construction site to inquire on the overall and specific costs, the building practices, and the people it involved. These underscore what such a large-scale enterprise entailed in terms of securing not only a constant flux of money, but also of distant resources, which only the backing of a powerful patron could pull

Notes

13 Dumitran, Cucui, Pop, Mihu 2010.

14 See, for a recent example, Tatai-Baltă, Fărcaș 2011, p. 14.

15 Terdik 2010, p. 247-267; Terdik 2014b, p. 477-488.



together. In the second part, the discussion then centres on the artistic decisions that transformed the already standing cathedral into a sacred space suited to the Byzantine rite. The documents confirm that a Greek master, Konstantinos Thaliodoros, was hired for carving the iconostasis, while the details they contribute throw more light on his other known creations in Hungary and his overall biography. At the same time, hesitations in securing the services of a painter, with Iacov from Răşinari put in charge of the dome fresco, but dropped after delivering it, and Grigore Ranite approached instead, only add to the unresolved puzzle of the internal decorations. The lack of financial support halted the execution of the contemplated full cycle of wall paintings but does not quite explain why it took another fifteen years before services could finally be held in the new cathedral. Documentary evidence – the most relevant of which are edited in the *Appendix* – also helps re-cast the Greek Catholic vicar general, Petru Pavel Aron, to a position of unquestionable influence. Although absent from the initial negotiations and the later bureaucratic decisions concerning the building site, he was nevertheless instrumental in driving the authorities to acknowledge the specific requirements of the Greek-rite worship. Ultimately, it were his interventions that put the finishing touches on a cathedral that had otherwise not seen much Greek Catholic involvement.

Fig. 3. Interior of the Greek Catholic cathedral in Blaj, iconostasis and dome fresco.
Credits: Radu Nedici.

Finances, Logistics, and Artisans

The decision to pursue the construction works in Blaj was arrived at after several meetings of the *Hofkommision in Transylvanicis*, chaired by Count Kollowrat and regularly attended by the *Hofkammer*'s vice-president, Baron von Prandau, and by counsellor Baron von Schmidlin, the former director of the fiscal administration in the Principality. Its members had been entrusted with presenting the Empress Maria Theresa with solutions to the ongoing religious strife in Transylvania. In the midst of attempts to find ways of redressing the beleaguered church union, news of the troubled fate of the cathedral in Blaj made it into a topic on the agenda. At the beginning of May 1746, Friedrich Wilhelm von Dietterich, director *ad interim* of the Transylvanian Treasury, complained to Vienna about him being assailed with requests from unpaid contractors after the foreman had left the construction site. He called on the central authorities to trace Court architect Martinelli and induce him to extinguish the debts, in accordance with the earlier contract.[16] As a result, the *Hofkommission* came up with a lengthy report in its meeting on 25 May 1746, which suggested the state should provide the necessary money for the completion of the works in Blaj.[17] While there was evidence that the Greek Catholic clergy had not fulfilled its obligations to contribute to the costs, it was thought that there was little hope of squaring the accounts under the then current conditions. Equally, there was not much to expect from the revenues of the estate in Blaj, with a maximum of 3-4,000 Rfl. to be retrieved over the next couple of years, since it historically underperformed in recent times. To sustain the financial burden, which was estimated at a total of 10 to 14,000 Rfl., funds should be directed from the taxes levied on money exports to the Ottoman Empire by Turkish subjects doing business in the Banat and Slavonia. The investment – it was argued – served a higher purpose, for the presence in the monastery in Blaj of educated monks would make for a capable bulwark against "Schism" through the cultivation of Catholicism and dynastic patriotism.

Notes

16 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 110, fols. 537r-539r.

17 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 110, fols. 489r-504v.

Architect Johann Baptist Martinelli, who was responsible for the whole project, was asked to inform the *Hofkommission* on the expenditures and the progress made up to that point on the cathedral's site. He replied by submitting a range of documents on 9 December 1746, from which it resulted, first, that between 1738 and 1745 he had received payments totalling 46,556 Rfl. Of these, 22,000 came from the *Hofkammer*, another 17,756 from the provincial Treasury, and only 6,800 had been raised by the Greek Catholic clergy itself.[18] A hand signed note attached to his financial reports described the church building as nearly complete, apart from some stone ornamentations still needed for the window and door frames and for the final piece of the lantern on the dome. The eastern wing of the edifice that was to serve as monastery was also almost ready, with only the roof truss and the pavement in the corridors missing, thus preventing its full use. The bishop's residence in the northern wing consisted for the moment of only the basement and the brickwork of the ground and the first floor, with even the carpentry not done entirely. Finally, the whole of the southern wing had yet to be built from its foundations up to the roof.[19] At the same time, the Court architect presented an estimate of the costs ahead, which amounted to 5,855 and 12,370 Rfl. for the north and south wings, respectively.[20] He took the opportunity to also claim that certain costs had proved higher than initially agreed under the contract, with the difference standing at 8,262 Rfl., for which he demanded reimbursement from the *Hofkammer*.[21]

The latter was rather hesitant when confronted with the exact figures, which until then everyone seems to have ignored. An internal note, undated but subsequent to Martinelli's calculations, showed that the unfinished project was already overbudget from the perspective of the *Hofkammer*. Having paid 7,756 Rfl. above their initial share of 32,000 Rfl. to cover the contribution that did not arrive from the Uniate Church, the Habsburg authorities were sceptical at the prospect of pushing the total to over 65,000 and even close to 70,000 Rfl. if they were to acknowledge the architect's requests.[22] In a meeting convened by the *Hofkomission* on 13 January 1747, its members blamed Bishop Klein for all the delays and focused on how to raise the necessary money, as they reasserted the goal of accomplishing the project in Blaj.[23]

The following months would be spent negotiating a reduction of the costs. When the *Hofkommission* reassembled on 15 January, Court architect Martinelli was invited to join for a direct discussion of his terms. It was made clear to him that the exchequer refused to pay the disputed 8,000 Rfl., especially since they resulted for the most part from higher purchase prices and the retribution of his foreman. In compensation, however, he was offered 6,000 Rfl. on top of the remaining 10,000 Rfl. of the initial sum to finish works on the premisses in Blaj. He was given only five days to reflect and come back with an answer.[24] Yet, before he could do so, the *Hofkommission* must have notified him of several additions that needed to be considered, which had been omitted from the contract in 1738. These included the wrought iron grills for the cathedral's windows, the stone pavement, and the installation of a wood wall panel in the nave, probably meant as an iconostasis, judging by further references. Martinelli gave a written response on 22 January 1747, agreeing to the proposed changes to his contract for a total spending of 17,000 Rfl. to be paid in monthly instalments.[25] A draft of the revised convention was put up for debate during the 24 January meeting of the *Hofkommission*. The text was largely similar to the one eventually enforced, but for the article on the three new elements that had been recently brought up. Martinelli's request for an extra payment of 1,000 Rfl. was deemed exces-

Notes

18 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 110, fol. 526r-v.

19 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 110, fols. 528r-529r.

20 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 110, fols. 531r, 530r.

21 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 110, fol. 534 r-v.

22 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 110, fols. 525r-v, 536r.

23 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 110, fols. 467r-473r.

24 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 110, fols. 505r-512r.

25 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 110, fols. 543r-544r.

sive and a counteroffer had already been made. It allowed him only 600 Rfl. and directed him to reuse the stone pavers from the old chapel in Blaj in the new cathedral. Since the court architect stood firm on his financial demands, a decision was taken to postpone the whole issue until a future negotiation between him and the Transylvanian Treasury.[26]

Along these lines, a report was forwarded to Empress Maria Theresa on 21 February, requesting royal assent for the drafting of a new contract, in order to allow for a speedy opening of the seminary in Blaj, which was reckoned of outmost importance.[27] The deal was officially concluded on 8 April 1747, carrying the signatures of Count Ferdinand von Kollowrat, president of the *Hofkommission*, and Baron Franz Anton von Schmidlin, who acted for the *Hofkammer*, in addition to that of Johann Baptist Martinelli.[28] It stipulated that the Court architect was bound to execute all the works inscribed in the previous contract of 1738, according to the designs he had presented back then, leaving aside the stone pavement, the latticework for the windows and the internal wooden wall, which were to make the object of an additional agreement. His selected foreman was to depart immediately for Blaj to assemble contractors and workers, so that all remaining building tasks could be completed in a maximum of two and half years. Priority was to be given to the cathedral and the eastern and northern wings of the residence, where works had been more advanced. He was to have at his disposal 16,000 Rfl. on top of the money already received, of which 2,000 Rfl was to be paid upfront and the rest in monthly instalments of 500 Rfl. He was to refrain from asking for further compensations under any title. All the existing materials on site, whether bought previously or extracted from the old chapel, were no longer covered by this deal. Finally, Martinelli and his foreman were to allow an independent specialist named by the Treasury to inspect the building site and report on its progress from time to time. On the same date, the *Hofkammer* was informed through a friendly note of the pleasing outcome, while the Transylvanian Treasury was ordered to monitor and support the project in full.[29]

Later expense accounts prove that Joseph Hummelberger, the earlier foreman, continued in this capacity from June 1747, when he arrived in Transylvania from Vienna, to his untimely death in January 1748.[30] He was followed by another foreman, Albert Matschego, who oversaw the works till their completion in 1751. Several reports from the period give indications on the construction advances, but also point out the many flaws. Charged in September 1747 with inspecting the current state of the buildings, Captain Jakob Zultner, military engineer and director of the fortification in Alba Iulia (Hung. Gyulafehérvár; Germ. Karlsburg), validated the prior description by architect Martinelli. His attached colour-coded groundplan (**fig. 4**) afforded a quick overview of the different stages of construction for each section of the complex: the cathedral and the monastery had been built according to the plans and close to finalization, the bishop's residence was half completed, but everything was still to be done on the southern wing.[31] And in fact, in October at the latest, the first monks took possession of their designated residence, despite certain "imperfections," as they called them in a letter to the cardinals of *Propaganda Fide* in Rome.[32] In December of the same year, foreman Hummelberger could inform of progressions made on the cathedral, which only awaited for the pavement, monumental door columns, tower stairs and a final whitewash. Equally, the first floor of the northern wing had been completed and the roof truss installed, but since tiles had not been delivered, it was temporarily covered with hay to protect it from the inclement weather.[33] Two years later, in October 1749, when engi-

Notes

26 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 110, fols. 519r-524v, 545r-v.

27 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 110, fols. 463r-466v, 475r-476v, 487r-488v.

28 OeStA FHKA, SUS, KuR, C-1629 and Appendix I.

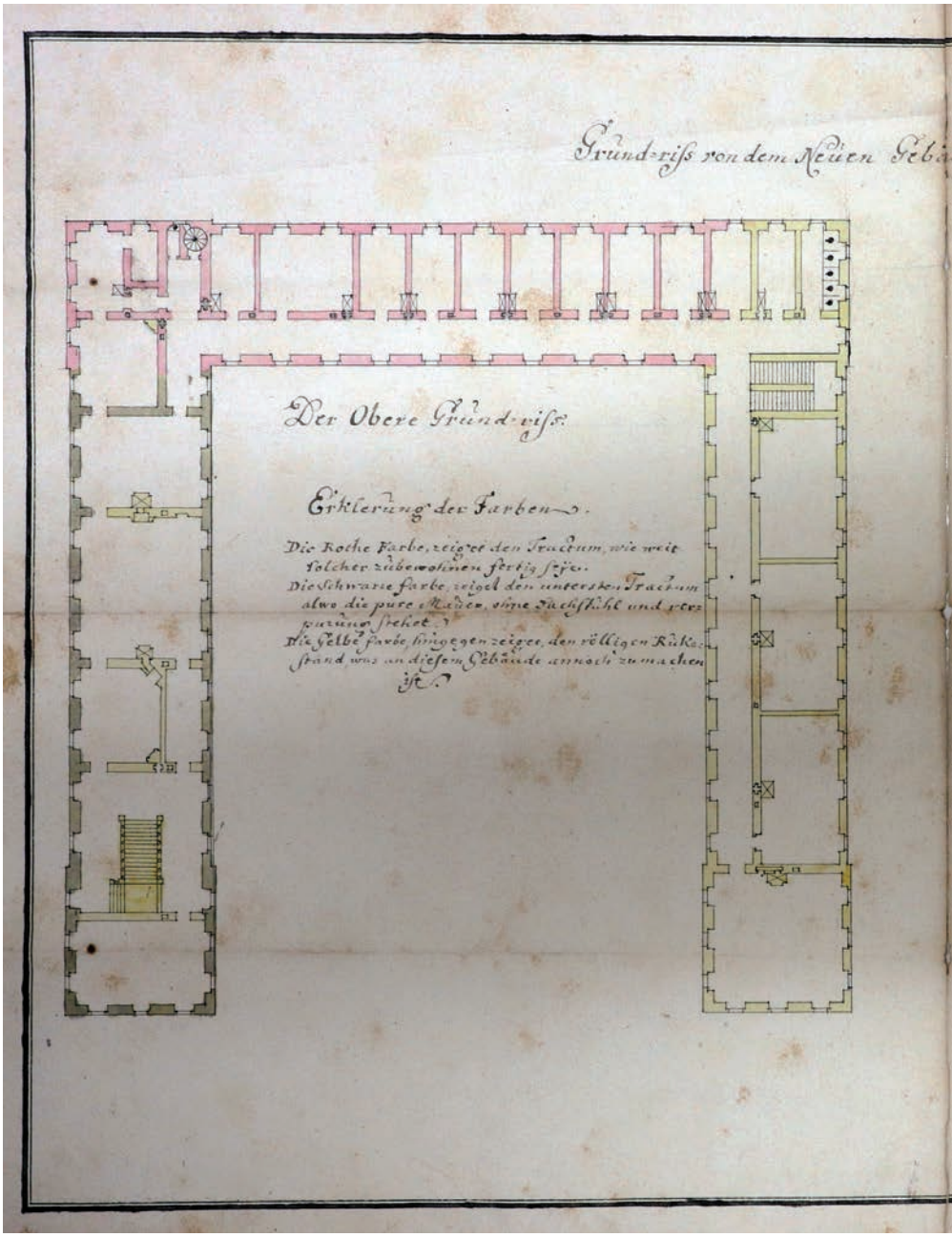
29 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 107, fols. 599r-v, 616r-v, 621r-623r and 617r-619v.

30 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 111, fol. 649r-v.

31 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 115, fols. 1516r-1517r and OeStA FHKA, SUS, KS, Rb-510. First published by Terdik 2014a, fig. 194, p. 152.

32 Ardeleanu 1888, p. 265.

33 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 115, fols. 1519v-1520r.



neer Zultner returned to the site, he ascertained the erection of the long overdue southern wing up to the roof truss, but all the interior fittings, as well as the rooftop, had yet to be furnished. Other areas showed no signs of improvement, as the cathedral church was still devoid of its main portal and the tower staircase. The bishop's residence in the northern wing was even then missing some of its windows and only three quarters of its rooftop had been tiled, while the remaining quarter continued to be covered in hay. Captain Zultner was nevertheless confident that all works could be accomplished within a year's time.[34]

Delays in execution were worsened by the various errors of planning and by bad workmanship. In his aforementioned report of 23 September 1747, Jakob Zultner used a rather subdued tone to convey some of these problems. Having served in Oltenia in his youth, he boasted a certain familiarity with the Greek rite churches there, which made him notice the lack in the original architectural drawings of a wall to separate the place reserved for men in the nave from that for women in the narthex. He stated that this shortcoming could easily be rectified by simply following the recommendations he had made to the foreman. Another

Notes

34 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 118, fols. 716r-v, 719r.

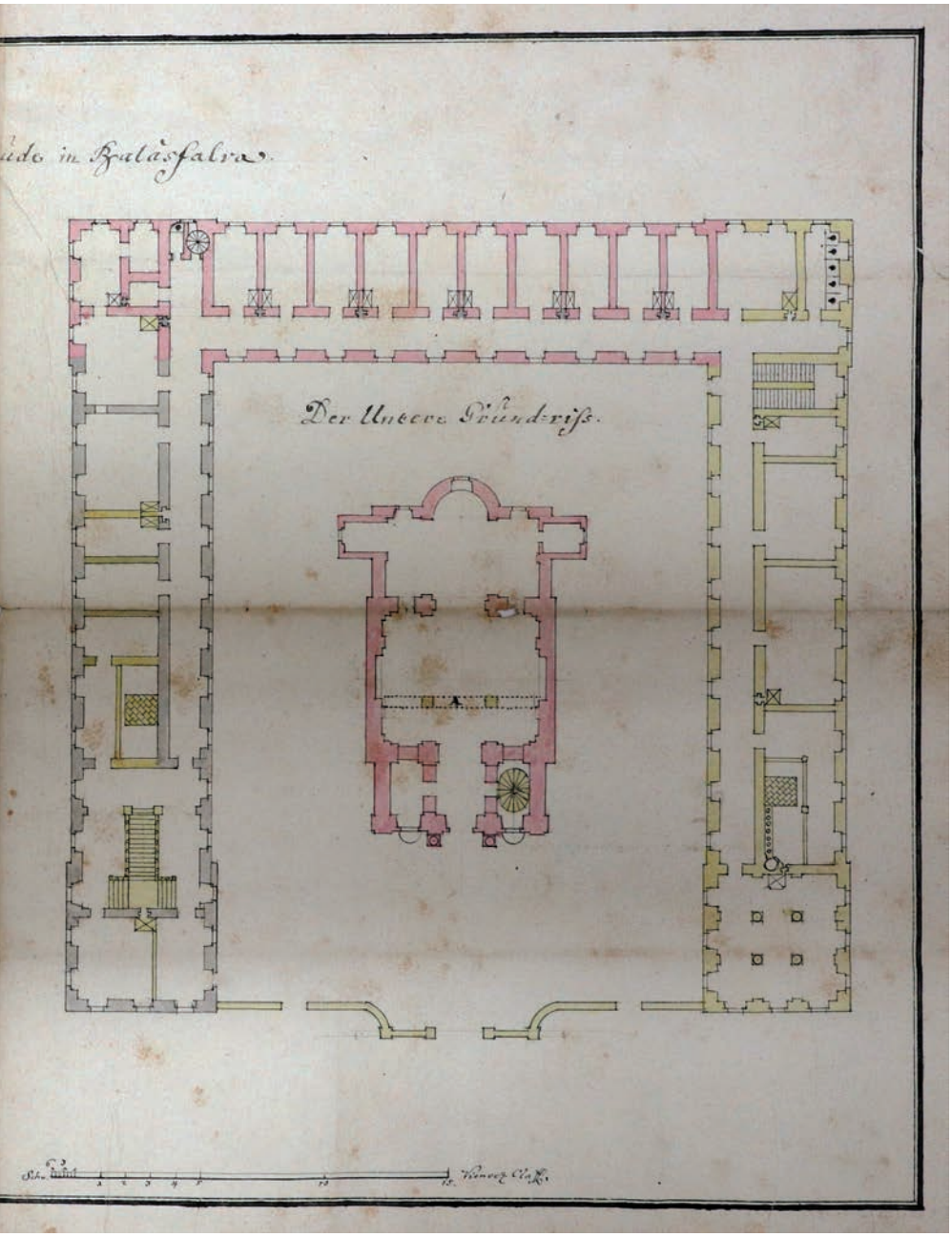


Fig. 4. Outline of the building complex in Blaj by Captain Jakob Zultner after his visit on the field in September 1747, colour-coded to indicate the realization of each segment: red for the almost completed cathedral and eastern wing that was to house the monastery, black for the northern wing that only had its brickwork ready, yellow for the southern wing where construction works were yet to begin.

Source: OeStA FHKA, SUS, KS, Rb-510.

problem he witnessed was in regard to the cracks appearing in the pillars that supported the dome, which recent works had strengthened to remove any possible danger.[35] The engineer's optimism masked in fact more serious issues that were highlighted in Hummelberger's own report from 18 December 1747 and in a summary presentation prepared by the Transylvanian Treasury on 28 January 1748. The foreman assigned liability to architect Martinelli, who had apparently miscalculated the weight of the dome and had designed flatter arches, which needed to be corrected during the construction phase. His rhetoric was also heroic, claiming for himself all the merit for the steps taken to redress the situation and giving full assurance that a similar occurrence would never happen again.[36] Dietterich, on the other hand, who had accompanied Zultner in his inspection tour on account of the Treasury, contributed with more disconcerting news. It had not been just some random cracks, but the whole dome risked collapsing due to an earthquake that has hit Transylvania in December 1746, exposing its structural flaws. Urgent measures were needed to make the building safe, and this led to the decision to add the two extra pillars that were to be included into the wall

Notes

35 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 115, fols. 1516r-1517r.

36 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 115, fol. 1519r-v.

separating church goers of both sexes.[37] One final concern regarded the water well, which had been dug too close to the body of the cathedral, leading to infiltrations to its understructure.[38] The envisaged solution, which consisted in decommissioning the spring and creating a canal to take away the surplus water, had not been implemented even two years after its first signalling, as Jakob Zultner admonished in his report of 14 October 1749.[39]

Not least because of this indifference to his previous advice, his overall judgements were voiced on a harsher tone after the second journey to Blaj. Defects were indeed plenty: new cracks had become visible in the cathedral's walls, which were to be blamed on deficiencies in the foundation; the hallways had been paved with ordinary bricks that would deteriorate rapidly; the tiles used to roof the northern wing were also of the lowest quality.[40] Zultner's remarks were sadly correct. Over the following decades, the Greek Catholic bishops were to petition the Court repeatedly for funds to repair the ruined parts of their residence, monastery, and seminary.[41]

Despite all these drawbacks, the building was considered completed sometime in the first half of 1751. Money were last paid to the masons from March till June of that year, in addition to various other arrears inscribed in a financial discharge.[42] On 13 September 1751, the Transylvanian Treasury compiled its final report on the matter and on the next day the accounting office in Sibiu (Hung. Nagyszeben, Germ. Hermannstadt) produced the list of the total spendings, which amounted to 70,550 Rfl. Architect Johann Baptist Martinelli was liable for exceeding the sum stipulated in the contract with no less than 7,994 Rfl. What was more, this total did not include works not completed, such as the main doors of the cathedral or the two required sewers, or the costs for decorating the church interior.[43]

While overspending was considerable, the final amount was in line with Martinelli's estimates during the negotiations for the signing of the new agreement in 1747. In fact, the project had been plagued by difficulties to keep within the budget from its very inception. The first proposal presented by the Court architect in 1737 placed the costs at 25,000 Rfl. The budget then jumped to close to 40,000 Rfl. in a matter of months,[44] before settling to the 57,000 Rfl. agreed in the first version of the contract. Cash flow appears to have been constant after building work was resumed in 1747, but for the solitary complaint by foreman Albert Matschego in November 1748, showing he had run out of money and had all the workers waiting for their pay before the winter break.[45] By the spring of 1749 it became clear that even the 62,000 Rfl. granted through the new deal that had been reached two years earlier were not going to be enough. The Treasury raised the alarm on 18 April, when it reported there were only 3,000 Rfl. left to be paid, while also forwarding Matschego's appeal for an extra 4,000 Rfl. to be awarded for wrapping up the project.[46] The department tasked with the Transylvanian affairs, which in the meantime had been elevated to the rank of *Hofdeputation*, was not impressed. A short reply on 21 May simply ordered the provincial administration to make sure the money continued to be disbursed on time every month and to remind the site foreman to use the funds appropriately.[47] Two months after, on 18 July, Albert Matschego informed the Treasury that he had just been paid the final instalment of 500 Rfl., which would only allow him to continue building operations for fourteen more days, after clearing arrears.[48] The Transylvanian treasurer notified his superiors of the impasse at the beginning of August and suggested Matschego be awarded an extra 1,000 Rfl. in order not to jeopardize the ongoing works.[49] At that

Notes

37 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 107, fols. 607v-608r.

38 OeStA FFHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 115, fols. 1516v-1517r.

39 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 118, fol. 716v.

40 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 118, fol. 716r-v.

41 Bunea 1902, p. 282-283; Terdik 2014a, p. 154-157.

42 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 115, fols. 1548r-1549r.

43 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 115, fols. 1513r-1515v, 1546r-1547r.

44 Terdik 2014a, p. 142.

45 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 114, fol. 931r-v.

46 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 114, fols. 935r-938v.

47 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 114, fol. 929r-v.

48 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 116, fol. 2132r-v.

49 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 116, fols. 2143r-2146r.

point, Johann Baptist Martinelli had already come up with a written exculpation for the soaring costs. Dated sometime before 28 June, his letter placed all the blame on the late foreman, Joseph Hummelberger, who had deceived him by miscalculating the price of materials that were required to finish the job in Blaj.[50] At long last, the *Hofdeputation* made a motion on 13 August that the financing should continue at a rate of 500 Rfl. per month until the completion of the construction works.[51] Empress Maria Theresa approved of the proposal and parallel orders were dispatched to the *Hofkammer* and the Transylvanian Treasury on 21 August 1749.[52]

Since taking over the reins of the estate of Blaj, accountability for the payments made on the building site became a constant concern of the fiscal authorities. Expenditures from the late 1730s and early 1740s were checked once more against the relative receipts in possession of the foreman.[53] One of the major contractors, the stonemason Wenzel Orsenik, had to submit himself to a full review by the Treasury in August 1747. This established that he was behind schedule with the delivery of some of the stonework he had already received money for.[54] A parallel reading of this detailed analysis with that of the preliminary estimate presented by Martinelli in 1738 does not reveal major discrepancies but may give clues to why the budget was exceeded. Keeping to a fair comparison between similar objects greatly restricts the list to the more obvious among them. Thus, the initial quote had set the price of ground floor window frames at 6 Rfl. each and that of the more decorated first floor window frames at 10.5 Rfl. each.[55] Meanwhile, Orsenik had charged 6 Rfl. for those on the ground floor, 9 Rfl. for the more common and 12 Rfl. for the better decorated window frame units at the first floor.[56] Likewise, he billed a little less than the estimated 6 Rfl. for each step of the staircase in the bishop's residence but compensated by adding something over the 3 Rfl. stipulated for the steps of the staircase in the monastery.[57] The real difference came from the four doors, initially valued at 7 Rfl. a piece, which ended up costing almost triple that with Orsenik, namely 20.5 Rfl.[58]

Inflation might have also affected a project that developed over a decade, yet certainly it was not the main factor at play. Architect Martinelli complained especially of the rising purchase price for lime, which he estimated at close to 1.7 Rfl. a barrel in 1738 but had to pay it 1.5 Rfl. higher on average. It accounted for nearly half of the total compensations he tried to obtain from the *Hofkammer* during talks for the signing of the new contract.[59] In the final settlement at the site's closure in 1751, the barrel of lime was still charged at 3 Rfl. including delivery fees. The same document, though, put the bricks at a much lower expense rate: 2.5 Rfl. for the thousand instead of the 3.5 Rfl. in the initial calculations.[60]

For the most part, estimate errors might have been derived from the higher workmanship costs incurred in Transylvania compared to Vienna. Foreman Hummelberger noted in disbelief in a report in August 1747 that a stonemason from Alba Iulia he had approached for a quotation on the church paving had asked for 18 kreuzer for the square foot, while in the capital, for a stone of better quality, the price would have been only 16 kreuzer. In similar fashion, he had negotiated with the glass masters from Vinţu de Jos (Hung. Alvinc; Germ. Unterwinz) for the fabrication of the windowpanes and associated latticework; they claimed a unit price that was 7 kreuzer higher than the one in Vienna.[61] Ultimately, keeping within the project's limits both financially and technically proved an impossible task. Transylvania was a far distant country for a mostly absent architect. While Johann Baptist Martinelli authored the design of the cathedral in Blaj and of the surrounding complex, it was nevertheless the people on the ground who contributed the most to its achievement.

Notes

50 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 115, fols. 1502r-1503r.

51 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 115, fols. 1490r-v, 1493r-v, 1498r-1499v.

52 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 115, fols. 1484r-1485v and 1488r-1489v.

53 Terdik 2014a, p. 151, note 75.

54 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 115, fols. 1539r-1542v.

55 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 80, fol. 435v.

56 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 115, fol. 1539r.

57 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 80, fol. 435v; OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 115, fol. 1539v.

58 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 80, fol. 435v; OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 115, fol. 1539v.

59 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 110, fol. 534r.

60 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 80, fol. 434r–v; OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 115, fol. 1548v.

61 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 115, fols. 1523r-1524r.



Many of them remain anonymous and for a select few we have nothing besides a name. The best known among them are the two foremen who acted for Martinelli in charge of the building site. The mason Joseph Hummelberger was undoubtedly a close collaborator of the Court architect to be entrusted with such a delicate task. He came from Vienna from the very inception of the works, in 1738, and spent close to a decade in Blaj. At his death, he was survived by three young children and a wife, Barbara, who in February 1748 petitioned the Empress for the inheritance of her late husband.[62] His successor on the job, Albert Matschego, was presumably also an Austrian brought in by Martinelli, when he made his trip to Blaj in April 1748 for the liquidation of Hummelberger's affairs.[63] He received a wage of 1 Rfl. per day through the end of June 1751, when he is said to have departed back to Vienna.[64] His expertise was widely acknowledged, as proven by the call in 1750 to give an opinion on the reconstruction of the sanctuary of the Roman Catholic cathedral in Alba Iulia.[65] The third person involved at the top of the building operations and the only Transylvanian to have had direct influence over these was Captain Jakob Zultner. Born in Brașov (Hung. Brassó; Germ. Kronstadt) at the end of the 17th century, he joined the imperial army as a military engineer and was involved in map-making and border demarcation, before his appointment to the post of director of the fortress in Alba Iulia.[66] The two inspections he carried to the site in 1747 and 1749 did not produce just bureaucratic paperwork, but also led to the correction of errors in the original plans, as earlier suggested.

While the laborers were certainly recruited locally, the geography of masters and contractors appears to have been much wider. Unfortunately, the work diary that had been kept by foreman Hummelberger up to his death, containing the registry of the employment contracts and bills, was taken by architect Martinelli, and is now lost.[67] Thus, we have no clue on the identity of those masons from Vienna who had accompanied the foreman in the summer of 1747, on his return to Blaj.[68] In November 1748, his successor, Matschego, bewailed his many responsibilities, which included regularly paying the eighteen masons under his command.[69] Often alluded to in the preserved documents, the stonemason Wenzel Orsenik seems to have been one of those foreigners. The accounts prove he had worked on the cathedral since at least 1739, for in the month of October he had already cashed a significant payment of almost 825 Rfl.[70] By undercutting the master in Alba Iulia, Novack, he later managed to get hold of the contract for providing the necessary stone for the floor paving of the church. As Hummelberger announced the outcome of negotiations in August 1747, he described Orsenik as one "mason of my men", which might suggest he had been part of a similar team of artisans whom the foreman led to Transylvania on his first arrival there.[71] Despite the financial books showing the locksmith Lorentz Obermayer to have been a constant presence on the building site from 1747 to 1751, they fail to reveal anything else on him.[72] Equally mysterious remains the carpenter Franz Haas, who only appeared on the payroll in 1751.[73] Another long-time collaborator was the glass master Stephan Sill, who was consistently identified as a townsman from Mediaș (Hung. Medgyes; Germ. Mediasch).[74] When talks with the Anabaptist craftsmen in Vințu de Jos for the delivery of the windowpanes failed due to their asking price, it was Sill who took the contract in September 1747, with Hummelberger declaring him a "skilled and learned master."[75] Another – anonymous this time – contractor from Mediaș was a tile maker who was paid an unusually small amount in 1747 compared to all the others, of a little over 20 Rfl.[76]

Fig. 5. The Greek Catholic cathedral in Blaj, iconostasis, detail of the Great Feasts and the Apostles tiers.
Credits: Radu Nedici.

Notes

62 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 111, fol. 645r-v.

63 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 111, fol. 643r–v; OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 115, fol. 1546v. He signed his name "Albert" in what looks like the only original note written in his hand, OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 114, fol. 931r, and this is the name most often given to him in the documents, but he was also styled "Adalbert" in a few places, probably by mistake. Cf. Terdik 2014a, p. 153.

64 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 116, fol. 1548v. Terdik 2014a, p. 153.

65 Terdik 2014a, p. 153.

66 Wurzbach 1891, p. 306-307.

67 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 111, fol. 643r.

68 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 111, fol. 652v.

69 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 114, fol. 931v.

70 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 115, fol. 1541r.

71 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 115, fol. 1525v.

72 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 111, fol. 650v; OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 115, fol. 1548r.

73 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 115, fol. 1548r.

74 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 111, fol. 651r; OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 115, fol. 1548r.

75 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 115, fols. 1521r-v.

76 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 111, fol. 651v.

We can only guess that the most important construction material, the bricks, were produced somewhere nearby, as the fortress of Alba Iulia had its own brickworks in operation until recently. The name of one brickmaker, Kaspar Rothgarber, was recorded during Hummelberger's management,[77] but later paylists were only concerned with the costs and not the people behind them. Back in the second half of 1747, logs had been bought in Alba Iulia, while doors and windows had been delivered from Vienna, but they arrived damaged at destination.[78] Carters had also been paid for transporting sand, most probably procured from the banks of the river Mureș, a couple dozen kilometres away.[79] From the above details, however, a pattern becomes apparent. Given that both foremen used German as their native language, they seemed to favour German-speaking contractors in Transylvania. The only Romanian Greek Catholics indirectly hinted at as being involved in some form in the ongoing works at the cathedral and monastery were the serf inhabitants of Spătac (Hung. Szászpatak; Germ. Sachsenbach) and Veza (Hung. Véza), who had received 21 Rfl. in advance for carting lime and wood.[80]

The Byzantine Tradition: Carving and Painting

It is in this wider frame that we must place the surprising lack of concern for what made the distinctiveness of a Greek Catholic church. From the earliest plans drawn by Court architect Martinelli in 1737 until it neared completion ten years later, no one seems to have worried about turning the bare walls of the cathedral into a sacred space that was suitable for the Greek-rite functions. The only mentions are to be found in the contract concluded with the Court architect on 30 March 1738, which placed the responsibility on the bishop for endowing the church with the bells, altar, iron grills, main gates, clock, and furniture.[81] Yet, for reasons of political opportunity, Ioan Inocențiu Klein was to try and use the funding for the cathedral to push the Habsburgs into acquiescing to his demands in favour of the Romanian elites, which led him to suspend all investments.[82] The internal decorations and furnishings re-emerged on the agenda almost as an afterthought in the late 1740s, imposing further financial burdens to an already stretched budget.

It was during the January 1747 talks with Johann Baptist Martinelli on the revised version of his contract that the *Hofkommission* advanced requests for the inclusion in the new deal of several previously omitted elements. One of these was a so-called *hölzerne Separations-Gätter*,[83] which future documents failed to qualify in more detail. Unmistakably though, the label was used in reference to the iconostasis; firstly, because when the latter began to be called under a less equivocal name, with the German *Hoch-Altar* corresponding to the Latin *Ara maior* or *frontispicium Altaris*, it would still be framed conjunctively with the other two items in the series, namely the windows' latticework and the stone paving of the church; and secondly, because Captain Zultner's idea of erecting a similarly termed wooden wall between the narthex and the nave came many months after and showed no sign of overlapping with what had already been put forward. How exactly did the *Hofkommission* imagined such an iconostasis taking shape and how Martinelli could have accomplished the task which he initially agreed to is less clear. However, the failure to reach consensus on the financial reward for the additional jobs postponed the decision and transferred the whole issue to Transylvania, thus inviting the intervention of Vicar General Petru Pavel Aron.

Notes

77 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 111, fol. 650v.

78 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 111, fol. 652r.

79 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 111, fol. 652r.

80 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 111, fol. 652r. For the demographic and confessional figures, see Miskolczy, Varga 2013, DVD, 3 rész, Helységnévtár. Mutatók az 1. és 2. részhez, Alapmutató_02_Fehér, p. 2-3.

81 Terdik 2014a, Annex 3.1, p. 273-274.

82 Bunea 1900, p. 20-24.

83 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 110, fol. 519v.

The events precipitated once foreman Hummelberger got back to Transylvania and operations on the building site were resumed. His comments in September 1747 on the arrangements he had negotiated with the glass master from Mediaș also alluded in a paragraph to the discussions that had been initiated by the Vicar General with an unnamed painter for decorating the church.[84] With a delay of a few months, the Transylvanian Treasury confirmed in its survey of the building site on 28 January 1748 that Vicar General Aron had been busy collecting information on the costs of the iconostasis and of the painting, to be realized in accordance with the customs of the Romanian people.[85] The call to pursue both objectives had been Petru Pavel Aron's, as he explained it in a letter to the Transylvanian treasurer on 12 January. Despite the initial instruction that he should only recommend solutions for the two wood wall panels that were to isolate the nave from the altar and the narthex, he felt impelled to stress the significance of having the entire church interior embellished with paintings. This was the dominant model of the Greek-rite sacred space, he argued, and a sure way to induce piety among the common faithful. Hence, he beseeched Baron Bornemissza to intercede with Vienna to obtain the necessary funds, which he estimated at between 4 and 5,000 Rfl. At worst, he could do for the moment with just 400 Rfl. for the dome and another 300 Rfl. for the apse of the sanctuary, if money could be arranged for swiftly, to take advantage of the existing scaffolding inside the church.[86]

The Vicar General returned to the topic a month later with a break down of the costs, after having asked for an expert opinion. His letter of 14 February 1748 suggested the iconostasis, which was the most complex piece to fabricate, for it involved the talent of both carvers and painters, would require 1,200 Rfl. The much simpler woodworking of the wall between the nave and the narthex, together with its painting, would add another 400 Rfl. The frescoes of the dome would take 450 Rfl., that of the sanctuary 600 Rfl. (double of the initial estimate), while for the remaining of the nave the fee amounted to 1,300 Rfl. Another 900 Rfl. were required for the gilding of the painted surfaces. All in all, Vicar Aron was adamant that the expenditure was unavoidable, as the Greek-rite service could not do without an adorned church.[87] The total figure he gave here – 4,850 Rfl. – had already been quoted by Augustin Bunea at the turn of the 20th century. He stated that the sum had been paid in full by the Treasury for the church painting, leading historians to speculate on what it actually covered.[88] However, it can now be asserted that this was just an assessment of the costs, of which only about two thirds would have gone to the painter, had the whole project been approved.

The Transylvanian Treasury forwarded Aron's request to the Court on 5 March 1748, but advised for a cautious approach to its funding. While the iconostasis and the wooden wall at the opposite side of the nave had been stipulated for a while among the undertakings for the new cathedral, painting had never been discussed previously. In line with Petru Pavel Aron's earlier submission, the Treasury thus proposed that for the moment only the money needed for the dome fresco be raised, with the rest put on hold.[89] The *Hofdeputation* took up the suggestion after renewed calculations had shown that adding together all the pieces still under consideration would increase the total spending with almost 6,000 Rfl. Consequently, on 7 April 1748, the Empress was motioned to agree to a fraction of this amount, which comprised of 400 Rfl. for the wrought iron lattices, 744 Rfl. for the stone paving of the church, and 450 Rfl. for the painting of the dome. The sum was to be financed through a loan on the seized revenues of the exiled bishop, to ensure quick access

Notes

84 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 115, fol. 1522r.

85 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 107, fols. 612v-613r.

86 Terdik 2014a, Annex 3.2, p. 274.

87 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 110, fol. 516r and Appendix II.

88 Bunea 1900, p. 25; Dumitran, Cucui, Pop, Mihu 2010, p. 52-53.

89 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 110, fols. 513r-514v, 518r.

Fig. 6. The Greek Catholic cathedral in Blaj, iconostasis.
Credits: Radu Nedici.

to liquidities in order to take advantage of the scaffolds already in place.[90] Maria Theresa gave her approval on the document and a royal decree was sent to the Transylvanian authorities later that month.[91]

The urgency induced by the presence of the scaffolding at no extra cost, which had been offered as an argument ever since the Vicar General's remarks in January 1748, meant he had to hire for the job a painter of certain fame, but also one who was readily available. Iacov from Răşinari qualified on both accounts, as he had been showing impressive skills in his recent work, had been living a short distance away from Blaj for some time already, was free from any major commitments, and, not least, had made the acquaintance of influential patrons at the top of the Greek Catholic Church.[92] Whether or not he was the first choice is impossible to ascertain. There was no single name mentioned in any of Aron's reports and the difference between the initial estimate in January and the detailed quotation in February might imply he had been talking to more than one painter. Regardless of potential competitors, Iacov from Răşinari probably had his workshop set up in the cathedral right after money had been awarded from Vienna in 1748, to be able to sign off the fresco with a sense of pride the next year, thus disclosing for once his identity.

Previous scholarship has already noted that the task ahead of the painter must have been intimidating. The cathedral's dome was not only the largest structure of its type ever commissioned to an artist in a Romanian church, but the presence of a lantern also meant that he had to innovate with respect to the customary iconography, since he could no longer represent the figure of Christ centrally.[93] The eventual solution still stands before anyone's eyes, some twenty meters above ground: Iacov from Răşinari segmented the dome into four registers, the main one showing Jesus Christ flanked by eight symmetrical portraits of canonized popes from the first millennium, seven of them bishops of Rome and one of Alexandria. The visual discourse, weakened by the small size of the images themselves and by the option to eschew the symbolic link that was Saint Peter, ought to induce the viewer to consider the orthodoxy of the Petrine See, which over the following decades would become a trademark of Greek Catholic polemical literature.[94]

While it is unlikely that the artist had been given a free hand at the concept design stage, the result, which was to push a 19th-century commentator to mark him as a primitive painter,[95] probably raised a few eyebrows in its era too. The site of the cathedral in Blaj should have established Iacov's reputation and placed him way ahead of the other icon painters in Transylvania. Instead, the years following 1749 saw a gap in his artistic biography, as he withdrew to a perhaps tranquil family life in a modest rural community.[96] Whatever the reasons, he left Blaj at odds with Vicar General Aron, who was never to employ his services again, not even for the painting of the Greek Catholic church in his native Răşinari.[97]

The rupture was already evident in the first months of 1749, when Petru Pavel Aron was actively looking for another artist to replace Iacov and provide the decorations for the iconostasis and the remainder of the church. On 30 April he informed the Treasury of his recent meeting with the well-known painter Grigore, whom he invited for talks at the border post between Transylvania and Oltenia at Turnu Roşu (Hung. Vörösto-rony; Germ. Rothenturm).[98] Without a doubt, the one whom Aron had approached was Grigore Ranite, one of the most gifted painters of his generation, recommended among others by the icons he had produced a decade earlier for the episcopal chapel in Blaj.[99] The aim was to get an estimate on how much he would charge for painting the future iconos-

Notes

90 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 110, fols. 550r-552r. The monarch's *Placet*, *ibidem*, fol. 552r.

91 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 110, fol. 462r-v.

92 Dumitran, Cucui, Pop, Mihu 2010, p. 38-39, 51, 56-57.

93 Dumitran, Cucui, Pop, Mihu 2010, p. 53-54.

94 Nedici 2013, p. 370-371.

95 Grama 1885, p. 350.

96 Dumitran, Cucui, Pop, Mihu 2010, p. 56, 58.

97 Dumitran, Cucui, Pop, Mihu 2010, p. 23-24.

98 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 114, fols. 941r, 942r and Appendix IV. Although the document acknowledges the Treasury as the initiator of the talks, its role did not go beyond that of sending out the official invitation to Grigore Ranite. His presence at the Habsburg border point ought to have a solid ground. Besides, at only a decade away from surrendering Oltenia, the Treasury's local contacts probably turned useful at tracing down the Wallachian painter. Worth noting is also the unfolding of this meeting, for Aron mentions they both stuck to the rules in place for the cordon sanitaire, likely shouting at each other from a distance.

99 Porumb 2003, p. 55-58; Dumitran 2010, p. 83-98.



tasis of the cathedral, yet Aron went once again a step further and asked for a complete quotation for the entire church, meaning he had not given up on hopes to persuade the Court to fund his plans. The sums were not far off from those indicated the previous year, but with 2,250 Rfl. for the sanctuary, nave, and narthex alone, they were to remain an impossible target.[100] At the same time, the 916 Rfl. requested just for painting the iconostasis was a substantial increase on the earlier amounts, due perhaps to Grigore Ranite being presented with a more accurate image of the task awaiting him. While for the time being the overture led to nothing, Ranite would eventually get the chance to place some of his work on the iconostasis in the Blaj cathedral in the mid-1760s, complementing the sovereign tier that was accomplished by Stefan Tenetskii (Rom. Ștefan Tenețchi; Serb. Стефан Тенецки).[101]

Since the early estimates had shown it involved a substantial contribution, a decision on the iconostasis was temporized by Habsburg officials, in spite of the subject having initially been among the priorities of the renewed deal with architect Martinelli. In April 1748 the *Hofdeputation* pushed aside any discussion about the iconostasis and picked for financing the least costly element from the price catalogue submitted by Vicar Aron. It equally turned a deaf ear to his report in September, announcing he had found a master ready to take on the wood carving. The requested fee amounted to 1,600 Rfl., but Petru Pavel Aron thought money could be raised from the fines imposed on Orthodox dissenters and the taxes levied on the returning serfs on the estate of Blaj.[102] Tellingly,

Notes

100 In this sense, the Transylvanian treasurer gave once more a negative opinion, OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., fols. 940r-v, 944r-945v.

101 Dumitran 2011b, p. 69-78.

102 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 112, fol. 1488r-v and Appendix III.

Fig. 7. The Greek Catholic cathedral in Blaj, iconostasis, detail of the carving of the Sovereign tier around the royal doors.
Credits: Radu Nedici.

the Transylvanian treasurer, Baron Bornemissza, withheld from even forwarding the demand and noted on the back of the letter that Aron should promote it himself through the Romanian envoys at Court.[103] When it was finally presented with the plan, on 9 November 1748, the *Hofdeputation* instructed the Treasury to find out whether the figure also comprised the painting for the iconostasis and, in the meantime, to desist from concluding any contract.[104] The insightful knowledge about the conventions of the Greek rite exhibited once more by whoever advised the Court ministers on the matter deserves special mention. Afterall, it had been the *Hofkommission / Hofdeputation* that had put the question of the iconostasis on the agenda and its members continued to show great awareness of what it should look like once in place.

It was not until the following spring that the Vicar General returned to the topic, as he gathered information on both the carving and the painting. The already quoted letter of 30 April 1749 contained alongside Grigore Ranite's estimates those of the sculptor, who had asked for 900 Rfl. for carving the iconostasis if he was to work with his own wood or 700 Rfl. without the wood, plus victuals.[105] The *Hofdeputation* responded on 21 May by further procrastinating, this time asking the provincial treasurer to come up with a plan for the proposed iconostasis and a precise schedule of its realization.[106] At the end of July, Vicar General Aron was able to submit a sketch of the wood panel by the sculptor himself, which unfortunately has not been preserved together with the rest of the papers. These included a detailed description of the necessary materials and a recap of his claims, totalling 700 Rfl. for workmanship and various quantities of wheat, wine, and a couple of pigs.[107] Simultaneously, he also drafted a text for the agreement to be signed between the artist and the Treasury, with a schedule that indicated its implementation from the end of October.[108] This time around, Baron Bornemissza expressed his approval of the proposal, reassuring his superiors that the sculptor would start the work right away after this deal was confirmed.[109] It would take another intervention from the Transylvanian Treasury in mid-November to remind the ministers in Vienna to come to a decision.[110] Finally, in the early days of December 1749, the *Hofdeputation* voted in favour of the project, considering it not too expensive at 800 Rfl., particularly since it served a religious purpose and the glory of God.[111] Empress Maria Theresa gave her approval on the meeting's minute and an order was issued to the Treasury on 11 December to advance the necessary funds.[112] A day after receiving the news, on 22 December, Baron Bornemissza informed the Greek Catholic Vicar General of the successful outcome and enjoined him to prepare the documents for the contract signing.[113]

To enter the legally binding agreement at last was Konstantinos Thaliodoros, a Greek sculptor, as signified by his name, previously known with certainty only for undertaking the carving of the iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Máriapócs. He completed that work between December 1748 and August 1749. Among the scarce details that have survived from that period is the sobriquet which identified him as originating from Constantinople.[114] The long bureaucratic process that preceded his eventual arrival to Transylvania, which delayed Konstantinos' engagement for over a year, has also increased the paperwork of which he was the subject, filling in some of the particulars of his recent existence.

Konstantinos Thaliodoros' name first appeared in the correspondence of Vicar General Aron with the Transylvanian treasurer in September 1748. Following some earlier contacts, Petru Pavel Aron had asked for precise details on the sculptor's craftsmanship from his then current em-

Notes

103 *Ibidem.*

104 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 112, fol. 1487r-v.

105 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 114, fols. 941r, 942r and Appendix IV.

106 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 114, fol. 929r-v.

107 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 116, fols. 2135r, 2136r and Appendix V.

108 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 116, fol. 2139r and Appendix VI.

109 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 116, fol. 2145r–v. It was probably on this occasion that a price value for the victuals was added on a separate sheet in German, calculating them to represent 100 Rfl. on top of the 700 Rfl. that were requested for the carving alone, thus arriving at the 800 Rfl. that future documents would offer.

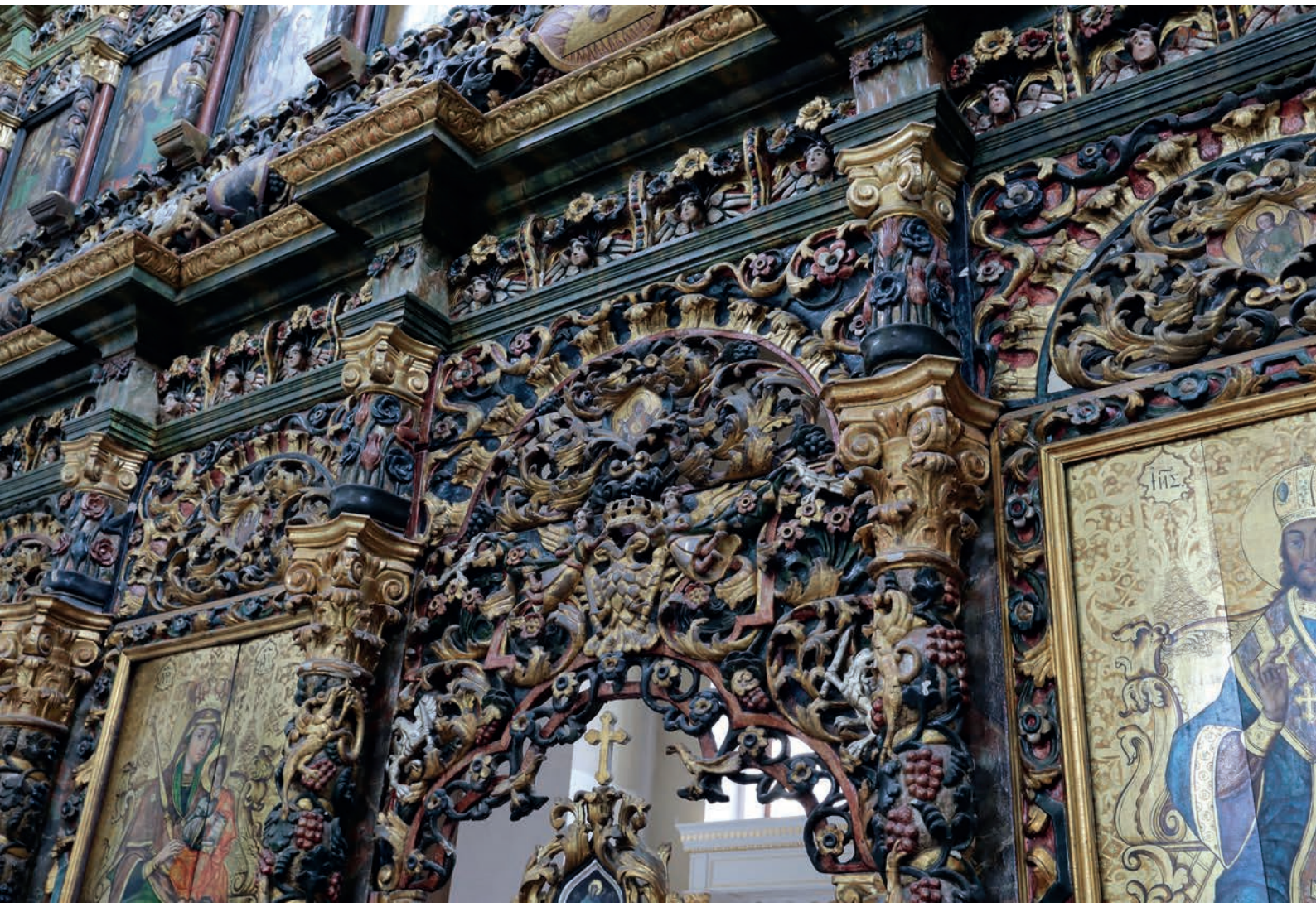
110 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 116, fols. 2147r-v, 2150r and Appendix VIII.

111 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 116, fols. 2130r-2131r.

112 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 116, fol. 2128r-v.

113 Dumitran 2011b, p. 72-73.

114 Terdik 2010, p. 249-250.



ployers, the two Catholic bishops in Oradea. Personal connections with Pál Forgách, the Latin-rite bishop, and Meletie Kovács, his Greek-rite suffragan, well documented for the following years, may have served to introduce him to the sculptor. They responded by praising the latter's talent, which induced the prelate in Blaj to exhort for the intercession of the treasurer so that the cathedral in Blaj did not miss on the unique opportunity to hire such an outstanding artist.[115] The information thus confirms the prior hypothesis that master Konstantinos was also the carver of the wood panel screening the altar initially placed in the Greek Catholic church of Oradea and later transferred to a nearby rural parish.[116] That being said, the letter reshuffles the supposed chronology of his activity in Hungary, by designating Oradea as the first of the three major Greek Catholic centres where Konstantinos Thaliodoros exercised his trade. At the beginning of autumn 1748 he had already finished woodcarving the iconostasis there. Judging by the time it took him to complete a similar job in Máriapócs – about eight months[117] –, it means he must have been present in Oradea by January or February at the latest.

How he got there is a question with no easy answer for the moment. An itinerant sculptor of his value travelled widely in search of employment through the Byzantine Orthodox communities in Ottoman and Habsburg Europe. The Greek diaspora and merchant networks that linked the two empires might indeed have been a factor in his relocation to Hungary.[118] However, a significant detail emerges from the records

Notes

115 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 112, fol. 1488r-v and Appendix III.

116 Terdik 2014b, p. 485.

117 Terdik 2010, p. 249.

118 Terdik 2010, p. 250.



Fig. 8. The Greek Catholic cathedral in Blaj, iconostasis, the royal doors, detail of the hinges.
Credits: Radu Nedici.



Fig. 9. The Greek Catholic cathedral in Blaj, iconostasis, the royal doors, view from the altar.
Credits: Radu Nedici.

created after his arrival in Blaj, which places him much closer to the borders of the Monarchy than originally thought. Still with no contract in hand at the end of November 1749, Konstantinos apparently threatened to leave the cathedral's site if his legal situation was not clarified. While his demand kept to the general terms,[119] the Transylvanian treasurer took upon himself to explain to the cabinet ministers in Vienna that the master woodcarver had begun to lose his patience. Since there was nothing to hold him in Blaj, he could easily walk away and turn to his wife and children in Wallachia, from where he first came.[120] If real, this allusion would imply that Konstantinos Thaliodoros was truly a mature and experienced artist, but also one who had been settled for long enough in the Danubian Principality to have brought his family there. It entails the need for art historians to look more closely at suggestions that he had produced iconostases for churches in Wallachia, both before and after his travels to Hungary and Transylvania.[121]

During the late 1740s Konstantinos was highly successful in getting important jobs in all three Greek Catholic eparchies in the Carpathian

Notes

119 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 116, fol. 2148r and Appendix VII.

120 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 116, fols. 2147v, 2150r and Appendix VIII.

121 Terdik 2010, p. 254.

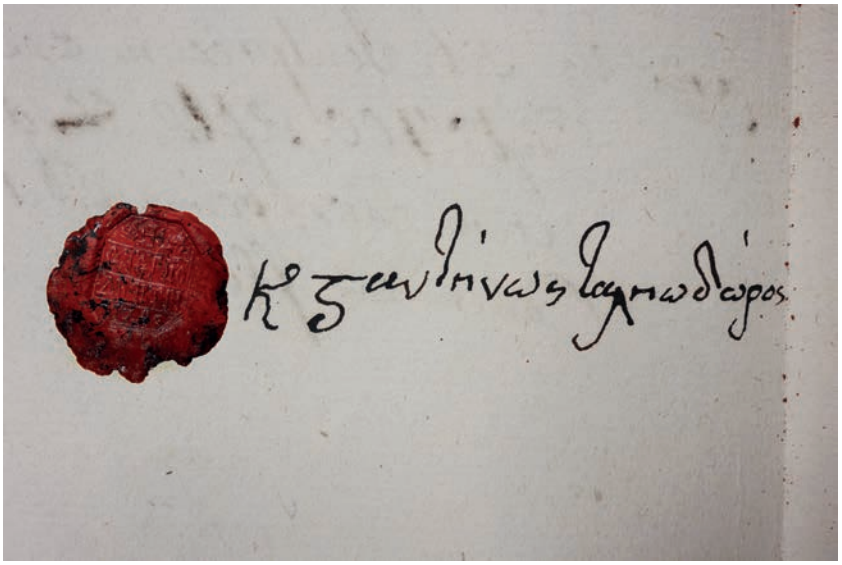


Fig. 10. Wax seal and autograph signature by Konstantinos Thaliodoros on the contract for the carving of the iconostasis of the Greek Catholic cathedral in Blaj, 14 January 1750.
Source: OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 117, fol. 379v.

Basin. Whereas no offer materialized from Transylvania until the end of 1748, he was approached in the meantime with a proposal by the Greek Catholic bishop of Mukachevo (Ukr. Мукачево; Hung. Munkács; Rom. Muncaci) and signed a deal for the iconostasis in Máriapócs. The few surviving clues attest to the continuation of discussions between Petru Pavel Aron and the Greek sculptor throughout his stay in northern Hungary. He thus forwarded the previously cited list of his financial demands in April 1749 and probably agreed to the contract presented to him at the end of July. After receiving the final rate of his retribution in Máriapócs a month later, Konstantinos Thaliodoros transferred to Blaj. Lured with a higher earning than what he had been paid in Máriapócs (and probably Oradea) and with a stable engagement for many months ahead, he awaited patiently for his contract to be settled, accepting only room and board for the while.[122] He kept himself busy by overseeing the cutting down of the trees that were to provide him with the right material to work with, as testified by his supplication in November asking for money to extinguish the debts thus created, in addition to the signing of a firm contract.[123]

This step was finally accomplished on 14 January 1750, when Konstantinos Thaliodoros wrote his name in Greek and placed his seal under those of the officials of the Transylvanian Treasury to ratify the negotiated agreement (**fig. 10**). According to its text, he assumed the obligation to carve an iconostasis conforming to the drawing presented the past August and be liable for any possible shortcomings. All the wood and the carpenters and masons to help him were in the charge of the Treasury. In exchange for his effort, he was to be paid 700 Rfl., spread between 200 Rfl. upon signing, another 200 Rfl. at Easter, and the remaining 300 Rfl. upon delivery of the finished work. He would also be provided with 10 Rfl. for beef meat, two fattened pigs, 10 barrels of grain, and 60 buckets of Transylvanian wine, beside the free lodging.[124]

The enterprise was the most grandiose of the three he completed during those years and the fee he had been awarded reflected that.[125] Omitted from the final version of the contract was the all-important specification that he had to present an original woodcarving instead of a transposition of his model from Máriapócs.[126] Perhaps the now missing sketch prepared in the summer of 1749 already silenced the existing fears and the inclusion of a reference to that plan was considered enough. The fundamental role of the drawing in ensuring control over the execution made the Transylvanian treasurer demand its restitution from Vienna in

Notes

122 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 116, fol. 2148r (Appendix VII); *ibidem*, 2147v (Appendix VIII).

123 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 116, fol. 2148r and Appendix VII.

124 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 117, fol. 379r-v and Appendix IX.

125 A direct comparison is only possible with the iconostasis in Máriapócs, for which he had agreed on 650 Rfl. plus victuals, but on condition that he provided for materials and workmen himself; see the published text in Terdik 2010, p. 260. Otherwise, the hearsay figures included in some of the records from Transylvania are all over the place: 200 gold coins, the equivalent of 800 Rfl., were indicated in the draft of the contract in July 1749 as the emolument from Máriapócs, while information from Oradea in September 1748 spoke of no less than 1,600 Rfl. received by Konstantinos for his work.

126 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 116, fol. 2139r and Appendix VI.

the letter accompanying the original contract.[127] Even to a modern eye, able to directly confront the iconostasis in Blaj to the other two, the result looks convincing.[128]

No information subsists on when Konstantinos Thaliodoros finished his work. The victuals inscribed in the contract were perfectly in line with what he had asked for in Máriapócs, perhaps indicating he did not expect his job to take much longer than eight months or so, despite the larger size of the iconostasis in Blaj. A similar estimate of seven or eights months was credited in Baron Bornemissza's letter on 15 January 1750 that presumably quoted a direct conversation between himself and the sculptor on the signing of the contract the previous day.[129] Therefore, it is safe to assume that the iconostasis was already in place in the cathedral in Blaj by the end of 1750. A late confirmation was contained in the report by the Transylvanian Treasury at the completion of the whole building in September 1751, when the iconostasis was described as fully established, but still missing its icons and gilding.[130] Matching the evolutions of the churches in Oradea and Máriapócs, the Greek Catholic cathedral in Transylvania would wait for over a decade before this naked framework would acquire its final shape, with the contribution of at least two painters and no chronological certainties.

Conclusions

In a confessional age and at the height of religious troubles in Transylvania, the building site of the Greek Catholic cathedral in Blaj was distinctly pluriconfessional and multiethnic. The technical know-how required at the various levels of such a large enterprise was the preserve of select craftsmen, whose skills mattered so much more than their background. The records point to a predominantly German-speaking and hence Roman Catholic and Lutheran environment at least during the second stage of construction, from 1747 to 1751. Both foremen and many of the contractors and artisans whose names have been transmitted down to us came either from the Austrian lands or from the Saxon cities in Transylvania. The Greek Catholic Romanian beneficiaries contributed little during the whole time. Even financially, the pledge by the clergy to cover close to half of the initial budget failed to materialize and the works were largely paid for by the Habsburg state. The soaring costs, together with the urgency of delivering the building imposed a downgrade in terms of the fine details and furnishings that was to affect it over the long term. Nowhere was the compromise more visible than in the choices for the internal space. Only partly decorated, the cathedral in Blaj nevertheless acquired a Byzantine shape owing to Vicar General Petru Pavel Aron's relentless efforts at convincing Vienna to subsidize the carving of the iconostasis and the painting of the dome. While not part of the decision making, he was also responsible for selecting and negotiating with the artists who were eventually commissioned, Konstantinos Thaliodoros and Iacov from Răşinari, both linked to the Orthodox milieus in Wallachia and in southern Transylvania. In a time of intense theological polemics, their presence in Blaj testifies to the special status of the artist and to the collaborative trans-cultural spirit that ruled over the cathedral town for more than a decade in the middle of the 18th century.

Notes

127 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 117, fol. 383r-v.

128 Terdik 2014a, p. 171.

129 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 117, fol. 382v.

130 OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 115, fol. 1515r.

Appendix

I. Vienna, 8 April 1747. Contract between the *Hofkommission in Transylvanicis, Banaticis et Illyricis* and Court Architect Johann Baptist Martinelli for the continuation of works on the Greek Catholic cathedral in Blaj, the adjoining monastery, and episcopal residence. Martinelli undertook to ensure the execution of the project according to the terms of the initial contract that had been signed in 1738, while the *Hofkommission* agreed to pay another 16,000 Rfl. on top of the 46,556 Rfl. already spent.

Original. Two paper seals and one round seal in red wax: (1) Showing the coat of arms of the Kolowrat family; (2) Showing the coat of arms of the Schmidlin family; (3) A crowned shield surrounded by laurel wreaths with a rampant lion and hare (?) supporting a tree and the letters I. B. (?) M. beneath. Chancerry note on the verso of the last leaf in the bundle: *N[umer]o 1629. Contract mit dem Hof-Baumaister Johann Martinelli, wegen forthführ- und völliger zu standbringung des für die Wallach[isch-]Unirte Geistliche gewidmeten Stüfft-Gebäues zu Ballasfalva in Sibenbürgen.*[1] *Wienn, den 8t[en] Aprilis 1747.*

OeStA FHKA, SUS, KuR, C-1629.

/p. 1[2]*/* Zuvernemen einen verbindlichen Contract, so anheunt zu End gesezten dato, zwischen der in Transylvanicis angeordneten Kay[serlich-] Königl[ichen] Hof-Commission Eines, dan dem alhiesigen Hof-Baumaister, Johann Martinelli, Anderten Teils, wegen fortführung, und völliger zustand bringung des, für die Wallachisch-Unirte geistlichkeit gewidmeten Stüfft-gebäudes zu Ballasfalva in Sibenbürgen, errichtet und, wie folget, geschlossen worden ist, und zwar:

Erstens. Solle es bey dem, zwischen der Kay[serlichen] Hof-Cammer und ernannten Hof-Baumaister Martinelli wegen ob-ernanten Ballasfalver Stüfft-gebäudes, den 30$^{t[e]n}$ Martÿ [1]738. geschlossenen Contract, ausser, was in hierunten folgenden puncten neüerdings ausbedungen ist, verbleiben, und beeder seits erfüllet werden.

Andertens. Verbindet sich ernannter Martinelli zu deme, was bishero, an ermeldten gebäude noch zu Bauen ist, in dem bevorstehenden frühe-Jahr so bald die, zum Bau bequeme zeit heran */p. 2/* kommet, den anfang zumachen, und derowegen gleich nach geschlossenen disen Contract, seinen Pollier Hummelberger, als welcher bey führung erwehnten gebäudes, vorhin bestellet gewesen ist, von hier, nacher Sibenbürgen abzugschicken, um damit wegen Beybringung deren Bau-Materialien, und Handwerks-Leüthen, auf das zeitlichste vorsehung gethan, und alles auf das beste beförderet werde.

Drittens. Solle er Martinelli das völlige gebäu, nach dem verfaßten grund- und Profil-Rissen, in all- und jeden, solcher gestalten verfertigen, wie es in vor angezogenen Contract vom 30$^{t[e]n}$ Martÿ [1]738. vorgesehen ist, in dessen folge er alle zugehörungen selbst beyzuschaffen, auf sich nihmet. Worvon jedoch ausgenohmen werden, die gestrickte Eyserne fenster, Gätter der Kirchen, dan das Hölzerne Separations-Gätter in derselben, und das, von Harten Steinen angetragene Pflaster der Kirchen, als welche drey stuck, in dem vorigen Contract nicht einbedungen waren, und man dahero solche */p. 3/* durch anderweitige Bestreittung, beyschaffen Lasßen wirdet.

Viertens. Obligiret sich ernannter Hof-Baumaister, das Contrahirte sammentliche gebäu, nicht darvon ausgenohmen, inner frist von zweyen, oder längstens dritthalb Jahren, vollkommentlich, und ohnmangelbar herzustellen, und alles auf das beste zubefördern, auch zu dem Ende er selbsten, wo nicht heüer, doch gewiß, in dem künfftig folgenden [1]748ten-

Notes

1 In the original: *Sibenbirgen.*

2 Pagination does not belong to the original but has been introduced for ease of orientation.


Архидіяконъ
Стефанъ

Jahr, nacher Sibenbürgen abgehen werde. Um damit aber das gebäu desto gewisser, in denen aus bedungenen zwey, oder längstens dritthalb Jahren, völlig zu stand komme, auch jenes, was am allernöthigsten ist, vor erst gebäuet werde. So ist,

Fünfftens. Verabredet worden, daß er Martinelli anheüer, vor allen, die Kirchen, und jenen Tractum, wo die Callugier, oder die unirte geistliche, zu wohnen haben, als an welchen beeden gebäuden ohne dis nur ein geringes, seiner anzeige nach, ermanglet, in fertigen stand bringen, dan nebst deme, den */p. 4/* anderen Tractum, welcher zur Bischöfflichen Residenz angetragen ist (zumahlen an disem, da er nur, bis auf den Cordon, oder den oberen Stock aufgeführet ist, und die gemäuer schon einige Jahr ohne bedachung stehen, den besorgenden grösseren Schaden abzuwenden erforderlich ist), eben anheüer völlig ausbauen, zugleich aber bestens trachten solle, damit nebst obermeldten, auch der leztere Tractus, wohin derer Callugiern Refectorium, Musæa, Bibliothec, und dergleichen, angetragen seynd, anheüer noch, wenigst aus denen fundamenten, heraus gebracht werde, folglich in der übrigen obgesezten zeit, das ganze gebäu desto sicherer vollends zu stand komme. Endlichen,

Sechstens. Erkläret sich offt ernannter Martinelli, daß er vermög dises neüen Accords, von all-jenen Prætensionen, und Schadens-Ersezungen, welche er, zu folge des vorhin, mit ihme errichteten, mehr angezogenen Contracts vom 30t[e]n Martÿ [1]738. sowohl wegen theüerer bezahlten Kalches */p. 5/* als wegen genachten Reisen und Längerer unterhaltung seines Polliers, dan wegen verfault- oder zu grund gegangenen Dach-Stuhl, und anderer Holz-Sorten, anzuverlangen hätte, gänzlichen abstehe, der gestalten, daß alle forderungen, oder Schadens-Erseznungen de præterito überhaubts, wie sie nahmen haben mögen, aufgehoben seyn sollen.

Dargegen aber, von der, in Transylvanicis angeordnet Kay[serlich-] Königl[ichen] Hof-Commission, ihme Hof-Baumeister Martinelli versicheret wird, daß:

Erstens. Über die, an der A[nn]o [1]738. für herstellungsam[m]entlicher gebäuden contrahirte Summa deren Sieben und Fünffzig Tausend Gulden, nach darauf empfangenen Sechs und Vierzig Tausend Fünff Hundert Sechs und Fünffzig Gulden, annoch restirende Zehen Tausend Vier Hundert Vier und Vierzig Gulden, demselben, zu complanirung seiner obgedachten forderungen, abgeredeter massen, noch Fünff Tausend, Fünff Hundert Sechs und Fünffzig Gulden zugesezet, mithin überhaubts, und in allen Sechzehen Tausend Gulden */p. 6/* gegen Contractmässiger verfertigung obbeschribener sammentlicher gebäuden, richtig, und baar bezahlet werden sollen, dergestalten, daß

Andertens. Ihme Martinelli, in voraus, zur nöthigen anfänglichen herbeyschaffung deren erforderlichen Materialien, und Requisiten, Zwey Tausend Gulden, und zwar Fünff Hundert Gulden, zur Abschickung des Polliers, und anderer Handwerks-Leüthen, hier in Wien. Die übrige Fünffzehen Hundert Gulden aber, dem, nacher Sibenbürgen gehenden Pollier Joseph Humelberger, welchen er, zu Erhebung deren geldern förmlich, und vollkommentlich begwaltiget, bey dessen darinnigen ankunfft, aldort bezahlt, die, über dise, zum voraus geleistete Zahlung annoch gebührende Vierzehen Tausend Gulden, aber, in Monathlichen ratis, mit Fünff Hundert Gulden all-Monathlich, er Martinelli, oder dessen Begwalteter, in Sibenbürgen, gegen ordentliche Quittung[en] zuempfangen haben solle.

Drittens. Ist auf sein, des Martinelli ansuchen */p. 7/* verwilliget worden, die hierob erwehnte in Monathlichen ratis ausbedungene Vierzehen Tausend Gulden, bey dem Kay[serlich-] Königlichen Münz-Amt

Fig. 11. The Greek Catholic cathedral in Blaj, iconostasis, detail of the carving of the sovereign tier around the south door.
Credits: Radu Nedici.



zu Karlsburg, abfolgen zulassen, um, daß desselben, zu dem gebäu nacher Ballasfalva anstellender Pallier, die gelder, von dar näher, dan von Hermanstadt, an sich ziehen könne. Im übrigen,

Viertens. Vorbehalten wirdet, daß, wan sich allenfalls finden solte, daß er Martinelli, oder dessen Begwaltete, auf offtgedachte gebäu, an denen vorhin accordirten Sieben und Fünffzig Taufend Gulden irgendswo, in Baaren, ein mehrers, dan die obermeldte Sechs und Vierzig Tausend Fünff Hundert Sechs und Fünffzig Gulden, empfangen hätte, derselbe den mehreren Empfang von denen aus bedungenen Sechzehen Tausend Gulden, sich abziehen lassen, dahingegen aber er, od[er] dessen begwalte, weniger, als nur gedachte 46556 [Gulden[3]] */p. 8/* empfangen haben solte, ihme das, hieran abgehende, ab Ærario, über die, neuerlich jezo ihme zubezahlen stipulirte 16000 [Gulden] nachgetragen werden müsse. Gleicher massen dann auch,

Fünfftens. Wan er Martinelli, oder dessen Pallier, einige Schulden, auf das gebäu, irgends wo ausständig wäre, dise das Kay[serlich-] Königl[ichen] Ærarium, in nichtens angehen sollen.

Sechstens. Werden alle, nochetwo vorhandene Bau- und Holz-Materialien, darunter auch der Verfault seyn sollende Dach-Stuhl, verstand[en] ist, als welche Materialien, er Hof-Baumaister ohnediß, von dem seinigen angeschaffet hat, demselben beygelassen; dahingegen er, von der Bischöfflichen alten Kapellen, nichtes abrechnen, od[er] für sich, zu nuzen nehmen, sondern dieselbe in unverruckten stand, lassen solle.

/p. 9/ Siebendens. Ist veranlasset worden, in fortführung widerholten gebäudes, zu beyschaffung deren Bau-Materialien, und Handwerks-Leüthen, durch den Kay[serlich-] Königl[ichen] Herrn Thesaurarium in [Sieben]bürg[en],[4] ihme Martinelli thunlichster massen assistiren zulassen. Um damit man aber desto verläßlichere versicherung habe, daß das gebäu, nach denen vorhandenen Rissen, in solchen stand gestellet werde, wie es der erstere Contract de A[nn]o [1]738. ausweiset. So wird,

Achtens. Die disposition geschehen, d[aß] nicht allein jezo, bey ankunfft des Palliers zu Ballasfalva, durch einen, von dem Thesaurariat, dahin sendend[en] Bau-Verständigen, der augenschein genohmen werde, ob das gebäu, in soweit es dermahl stehet, Contractmässig geführet seye? sondern auch aus dieser Ursach bey weiters fortführenden Bau, mit der nachsehung, von zeit, zu zeit, continuiret werden wirdet. Folgsam er Hof-Baumaister, wie es seine verbinduns ohne diß mit sich bringet, dafür zustehen hat, d[aß] das gebäu ohne Mangel, zu stand komme. Endlichen ist,

Neüntens. Sich dahin verstanden worden, d[aß], wan mit denen bedungenen 16000 [Gulden] in obgesezter zeit, wider verhoffen, nicht zugehalten wurde, der hieraus entspringende erweisliche Schaden, nicht ihme Martinelli, sondern dem */p. 10/* Kayserlich-Königlichen Ærario, zufallen solle.

Zu urkund dessen, seynd dises Bau-Contracts, zwey gleichlautende Exemplaria aufgerichtet, von beyderseits gefertiget, und jedem theil eines zugestellet worden. So geschehen Wienn, den Achten Aprilis Anno Siebenzehen Hundert Sieben und Vierzig.

Ferd[inand] L[iber] B[aro] v[on] Kollowrat [manu propria]

L.S.

Franz Frey[herr] Schmidlin [manu propria]

L.S.

Matth[ias] Martin Meüller

L.S.

Johannes Martinelly Key[serlicher] Hoff Bau Meister

Fig. 12. The Greek Catholic cathedral in Blaj, iconostasis, detail of the Great Feasts, the Apostles, and the Prophets tiers.
Credits: Radu Nedici.

Notes

3 In the original: *fl.*

4 In the original: *7bürg.*

II. Sibiu, 14 February 1748. Report by the vicar general of the Greek Catholic Church in Transylvania, Petru Aron, in response to an earlier request by the Transylvanian Treasury, concerning the estimated costs of carving and painting the iconostasis, of erecting a wall separating the narthex from the nave of the cathedral church in Blaj and for decorating the inside walls with frescoes.

Original. Written in the hand of Vicar General Petru Aron and with his autograph signature. Chancery note on fol. 516v: *Præse[ntatæ] 3 Ma[rtÿ] 1748.*

OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 110, fol. 516r.

/fol. 516r/ Excellentissime, ac Ill[ustrissi]mi D[omi]ni Incl[yti]
Thesaurariatus D[omi]ni, D[omi]ni P[atro]ni Gratiosissimi [!]

Sequidem ad postulatum Incl[yti] Thesaurariatus nuper plenariam relationem specificationum picturæ Templi Balasfalvensis exhibere non potuerim, utpote cum nec ipse plenam adhuc informationem habuerim ratione divisionis Sanctuarÿ, seu frontispicÿ Altaris, et separationis partis inferioris Templi sexui fœmino destinatæ.

Idcirco tunc solum pro Cupulæ pictura saltem 400 Rh[enenses] fl[orenos] et pro parte interiori Sanctuarÿ 300 applacidari humillime supplicaveram, cum hæc pictura hic et nunc, ob rationes tunc annexas, magis necessaria videbatur. Nunc aute[m] peracta cum arte peritis calculatione genuinam singularum partium specificationem humillime deferre volui:

	Rh[enenses] flor[enos]
Et quidem pro divisione Sanctuarÿ, seu frontispicio Altaris, cum opus sit pictore, sculptore, et arculario, singulorum opera simul exigit	1200.
Divisio verò totius partis inferioris sexui fœmineo destinatæ cum arte pictoris, et arcularÿ exigit	400.
Cupulæ verò, ejusdemq[ue] lanthernæ pictura exigit	450.
Pictura vero partis interioris Sanctuarÿ juxta calculationem pictoris exigit	600.
Corporis Ecclesiæ vero pictura exigit	1300.
Pro auro autem ad picturam necessario	circiter 900.
Summa	4850.

Atq[ue] hæc est specificatio expensarum necessariæ picturæ juxta calculationem arte pictoru[m] facta, cum autem hujusmodi picturam pro ornamento, et decoro Templi noster Ritus maximè exigat, idcirco etiam penes patrocinium Incl[yti] Thesaurariatus à Clementissimo Cæ[sare]o Regia Piissimi Fundatoris Munificentia applacidandam humillime supplico, ac firmissime sperò, dum sub humillima hujus pii operis, meiq[ue] recomendatione maneo.

Incl[yti] Thesaurariatus
Cibinÿ 14 Febr[uarÿ] [1]748.[5]

humillimus servus et Capellanus
Petrus Aaron [manu propria]

III. [Blaj?], undated [before 24 September 1748]. Vicar General Petru Aron informs the Transylvanian Treasurer on the excellent references he had received from Oradea about the master sculptor who was to take over the carving of the iconostasis of the cathedral in Blaj. The fee that he had been paid for a similar work in Oradea was 1,600 Rfl., which Aron reckoned it could be covered from the fines against religious dissenters, some local revenues, and with the crown's help.

Notes

5 In the original: *478.*

Original. Secretary hand with autograph signature. Address and multiple chancery notes on fol. 1489v: *Ad Excellentissimum, ac Illustrissimum D[omi]num Ignatiu[m] Iosephum Bornemissza L[iber] B[aro] de Kászon, Excelsi Regÿ Gubernÿ status ac ordinum Consiliarium Actualem Intimum, et per Transylvaniam Regium Thesaurarium, ac Supræmum reru[m] Cameraticarum Directorem etc. etc., D[omi] num Patronum Gratiosissimum. / Humillimum Memoriale. / In die 24 [Septembris] 1748. / Placeat R[evere]ndi[ssi]mo D[omi]no G[ene]rali Vicario per suos Deputatos Viennæ existentes hocce petitum ad Augustam Aulam p[ro]movere. Claudiopoli 24 [Septem]bris [1]748. Ig[natius] I[osephus] Bornemissza v[on] Kaszon. / Fiat copia accludenda D[omin]o Thesaur[ari]o. / Facta est.*

OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 112, fol. 1488r-v.

/fol. 1488r/ Excelentissime, ac Illustrissime D[omi]ne Regie Thesaurarie,
D[omi]ne Patrone Gratiosissime!

Vigore nuperni Excell[en]tiæ V[e]stræ mandati scripseram Magno Varadinu[m] ratione Sculptoris, ut cum debito de sua arte, et probitate testimonio, et atestatione Balasfalvam ad perlustrandum futurum opus inde perveniret, simulq[ve] de conventione ageret[ur]; qui etiam venit, et optimum testimoniu[m] suæ artis, et probitatis, tam ab alÿs, qvam vel maxime ab Ill[ustrissi]mo D[omi]no Electo Episcopo Græci Ritus Unitorum Magno Varadinensi, qvi eundem Sculptorem in hac arte una cum Ex[ce]ll[entissi]mo D[omi]no ejusdem loci Latino Episcopo, sum[m]e extollunt, eo qvod ibidem Magno Varadini in neo erecto pro Clero Græci Ritus, munificentia pariter Regia[m], Templo idem Sculptor mirifficu[m] exstruxerit Altare. Eapropter, Excellentissime D[omi]ne, ne nostru[m] qvoq[ve], ex munificencia Regia erectum, Balasfalvense Templum tam necessaria opera destituatur, et tam rarus, ac undiq[ve] laudatus Artifex prætereatur, iterato nomine nostri Templi pro majori futura Dej Gloria, populiq[ve] devotione, ac Religionis zelo, meas preces Excellenciæ Vestræ humillime submitto Gratiosissimum implorans Patrocinium, qvatenus præfatus Sculptor conduci, et opus illud tam necessariam incipi qveat.

Postulabat qvidem idem Sculptor pro perficiendo, et exstruendo illo Altari florenos 1600., sed et fundus fors facile inveniri posset, ex mulctis videlicet de refractarÿs, juxta Decretu[m] Suæ M[ajes]t[a]tis S[acrati] s[si]mæ, desumptis, aut desumendis; item ex redemptione fugitivorum Dominÿ Balasfalvensis subditorum, accedente etiam Cæ[sare]o Regia munificencia, de qva, penes Gratiosum */fol. 1488v/* Excellenciæ V[e]stræ Patrocinium, firmissimam spem habere, qvotidiana nos facit experientia. Qvod Excellenciæ V[e]stræ Gratiosissimum Patrocinium, et ego humillimis mei ad Aram, & nostri præsentes, ac futuri, ad illud erigendum Altare fundendis precibus demereri non intermittemus, dum sub humillima instanciæ, meiq[ve] recomendatione maneo.

Excellenciæ V[e]stræ

humillimus servus et Capellanus
Petrus Aaron [manu propria]

IV. Sibiu, 30 April 1749. Vicar General Petru Aron reports to the Transylvanian Treasury on the negotiations that he had carried on assignment from the Treasury with a painter from Wallachia, Grigore, and with a sculptor from Máriapócs, concerning the costs for decorating the Greek Catholic cathedral in Blaj. He attaches a detailed list of the fees requested by the two artisans for their work and the estimated costs of materials.

Original. Secretary hand with autograph signature. Address on fol. 943v: *Ad Excellentissimum ac Illustrissimos Dominos Inclytum Thesaurariatum, D[omi]nos D[omi]nos Patronos Gratiosissimos.*

OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 114, fols. 941r, 942r.

/fol. 941r/ Excellentissime ac Illustrissimi Domini Inclyt[i] Thesaurariatus, Domini Domini Patroni Gratiosissimi [!]

Percepta cum omni reverentia Inclyt[i] Thesaurariatus intimatione sub 25 currentis emanata, vigore cujus negotium picturæ Ecclesiæ Balasfalvensis cum noto Gregorio Pictore per literas Incl[yti] Thesaurariatus è Valachia ad Rubram Turrim advocato tractandum, & concertandum mihi[6] concreditum fuerat, utq[ve] eatenus expensas pro pictura Altaris majoris, & singillatim etiam pro pictura residui Ecclesiæ corporis necessarias genuinè referrem, & tandem plenariam præprimis intuitu sculpturæ, & picturæ Altaris majoris Inclyt[o] Thesaurariatui, & per ejusdem gratiosum Patrocinium Sacr[atissi]mæ Suæ M[ajes]t[a]ti Cæ[sare]o-Regiæ pro Clementissima, eaq[ve] Unitæ Religioni summè consolatrice Resolutione ulterius promovendam informationem humillimè exhiberem. Subito altera die ad Rubram Turrim ad locum qvarantanæ, ubi mentionatus pictor erat, me contuli, ibidemq[ve] cum eodem præfato Gregorio pictore, servatis de lege servandis ore tenus negotium hoc contuli, concertaviq[ve], à qvo tam oralem, qvam etiam scriptam de singularum partium picturæ expensis genuinam specificationem habens hiscè humillimè subnecto. Et qvoniam etiam à Sculptore ex Maria Poocs pro Ara majori exculpenda & erigenda specificas per literas hisce diebus percepi expensas; ideo tam pictoris, qvam Sculptoris singillatim expensas humillimè his annecto. Residuum est, ut tam causæ hujus pro gloria Dei & incremento Unitæ Religionis summè necessariæ promotionem, qvam me ipsum Gratiæ & Patrocinio Incl[yti] Thesaurariatus humillimè recommendem, & maneam.

Inclyti Thesaurariatus
Cibinÿ 30 Aprilis 1749.

humillimus servus et Capellanus
Petrus Aaron [manu propria]
Vicari[us] G[enera]lis Ap[osto]lic[us]

/fol. 942r/ Specificatio expensarum qvas Sculptor pro sculpenda & erigenda Ara majori Ecclesiæ Balasfalvensis exigit:

	Rh[enenses] flor[enos]
Cum suis lignis aliisq[ve] ad illud opus perficiendum necesarÿs postulat	900.
Pro intertentione verò	
Tritici	Cubulos 12.
Vini	Vas 1.
s[alva] v[enia] Sabelicos ...	2.
Pro re culinaria	flor[enos] 20.
Qvod si ligna, aliaq[ve] ad erectionem Altaris majoris necessaria nos ipsi procuraremus postulat pro sui labore ..... & præspecificata pro victu.	flor[enos] 700.

Specificatio expensarum qvas pictor pro pingendis singulis partibus Eccle[si]æ Balasfalvensis exigit:

	Rh[enenses] flor[enos]
Pro depingendo toto frontispicio Altaris majoris id est etiam ipsa eadem sculptura Altaris a summo usq[ve] infimum cum suis coloribus, auro (qvod hac in parte plurimum intrat) aliisq[ve] suis sumptibus	916.
Pro pictura verò totius partis interioris Sanctuarÿ	flor[enos] 666.
	40. [crucigeros][7]
Pro reliqvo autem toto corpore Eccle[si]æ a summo usq[ve] ad pavimentum, columnis item cæterisq[ve] partibus usq[ve] ad Clausulam, quæ sexum fœmineum dividit	flor[enos] 1133.

Notes

6 Word added at the beginning of the line, outside the normal alignment of the text.

7 In the original: *x*.

Pro ultima verò Eccle[si]æ parte seu qvæ
sexui fœmineo destinata est flor[enos] 250.

V. Gurghiu, 29 July 1749. Vicar General Petru Aron informs the Transylvanian Treasurer about the estimated costs with raw materials and workforce for the iconostasis in the cathedral in Blaj, according to the project presented by the master sculptor. At the same time, he asks that the foreman be ordered to prepare the walls for the setting of the iconostasis.

Original. Written in the hand of Vicar General Petru Aron and with his autograph signature. Chancery note on fol. 2135v: *Pr[æsentat]æ 8 Aug[usti] [1]749.*

OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 116, fols. 2135r, 2136r.

/fol. 2135r/ Excellentissime, et Illustrissime Domine Regie Thesaurarie,
Domine D[omi]ne P[atro]ne Gratiosissime [!]

Iuxta Gratiosissimu[m] Excellentiæ V[estr]æ mandatu[m] non solum delineatione[m] exsculpendi Balasfalvensis Altaris, sed et ipsum Sculptorem Excellentiæ V[estr]æ humillimè præsento; cujus postulata tam circa materialia, quam pretiu[m] laboris his pariter humillime acclusa defero.

Ut autem fabricandum Altare melius columnis lapideis applicari valeat, deberet per Paleriu[m] aliqua justificatio, et rectitudo fieri, prouti etiam Ill[ustrissi]mus D[omi]nus Cameræ Consiliarius vidit, et observavit. Eapropter humillime supplicarem Excellentiæ V[estr]æ, quatenus dignaretur aliquos ordines ad D[ominem] Palleriu[m] gratiose dare, ut hujusmodi aptitudine pro applicando Altari fieri curaret.

In reliquo sub humillima mei recom[m]endatione maneo.

Excellentiæ V[estr]æ

humillimus servus et Capellanus
Petrus Aaron [manu propria]

Görgény 29. Julÿ 1749.

/fol. 2136r/ Postulata Sculptoris pro erectione Altaris
Templi Balasfalvensis
Ex materialibus:

Ligna ex ulmo, et tilia

Frasta majora pro columnis in longitudine 10 spitamarum, in latitudine 11 digitoru[m]	N[ume]ro 10.
Pro aliis columnis longitudine spitamaru[m] sex, crassitudine mediæ secundæ spitamæ	10.
Trabes una longitudine spitamaru[m] 45, crassitudine spitamaru[m] 2	1.
Pro columnis item aliis longis spitamis 10, et crassitudine spit[ama] 1	15.
Item pro aliis columnis longitudine spitamis 10, crassitudine spitama una	2.
Asseres longitudine spitamaru[m] 12, latitudine spit[amarum] 3, crassitudine digitoru[m] 4	30.
Asseres alii longi spitanis 12, lati spitanis 2, crasti digit[is] 3	20.
Asseres item longitudine spitanis 12, lati spitanis media tertia, crasti digitis medio tertio	100.
Asseres alii longi spitamaru[m] 10, lati mediæ tertiæ spitamæ, crasti duoru[m] digitoru[m]	30.

/fol. 2136v/ Pro suo labore postulat:

Pecunia[m] in paratis	Rh[enenses] flor[enos 700.]
Tritici	Metr[etas] 80.[8]
Vini	Urn[as] 64.

Notes

8 Initially written: *10*, later modified by the same hand.



▲ Fig. 13. The Greek Catholic cathedral in Blaj, iconostasis, angels holding a crown over the image of Saint Theodore Stratelates.
Credits: Radu Nedici.

s[alva] v[enia] Sabelicos[9] ..... 2.
Pro carne, et leguminibus ..... Rh[enenses] f[lorenos] 10.

VI. Gurghiu, 30 July 1749. Proposed agreement with the master sculptor Konstantinos Thaliodoros for the carving of the iconostasis of the Greek Catholic cathedral in Blaj, which had to be an original work and not a mere copy of the one he had previously realized for the church in Máriapócs. For his work, he would be paid 700 Rfl., which was considered in line with his earlier fee.

Draft. Written in the hand of Vicar General Petru Aron.

OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 116, fol. 2139r.

/fol. 2139r/ Conventio facta ex parte Incl[yti] Thesaurariatus cum Sculptore Constandi[10] pro erectione Altaris Templi Balasfalvensis, sequentibus conditionibus.

Stante, quod etia[m] in Maria Pocs pro simili Altari habuerit ducentos aureos, pro Balasfalvensi Altari conventu[m] est: ut administratis ex parte Incl[yti] Thesaurariatus lignis, et asseribus cu[m] illud opus necessariis, prælibatus Sculptor obligabitur opus singulare efficere nil in prius Altari Pocsensi, quin insuper quantu[m] poterit specialius; quo stante pro suo labore ex parte Incl[yti] Thesaurariatus promitentur:

In paratis ..... Rh[enenses] flor[enos 700.]
Tritici ..... Cubu[u]l[os] 10.
Vini ..... Urn[as] 64.[11]
s[alva] v[enia] Sabelici ..... 2.
Pro carne, et oleribus ..... Rh[enenses] f[lorenos] 10.
Ex præspecificata autem summa dabunt eidem Sculptori circa festum S[ancti] Demetrÿ ..... Rh[enenses] f[lorenos] 200.
Circa festa Natalitia ..... Rh[enenses] f[lorenos] 200.
In fine operis quod supererit residuum.

Sign[um]. Görgény. 30. Julii 1749.

Notes

9 In the original: *Sebelicos*.

10 The name seems to have been initially omitted and appears misaligned with respect to the rest of the text.

11 Modified by the same hand by writing over the initial figure, which is no longer readable.



▲ Fig. 14. The Greek Catholic cathedral in Blaj, iconostasis, griffons holding a crown over the image of Saint Demetrios.
Credits: Radu Nedici.

VII. [Blaj], 8 November 1749. Request submitted by the master sculptor Konstantinos Thaliodoros to the Transylvanian Treasury for the payment of 13.5 Rfl., which he owed to the loggers for the timber already felled, in addition to the 52 Rfl. paid earlier for the planks delivered. He also demands for his contract to be agreed upon and signed.

Copy. Note ahead of the text in the same hand: *Copia.*

OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 116, fol. 2148r.

/fol. 2148r/ Prostratus coram benignis Excell[ent]iæ V[est]ræ et In-[clyti] Regÿ Thesaurariatus pedibus humillimè exponere necessitor, qualiter in acquirendis lignis seu materialibus pro meo labore vel artificio necessariis ambulaverim et jam 122 asseres præparaverim optimos. Pro quibus simul cum mea tenui intertentione erogaverim quinquaginta duos Rhenenses <florenos>, prouti evidenter constabit ex testimoniis apud R[e]v[eren]d[issi]mum D[omi]num Vicarium existentibus. Licet adhuc decem frustra lignorum ibidem in sylva jam desecata hæreant, pro quibus cum vectura et labore molitoris adhuc teneor solvere Rhenenses florenos 10 [crucige]ros[12] 30; præterea molitori mansi restantiarius pro ipsius antecedentibus laboribus cum Rhenen[sis] flor[en]is tribus, et sic consequenter in sum[m]a debeo ibi pendere et solvere Rhenenses <florenos> 13 [crucige]ros 30. Cum ergo per Dei gratiam materialia jam jam sint præparata, et inchoatio laborum appropinquet humillimè exoro, quatenus tum de contractualibus conventionis, tum verò de mea intertentione benignè mandare dignarentur, et me consolatum facere, ut habeam præ manibus conventionales, et intuitu intertentionis, ut sciam, à quo sim habiturus. Hoc etiam humillimè notifico, quod per oblivionem duo s[alva] v[enia] <porci> saginati remanserant ex contractualibus, pro quibus enixè rogandum duxi.

His exspectans etc. 8va. [Novem]bris[13] [1]749.

Constantinus Sculptor

Notes

12 In the original: *xros.*

13 In the original: *9bris.*

VIII. Sibiu, 14 November 1749. Report by the Transylvanian Treasury to the *Hofdeputation* regarding the situation of the master sculptor Konstantinos Thaliodoros, who was still waiting in Blaj for a decision on his contract, but could soon move out to Wallachia, to his wife and children, if he was not offered an official agreement.

Original. Secretary hand with autograph signatures. Chancery note on fol. 2147r: *p[ræ]sen[tatæ] 25. Nov[embris] 1749.*

OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 116, fols. 2147r–v, 2150r.

/fol. 2147r/ Allerdürchlauchtigst- Grosmächtigste Römische Kayßerin,
In Germanien, Hungarn, und Boheimb Königin, Ertzherzogin zu
Österreich etc., Allergnädigste Kayßerin, Königin, und Frau Frau!

Mit den bereits schon unterm 8ten. Augusti dieses jahrs von den Balasfalvaer Stifftungs-Gebau, und hierzue weither erforderlichen Geld-Verlaag allerunterthänigst erstatteten bericht hat mann auch den abgeforderten Riß von den antragenden neuen Hoch Altar mit der explication, sambt den antworthschreiben des Vicarÿ Generalis Græci Ritus Unitor[um] Petri Aaron, und des Bildhauers-Forderung allerunterthänigst hinausgeschicket. Nachdeme aber in den auf obigen bericht von Eüer Kay[serlich-]Königl[ichen] May[estät] sub dato 21ten ejusdem nur allein respectu deren noch erforderlichen Bau-Verlaagsankösten herein gefolgten Allerhöchsten Rescript von Einer Resolution wegen des Hochaltars, und Bildhauers seinen Forderung ganz */fol. 2147v/* und gahr nichts enthalten, wo hingegen Er bildhauer, mit nahmen Constantin, welcher dessentwegen aus der Walachey heraus gekom[m]en, und im[m]ittels, anstatt eines warth-gelds, weillen mann dergleichen leuth hier zu Land nicht so leicht haben kann, bis auf die Allergnädigst erfolgende Resolution, mit einig-angeschafft-wenigen Naturalien zu seinen lebens-unterhalt sich begnügen lasset, lauth seines hier beygebogenen schreibens, der angetragenen arbeith, und zwahr durch einen förmlichen Contract, nunmehro, da das zu seiner bildhauer-arbeith erforderliche holtz- und bretter-werckh bereits schon meisten theils bestellt- und beygeschaffet ist, mit noch einen beysatz von zweyen S[alva] V[enia] Speckhschweine vergewisseret- und sichergestellet seyn will.

Als siehet mann sich bemüessiget, über die errichtung, und herstellung des angetragenen neuen hoch Altars in der neuen Stiffts-Kirchen zu Balasfalva, wovon der Riß, und unköstens-aufsatz schon vorhinn allerunterthänigst eingesendet worden ist, die Allergnädigst gefählige */fol. 2150r/* Resolution Eüer Kay[serlich-]Königl[ichen] May[estät] umb so viel mehr, und ehenter hiermit allerunterthänigst zu erbitten, als mann sich ohne solcher mit Ihme Bildhauer in einen Contract einzulassen nicht Vermag, bey noch längeren entstehung aber besorgen mues, daß diesem Künstler das zuewarthen zu lang werden, und derselbe, wegen der ungewißheit dieser arbeith, sich wiederumb zuruckh zu seinen Weib, und Kindern in die Walachey nacher Hauß verfüegen, oder anderwerths eine vorfallende arbeith übernehme, alßdann aber nicht so bald, und mit noch grosseren Speesen wiederumb zu bekom[m]en seyn dürfte.

Womit mann sich zu Allerhöchsten Huld und Gnaden allertieffest erlasset

Eüer Kay[serlich-] Königl[ichen] May[estät]

Allerunterthenigster Allergehorsambster
Igna[tius] Ioseph[us] Bornemißa Frayherr von Kaßon [manu propria]

Friderich Wilhelm von Ditterich
Werner Michael Winckhler

Hermanstadt,
den 14ten. [Novem]bris[14] [1]749.

Fig. 15. The Greek Catholic cathedral in Blaj, dome fresco.
Credits: Radu Nedici.

IX. Sibiu, 14 January 1750. Contract between the Transylvanian Treasury and the master sculptor Konstantinos Thaliodoros for the carving of the iconostasis of the Greek Catholic cathedral in Blaj, for which he was to be paid 700 Rfl. in three instalments, plus food and lodging. In addition, he was to be provided with all the necessary materials and the workmanship for preparing the planks and erecting the required scaffolding on Treasury's own account.

Original. Three round seals in red wax: (1) Showing the coat of arms of the Bornemisza family; (2) A shield bearing a bend, flanked by two animal supporters and with a crested helmet; (3) An octogonal shield divided into four rows, the top one showing a cross, the two middle ones with letters.

OeStA FHKA, AHK, HFU, 7bgn., Karton 117, fol. 379r–v.

/fol. 379r/ Contractus

Hodiè infrascripto die Cæsareo Regium Thesaurariatum Transylvanicum, inter ex una, & Constantinum Sculptorem, ex altera partibus, circa sculpendum Summum Altare, in Ecclesia Cathedrali Balásfalvensi Græci Ritus Unitorum, initus et acceptatus.

1mo: Præfatus Sculptor Constandin se vigore harum contractualium strictissimè obligat, qvod præfatum Summum Altare secundum mappam octava Augusti Anni proximè evoluti ad Cæsareo Regias manus promotam exactè sculpere velit, & teneatur, ita qvidem, ut si casu qvo culpa ipsius circa sculpturam præfati Summi Altaris aliqvis defectus intercessisse comperiretur, ipse Sculptor, ad refusionem damni præstandam, & salarÿ amissionem obligetur, e contra sibi stipulatur.

2do: Ut Cæsareo Regius Thesaurariatus dispositiones faciat, qvatenus necessaria materialia, utpote: tigna asseres, clavi sufficientes, trabes pineæ duæ, qvercinæ decem, per fabros lignarios adaptentur, & per murarios applicentur ad ligandam, sustinendamq[ve] totam machinam, & qvidem sine Sculptoris expensis. Dein,

3tio: Ut sibi Sculptori in ære parato solvantur septingenti id est: 700 R[henenses] flor[eni], & qvidem in tribus terminis, & respective ratis, primo videlicet dum opus agressus fuerit ducenteni floreni, secundo in Paschate pariter */fol. 379v/* ducenteni floreni, & tertio finito opere trecenti floreni, præterea ex Provisoratu Episcopali sibi extradentur naturalia subseqventia: decem videlicet cubuli tritici, sexaginta urnæ vini Transylvanici, duo s[alva] v[enia] porci saginati, dein in pecunia decem floreni Rhenenses pro bubula, necnon hospitium commodum eidem pro tempore existentiæ suæ indulgentur.

Qvæ singula petita eidem Sculptori Constandino ex parte Cæsareo Regii Thesaurariatus Transylvanici procuranda, & indulgenda appromittuntur, in qve eorum fidem & robur, duæ tabulæ contractuales fuere erectæ, & partium utriq[ve] exemplar unum extraditum.

Cibinÿ. 14. Januarÿ 1750.

I[gnatius] I[osephus] Bornemissza v[on] Kaszon [manu propria]
L.S.

L.S. M[ichael] Winckhler

L.S. Κοσταντήνως Ταληωδώρος

Notes

14 In the original: *9bris.*



Ukrainian Features in Transylvanian Icon Paintings in the 18th Century

translated by Septimiu-Ovidiu Dumitran

Ana Dumitran

National Museum of the Union, Museikon, Alba Iulia

Two events that happened at the end of the 17th century would fundamentally change the trajectory of the history of Transylvania and the Transylvanian Romanians. The first one was the integration into the Habsburg Empire and the second one was the forceful return of Catholicism. In the "long duration," the first event would become synonymous with the modernization of the entire structure of society. The second event, in addition to the claim to reconvert the Protestants, tried to compensate for the numerical superiority of the Protestants by uniting the Orthodox Romanians with Rome. The positive effects of the new political and confessional realities would be felt only in the second half of the 18th century, following the strong social convulsions of the first.

Romanian art also reflected these changes, through a very close approach to the Brancovan style, as a result of the incorporation of the western half of Wallachia, known as Oltenia, into the Empire between 1718-1738. Some of the painters who worked on the construction sites financed by Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu went in search of orders to Banat and Transylvania. The paintings of the first half and the middle of the 18th century would therefore be dominated by these personalities, foremost among whom were the members of the Ranite family (Hranite and his sons, Gheorghe and Grigore) and some of the apprentices trained under their guidance (Iacov and Stan from Răşinari, Gheorghe from Făgăraş). This stylistic orientation was supported by the Greek-Catholic bishops and their close collaborators, in the spirit of the act of Union with Rome. This was predicated on the recognition of the four Florentine points (the Papal primacy, the use of azyme instead of leavened bread, the Purgatory and the *Filioque*), and guaranteed that all other aspects of faith and liturgical life would remain unchanged.

In the second half of the 18th century, the general modernization of Transylvanian society led the Romanian communities – at first, the wealthiest of them – to become interested in the baroque spirit. This followed the path of natural evolution, through visual contact with the

Fig. 2. The iconostasis of the Greek-Catholic cathedral of Blaj, painting detail.

Credits: Ana Dumitran.





Fig. 2. The iconostasis of the Greek-Catholic cathedral of Blaj.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

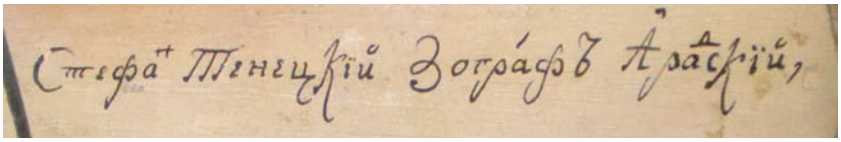


Fig. 3. Stefan Tenetskii's signature on the iconostasis of the Greek-Catholic cathedral in Blaj. For more illustrations of the iconostasis of the Greek Catholic cathedral of Blaj, see the chapter signed by Radu Nedici.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

changes occurring in the artistic life of the province, but was accelerated after 1761 by the placement of the Orthodox in Transylvania under the jurisdiction of the Serbian Bishopric with the seat in Buda (now Budapest). However, neither of the two paths produced spectacular transformations. There merely updated the repertoire and technique already mastered in the workshops of the Byzantine tradition. And what would be intercepted would not directly reflect the Western Baroque, but the synthesis already filtered by the Kyivan workshops and the workshops of the Kyivan painters active among the Serbs of the Habsburg Empire. It just so happens that Efrem Micu – the first and, for a long time, the only Romanian graduate from the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna – did not receive any church painting order in Transylvania even though he had been recommended by the Greek-Catholic intellectuals of the time as a *celeberrimus pictor*.[1] At the same time, Stefan Tenetskii (Rom. Ștefan Tenețchi; Serb. Стефан Тенецки), a painter trained in the spirit of Kyivan Baroque, was employed by several Transylvanian communities, including the Greek-Catholic Bishopric. Most of the works, however, were undertaken by painters who improved their knowledge under the supervision of Tenetskii or other Ukrainian painters.

Notes

1 Dumitran 2014a, p. 129-130.



▲ Fig. 4. The iconostasis from Certege on its last place, in the Orthodox church in Mănăștur suburbs, Cluj-Napoca. Credits: Ana Dumitran.

The craftsmen from the 18th century whose origins we know are few. However, a large number of works have been preserved and some are dated over a long period, i.e. of several decades. This helps us track either their fidelity to the features of Ukrainian art or their degree of receptivity. Since the impact of Brancovan art, at least in the first half of the 18th century, was very great, I will identify the following aspects as Ruthenian influences, since they could only have come from the Ruthenian environment:

-regarding the representation of the Savior: the combed hair with a parting in the middle, falling in strands on both shoulders; the split beard; the blessing gesture without the thumb touching any of the other fingers; the use of the Greek letter **Σ** when writing the monogram, instead of the Cyrillic letter **С**;

-regarding the representations of the Mother of God: replacing the headscarf with a fine, transparent veil;

-regarding the representations of Infant Jesus: the rendering of the legs side-by-side, possibly oriented to the left; the left palm resting on the lap, with or without the scroll; replacing the scroll with a book, a flower, or a globe; the shirt girt over the waist with a belt;

-regarding the appearance of the iconostases: the rendering of the apostles full-figure, accompanied by their specific attributes; the cut-out icons on the crest of the iconostasis; the introduction of depth as the third dimension of the iconostasis and its transformation into a true architectural structure;

-regarding the decorative elements: the background decorated by pressing the gesso with the help of punches; the double frame, with floral decoration painted inside or with cabochons; the semicircular arch in relief, decorated with *ovae*.

▼ Fig. 5. Date and signatures on the back of the icon of the *Birth of the Virgin Mary*, Certege iconostasis. Credits: Ana Dumitran.





▲ Fig. 6. Royal door of the iconostasis of the Greek-Catholic cathedral in Blaj. Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Due to the long time spans between which the painters can be followed, a chronological presentation is difficult to achieve, as the chronology still remains relative in terms of the beginning and the end of the work of many of them. The geographical criterion is also not without inconveniences, since the biographies often take place in parallel and over very wide spaces. Although it may seem chaotic, it seems to me that the best way out of the impasse is to list the painters according to the quality of their artistic training in the spirit of Ruthenian art and according to the steadfastness with which they used the listed features. In other words, we will start with those painters who we can believe were trained in workshops in the Ruthenian environment or under the supervision of an itinerant Ruthenian painter, and we will discuss in parallel the possible influences they could exert on other icon painters, thus convincing the latter to include in their creations, at least occasionally, elements from the repertoire listed above.

*

The name with the greatest resonance is undoubtedly that of **Stefan Tenetskii**, a painter who settled in Arad around 1747, probably as a result of his marriage to the daughter of a Macedonian-Wallachian merchant.[2] In Transylvania, he painted in Blaj (Hung. Balázsfalva), the iconostasis of the Greek-Catholic cathedral being signed on all the sovereign icons (fig. 2-3), but undated, and in Certege (Alba County), where he is attested in May 1798. He died a few weeks later in Abrud (Hung. Abrudbánya, Alba County), being buried in the cemetery of the Orthodox church on August 17.[3] The work at Certege is no longer preserved, but for a time, it was believed that the iconostasis there was his work.[4] Brought to Cluj (Hung.

Notes

2 Medeleanu 1987, p. 363.

3 Dumitran 2019, p. 85-90.

4 Porumb 1998, p. 416.



Fig. 7. Stefan Tenetskii, *Holy Trinity / The Hospitality of Abraham* (detail), from the the iconostasis of the Greek-Catholic cathedral in Blaj.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Kolozsvár) in 1931 and placed in the chapel of the Greek-Catholic Bishop Iuliu Hossu, this iconostasis was moved again in 1948 to the Orthodox church in Mănăștur suburbs (**fig. 4**), following the arrest of the bishop by order of the communist authorities. About 10 years ago, the iconostasis was considered inappropriate for the new church, so it was dismantled again and sent for restoration, to be later reassembled in the Museum of the Metropolitanate of Cluj. On that occasion, an inscription containing the date and the names of the craftsmen was discovered: *1752. Vasilie Zboroschi zugrav, Ion tâmplariu* (1752. Vasilie Zboroschi the painter, Ion the carpenter) (**fig. 5**). It is possible, therefore, that Stefan Tenetskii painted the church in Certege, a painting that was lost in the middle of the 19th century when the current church was built.

Regarding the painting of the iconostasis from Blaj, it can be said that it is the work of Stefan Tenetskii most closely related to the Kyivan Baroque spirit, the physiognomy and decorative treatment of the vestments being similar to the creations of Ivan Rutkovych and Yov Kondzelevych (**fig. 6-7**). The iconostasis was not painted entirely by Tenetskii. The crest, with the faces of the prophets and the cross of the *Crucifixion*, was taken over in 1764 by Grigore Ranite, a painter descended from Constantin Brâncoveanu's team. The consecration of the cathedral on September 14, 1765 provides the deadline within which Tenetskii had to complete his contribution.[5] The structure of the iconostasis existed as early as 1751 when a certain *Constantinos, sculptor Constantinopolitanus* received 800 Rhenanian florins for its execution.[6] The painting could have started even then. Under what conditions this task was distributed between the two painters and which of them completed their tasks first can no longer be determined.[7] What is certain is only that Grigore Ranite's invitation to Blaj took place in 1764, in the context of the weeping of an icon he had painted three decades before, for which he was called to make a copy, before the old icon could be sent for investigations in Vienna.[8]

Overwhelming in terms of dimensions and artistic quality, the iconostasis of the cathedral in Blaj could not be left without an echo in the Transylvanian art of the second half of the 18th century. Its painting can

Notes

5 Dumitran 2010, p. 83-98.

6 Terdik 2010, p. 251. See also the article authored by Radu Nedici in this volume.

7 Dumitran 2011b, p. 69-78.

8 Dumitran, Hegedűs, Rus 2011, p. 129-130.





▲ Fig. 8-9. The iconostasis of the parish church in Blaj, details from the apostles' row, Simon Oprovici, *c.*1790. Credits: Ana Dumitran.

be considered the source of inspiration for the iconostasis of the parish church in Blaj, the so-called "church of the Greek", located in the immediate vicinity of the cathedral, as well as the source of inspiration of the iconostasis of Saint Paraskeva church in Răşinari (Sibiu County). The iconostasis of the parish church in Blaj was painted by Simon Oprovici, originally from Craiova (in Wallachia), who settled in Alba Iulia (Hung. Gyulafehérvár, Germ. Karlsburg) in the 1780s. Active in Transylvania as early as the 1760s, the style of this painter trained in the post-Brancovan school underwent a radical transformation in the spirit of the Ukrainian



▲ Fig. 10. The iconostasis of the parish church in Blaj, details from the festal icons' row, Simon Oprovici, *c.*1790. Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Baroque.[9] In the parish church from Blaj, Simon Oprovici painted a series of apostles based on the Ukrainian model, with the holy characters rendered full-figure, bearing their specific attributes and communicating through gestures (**fig. 8-9**). Likewise, the events illustrated in the feast icons are unfolding in a realistically treated nature (**fig. 10**). The detail that brings the iconostasis of Simon Oprovici closer to the iconostasis of Stefan Tenetskii is the introduction in the background of the architrave of some miniatures of prophets, in completion to the series on the crest of the iconostasis (**fig. 11-12**).

The iconostasis of the church in Rășinari, for a time the cathedral of the Orthodox bishops in Transylvania, was later, in 1785, painted by Gheorghe, son of Iacov from Rășinari (**fig. 13**). Iacov was appreciated as the most important Transylvanian painter with a post-Brancovan training.[10] The painting of the iconostasis in Rășinari illustrates the capacity of a very talented painter to change his style multiple times, sometimes even based on the amount the ktetors were willing to invest. It also can find a faint echo of the work of Tenetskii in the work of Iacov's other son, Nicolae, younger and less talented, but with a particularly intense and long-lasting activity.[11] He created a typology of figures in which one can recognize – admittedly with difficulty – the outline of the faces painted by Tenetskii (**fig. 15-16**). They would become true templates for his apprentices, who would continue to reproduce them until late in the second half of the 19th century (**fig. 17**).

The iconographer with an unquestionably Western manner of painting, who had been apprenticed in an artistic environment of the highest quality, has been known for too little time to have won the reputation he deserves in specialized literature. I am referring to the author of the already mentioned iconostasis from Certege, **Vasilie Zboroski**, who dated his work in 1752.[12] An icon of *Saint Nicholas*, he painted, also dated 1752, but unsigned, has been preserved in Lupșa (Hung. Nagylupsa, Alba County)

Notes

9 Dumitran, Cucui 2009.

10 Dumitran, Cucui, Pop, Mihu 2010.

11 Dumitran, Cucui 2008, p. 22-29, 98-132.

12 His name was read for the first time in 2011, by art historian Marius Porumb and by restorer Theo Mureșan, on the occasion of the dismantling of the iconostasis brought by bishop Iuliu Hossu from Certege.







▲▲ Fig. 11. Stefan Tenetskii, architrave of the iconostasis of the Greek-Catholic cathedral in Blaj, detail of the prophets Elijah and Isaiah.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

▲ Fig. 12. Simon Oprovici, the prophets Elijah and Isaiah, details from the architrave of the iconostasis of the parish church in Blaj.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

▶ Fig. 13. Gheorghe son of Iacov from Rășinari, the iconostasis of the Saint Paraskeva church in Rășinari, 1785.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

▼ Fig. 14. Vasilie Zboroski, the iconostasis from Certege, detail.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.



(fig. 32).[13] The Ukrainian resonance of his name and the manner of painting completely foreign to local painters are difficult to reconcile with the origin of his collaborator, the sculptor Ion, from whose creation we have identified three other works in Alba County, in Corna (fig. 19), Veza (dated 1788-1790, fig. 20) and Blaj – the parish church, so-called "church of the Greek" (fig. 21), the latter bearing the signature "Ion carpenter from Wallachia" carved on the back of the royal doors (fig. 22).[14] I believe that the sculpture of the iconostasis from Rășinari mentioned earlier also belongs to him (fig. 23), this iconostasis being signed by Ioan the carpenter from Câmpulung,[15] which thus must be identical to Io(a)n the carpenter from Wallachia. At Veza and Blaj, the collaborating painter was another painter who came to Transylvania from Wallachia, i.e. Simon Oprovici from Craiova. I could not identify the author of the painting from Corna. At Rășinari, the largest part of the painting belongs to Gheorghe, son of Iacov, but on the sovereign icons, lost in the meantime, he worked together with Ioan Grigorievici, the son of Grigore Ranite from Craiova. The contribution of a third painter is not excluded. The change of the collaborator is a sign that Ion received the orders independently, and the painters were hired separately, perhaps at some interval, due to the costs of his work, which must have been high. However, his art does not fit into the Brancovan tradition either, and as the iconostasis from Certege could be the oldest work, he might have arrived in Transylvania in the company of Vasilie Zboroski. He might have come from somewhere in the Ruthenian environment, where either he alone or both had gone to acquire such high learning. I do not doubt that, when the restoration of the iconostasis from Certege is completed, the writing in Romanian of all the texts on the icons will be exploited as an argument for the Romanian ethnicity of Vasilie (fig. 14). But it is hard to believe that Zboroski was a nickname acquired during his travel to the Ukrainian territory, which he continued to use even after it no longer meant anything to anyone.

The way in which the two ended up working for the prosperous Romanian communities in the Western Carpathians, engaged in the gold exploitation opened by the Habsburg state, can no longer be reconstituted. But let's remember that the author of the *Deesis* triptych from the Brukenthal National Museum, who also came from somewhere in the north of Hungary, where the ktetors of the triptych lived, had worked for the church in Lupșa a century or so earlier.[16] The long-lasting atmosphere of emulation in the area attracted painters from long distances. The arrival of Stefan Tenetskii at the end of the 18th century was not accidental either. The importance of Vasilie Zboroski's presence, however, lies not only in the ability of the communities to afford his art but in the special impact Vasilie Zboroski's presence had on contemporary Transylvanian painters. Two of his icons, that of the *Pantokrator* (fig. 24)

Notes

13 Dumitran 2012a, p. 232.

14 Dumitran, Cucui 2009, p. 27-28.

15 Abrudan 2019, p. 32.

16 See above, p. 117-125.









Fig. 15. Stefan Tenetskii, the iconostasis of the Greek-Catholic cathedral of Blaj, detail.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Fig. 16. Nicolae son of Iacov from Rășinari, murals of the church from Chețani.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Fig. 17. Porfirie Șarlea, murals of the church from Sânbenedic.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.







▲ Fig. 18. Vasilie Zboroski and Ion the carpenter, the royal doors from Certege.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

◥ Fig. 19. The royal doors from Corna.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

◥ Fig. 20. Simon Oprovici and Ion the carpenter, the royal doors from Veza.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

and that of *Saint Nicholas* (fig. 31), became prototypes for the most important of these painters and were transmitted to future generations of painters until late into the 19th century. The icon of the *Mother of God* was less interesting because, during the entire 18th century, the reproductions of the miracle-working icon from the Jesuit church in Cluj, i.e. the one brought from Nicula, were held in high esteem.[17]

Among those who allowed themselves to be seduced by the new models, it is worth mentioning Ion from Beriu (fig. 25), the two sons of Iacov, Gheorghe (fig. 29, 35, 36) and Nicolae (fig. 30), Iacov himself (fig. 34) and his brother Stan (fig. 28), then Simon Oprovici from Craiova (fig. 27), Simion Silaghi-Sălăgeanu (fig. 26) and others, whose names we do not know (fig. 33).

Another painter with a strange name is "the noble **Andraș Bodor** from Cluj." Simion Silaghi-Sălăgeanu learned to paint from him, according to an inscription of the former dated 1773.[18] Thanks to this information, over 60 icons dated between 1748 and 1779, painted for churches in the Counties of Cluj, Sălaj, Alba, and Maramureș, could recover their paternity, none of them being signed.[19] The three decades of activity left traces on the style of Andraș Bodor from Cluj, which evolved from angelic faces, with very delicate features, to increasingly less expressive figures, and from a meticulous decoration of the vestments to increasingly careless touches. We do not know where or from whom he learned to paint. What is certain is that some of the elements that are characteristic of him, including those belonging to the list of "Ruthenian influences"

Notes

17 See Dumitran, Hegedűs, Rus 2011, the 108 illustrations placed between p. 150-151.

18 Dumitran 2013a, p. 271.

19 Dumitran 2013a, p. 273-286.





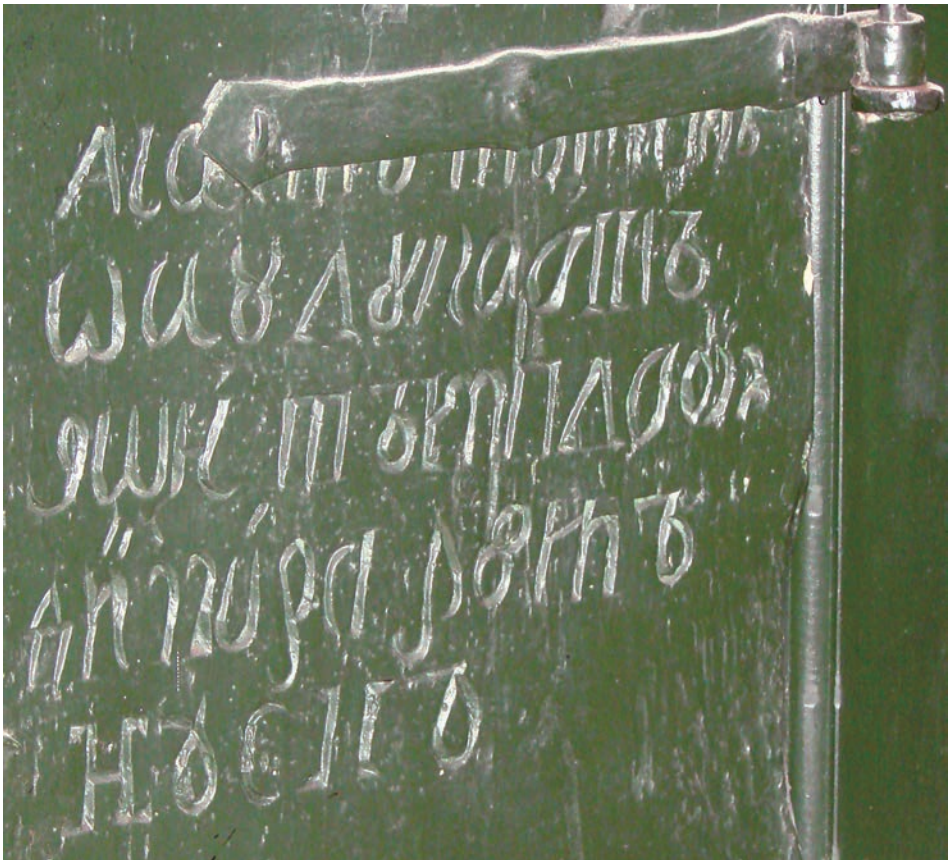


Fig. 21. Simon Oprovici and Ion the carpenter, the royal doors from the parish church in Blaj.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Fig. 22. The back side of the royal doors from Blaj, with the signature of Ion the carpenter.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Fig. 23. Ioan Grigorievici and Ioan the carpenter from Câmpulung, the royal doors from Saint Paraskeva church in Răşinari.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.



Fig. 24. Vasilie Zboroski, *Christ Pantokrator*, 1752, Certege.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.



Fig. 25. Ion from Beriu, *Deesis*, *c.*1756, Geogel.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.



Fig. 26. Simion Silaghi-Sălăgeanu, *Christ Pantokrator*, 1797, Vidra de Sus.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.



Fig. 27. Simon Oprovici, *Christ Pantokrator*, 1783, Alba Iulia.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.



Fig. 28. Stan from Răşinari, *Christ Pantokrator*, 1793, Beriu.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Fig. 29. Gheorghe son of Iacov, *Christ Pantokrator*, second half of the 18th century, Mesentea.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.





Fig. 30. Nicolae son of Iacov, *Christ Pantokrator*, first decades of the 19th century, Abuş.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Fig. 31. Vasilie Zboroski, *Saint Nicholas of Myra*, 1752, Certege.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Fig. 32. Vasilie Zboroski, *Saint Nicholas of Myra*, 1752, Lupşa.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Notes

20 Dumitran 2014b.

21 Puskás 2013.













established at the beginning of this chapter, can be found in the illustration of the books printed in Ostrog, Lviv and Kyiv, as well as in the illustration of the books printed in Moldavia and Wallachia, from where I could ascertain that Andraș Bodor extracted his models for the little mural painting that we know of.[20] The treatment of the physiognomy, with the elongated outline and the beautifully arched line of the eyebrows, reminds of the icons of Ilya Brodlakovych from Munkács (Ukr. Мукачево), a painter originally from Sądowa Wisznia (Ukr. Судова Вишня), the author of two icons signed and dated 1671 and 1673 (fig. 37), kept at the Art Museum in Baia Mare (Hung. Nagybánya, Maramureș County).[21] The icons come from the village of Ciolt (Hung. Csolt, currently in Maramureș County, but belonging to the District of Chioar (Hung. Kővár) before the last administrative division of Romania), and about the bilateral icon from 1671, an inscription tells us that it was commissioned by the Roman Catholic Mosó András in memory of his deceased wife. I bring these icons into the discussion out of the desire to identify the sources of the style of Andraș Bodor from Cluj, all the more so as his earliest

Fig. 33. Unknown painter, *Saint Nicholas of Myra*, second half of the 18th century, Cistei-Târnave.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Fig. 34. Iacov from Rășinari, *Saint Nicholas of Myra*, second half of the 18th century, Mesentea.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Fig. 35. Gheorghe son of Iacov, *Saint Nicholas of Myra*, 1789, Întregalde.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Fig. 36. Gheorghe son of Iacov, *Saint Nicholas of Myra*, 1782, Valea Uzei.
Credits: Andrei Buda.







▲ Fig. 37. Ilya Brodlakovych, *Saints Constantine the Great and Roman the Melodist*, 1673, Ciolt.
Source: Puskás 2013.

◥ Fig. 38. Ilya Brodlakovych, *The Synaxis of Archangel Michael*, Rosvyhovo.
Source: Puskás 2013.

◥ Fig. 39. Andraș Bodor, *The Synaxis of Archangel Michael*, today at Nicula Monastery.
Credits: Sergiu Petru Timbuș.

◥ Fig. 40. Gheorghe son of Iacov, *The Synaxis of Archangel Michael*, 1769, Pădureni.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

▶ Fig. 41. Andraș Bodor, *The Archangel Michael*, mid-18th century, Museum of the Cluj Metropolitanate.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

▶▶ Fig. 42. Andraș Bodor, *Deesis*, 1750, Dragu.
Credits: Alina Geanina Ionescu.

▶▶▶ Fig. 43. Simion Silaghi-Sălăgeanu, *Deesis*, 1773, Dretea.
Credits: Alina Geanina Ionescu.















Fig. 44. Ruthenian painter, *Enthroned Mother of God with the Christ Child*, first part or mid-18th century, Moglănești Monastery.
Credits: Daniel Constantinescu.

Fig. 45. Andrei from Cornești/Sărata, *Enthroned Mother of God with the Christ Child*, mid-18th century, Moglănești Monastery.
Credits: Daniel Constantinescu.

Fig. 46. Andrei from Cornești/Sărata, *The Frieze of the Apostles*, 1755, Moglănești Monastery.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

work was intended for the church in Lăpuș (Hung. Oláhlápos, Maramureș County), a settlement which at the time was also in the District of Chioar, which could indicate the direction from which the painter came to settle in Transylvania. Of course, there can be no question of an apprenticeship with Ilya Brodlakovych, whose first attestation in 1641 is more than a century before the first attestation of Andraș Bodor, i.e. 1748, and the dilution of the manner of painting of the craftsmen from Sądowa Wisznia could be more easily understood if it was taken from one of his apprentices. In turn, Andraș Bodor transmitted these characteristics to his main apprentice, Simion Silaghi-Sălăgeanu (fig. 42-43), and – I assume – to Gheorghe, son of Iacov, as well (fig. 39-40).

A painter from whom we have numerous surviving icons, but also some mural ensembles, is **Andrei from Cornești**, known thus after his 1755 signature on the frieze of the apostles painted for the iconostasis





Fig. 47. Andrei from Cornești/Sărata, *Christ Pantokrator flanked by apostles*, 1739, private collection.
Credits: Mihai Covaci.

Fig. 48. Zaharie and Andrieș, *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, 1720, Borza.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

of the monastery in Moglănești (Harghita County, fig. 46): "Andrei ot Șumfolu." The location can be identified with Șumfalău, today Cornești (Hung. Sövényfalva) in Mureș County, or with Sărata (Hung. Sófalva) in Bistrița-Năsăud County also called Șumfalău, where just a year before, in 1754, the craftsman had painted the wooden church and signed the iconostasis "Andrei from Buzău."[22] In 1739 – when he was probably at the beginning of his activity – he was recommending himself as "Andrei ot Rus-Beclean," on an icon given by "Rus Toma and his brothers"[23] quite possibly for the church in Rusu de Jos, a village in the immediate vicinity of the city of Beclean (Hung. Bethlen) in Bistrița-Năsăud County (fig. 47). Both the anthroponym and the toponym refer to a community of Ruthenians. Changing residence was not unusual for the painters of the era. The only thing that is enigmatic is the name of the settlement, which cannot be the town of Buzău, located outside Transylvania, i.e. on the territory of Wallachia. The only area I could think of is Buzăul Ardelean, whose name is vanished today, but which referred, up until the mid-19th century, to the territory of the villages Sita Buzăului, Întorsura Buzăului and Vama Buzăului.[24] This territory is divided today between the counties of Covasna and Brașov.

The numerous works of Andrei are disseminated in the current Counties of Cluj, Mureș, Harghita, and Bistrița-Năsăud, an area where most of the painters were Ruthenian in the 17th century, and things could not change significantly even in the first decades of the 18th century. One of them even worked for the monastery in Moglănești, where we saw that Andrei also arrived and where he may have been called precisely because he had been there with the former craftsman. The similarity of one of his works to an icon of the same theme by the painter trained in a Ruthenian school is beyond doubt (fig. 44-45). This does not mean that the two actually met. An otherwise unknown painter called Zaharie was invoked in a similar attempt to connect An-

Notes

22 *Mănăstiri și biserici din Transilvania* 2022, p. 82. I thank Alexandru Baboș for pointing out the inscription with the painter's signature, a detail that remained unnoticed by previous researchers, who, however, correctly attributed the painting to the so-called Andrei from Cornești (Porumb 1998, p. 354).

23 The icon is kept in a private collection. I thank Mihai Covaci for pointing it out.

24 Suciu 1967, p. 116.







Fig. 49. Unknown painter, *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, mid-18th century, Piatra-Fântânele.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Fig. 50. Unknown painter, *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, 1793 (?), Strugureni.
Credits: Alexandru Baboș.

Fig. 51. Tudor, *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, first decades of the 18th century, Piatra-Fântânele.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Fig. 52. Unknown painter, *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, first half of the 18th century, Gersa.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Fig. 53. Unknown painter, *Deesis*, 18th century, Dobrin.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Fig. 54. Unknown painter, *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, 18th century, Piatra-Fântânele.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Fig. 55. Nechita, *Christ Pantokrator, flanked by Apostles*, 1749, Bodia.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.











Fig. 56. The "wonderworker" painter Onu, *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, second half of the 18th century, Monor.

Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Fig. 57. The "wonderworker" painter Onu, *The Archangel Michael*, second half of the 18th century, Brâncovenești.

Credits: Ana Dumitran.



Fig. 58. The signature of the "wonderworker" painter Onu on the icon from Brâncovenești.

Credits: Ana Dumitran.

drei's art with that of another contemporary, in search of the one from whom Andrei learned to paint. Zaharie co-signed, in 1720, alongside a painter called Andrieș, an icon in Borza (Sălaj County) (**fig. 48**),[25] whose appearance also owes a lot to Ukrainian icon art, but which stylistically has nothing in common with the painting of the so-called Andrei from Cornești. The only thing that seems certain is that the specifics of Ukrainian art could be appropriated even in Transylvania, itinerant craftsmen (such as Mihai Paholcsek, attested in the 1780s in several churches in Bihor County)[26] or even locals trained in the spirit of Galician schools and being active everywhere in the northern half part of Transylvania[27] (**fig. 48-54**).

Notes

25 Porumb 1998, p. 20.

26 Terdik 2013.

27 Gronek 2022, p. 138-139.

28 Porumb 1998, p. 257.

29 Porumb 2023, p. 419-422.

30 Dumitran 2013b, p. 43. In Slavonian, *чудотворцы* / *chudotvortsy* is the plural of the noun *чудотворец* / *chudotvorets* (miracle worker).

31 Kocів 2019, fig. 16, 29, 33, 96, 103, 104, 106, 110, 115, 118, 122, 124, 142, 144, 152, 192, 218, 220, 223, 226, 236, 247, 300, 361, 368, 375, 383, 385, 386, 390, 392, 398, 469, 486, 503, 504, 511, 515, 534, 536, 538, 539, 550, 551, 555, 563, 627.

32 Dumitran 2012b, p. 189.

33 Porumb 1998, p. 368; Ionescu 2009, p. 59; Dumitran 2013a, p. 271: *Această s[fântă] icoană au plătit robu lui D[u]mnezeu Tat Ioan ca să-i fiie pomană viilor și morților. Zugravul Siladi [Ș]imon, ucenicul j[upânului] B[o]dor Andraș din Cluj.*

34 Dumitran 2012a, p. 62.

35 Dumitran 2012b, p. 195-196.



One such example is the painter **Nechita**, whose origin is also unknown.[28] He generated in Transylvania a real revival of decorated backgrounds by repeatedly stamping in the gesso some decorative motifs that, in the Ruthenian environment, were frequently used in the 16th century (**fig. 55**). Attested between 1740 and 1775, his activity is especially concentrated in the Counties of Sălaj and Cluj, where numerous icons have been preserved,[29] and the mural ensemble from Dretea (Cluj County) proves that he also had a good command of larger surfaces.

In a similar situation is the recently anonymous author of a very large number of works spread in the Counties of Bistrița, Cluj, Mureș, and Alba, datable in the second part of the second half of the 18th century. His signature was identified on an icon of the iconostasis in Brâncovești (Mureș County), where he recommended himself in a mixed Slavonian-Romanian language as **Чѧдотворци**[30] **зѧграв Ѻнѧ** (the wonderworker painter (I)onu). This signature and the very particular appearance of his icons, with frames carved with balusters or decorated with cabochons, which often take the shape of a flower, are reminiscent of the Ruthenian environment (**fig. 56-58**). Some elements of his decorative repertoire, quite limited but well individualized, seem to come from the creation of the masters from Posada Ryboticka.[31]

If the painters from the northern part of Transylvania show a true predilection for the forms of the Ruthenian icon that became archaic, in the south-western part of the province there is a clear preference for the forms born in the workshops in Kyiv. From the 1790s to the middle of the 19th century, **Simion Silaghi-Sălăgeanu from Abrud** and his apprentices painted the largest number of icons, throughout the Western Carpathians area.

As can be deduced from the name he assumed, both in its Hungarian version: Silaghi/Szilágyi, and in its Romanian version: Sălăgeanu,[32] Simion was originally from the area of contact between Crișana and Transylvania, called *Szilágyság* in Hungarian and *Sălaj* in Romanian. His first documentary attestation is his signature on an icon painted for the church in Dretea (Hung. Deréte, Cluj County) in 1773: "painter Siladi [Ș]imon, apprentice of nobleman Bodor Andraș of Cluj."[33] In the following years, he was active in communities in the area of Cluj and Sălaj Counties, his painting remaining largely within the frames outlined by the craftsman indicated so reverently: the noble Bodor Andraș. We have already discussed the affinity of this master with Ukrainian icon art. However, Simion's talent exceeded the modeling and training capabilities of Andraș from Cluj, and thus, in 1778, we find Simion in Albac (Hung. Fehérvölgy, Alba County), in the company of Gheorghe son of Iacov, who was also looking for an instructor from whom to receive teaching in tune with the new spirit of the time. If they found such an instructor, we do not know who he was. An "internship" was certainly completed in front of the iconostasis from Certege, the one painted by Vasilie Zboroski, because the icons from Albac with the representations of the *Pantokrator* and *Saint Nicholas of Myra* are undoubtedly reproductions of those from Certege (**fig. 59-60**).

Simion Silaghi-Sălăgeanu settled in Abrud before 1784,[34] where his family stands out for his daughters' names, which are quite unusual in the Transylvanian Romanian environment: Natalia, Zinovia, Veronica, Eufimia, and especially for the name of his wife, Olimpiada, which the priest who recorded the names in the registry book of the Orthodox parish was not even able to write it correctly for a long time.[35] The Mediterranean resonance of the wife's name is the best indication of her provenance from a family of Macedonian-Wallachian merchants, most likely from Cluj. A comfortable material situation and the aristocratic inclinations expressed by Simion through the Magyarization of the name may be the reasons why the painter continuously invested in his professional training, striving to prove artistic abilities comparable to those of his Hungarian or German contemporaries.





▲ Fig. 59. Gheorghe son of Iacov and Simion Silaghi-Sălăgeanu, *Christ Pantokrator*, 1778, Albac.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

◥ Fig. 60. Simion Silaghi-Sălăgeanu, *Saint Nicholas of Myra*, 1778, Albac.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

It is difficult to say how much of the transformation that Simion Silaghi Sălăgeanu's style underwent was due to his supposed meeting with Stefan Tenetskii in the summer of 1798, which – if it really took place – also happened in front of the iconostasis from Certege. In the works dated after 1800, we find a definite Westernization of the manner in which the physiognomy is rendered. This tends to get closer to true portraits. But we find obvious tendencies towards realism and correct anatomical proportions as early as the 1780s, when the backgrounds decorated in relief appear, and from the beginning of the 1790s, we also have naturalistically rendered landscapes, which surprise with the remarkable accuracy of detail (**fig. 61-62**). This means either that the relationship between the two craftsmen was older and long-lasting, or that the new manner of painting was acquired by working next to another painter, in which case an apprenticeship outside Transylvania should be taken into account. The source of his new models, especially exploited in mural painting, could be a clue, but this source has not yet been identified. His long activity, which lasted until 1830, during which an authentic school functioned in his workshop in Abrud, with more than 20 icon painters being trained,[36] brought Simion Silaghi the reputation of "the painter of the Western Carpathians." His works have been identified in almost all the churches in the area, and echoes of his style can be found until the end of the 19th century.

Although he was undoubtedly the painter with the most realistic painting manner, it was not Simion Silaghi-Sălăgeanu who was the Romanian Transylvanian painter closest to the Ukrainian Baroque spirit, but his slightly older contemporary, **Gheorghe, son of Iacov from Răşinari**. Born in 1740,[37] his earliest known signature dates from 1763, and the latest work that can be attributed to him is dated 1806. The

Notes

36 Dumitran 2012b, p. 209-211.

37 Dumitran 2012a, p. 47.





strength of his talent only erupted after leaving his father's authority, who was undoubtedly one of the most important Romanian painters of the 18th century. We would be tempted to attribute the departure from the Brancovan tradition to the presence of Stefan Tenetskii in Blaj, near Feisa (Hung. Küküllőfajsz, Alba County), where Iacov had established his residence around 1750. Even if this was the intention, the effects only become visible in the 1770s and send rather towards the painting of Andraș Bodor from Cluj. A reunion of Gheorghe with Stefan Tenetskii could have taken place in the Western Carpathians, in the same context in which the painter from Arad could have also met Simion Silaghi-Sălăgeanu. The most significant contribution to his coming of age however seems to have been the iconostasis of Vasilie Zboroski from Certege. It is strange how, in the absence of interpersonal contact, this iconostasis changed so many artistic destinies. In the case of Gheorghe, his strong imprint is felt in the representations of the icons of the *Pantokrator* and *Saint Nicholas of Myra*. But for the tenderness of the faces and the fineness of the transitions from one color to another, Andraș Bodor from Cluj is responsible, or another craftsman, still unknown (fig. 63-64).

As in the case of his father Iacov or in the case of Simion Silaghi-Sălăgeanu, the work of Gheorghe is impressive. His paintings are largely concentrated in Alba County, but sporadically also found in Cluj, Mureș, and Sibiu Counties. A certain recognition of their value

Fig. 61. Simion Silaghi-Sălăgeanu, *Saint Nicholas of Myra*, 1794, Abrud-Sat.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Fig. 62. Simion Silaghi-Sălăgeanu, *Dormition of the Mother of God*, end of the 18th century, Abrud-sat.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.





▲ Fig. 63. Gheorghe son of Iacov, *Saint Prophet Elijah*, 1789, Întregalde.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

◥ Fig. 64. Gheorghe son of Iacov, *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, *c.*1778, Hopârta.
Credits: Ana Dumitran.

among contemporaries is represented by the appellation *Boiariu*, which Gheorghe associated with his name, together with the qualifier "the greatest among painters."[38] They both may suggest either that he received the diploma of nobility (less likely in those years, given the social policy of Emperor Joseph II) or that he was elected as head of a professional organization of Romanian painters (about whose existence we have no information).

A provincial-style painting, directly derived from the workshop of a master trained in Kyiv's atmosphere, is that of **Constantin Râșcanu, son of Ursan**. A research that is still underway has so far identified 45 communities located in the counties of Hunedoara and Arad today that commissioned his works from 1774 to 1797[39] (**fig. 65-67**). It was assumed that he was from the area, because Râșca, near Brad (Hunedoara County), was indicated as his place of origin or residence, based on his signatures.[40] We have yet to decipher the identity of another contemporary painter, Ioan Ursan cel Tânăr, attested between 1763-1789, in several churches in Hunedoara County,[41] who practiced a very similar style. In either case, it is difficult to reconstruct the thread that linked them to the true craftsman from whom he learned to paint. The only one we know of who was capable of exquisite art was Stefan Tenetskii, but the reality could have been much more complex. What is certain is that in that geographical area, the output of the painters who stayed faithful to the Byzantine models was insignificant compared to that of Constantin.

Notes

38 Dumitran 2012a, p. 48.

39 Buda [2024]. Cristache-Panait 1995, *passim*.

40 Medeleanu 1986, p. 31; Porumb 1998, p. 327-328.

41 Buda [2024].





***

Finally, let's formulate the question around which this entire study revolves: can Ukrainian icon art be considered an important component of the artistic decorations of the Romanians' churches in Transylvania? Or were the churches decorated only occasionally and, out of ignorance, by mistake, with works foreign to the authentic Romanian Orthodox spirit? Provincial and peripheral in relation to the activity of some aulic workshops or workshops patronized by large important monasteries, local artistic creation was always dependent on what came from beyond the borders and gravitated towards the place with the most intense and/or most accessible artistic activity. That is why the northern half oriented itself towards the Ruthenian and Moldavian artistic centers, with which it maintained relations of hierarchical subordination, but the southern half felt closer to the South Carpathian and South Danube artistic centers, with which cultural, economic and interpersonal relations were likewise more frequent. There was never enough time for stylistic homogenization, as we can see in Wallachia in the last decades of the 17th century and the early decades of the 18th century, when the only Romanian artistic synthesis, known as the Brancovan style, was achieved. This style was successful even in Transylvania, where, in the southern parts, its echoes lasted until late in the 19th century. But it was not a question of deliberately assumed longevity, as a result of the affirmation of the national spirit. It was a matter of preserving the canon within the limits of some provincial

Fig. 65. Constantin Râșcanu, son of Ursan, *Mother of God with the Christ Child*, last quarter of the 18th century, Baia de Criș.
Credits: Andrei Buda.

Fig. 66. Constantin Râșcanu, son of Ursan, *The Archangel Michael*, 1776, Groșii Noi.
Credits: Andrei Buda.

Fig. 67. Constantin Râșcanu, son of Ursan, *Saints Matthew and Mark*, royal doors from Zimbru, 1783.
Credits: Andrei Buda.



workshops. Their artistic production was intended almost exclusively for the population of the neighboring countryside, while the social and economic elite deliberately preferred academic art.

Under these conditions, the option for modernization recorded previously in the 18th century, an option materialized in the mature works of the most important Transylvanian Romanian painters, illustrates a conscious, even if not organized, approach to Western culture. Taking these first steps along circuitous paths and adopting new models and techniques from other Orthodox painters, who had started to approach the West earlier and for other reasons, were not the signs of a crisis of conscience, despite the confessional conflicts that divided Transylvanian Romanian society in the middle of the 18th century. On the contrary, the painters who accepted most of the changes, most of them Orthodox, painted both Orthodox and Greek Catholic churches. The fact that their art was oscillating and did not completely break with the post-Byzantine and post-Brancovan tradition is explained by the provincialism to which they were reduced, both in terms of their training and their opportunities for affirmation. When the largest works they were commissioned to do did not exceed the dimensions of a village church, and the costs involved reflected a rather modest material condition, the necessary resources could not be gathered, nor could the motivation to invest in acquiring new skills be found.

The case of Simion Silaghi-Sălăgeanu is as illustrative as possible in this sense. Particularly talented, seeing possibilities of greater profit in the Romanian environment of the Western Carpathians, where the opening of the gold mines allowed a faster accumulation of capital, and the effort to beautify the churches was better supported, Simion followed almost every step to become an authentic modern painter, able to respond to the new taste. But the economic momentum waned just as his art reached its peak, and so he was left only with the opportunity of creating scattered works. None of his sons who became painters seems to have even tried to break away from the specific education received at home. It is true that none seem to have been sufficiently gifted to show such ambitions. After Simion's death, in order to carry out more elevated orders, the workshop in Abrud had to hire professional painters, such as Dimitrie Dimitriu from Bucharest, who painted the iconostasis in the church of Bucium-Izbita (Alba County) in 1835-1836 (fig. 67).[42] At that time, when taste and stylistic orientations had already taken another turn, the older tendency to follow the Ukrainian model received a final boost from this representative of the Cernica-Căldăruşani school of painting.



▲ Fig. 67. Dimitrie Dimitriu, *Deesis*, 1836, Bucium-Izbita. Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Notes

42 Dumitran 2012a, p. 157.

Bibliographical Abbreviations

Abrudan 2019 Ioan Ovidiu Abrudan, "The Pious Saint Paraskevi Church in Rășinari," in *Museikon*, 3, 2019, p. 25-50.

Afreschi e icone dalla Grecia **1986** *Afreschi e icone dalla Grecia (x-xvii secolo)*, Atene 1986.

Αχειμαστου-Ποταμιανου 1998 Μυρταλη Αχειμαστου-Ποταμιανου, *Είκονες τογ Βγζαντίνογ Μογσείογ Αθηνων*, Αθηνα 1998.

Акафісти **1663** *Акафісти*, Друкарня Києво-Печерської лаври, Київ 1663, http://irbis-nbuv.gov.ua/cgi-bin/ua/elib.exe?Z21ID=&I21DBN=UKRLIB&P21DBN=UKRLIB&S21STN.

Акафісти **1674** *Акафісти*, Друкарня Києво-Печерської лаври, Київ 1674.

Акти 1783-1784 *Акти генеральної візитації Петра Білянського Львівського, Галицького і Каменецького єпископа 1783–1784 рр.*, Andrey Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv, Department of manuscripts and old printed books, Ркл 27.

Александрович 1996 Володимир Александрович, "Малярі та мережа малярських осередків Волині xvi століття," in *Волинська ікона: питання історії вивчення, дослідження та реставрації. Тези та матеріали iii Всеукраїнської наукової конференції м. Луцьк, 12–13 грудня 1996 року*, Луцьк 1996, p. 5-13.

Александрович 2000 Володимир Александрович, *Західноукраїнські малярі століття. Шляхи розвитку професійного середовища*, Львів 2000.

Александрович 2001 Володимир Александрович (article published under the pseudonym Oleksij Batychan), "Традиції церковного мистецтва в історичній Перемишльській єпархії," in *Київська Церква*, 2-3, 2001, p. 276-284.

Александрович 2010 Володимир Александрович, *Монументальне малярство. Історія українського мистецтва*, Т. 2: *Мистецтво середніх віків*, ІМФЕ ім. М. Т. Рильського НАН України, Київ 2010.

Александрович 2011 Володимир Александрович, "Відкриття малярської спадщини галицько-волинського князівства xiii століття," in *Княжа доба: історія і культура*, 4, 2011, p. 154-179.

Александрович, Мыцько 1993 Владимир Александрович, И. Мыцько, "Архиерейский служебник и требник Ивана Боярского: уникальный рукописный кодекс 1632 г.," in *Памятники культуры. Новые открытия*, 1993, p. 138-147.

Michael Altripp, *Die Prothesis in ihre Bildasstattung in Byzanz unter besonderer Berücksichtigung de Denkmäler Griechenlands*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main 1998. **Altripp 1998**

Susana Andea, Avram Andea, "Mănăstirea Rîmeț în secolele XVI-XVII," in *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 2, 1992, p. 194-203. **Andea, Andea 1992**

Ana Andreescu, *Cartea românească în veacul al XVIII-lea. Repertoriul illustrațiilor*, Editura Vremea XXI, București 2004. **Andreescu 2004**

Archiwum książąt Lubartowiczów Sanguszków w Sławucie, vol. 4, Lviv 1890. ***Archiwum* 1890**

Ioan Ardeleanu, "Documente istorice," in *Foi'a besericésca si scolastica: Organu alu provinciei metropolitane greco-catolice de Alb'a-Julia si Fagarasiu*, 1, 16 (15 May 1888), p. 265-266. **Ardeleanu 1888**

Răzvan Theodorescu, Marius Porumb (eds), *Arta din România. Din preistorie în contemporaneitate*, vol. I-II, Editura Academiei Române, Editura Mega, București – Cluj-Napoca 2018. ***Arta din România* 2018**

Ion Bianu, Nerva Hodoș, *Bibliografia românească veche*, 1508-1830, vol. 1: 1508-1713, București 1903. **BRV 1903**

Gordana Babić, "L'image symbolique de la „Porte Fermée" a Saint-Clément d'Ohrid," in *Synthronon. Art et archéologie de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age. Recueil d'études par André Grabar et un groupe de ses disciples*, Paris 1968, p. 145-152 **Babić 1968**

Alexandru Baboș, *Three Centuries of Carpentering Churches. A chronological approach to the sacred wooden architecture of Maramureș*, Lund University, 2000. **Baboș 2000**

Alexandru Baboș, Mihai Covaci, "Raport de cercetare a unor picturi din bisericile de lemn maramureșene," in *Acta Musei Maramorosiensis*, XVI, p. 604-619. **Baboș, Covaci 2020**

Elena Băjenaru, *Icoane şi iconari din Ţara Făgăraşului. Centre şi curente de pictură pe sticlă*, Editura Oscar Print, Bucureşti 2012. **Băjenaru 2012**

Elka Bakalova, Gaetano Passarelli, Sreten Petković, Anca Vasiliu, Tania Velmans, Panayotis L. Vocotopoulos, *Il viaggio dell'icona dalle origini alla caduta di Bisanzio*, Jaca Book, Milano 2002. **Bakalova *et alii* 2002**

Tímea Bakonyi, Alexandra Erdős, Zsófia Imrik, Edina Kránitz, "Az abaújszolnoki oltár restaurálása," in Szilveszter Terdik (ed.), *In the Light of Thy Countenance. Greek Catholics in Hungary*, Magyarországi Sajátjogú Metropolitai Egyház, Debrecen 2020, p. 222-225. **Bakonyi *et alii* 2020**

Constantin Bălan (ed.), *Inscripţii medievale şi din epoca modernă a României. Judeţul istoric Vâlcea (sec. XIV-1848)*, Bucureşti 2005. **Bălan 2005**

Chrysanthe Baltoyianni, *Icons. Mother of God*, Adam Editions, Athens 1994. **Baltoyianni 1994**

Nicolae Bănescu, *Un problème d'histoire médiévale: Création et caractère du second Empire Bulgare (1185)*, Tiparul „Cartea Românească", București, 1943. **Bănescu 1943**

Лазар Баранович, *Трубы на дни нарочитыя*, Друкарня Києво-Печерської лаври, Київ 1674. **Баранович 1674**

Łazarz Baranowicz, *Nowa miara starey wiary, Bogiem udzielona*, Z Typographiey Archiepiskopskiey w Nowogródku Siewierskim zostającey [w Nowogrodku Siewierskim], 167[6]. **Baranowicz, 1676a**

Łazarz Baranowicz, *Pamiec Śmierci albo krzyż Chrystusow na ktorey żywot nasz umarł [...]*, Z Typographiey Archiepiskopskiey w Nowogródku Siewierskim, Nowogródek Siewierski 1676. **Baranowicz, 1676b**

Bârz 2016 Mirela Ana Bârz, *Icoane de Nicula din patrimoniul Muzeului Maramureșan*, Asociația Centrul de Ecologie și Turism Maramureș, Sighetu Marmației 2016.

Бєлікова 2019 Галина Бєлікова, *Явлення. Пам'ятки Київського Братського монастиря*, Національний художній музей України, Київ 2019.

Betea 2013 Raluca Betea, "Icoana Judecății de apoi din biserica de lemn din Budești-Josani (județul Maramureș)," in *Apulum*, series *Historia et Patrimonium*, L, 2013, p. 71-112.

Bezviconi 1947 Gheorghe Bezviconi, *Călători ruși în Moldova și Muntenia*, Institutul de Istorie Națională din București, București 1947.

Библія 1581 *Библія, сиріч книгы Ветхаго и Новаго Завіта по язіку словенску, [Острог] 1581*, https://archive.org/details/OstrogBiblija1581/page/n489/mode/2up?view=theater.

Biliarsky 2007 Ivan Biliarsky, "The cult of Saint Petka and the constantinopolitan marial cult," in Ivan Biliarsky, Radu G. Păun (eds), *Les cultes des saints souverains et des saints guerriers et l'idéologie du pouvoir en Europe Centrale et Orientale*, București 2007, p. 81-104.

Bîrlea 1909 Ioan Bîrlea, *Însemnări din bisericile Maramureșului*, Atelierele grafice Socec & Comp., București 1909.

Biskupski 1977 R. Biskupski, "Inspiracje grafiką malarstwa ikonowego XVII i I. połowy XVIII wieku," in *Materiały Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego w Sanoku*, 23, 1977, p. 10-19.

Biskupski 1991a Romuald Biskupski, *Ikony w zbiorach polskich*, Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe, Warszawa 1991.

Biskupski 1991b Romuald Biskupski, *Ikony ze zbiorów Muzeum Historycznego w Sanoku*, Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe, Warszawa 1991.

Боднарчук 2002 Ярослава Боднарчук, "Ікона «Христос Виноградар» (XVIII ст.)," in *Волання з Волині*, Ч. 3 (46), 2002, p. 47-48.

Bogdan 1968 Ioan Bogdan, *Scrieri alese*, Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, București 1968, p. 180-206.

Bologna 1963 Ferdinando Bologna, *Les origines de la peinture italienne*, Veb Edition, Leipzig 1963.

Bołoz-Antoniewicz 1897 J. Bołoz-Antoniewicz, "W sprawie sztuki kościelnej," in J. Bołoz-Antoniewicz, J. Mycielski, *Cele i drogi sztuki kościelnej (odbitka z Księgi pamiątkowej II. Zjazdu katolickiego odbytego we Lwowie w dniach 7. 8. i 9. lipca 1896)*, Żółkiew 1897, p. 3-19.

Borza, Gradoš 2018 Peter Borza, Juraj Gradoš (eds), *Historický schematismus farností Prešovskej metropolie, Prešovska archieparchia* (*Gréckokatolícka cirkev na Slovensku* 8.), Prešov [2018].

Boschkov 1969 Atanas Boschkov, *Die bulgarische Malerei von den Anfängen bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, Verlag Aurel Bongers, Recklinghausen 1969.

Бошкович 1966 М. Бошкович, *Ранняя итальянская станковая живопись*, Корвина, Будапешт 1966.

Brăcăcescu 2021 Cristian Brăcăcescu, *Biserici de lemn din Sălaj. Lăcașuri de suflet / Places of Worship. The Wooden Churches of Sălaj*, igloomedia, București 2021.

Bratu 2010 Bogdan Bratu, *Icoana Împărăției. Pictura exterioară a bisericilor Moldovei*, Editura Patmos, Suceava 2010.

Bratu 2015 Anca Bratu, *Pictura murală maramureșeană*, Editura ACS, București 2015.

Brătulescu 1941 Victor Brătulescu, "Biserici din Maramureș," in *Buletinul Comisiuni Monumentele Istorice*, 1941, XXXIV, fasc. 107-110.

Brykowski, Chrzanowski, Kornecki 1979 R. Brykowski, T. Chrzanowski, M. Kornecki, *Sztuka Rumunii*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1979.

Andrei Buda, *Tehnică și expresie plastică în arta făuritorilor de iconostase. Bisericile românești din zona Hunedoarei din veacurile XVIII-XIX* (doctoral dissertation prepared at the University "Lucian Blaga", Sibiu, digital text in possession of the author). **Buda [2024]**

Augustin Bunea, *Din Istoria Românilor. Episcopul Ioan Inocențiŭ Klein (1728-1751)*, Tipografia Seminariuluĭ archidiecesan gr[eco]-cat[olic], Blaj 1900. **Bunea 1900**

Augustin Bunea, *Episcopiĭ Petru Paul Aron și Dionisiŭ Novacovicĭ saŭ istoria românilor transilvăneni de la 1751 până la 1764*, Tipografia Seminariuluĭ Archidiecesan, Blaj 1902. **Bunea 1902**

И. Л. Бусева-Давыдова "Русский иконостас XVII века: генезис типа и итоги эволюции," in А. Лидов (ред.), *Иконостас. Происхождение – Развитие – Символика*, Москва 2000, p. 621-650. **Бусева-Давыдова 2000**

И. Л. Бусева-Давыдова, С. Ванеян, "Иконостас," in *Православная Энциклопедия*, т. XXII, Москва 2009. **Бусева-Давыдова, Ванеян 2009**

Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art. Athens, Old University, July 26th 1985 – January 6th 1986, Athens, Cultural capital of Europe 1985. ***Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art* 1985**

A. W. Carr, "Images: Expressions of Faith and Power," in H. C. Evans (ed.), exhibition catalog *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New Haven 2004, p.143-152. **Carr 2004**

Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Kyiv, Mystetstvo, Kyiv 2001. ***Cathedral* 2001**

Adolfo Salvatore Cavallo, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1993. **Cavallo 1993**

Manolis Chatzidakis, "Recherches sur le painter Théophane le Crétois," in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 23/24, 1969, p. 311-352. **Chatzidakis 1969**

Μανωλης Χατζηδακης, *Είκονες της Πατμου*, Εθνίκή Τραπεζα της Ελλαδος, 1977. **Χατζηδακης 1977**

Nanò Chatzidakis, *Venetiae quasi alterum Byzantium. Da Candia a Venezia. Icone Greche in Italia. XV-XVI Secolo*, Museo Correr, Venezia, 17 settembre – 30 ottobre 1993, Fondazione per la Cultura Greca, Atene 1993. **Chatzidakis 1993**

Nano Chatzidakis, *Ikonen. Die Sammlungen Velimezis*, Benaki Museum, 2001. **Chatzidakis 2001**

Ε. Χατζητρύφωνος, "Το ξυλόγλυπτο τέμπλο του καθολικού της μονής Βλατάδων," in *Θεσσαλονίκη*, 1, 1985, p. 451-484. **Χατζητρύφωνος 1985**

Adelaida Chiroșca, "Hristos Euharistic în colecția de icoane a Muzeului național de istorie a Moldovei," in *Tyragetia*, x [xxv], nr. 2, 2016, p. 301-316. **Chiroșca 2016**

Arhimandrit Policarp Chițulescu, Sorin Sebastian Duicu, Monahia Atanasia Văetișsi, *Colecția de Artă a Patriarhiei Române. Catalogul Muzeului de la Mănăstirea Antim*, București 2016. **Chițulescu, Duicu, Văetișsi 2016**

Alexandru Constantin Chituță, "Tripticul Deisis din patrimoniul Muzeului Național Brukenthal. Istorie, iconografie și considerații actuale," in Dana Roxana Hrib (ed.), *In honorem Prof. univ. dr. Sabin Adrian Luca. Istorie și destin*, Editura Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Sibiu 2019, p. 375-381. **Chituță 2019**

G. Ciobanu "Les manuscrits de Putna et certains aspects de la civilisation médiévale roumaine," in *Révue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art*, Série *Beaux-Arts*, 13, 1976, p. 65-77. **Ciobanu 1976**

Constantin I. Ciobanu, "L'iconographie de l'Hymne Acathiste dans les fresques de l'église St. Onuphre du monastère Lavrov et dans la peinture extérieure moldave au temps du premier règne de Petru Rareș," in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art*, Série *Beaux-Arts*, 47, 2010, p. 3-24. **Ciobanu 2010a**

Constantin I. Ciobanu, "Armoniile numerologice ale Acatistului de la Arbore," in *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 20, 2010, p. 79-107. **Ciobanu 2010b**

Ciobanu 2011 Constantin I. Ciobanu, "Biserica din Lujeni: Istoria cercetării monumentului și specificul programului iconografic," in *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 21, 2011, p. 5-14.

Cleland 2009 Elizabeth Cleland, "Small-scale devotional tapestries – Fifteenth and Sixteenth centuries. Part 2: The Mystic Grapes Group," in *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, 2009, nr. 16, p. 141-164.

Cojocaru 2021 Cristina Cojocaru, "The Painter Grigorie Popovici and His Master Jovan. Contacts Between East and West During the Second Half of the 18th Century", in *Museikon*, 5, 2021, p. 249-316.

Cojocaru, Negrău, Polizu, Văetişi 2017 Cristina Cojocaru, Elisabeta Negrău, Sultana-Ruxandra Polizu, Monahia Atanasia Văetișii, *Iconostase din București. Secolele XVII-XIX*, București 2017.

Constantinescu, Cocora 1964 Fr. Horia Constantinescu, Fr. Gabriel Cocora, "Poiana Mărului," in *Glasul Bisericii*, 23, 1964, nr. 5-6, p. 466-500.

Ћоровић-Љубинковић 1965 М. Ћоровић-Љубинковић, *Средњовековни дуборез у источним областима Југославије*, Београд 1965.

Ћоровић-Љубинковић 1966 М. Ћоровић-Љубинковић, "Дуборезни иконостаси XVII века на Светој Гори," in *Хиландарски зборник*, 1, 1966, p. 119-137.

Costăchescu 1932 Mihai Costăchescu, *Documente moldovenești înainte de Ștefan cel Mare*, vol. II, Viața Românească S. A., Iași 1932.

Costea 1989 Constanța Costea, "Un exemplar de artă paleologă în România," in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie „A. D. Xenopol"*, 1, 1989, p. 381-392.

Costea 1990a Constanţa Costea, "Unpublished Works to Complete the Catalogue of Wallachian Painting in the Sixteenth Century," in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art*, Série *Beaux-Arts*, 27, 1990, p. 19-33.

Costea 1990b Constanța Costea, "Constantinopolul în iconografia târzie din Țara Românească," in *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei*, seria *Artă Plastică*, 40, 1990, p. 19-33.

Costea 1993 Constanța Costea, "La sfârșitul unui secol de erudiție: pictura de icoane din Moldova în timpul lui Ieremia Movilă. Ambianța Suceviței," in *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 3, 1993, p. 77-90.

Costea 1996 Constanța Costea, "Ilustrația de manuscris în mediul cărturăresc al mitropolitului Anastasie Crimcovici. Liturghierul," in *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei*, seria *Artă Plastică*, 43, 1996, p. 19-35.

Costea 2003 Constanța Costea, "Icoanele de la Aninoasa și unele probleme ale imaginii în Țara Românească în a doua jumătate a secolului XVII și la începutul secolului XVIII," in *Artă, istorie, cultură. Studii în onoarea lui Marius Porumb*, Editura Nereamia Napocae, Cluj-Napoca 2003, p. 221-231.

Costea 2008 Constanța Costea, "Comments on Continuity in Medieval Painting," in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art*, Série *Beaux-Arts*, 45, 2008, p. 127-140.

Cotovanu 2014 Lidia Cotovanu, "L'émigration sud-danubienne vers la Valachie et la Moldavie et sa géographie (XVe-XVIIe siècles): la potentialité heuristique d'un sujet peu connu," in *Cahiers balkaniques*, 42, 2014, édition électronique.

Creţeanu 1977 Radu Creţeanu, "Un egumen al Tismanei: Mitropolitul Ștefan I al Ungrovlahiei," in *Mitropolia Olteniei*, 29, 1977, nr. 1-3, p. 119-139.

Creţulescu 1910 Narcis Creţulescu, "Inscripțiile Monastirei Neamțu (urmare)," in *Documente în Arhiva – Organul Societății Științifice și Literare din Iași*, an XXI, nr. 1, ianuarie 1910, p. 37-41.

Cristache-Panait 1987 Ioana Cristache-Panait, *Biserici de lemn monumente istorice din Episcopia Alba Iuliei, mărturii de continuitate și creație românească*, Editată cu purtarea de grijă a P. S. Episcop Emilian, Alba Iulia 1987.

Cristache-Panait 1995 Ioana Cristache-Panait, "Bisericile de lemn din centrul și nordul județului Arad," in *Revista Monumentelor Istorice*, 1-2, 1995, p. 45-66.

Tamás Csáki, Xénia Golub (szerk.), *Szerb székesegyház a Tabánban. Az eltűnt Rácváros emlékezete*, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, Matica Srpska Képtára, Szerb Egyházi Múzeum, Budapest 2019. **Csáki, Golub 2019**

I. Czamańska, *Mołdawia i Wołoszczyzna wobec Polski, Węgier i Turcji w XIV i XV wieku*, Poznań 1996. **Czamańska 1996**

Documenta Romaniae Historica, A. *Moldova*, vol. I (1384-1448), București 1975. **DRH-A**

Documenta Romaniae Historica, D. *Relații între țările române*, vol. I, București 1977. **DRH-D**

Andrii Danylenko, "On the Names of Ruthenia in Early Modern Poland-Lithuania," in Michał Németh, Barbara Podolak, Mateusz Urban (eds), *Essays in The History of Languages and Linguistics. Dedicated to Marek Stachowski on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday*, Kraków 2017, p. 161-173. **Danylenko 2017**

Dinko Davidov, "Ukrajinski uticaji na srpsku umetnost sredine XVIII veka i slikar Vasilije Romanovič," in *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti Matice srpske*, 5, 1969, p. 121-138 **Davidov 1969**

Динко Давидов, *Српска графика XVIII века*, 2nd edition, Scanner studio, Београд 2006. **Давидов 2006**

"Деяния Виленского Собора 1509 г.," in *Памятники полемической литературы в Западной Руси*, т. 1, Петербург 1878. *Деяния Виленского Собора 1509 г.*

F. W. Deichmann, "Zur Erscheinung des Sternes von Bethlehem," in *Vivarium: Festschrift Theodor Klauser zum 90. Geburstag*, Münster 1984, p. 98-106. **Deichmann 1984**

Waldemar Deluga, "Les portraits de la Famille Movila du XVIIe s.," in *Révue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art*, Série *Beaux-Arts*, 31, 1994, p. 73-85. **Deluga 1994a**

Waldemar Deluga, "Les gravures orthodoxes et gréco-catholiques de la République Polonaise de XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles," in *Revues des Études Slaves*, LXVI/2, 1994, p. 267-284. **Deluga 1994b**

Валдемар Делуга, "Молдавсько-волоські елементи в церковних розписах Києва за часів Петра Могили," in *Петро Могила і сучасність (до 400-річчя від дня народження: збірник доповідей і повідомлень Міжнародної наукової конференції. Київ, 14-16 березня 1996 р.*, Київ 1996, p. 34-36. **Делуга 1996a**

Валдемар Делуга, "Маляри та мережа малярських осередків Волині XVI століття," in *Волинська ікона: питання історії вивчення, дослідження та реставрації*, Луцьк 1996. **Делуга 1996b**

Waldemar Deluga, "The Influence of Dutch Graphic Archetypes on Icon Painting in the Ukraine, 1600-1750," in *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, XXXIV, 1996, 1-2, p. 5-26. **Deluga 1996c**

Валдемар Делуга, "Словник малярів Волині XVI-XVII століть," in *Волинська ікона: питаня історії вивчення, дослідження та реставрації*, Луцьк 1998. **Делуга 1998**

Waldemar Deluga, *Malarstwo i grafika cerkiewna w dawnej Rzeczpospolitej*, Gdańsk 2000. **Deluga 2000**

Waldemar Deluga, *Grafika z kręgu Ławry Pieczarskiej i Akademii Mohylańskiej*, Collegium Columbinum, Kraków 2003. **Deluga 2003a**

Waldemar Deluga, "Ukrainskie ikonostasy w dawnej Rzeczpospolitej. Dokumentacja naukowa Jarosława Bohdana Konstantynowicza," in K. Mart (red.), *Do piękna nadprzyrodzonego. Wystawa sztuki sakralnej XVI-XX wieku ze zbiorów muzeum chełmskiego i świątyń diecezji chełmskich. Katalog*, vol. 1, Chełm 2003. **Deluga 2003b**

Waldemar Deluga, "Malarstwo ikonowe na Rusi Koronnej w XV i XVI wieku," in A. Mironowicz *et alii* (eds), *The Orthodox Church in the Balkans and Poland. Connections and Common Tradition*, Białystok 2007. **Deluga 2007**

Deluga 2019 Waldemar Deluga, *Ukrainian Painting Between the Byzantine and Latin Traditions*, Ostravska Universita, Filozofická fakulta, Ostrawa – Warsaw 2019.

Diaconescu 2013 Marius Diaconescu, "Contribuții la datarea donației Ciceului și Cetății de Baltă lui Ștefan cel Mare," in *Analele Putnei*, IX, 1, 2013, p. 91-112.

Dima 2012 Cristina-Ioana Dima, *Apocalipsul Maicii Domnului. Versiuni românești din secolele al XVI-lea – al XIX-lea*, Editura Academiei Române, București 2012.

Dionisie din Furna 2000 Dionisie din Furna, *Erminia picturii bizantine*, Editura Sophia, București 2000.

Dionysius of Fourna 1974 *The 'Painter's Manual' of Dionysius of Fourna*, tr. from Greek P. Hetherington, London 1974.

Djurić 1961 Vojislav J. Djurić, *Icônes de Yougoslavie*, Belgrade 1961.

Dobjanschi 2003 Ana Dobjanschi, "Icoane transilvănene în colecția Muzeului Național de Artă al României," in *Artă, istorie, cultură. Studii în onoarea lui Marius Porumb*, Editura Nereamia Napocae, Cluj-Napoca 2003, p. 233-238.

Dobjanschi, Georgescu 1998 Ana Dobjanschi, Maria Georgescu, *Icoane din Târgoviște, secolele XVI-XIX*, București 1998.

Dobjanschi, Iancovescu 1992 Ana Dobjanschi, Ioana Iancovescu, *De la Matei Basarab la Constantin Brâncoveanu. Arta secolului al XVII-lea*, catalog de expoziție, Bucureşti 1992.

Dobjanschi, Simion 1978 Ana Dobjanschi, Victor Simion, "Motive ornamentale în arta moldovenească a secolului al XVII-lea," in *Revista Muzeelor şi Monumentelor. Monumente Istorice şi de Artă*, 47, nr. 2, 1978, p. 69-78.

Dobjanschi, Simion 1979 Ana Dobjanschi, Victor Simion, *Arta în epoca lui Vasile Lupu*, [*sine loco*], 1979.

Dobos 2022a András Dobos, "A Zamoscsi zsinat határozatainak recepciójáról a történeti Munkácsi Egyházmegyében a kutatások új eredményei fényében," in *Athanasiana*, 54, 2022, p. 190-204.

Dobos 2022b András Dobos, *Prassi e teologia circa l'Eucaristia nella storica Eparchia di Mukačevo: Dall'unione di Užhorod (1646) fino alla metà del XX secolo*, Aschendorff Verlag, Münster 2022.

Donadieu-Rigaut 2001 Dominique Donadieu-Rigaut, "Les ordres religieux et le manteau de Marie," in *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes*, 8, 2001, p. 1-36.

Dragnev 2006 Emil Dragnev, "Noi observații privind programul iconografic al pronaosului bisericii Înălțării din Lujeni," in I. Ojog (ed.), *Studia in honorem Pavel Cocârlă. Studii de istorie medie și modernă*, Chișinău 2006, p. 51-61.

Dragnev 2014 Emil Dragnev, "Programul iconografic al pronaosului bisericii Înălțării de la Lujeni," in G. Herea, C. I. Ciobanu, C. C. Solomonea, C. E. Ursu (eds), *Schola, ars, historia: in honorem Tereza Sinigalia la 45 de ani de activitate științifică*, Pătrăuți 2014, p. 87-128.

Dragnev 2015 Emil Dragnev, "Le programme iconographique du système d'élévation de la tour de la nef de l'église de la Vraie Croix de Pătrăuți," in *Eikón Imago*, 8, nr. 2, 2015, p. 15-46.

Dragnev 2019 Emil Dragnev, "Noi reflexe miniaturistice în pictura murală din Moldova medievală. Cazul bisericii Sf. Nicolae din Rădăuți," in Constantin Manolache (ed.), *Historia est magistra vitae. Civilizație, valori, paradigme, personalități. In honorem profesor Ion Eremia*, Biblioteca Științifică Centrală, Secția editorial-poligrafică, Chișinău 2019, p. 93-104.

Dragnev 2020 Emil Dragnev, "Deisis-ul împărătesc de la Mănăstirea Secu și evoluțiile temei în pictura ecleziastică din Moldova medievală," in *Buletin informativ al Simpozionului Național „Rolul Mănăstirii Secu în viața religioasă a Țării Moldovei"*, VI, Editura Cetatea Doamnei, Piatra Neamț 2020, p. 63-70.

Emil Dragnev, "Ciclul «Vieții Sf. mucenic N ichita» în picturile murale de la Arbore. Coordonate iconografice și textuale," in Ciprian Firea, Aurel Rustoiu, Coriolan Horațiu Opreanu (eds.), *Sub semnul artei. Studii în onoarea academicianului Marius Porumb la 80 de ani*, Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca 2023, p. 255-284. **Dragnev 2023**

Silviu Dragomir, "Contribuții privitoare la relațiile Bisericii românești cu Rusia în secolul XVII," in *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, series II, XXXIV, 1911-1912, p. 1066-1247. **Dragomir 1911-1912**

Vasile Drăguț, *Pictura murală din Transilvania*, Editura Meridiane, București 1970. **Drăguț 1970**

Vasile Drăguţ, *Pictura murală din Moldova sec. XV-XVI*, Bucureşti 1982. **Drăguţ 1982**

Михайло Драган, *Українська декоративна різьба XVI-XVIII ст.*, Видавництво «Наукова думка», Київ 1970. **Драган 1970**

М. Драган, І. Свєнціцький, В. Пещанський, *Скит Манявський і Богородчанський іконостас*, Жовква 1926. **Драган, Свєнціцький, Пещанський 1926**

Y. Drishti, L. Cika, *Icons of Berat. Collection of The National Museum-Berat XIV-XX century*, Tirane 2004. **Drishti, Cika 2004**

Галина Друзюк, Михайло Скоп, "Ікона Івана Рутковича «Богородиця Одигітрія» із Кам'янко-Бузького району: художні особливості, атрибуція та іконографія," in *Народознавчі зошити*, nr. 1 (163), 2022, p. 36-49. **Друзюк, Скоп 2022**

Ana Dumitran, "Un zugrav de elită: Grigore Ranite," in *Annales Universitatis Apulensis*, Series *Historica*, 14/I, 2010, p. 83-98. **Dumitran 2010**

Ana Dumitran, *Colecția de icoane pe sticlă a Muzeului Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia*, vol. I, Maierii Bălgradului, Editura Altip, Alba Iulia 2011. **Dumitran 2011a**

Ana Dumitran, "Iconostasul catedralei din Blaj, între Ștefan Tenețchi și Grigore Ranite," in *Ars Transsilvaniae*, XXI, 2011, p. 69-78. **Dumitran 2011b**

Ana Dumitran, "Pictura românească în județul Alba până la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea. Demersuri pentru o bază de date," in *Patrimonium Apulense*, XII, 2012, p. 7-387. **Dumitran 2012a**

Ana Dumitran, "Pictorul Simion Silaghi-Sălăgeanu. În căutarea identității," in *Annales Universitatis Apulensis*, Series *Historica*, 16/I, 2012, p. 189-228. **Dumitran 2012b**

Ana Dumitran, "Siladi Șimon, ucenicul jupânului Andraș din Cluj. Parcurs retrospectiv în căutarea unui maestru," in *Apulum*. Series *Historia & Patrimonium*, L, 2013, p. 271-330. **Dumitran 2013a**

Ana Dumitran, *Fecioarele înlăcrimate ale Transilvaniei. Catalogul expoziției temporare deschise la Complexul Muzeal Județean Bistrița-Năsăud, septembrie – noiembrie 2013*, Editura Altip, Alba Iulia 2013. **Dumitran 2013b**

Ana Dumitran, "Între logos și eikon. Un eseu despre icoană, români și protestantism în Transilvania secolului al XVII-lea," in Daniel Dumitran, Ileana Burnichioiu (eds), *Sacred Space in Central and Eastern Europe from Middle Ages to the Late Modernity: Birth, Function, and Changes* (*Annales Universitatis Apulensis*, Series *Historica*, 18/1), Cluj-Napoca 2014, p. 115-152. **Dumitran 2014a**

Ana Dumitran, "Două gravuri ale lui Mihai Râmniceanul și ecoul lor transilvănean," in Cristina Bogdan (ed.), *Cartea-obiect. Istorie culturală, strategii de marketing și tehnologii multimediale*, Editura Universității din București, București 2014, p. 51-59. **Dumitran 2014b**

Ana Dumitran, "Luca din Iclod, un pictor transilvănean din secolul al XVII-lea," in *Apulum*, series *Historia et Patrimonium*, 52, 2015, p. 25-41. **Dumitran 2015**

Ana Dumitran, *Colecția Mușat: o geografie spirituală a icoanei pe sticlă transilvănene*, DAR Development Publishing, București 2018. **Dumitran 2018**

Ana Dumitran, "Ștefan Tenețchi – finalul unei cariere de succes," in *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 29, 2019, p. 85-90. **Dumitran 2019**

Dumitran 2020 Ana Dumitran, "The Chronology of the Murals in the Râmeț Monastic Church (Alba County, Romania) Based on a Reevaluation of the Dating of the Narthex Inscription," in *Museikon*, 4, 2020, p. 109-162.

Dumitran 2022 Ana Dumitran, "Ipoteze de lucru în legătură cu câteva icoane din Transilvania și Maramureș," paper presented at the conference *Date noi în cercetarea artei medievale și premoderne din România, ediția a XVIII-a, Muzeul Național de Artă al României, București, 28-29 aprilie 2022.*

Dumitran, Cucui 2008 Ana Dumitran, Elena-Daniela Cucui, *Zugravii de la Feisa*, Editura Altip, Alba Iulia 2008.

Dumitran, Cucui 2009 Ana Dumitran, Elena-Daniela Cucui, *Simon Bălgrădeanul*, Editura Altip, Alba Iulia 2009.

Dumitran, Cucui, Pop 2009 Ana Dumitran, Elena-Daniela Cucui, Saveta-Florica Pop, "Nistor Dascălul: contribuții la biografia unui zugrav din prima jumătate a veacului al XVIII-lea," in *Annales Universitatis Apulensis*, Series *Historica*, 13, 2009, p. 223-254.

Dumitran, Cucui, Pop, Mihu 2010 Ana Dumitran, Elena-Daniela Cucui, Saveta-Florica Pop, Elena Mihu, *Iacov Zugravul*, Editura Altip, Alba Iulia 2010.

Dumitran, Hegedűs, Rus 2011 Ana Dumitran, Enikő Hegedűs, Vasile Rus, *Fecioarele înlăcrimate ale Transilvaniei. Preliminarii la o istorie ilustrată a toleranței religioase*, Editura Altip, Alba Iulia 2011.

Dumitrescu 1988 Florentina Dumitrescu, "Rolul epocii lui Matei Basarab în unitatea și specificitatea artei românești. Câteva considerații asupra unor monumente sculptate în lemn," in *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei* , seria *Artă Plastică*, 35, 1988, p. 35-44.

Dumitrescu 2023 Andrei Dumitrescu, "Biserica Sf. Nicolae din Rădăuți," in *Arhiva Dragut*, accessed November 5, 2023, https://vasiledragut.omeka.net/items/show/22.

Джурова 1979 А. Джурова, *Орнамент и миниатюра болгарских рукописей X–XIV веков*, София 1979.

Efremov 1968a Alexandru Efremov "Două icoane din prima jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea," in *Revista Muzeelor*, 2, 1968, p. 139-143.

Efremov 1968b Alexandru Efremov, "Ion și Sofronie zugravii mănăstirii Sucevița, pictori de icoane," in *Revista Muzeelor*, 6, 1968, p. 502-508.

Efremov 1971 Alexandru Efremov, "Portrete de donatori în pictura de icoane din Ţara Românească," in *Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice*, XL, nr. 1, 1971, p. 41-48.

Efremov 1973 Alexandru Efremov, "Icoane de la mijlocul secolului al XVII-lea din biserica Stelea-Târgoviște," in *Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor. Monumente Istorice și de Artă*, 42, nr. 1, 1973, p. 53-56.

Efremov 1974 Alexandru Efremov, "Primul peisaj de concepţie occidentală în pictura de icoane din Ţara Românească," in *Revista Muzeelor şi Monumentelor. Monumente Istorice şi de Artă*, 43, nr. 1, 1974, p. 69-74.

Efremov 1982 Alexandru Efremov, "Pictura de icoane în epoca lui Matei Basarab," in *Mitropolia Olteniei*, 34, nr. 7-9, 1982, p. 467-485.

Efremov 2002 Alexandru Efremov, *Icoane românești*, Editura Meridiane, București, 2002.

Efremov 2003 Alexandru Efremov, *Icoane românești*, Editura Meridiane, București, 2003.

Eftimie 2014a Sfântul Eftimie, Patriarh de Târnovo, *Viața Cuvioasei Parascheva*, traducere din medio-bulgară de Gheorghiță Ciocioi, Editura Agapis, București 2014.

Eftimie 2014b Sfântul Eftimie, Patriarh de Târnovo, *Corespondența cu Sfântul Nicodim de la Tismana, Mitropolitul Antim al Ungrovlahiei, Monahul Ciprian viitor Mitropolit al Kievului și al întregii Rusii*, Editura Sophia, București 2014.

Alexandru Elian, "Contribuţia grecească la Mărturisirea ortodoxă",,in *Balcania*, 5/1, 1946, p. 79-135. **Elian 1946**

M. Elo (ed.), *The restoration of the Probota Monastery 1996-2001*, UNESCO, Paris 2001. **Elo 2001**

Ioana Ene, "Icoane din Epoca lui Matei Basarab în Vâlcea (I)," in *Buridava*, 6, 2008, p. 203-209. **Ene 2008**

Ioana Ene, "Icoane din Epoca lui Matei Basarab în Vâlcea (II)," in *Buridava*, 7, 2009, p. 286-289. **Ene 2009**

Ioana Ene, *Icoane brâncoveneşti şi post-brâncoveneşti din judeţul Vâlcea (1680-1730). Studiu şi catalog*, Râmnicu-Vâlcea, 2011. **Ene 2011**

Pál Engel, *Regatul Sfântului Ştefan. Istoria Ungariei medievale 895-1526*, Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca 2006. **Engel 2006**

A. W. Epstein, "The Middle Byzantine Sanctuary Barrier: Templon or Iconostasis?," in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 134, 1981, p. 1-28. **Epstein 1981**

K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, 15, Kraków 1897. **Estreicher 1897**

Л. М. Евсеева "Эсхатология 7000 года и возникновение высокого иконостаса," in А. Лидов (ред.), *Иконостас. Происхождение – Развитие – Символика*, Москва 2000, p. 411-430. **Евсеева 2000**

Ioana Feodorov, "Peter Movilă's Portraits Preserved in Museums and Collections of Kiev," in *Revue des Etudes Sud Est Européennes*, 54, nr. 1-4, 2016, p. 171-188. **Feodorov 2016**

Ioana Feodorov, "La Kiev, pe urmele mitropolitului Petru Movilă," in Constantin Manolache (ed.), *Istorie şi cultură. In honorem academician Andrei Eşanu*, Chişinău 2018, p. 712-728. **Feodorov 2018**

Elena Firea, "Icons on Trial. Negotiations Between Moscow and Moldavia over Some 'Noncanonical' Icons in the First Decades of the 17th Century," in *Museikon*, 5, 2021, p. 31-46. **Firea 2021**

Elena Firea, Ciprian Firea, "Icoanele «de la Mănăstirea Plosca» (jud. Hunedoara) şi legăturile lor cu arta Moldovei (sec. XV-XVI)," in Ciprian Firea, Aurel Rustoiu, Coriolan Horaţiu Opreanu (eds), *Sub semnul artei. Studii în onoarea academicianului Marius Porumb la 80 de ani*, Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca 2023, p. 313-332. **Firea, Firea 2023**

Г. А. Флікоп-Світа, "Іканастасы храмаў Вялікага Княства Літоўскага ў святле пісьмовых крыніц XVI ст.," in *Архіварыус*, 18, 2020. **Флікоп-Світа 2020**

Tamás Véghseő, Szilveszter Terdik, Majchrics Tiborné, Katalin Simon, Éva Lágler, *Források a magyarországi görögkatolikus parókiák történetéhez. Olsavszky Mihály Mánuel munkácsi püspök 1750-1752. évi egyházlátogatásainak iratai*, Szent Atanáz Görögkatolikus Hittudományi Főiskola, Nyíregyháza 2015 (Collectanea Athanasiana, II/7.). *Források* **2015**

Kurt Weitzmann, Manolis Chatzidakis, Krsto Miatev, Svetozar Radojčić, *Frühe Ikonen. Sinai, Griechenland, Bulgarien, Jugoslawien*, Bulgarski Hudoshnik, Jugoslavija Verlag, Sofia – Belgrad 1972. *Frühe Ikonen* **1972**

Géza Galavics, "A magyarországi jezsuiták és a barokk művészet – az identitás jelei," in Csaba Szilágyi (szerk.), *A magyar jezsuiták küldetése a kezdetektől napjainkig: A Piliscsabán 2004. november 8-10. között megtartott tudományos konferencia tanulmányai Piliscsaba, Magyarország, 2004.11.08–2004.11.10.* Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem BTK, Piliscsaba 2006, p. 321-344 (*Művelődéstörténeti Műhely. Rendtörténeti Konferenciák* 2.). **Galavics 2006**

Ionuţ Gânscă, "Iconografia Sfintei Euharistii: Iisus viţa-de-vie," in *Epifania*, Alba Iulia, martie-aprilie 1999, p. 9. **Gânscă 1999**

М. Гембарович, "Скульптура та різьблення," in *Історія українського мистецтва*. В 6 т. 3, Київ 1968, p. 126-151. **Гембарович 1968**

Gębarowicz 2016 Mieczysław Gębarowicz, *Najstarszy ikonostas cerkwi wołowskiej we Lwowie. Dzieje zabytku oraz jego rola w przemianach malarstwa cerkiewnego i sztuki ukraińskiej*, ed. Agnieszka Gronek, Ossolineum, Wrocław 2016.

Georgievski 1999 Milco Georgievski, *Icon Gallery – Ohrid*, Ohrid 1999.

Гербачевский 1891 Ф. Гербачевский, *Альбом русских древностей и памятников православия Холмско-Подляшской Руси*, Варшава 1891.

Гербачевский 1892 Ф. Гербачевский, *Русския древности и памятники православия Холмско-Подляшской Руси (Люблинской и Седлецкой губ.)*, Варшава 1892.

Гергова 2010 И. Гергова, "Иконостас из Погановског манастира," in *Ниш и Византија*, 8, 2010, p. 367-378.

Гергова 2012 И. Гергова, "Иконостаси от 17 век в Самоковско," in *Етнос и сакрална география. Годишник на Асоциация «Онгъл»*, 10, София 2012, p. 141-157, 373-376.

Gerstel 1999 Sharon E. J. Gerstel, *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries: Programs of the Byzantine Sanctuary*, College Art Association, University of Washington Press, Seattle and London 1999.

Giemza 2017 Jarosław Giemza, *Cerkwie i Ikony Łemkowszczyzny*, Libra, Rzeszów 2017.

Giemza 2020 Jarosław Giemza, *Cerkwie i ikony Łemkowszczyny*, Libra, Rzeszów 2020.

Giosanu 2013 † Ioachim Giosanu, *Cultul Sfintei Parascheva în Ortodoxie – cercetare hagiografico-liturgică*, Editura Filocalia, Roman 2013.

Глубоковский 1993 Н. Н. Глубоковский, "Киприан," in С. Аверинцев (ред.), *Христианство. Энциклопедический словарь*, vol. I, Москва 1993.

Goldfrank 1995 D. M. Goldfrank, "Who Put the Snake on the Icon and the Tollbooths on the Snake? – A Problem of Last Judgment Iconography," in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 19, 1995, p. 180-199.

Golimas 1980 Aurel H. Golimas, *Un domnitor, o epocă. Vremea lui Miron Barnovschi Moghilă, Voievod al Moldovei*, București 1980.

Golopenția 2006 Anton Golopenția, *Românii de la est de Bug*, vol. I-II, cu introducere, comentarii și note de prof. dr. Sanda Golopenția, Editura Enciclopedică, București 2006.

Головацкий 1887 Я. Ф. Головацкий, *Юбилейное издание в память 300-летнего основания Львовского Ставропигийского братства*, Вильна 1887.

Golub 2020 Golub Xénia, "Grábóc, szerb orthodox monostortemplom," in János Jernyei Kiss (szerk.), *Barokk freskófestészet Magyarországon* II., *Baranya, Somogy, Tolna és Zala megye*, MMA Kiadó – MÉM-MDK, Budapest 2020, p. 190-231.

Голуб 2015 Ксения Голуб, "Памятники славянской книжности в культурном наследии грекокатолической церкви в Венгрии," in *Ниш и Византија*, XIII, Ниш 2015, p. 465-476.

Голубев 1898 С. Т. Голубев, *Киевский митрополит Петр Могила и его сподвижники: (опыт церковно-исторического исследования)*, 2, Киев 1898.

Gorovei 2014 Ștefan Sorin Gorovei, *Întemeierea Moldovei – probleme controversate*, Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza", Iași ²2014.

Grama 1885 Alesandru V. Grama, "Pictur'a in catedral'a metropolitana din Blasiu," in *Fói'a basericésca*, 3, 22, 1885, p. 347-350.

Greceanu 2002 Eugenia Greceanu, "Etapele de construcție ale catedralei unite Sf. Treime din Blaj," in Marius Porumb, Aurel Chiriac (eds), *Artă românească, artă europeană: Centenar Virgil Vătășianu*, Editura Muzeului Țării Crișurilor, Oradea 2002, p. 153-162.

Grešlik 1994 Vladislav Grešlik, *Ikony Šarišského Múzea v Bardejove / Icons of the Šariš Museum at Bardejov*, Ars Monument, Bratislava 1994.

А. Д. Григорьев, *Устав 1488 года Яблочинского Св.-Онуфриевского монастыря Холмской Губернии*, Варшава 1913. **Григорьев 1913**

А. Д. Григорьев, *К истории Яблочинского Свято-Онуфриевского монастыря Холмской губернии*, Варшава 1915. **Григорьев 1915**

А. Гронек, "Портрет константинопольского патриарха Иеремии II из Музея Ягеллонского Университета в Кракове," in *Россия и христианский восток*, 2, Москва 2004, p. 136-148. **Гронек 2004**

A. Gronek, *Opuszczone dziedzictwo: o malowidłach w cerkwi św. Onufrego w Posadzie Rybotyckiej*, Księgarnia Akademicka, Kraków 2015. **Gronek 2015**

Agnieszka Gronek, "Obrzezanie Jezusa w sztuce cerkiewnej w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej. Święto, treść, ikonografia," in M. Kuczyńska, A. Z. Nowak (red.), *Dzieci w kulturze duchowej prawosławia* (series *Latopisy Akademii Supraskiej*, 11), 2020, p. 105-125. **Gronek 2020**

Agnieszka Gronek, "Icons from the Carpathian Mountains Region in the 'Spiritual Treasure of Ukraine' Museum in Kyiv," in *Museikon*, 6, 2022, p. 137-142. **Gronek 2022**

Borys Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform. The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Genesis of the Union of Brest*, Cambridge MA 1998. **Gudziak 1998**

С. Н. Гукова, "Знаки приснодевства Богоматери," in *Byzantinoslavica*, 63, 2005, p. 225-258. **Гукова 2005**

B. Gumińska, *Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, Galeria Sztuka cerkiewna dawnej Rzeczypospolitej. Przewodnik*, Kraków 2012. **Gumińska 2012**

Э. К. Гусева, *А. Рублев. Из собрания Государственной Третьяковской галереи*, Москва 1990. **Гусева 1990**

А. А. Гусева, Т. Н. Каменева, И. М. Полонская, *Украинские книги кирилловской печати XVI–XVIII. вв.*, I, Киев 1981. **Гусева, Каменева, Полонская 1981**

Alžbeta Güntherová (red.), *Súpis Pamiatok na Slovensku II, Slovenský ústav pamiatkovej starostlivosti a ochrany prirody*, Bratislava 1968. **Güntherová 1968**

Alexander Hajdecki, "Die Dynasten-Famillien der italienischen Bau- und Maurermeister der Barocke in Wien," in *Berichte und Mitteilungen des Altertums-Vereines zu Wien*, 39, 1906, p. 1-83. **Hajdecki 1906**

Г. А. Галенчанка, *Невядомыя і малавядомыя помнікі духоўнай спадчыны і культурных сувязей Беларусі XV - сяр. XVII стст.*, Мінск 2008. **Галенчанка 2008**

Йоаникій Галятовський, *Ключ разумінія*. Друкарня Михайла Сльозки, Львів 1665. **Галятовський 1665**

Йоаникій Галятовський, *Ключ розуміння*. Наукова думка, Київ 1985. **Галятовський 1985**

George Heard Hamilton, *The Art and Architecture of Russia*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1983. **Hamilton 1983**

Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu, *Scrieri*, vol. VIII: *Istoria critică a românilor*, text îngrijit și studiu introductiv de Grigore Brâncuș, Întreprinderea Editorial-Poligrafică „Știința", Chișinău 2008. **Hașdeu 2008**

Eva Haustein-Bartsch, Ferdinand Ullrich (Hrsg.), *Hinterglasikonen im Ikonen-Museum Recklinghausen. Bestandskatalog*, Druck- und Verlagshaus Bitter KG, Recklinghausen 1991. **Haustein-Bartsch, Ullrich 1991**

М. Гелитович, "Датовані ікони перемишльської, волинської та львівської шкіл українського малярства XVI століття," in *Волинська ікона: питання історії вивчення, дослідження та реставрації*, Луцьк 1999. **Гелитович 1999**

М. Гелитович, "Ікони молитовного ряду українських іконостасів XV-XVI ст.," in А. Чебикін (ред.), *Мистецтвознавство України: збірник наукових праць*, vol. 1, Київ 2000. **Гелитович 2000**

Гелитович 2003 М. Гелитович / M. Hełytowycz, "Ікони xv-xvi століть з Белза (у колекції Національного Музею у Львові)" / "Ikony xv–xvi wieku z Bełza (w kolekcji Muzeum Narodowego we Lwowie)," in K. Mart (red.), *Do piękna nadprzyrodzonego. Wystawa sztuki sakralnej xvi-xx wieku ze zbiorów muzeum chełmskiego i świątyń diecezji chełmskich. Katalog*, vol. 1, Chełm 2003, p. 60-79.

Гелитович 2005a Марія Гелитович, *Українські ікони "Спас у славі"*, Видавництво «Друкарські куншти», Львів 2005.

Гелитович 2005b Марія Гелитович, *Богородиця з Дитям і похвалою. Ікони колекції Національного музею у Львові*, Львів 2005.

Гелитович 2010 Марія Гелитович, *Ікони Старосамбірщини xiv-xvi століть зі збірки Національного Музею у Львові імені Андрея Шептицького*, Свічадо, Львів 2010.

Гелитович 2017 М. Гелитович, "Іконостас церкви Покрову Пресвятої Богородиці середини xvi ст. із ц. Поляна Львівської області: спроба реконструкції," in *Студії мистецтвознавчі*, 4 (60), 2017, p. 31-43.

Гелитович 2019 М. Гелитович, "Іконостас церкви Успіння Пресвятої Богородиці с. Наконечне – найповніший іконостасний ансамбль xvi століття," in *Вісник ЛНАМ*, 39, 2019, p. 73-88.

Генеральна візитація 1760-1761 *Генеральна візитація Львівської дієцезії 1760–1761 pp.*, Andrey Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv, Department of manuscripts and old printed books, Ркл. 21.

Генеральна візитація 1763-1764 *Генеральна візитація Львівської дієцезії 1763–1764 pp.*, Andrey Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv, Department of manuscripts and old printed books, Ркл. 24.

Herea 2011 Gabriel Herea, *Pelerinaj în spaţiul sacru bucovinean*, Editura Heruvim, Pătrăuţi, 2011.

Herea 2013 Gabriel Herea, *Mesajul eshatologic al spațiului sacru creștin – Arhitectură și icoană în Moldova secolelor xv-xvi*, Editura Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava 2013.

Herea 2017 Gabriel Herea, "Școala de artă moldovenească. Interacțiuni cu spațiul cultural polono-rutean, în secolele xv-xvi," in *Congresul Internațional de Teologie „Criterii de recunoaștere și evaluare a picturii bizantine" București 20-24 mai 2017*, Editura Basilica, București 2017, p. 115-146.

Herea, Giemza 2014 Pr. Gabriel Herea, Jarosław Giemza, "Programul iconografic al pronaosului bisericii Înălțării de la Lujeni," in G. Herea, C. I. Ciobanu, C. C. Solomonea, C. E. Ursu (eds), *Schola, ars, historia: in honorem Tereza Sinigalia la 45 de ani de activitate ştiinţifică*, Editura Heruvim, Pătrăuţi 2014, p. 153-181.

Himka 2004 John-Paul Himka, "The Icon of the Last Judgment in the Village of Roztoka, Transcarpathia," in Zachodnioukraińska Sztuka Cerkiewna, vol. II, Łańcut 2004.

Historia **1736** *Historia Thaumaturgae Virginis Claudiopolitanae*, Academia Claudiopolitana, 1736.

Гнатишак 1936 М. Гнатишак, *Скарби нашої культури*, Львів 1936.

Holy Image, Holy Space **1988-1990** *Holy Image, Holy Space. Icons and Frescoes from Greece*. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland, August 21 – October 16, 1988 / Center for the Fine Arts, Miami, Florida, November 14, 1988 – January 8, 1989 / Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas, February 6 – April 2, 1989 / The Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, San Francisco, California, April 25 – July 15, 1989 / The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio, September 6 – October 22, 1989 / The Detroit Institute of Art, Detroit, Michigan, November 10, 1989 – January 14, 1990.

Sviatoslav Hordynsky, *Die Ukrainische Ikone 12. bis 18. Jahrhundert*, München – Graz 1981.	**Hordynsky 1981**
С. Горін, *Монастирі Західної Волині (друга половина XV – перша половина XVII століть)*, Львів 2007.	**Горін 2007**
Hristos în Moldova, Editura Trinitas, Iaşi 2001.	*Hristos în Moldova* **2001**
Documente privitoare la istoria românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, vol. II, partea 5, Bucureşti, 1897.	**Hurmuzaki, vol. II/5**
Ioana Iancovescu, "Une image, ses sources et ses raisons d'être," in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art*, Série *Beaux-Arts*, 43, 2008, p. 29-34.	**Iancovescu 2006**
Ioana Iancovescu, "Les sources russes et ukrainiennes de la peinture murale au temps de Constantin Brancovan," in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art*, Série *Beaux-Arts*, 45, 2008, p. 101-116.	**Iancovescu 2008**
Ikona karpacka. Album wystawy „Ikona karpacka" w Parku Etnograficznym w Sanoku, red. J. Czajkowski, teksty: J. Czajkowski, R. Grządziela, A. Szczepkowski, Sanok 1998.	*Ikona karpacka* **1998**
Иконе, Народна књига, Вук Карџић, Београд 1981.	*Иконе* **1981**
Иконе Манастира Хиландара, текст Сретен Петковић, Фотографија Славомир Матејић, Манастир Хиландар, Света Гора Атонска, 1997.	*Иконе* **1997**
Ikonen uit Polen. Oekraïense ikonen uit de verzameling van het Muzeum Hirtoryczne te Sanok. 30 nobember 1991 t/m 1 maart 1992, Museum voor Religieuze Kunst Uden.	*Ikonen uit Polen* **1991-1992**
Ikony. Najpiękniejsze ikony w zbiorach polskich / Icons. The most beautiful icons in the Polish collections, Bosz Art, Olszanica 2001.	*Ikony* **2001**
Ikony przedstawienia Maryjne z kolekcji Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie, MNW Katalog Zbiorów, Warszawa 2004.	*Ikony* **2004**
Ikony. Najpiękniejsze ikony w zbiorach polskich / Icons. The most beautiful icons in the Polish collections, Bosz Art, Olszanica 2008.	*Ikony* **2008**
Ikony ze zbiorów Muzeum Okręgowego w Przemyślu, Krajova Agencja Wydawnicza w Krakowie, 1981.	*Ikony Przemyślu* **1981**
Alexandru Elian (ed.), Constantin Bălan, Haralambie Chircă, Olimpia Diaconescu, *Inscripţii medievale ale României. Oraşul Bucureşti*, vol. I (1395-1800), Bucureşti 1965.	*Inscripţii Bucureşti* **1965**
Инвентарь Кобринского монастыря св. Спаса 1549 года, in *Акты издаваемые Виленскою Археографическою Комиссией*, vol. VI, Вильно 1872.	*Инвентарь Кобринского монастыря* **1872**
Alina Geanina Ionescu, *Icoanele pe lemn şi sticlă din principalele colecţii sibiene*, Editura Astra Museum, Sibiu 2009.	**Ionescu 2009**
Nicolae Iorga, "Vasile Lupu ca următor al Împăraţilor de Răsărit în tutelarea Patriarhiei de Constantinopol şi a Bisericii Ortodoxe," in *Analele Academiei Române*, series II, XXXVI (1913-1914), Bucureşti 1914.	**Iorga 1914**
Nicolae Iorga, *Les arts mineurs en Roumanie*, vol. I, Edition de l'Imprimerie de l'État, Bucarest 1934.	**Iorga 1934**
Архієпископ Ігор (Ісіченко), *Духовні виміри богословського тексту: літературознавчі дослідження*, Харків 2016.	**Ісіченко 2016**
Istoria artelor plastice în România, edited by George Oprescu, vol. 2, Bucureşti 1968.	*Istoria artelor plastice în România* **1968**
Ioan Iufu, Victor Brătulescu, *Manuscrise slavo-române din Moldova. Fondul Mănăstirii Dragomirna*, ediţie îngrijită de Olimpia Mitric, Editura Universităţii „Alexandru Ioan Cuza", Iaşi 2012.	**Iufu, Brătulescu 2012**

Яковенко 1997 Н. Яковенко, *Нарис історії України з найдавніших часів до кінця XVIII ст.*, Київ 1997.

Яковенко 2016 Н. Яковенко, "Українська культура XVII ст. як пошук «третього шляху»," in *Шлях у чотири століття: матеріали Міжнар. наук. конф. «Ad Fontes – до джерел» до 400-ї річниці заснування Києво-Могилянської академії. Київ, 12-14 жовтня 2015 р.*, Київ 2016, p. 12-23.

Janocha 2001 M. Janocha, *Ukraińskie i białoruskie ikony świąteczne w dawnej Rzeczpospolitej. Problem kanonu*, Warszawa 2001.

Janocha 2008 Michał Janocha, *Ikony w Polsce, Od średniowiecza do współczesności*, Arkady, Warszawa 2008.

Janocha 2010 Michał Janocha, *Ikony w Polsce od średniowiecza do współczesności*, Arkady, Warszawa 2010.

Janocha 2018 Michał Janocha, "Ewolucja ikonostasu w sztuce cerkiewnej na terenie I Rzeczpospolitej," in *Techne*. Seria Nowa, 1, 2018, p. 79-104.

Janusz 1924 B. Janusz, "Zabytki mołdawskie we Lwowie," in *Wiadomości Konserwatorskie*, 1, nr. 2, Lwów 1924, p. 52-64.

Jara 2008 Renata Kinga Jara, "Sztuka w służbie Boskiej idei. Zagadnienia artystyczno-ideowe zbiorów sztuki Muzeum budownictwa ludowego w Sanoku na przykładzie kultowego żydowskiego rzemiosła artystycznego i malowideł ściennych cerkwi z Grązіowej," in *Materiały Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego w Sanoku*, 37, 2008, p. 210-245.

Jarema 1972 W. Jarema "Pierwotne ikonostasy w drewnianych cerkwiach na Podkarpaciu," in *Materiały Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego w Sanoku*, 16, 1972, p. 22-33.

Ярема 2005 Патріарх Димитрій (Ярема), *Іконопис Західної України XII-XV ст.*, Виавництво «Друкарські куншти», Львів 2005.

Ярема 2017 Патріарх Димитрій (Ярема), *Іконопис Західної України XVI-XVII ст.*, Виавництво «Друкарські куншти», Львів 2017.

Ясіновскій 2019 Ю. Ясіновскій (ред.), *Лаврівський невменний Ірмологіон кінця XVI століття. Факсимільна публікація, коментар, дослідження*, Львів 2019.

Jawor 2012 Grzegorz Jawor, *Aşezările de drept valah şi locuitorii lor din Rutenia Roşie în Evul Mediu târziu*, Editura Universităţii „Alexandru Ioan Cuza", Iaşi 2012.

Jenei 2002-2003 Dana Jenei, "Pictura murală a capelei din Hărman," in *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 12-13, 2002-2003, p. 81-102.

Качалова 1976 И. Я. Качалова, "К истории ныне существующего иконостаса Успенского собора," in *Государственные музеи Московского Кремля. Материалы и исследования*, 2, Москва 1976, p. 104-108.

Kádár 1901 Kádár József, *Szolnok-Dobokavármegye monographiája*, vol. IV, Deés 1901.

Каменева, Гусева 1976 Т. Н. Каменева, А. А. Гусева, *Украинские книги кирилловской печати XVI-XVIII вв., Каталог изданий хранящихся в Государственной библиотеке СССР имени В. И. Ленина*, 1: *1574 г. – 1 половина XVII в.*, Москва 1976.

Karakatsanis 1997 A. A. Karakatsanis (ed.), *Treasures of Mount Athos*, Thessaloniki 1997.

Каратаев 1861 И. П. Каратаев, *Хронологическая роспись славянских книг, напечатанных кирилловскими буквами 1491-1730*, Санкт-Петербург 1861.

Каргер 1961 М. К. Каргер, *Древний Киев*, 2, Москва-Ленинград 1961.

Kárpáti 1999 László Kárpáti, "Az egykori abaújszolnoki görög katolikus fatemplom Myskovszky Viktor rajzain és az egyházlátogatási jegyzőkönyv alapján (1876, 1877)," in *A Herman Ottó Múzeum évkönyve*, 37, 1999, p. 677-695.

В. Карпович, "Старий Львів: Церкви. II. На території княжого городу," in *Стара Україна: часопис історії і культури*, 5, 1925, p. 88-92.	**Карпович 1925a**
В. Карпович, "Старий Львів: Церкви. 3. Церква св. П'ятниць," in *Стара Україна: часопис історії і культури*, 6, 1925, p. 106-109.	**Карпович 1925b**
M. Karpowicz, "Uwagi o genezie form i oddziaływaniu Cerkwi Wołoskiej we Lwowie," in *Ikonotheka*, 13, 1998, p. 169-186.	**Karpowicz 1998**
Ф. Каширин, "Яблочинский св. Онуфриевский монастырь," in *Холмский греко-униатский месяцеслов на 1870 год*, Варшава 1870.	**Каширин 1870**
Katalog zabytków w Polsce. T. IV: *Miasto Kraków*. Cz. IV: *Kazimierz i Stradom. Kościoły i klasztory*, Warszawa 1987.	*Katalog* **1987**
Бланка Кавачовичова-Пушкарьова, Імріх Пушкар, "Дерев'яні церкви східного обряду на Словаччині," in *Науковий збірник Музею української культури в Свиднику*, 5, Пряшів 1971.	**Кавачовичова-Пушкарьова, Пушкар 1971**
B. Kiwała, J. Burzyńska, *Ikony ze zbiorów Muzeum Okręgowego w Przemyślu*, Kraków 1981.	**Kiwała, Burzyńska 1981**
Janina Kłosińska, *Ikony: katalog zbiorów*, Kraków 1973.	**Kłosińska 1973**
Janina Kłosińska, *Ikonen aus Polen*, Arkady, Warszawa 1989.	**Kłosińska 1989**
В. Кметь, О. Дух, "«Ratio Studiorum» в історії європейської та української освіти," in *Ratio Studiorum: Уклад студій Товариства Ісусового. Система єзуїтської освіти* (Серія *Studia rationis*), Львів 2008, p. 7-31.	**Кметь, Дух 2008**
Книга описи имущества соборной Преображенской церкви г. Изюма 1802 г., Kharkiv State Scientific Library named after V. Korolenko, Department of Rare Publications and Manuscripts, nr. 819048.	*Книга описи 1802*
Nikodim Pavlovich Kondakov, *Icons*, Parkstone International, New York 2008.	**Kondakov 2008**
Аліна Кондратюк, *Монументальний живопис Троїцької Надбрамної церкви Києво-Печерської Лаври: каталог*, Видавництво КВІЦ, Київ 2005.	**Кондратюк 2005**
J. B. Konstantynowicz, *Ikonostasis. Studien und Forschungen*. Erster Band, Lwow / Lemberg 1939.	**Konstantynowicz 1939**
Захарія Копистенський, *Книга о вірі єдинои, святои апостолскои церкве, Друкарня Києво-Печерської лаври*, Київ 1620, http://www.irbis-nbuv.gov.ua/cgi-bin/irbis_ir/cgiirbis_64.exe.	**Копистенський 1620**
Роксолана Косів, "Ікони «Спас Виноградна Лоза» зі збірки Національного музею у Львові імені Андрея Шептицького (іконографія, художні особливості, призначення)," in *Апологет. Богословський збірник Львівської духовної академії УПЦ КП. Матеріали II Міжнародної наукової конференції, м. Львів, 24–25 листопада 2010 р.*, Львів 2010, p. 75-82.	**Косів 2010**
Роксолана Косів, "Ікони «Спас Виноградна Лоза» 1720–1740-х рр. з Бродів, Озерної та Поділля і твори спільної стилістики у збірці Національного музею у Львові імені Андрея Шептицького," in *Волинська ікона: дослідження та реставрація. Матеріали XIX Міжнародної наукової конференції*, Луцьк 2012, p. 93-96.	**Косів 2012**
Роксолана Косів, *«Спас – Виноградна Лоза»: ікони зі збірки Національного музею у Львові імені Андрея Шептицького, Національний музей у Львові імені Андрея Шептицького*, Свічадо, Львів 2016.	**Косів 2016**
Роксолана Косів, *Риботицький осередок церковного мистецтва 1670–1760-х років*, Національний музей у Львові імені Андрея Шептицького, Львів 2019.	**Косів 2019**

Косів 2020 Роксолана Косів, "Творчість Стефана, маляра Пашецького (1730-ті роки): атрибуція й стилістична характеристика в контексті українського іконопису," in *Культура і сучасність: альманах*, nr. 1, Ідея Принт, Київ 2020, p. 118-121.

Котлинский 1914 Н. А. Котлинский, *Яблочинский Св.-Онуфриевский первоклассный мужской монастырь в его прошлом*, Холм 1914.

Kovács 2004 József Kovács, *Fatornyok és fatemplomok a Kárpát-medencében. Válogatás a Kárpát-medence történeti egyházai hagyományos fa népi építészeti alkotásainak legszebb műemléki gyöngyszemeiből*, Romanika Kiadó, Budapest 2004.

Kovács 2022 Gergely Kovács, "Ma pedig már nincsenek Herkulesek. – Szemelvények Myskoszky Ernő és Schönherr Gyula levelezéséből," in *Enigma*, 112, 2022 (2023), p. 31-84.

Kowalska 1976 H. Kowalska, "Mohiła Piotr", in E. Rostworowski (red.), *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 21/1, 88, Kraków 1976, p. 568-572.

Krasny 2000 P. Krasny, "Odbudowa kijowskiej cerkwi Spasa na Berestowie przez Metropolitę Piotra Mohyłę a problem nawrotu do gotyku w architekturze sakralnej Rusi koronnej w XVII wieku," in *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 62, nr. 3-4, 2000, p. 337-362.

Krasny 2003 P. Krasny, *Architektura cerkiewna na ziemiach ruskich Rzeczypospolitej 1596-1914* (*Ars Vetus et Nova* 11, red. W. Bałus), Kraków 2003.

Krasny 2019 P. Krasny, "Sztuka w Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1587-1668," in *Świat polskich Wazów. Eseje*, Warszawa 2019, p. 133-155.

Krasny, Kruk 2016 P. Krasny, M. P. Kruk, "Kilka uwag o okcydentalizacji sztuki cerkiewnej w monarchii jagiellońskiej," in A. Gil, ks. M. Kalinowski, I. Skoczylas (red.), *Przywrócona pamięci. Ikona Matki Boskiej Chełmskiej: ikonografia – kult – kontekst społeczny*, Lublin – Lwów 2016, p. 137-160.

Крип'якевич 1907a І. Крип'якевич, "Львівська Русь в першій половині XVI віку," I-III, in *Записки Наукового товариства імені Шевченка*, 77, 1907, p. 77-106.

Крип'якевич 1907b І. Крип'якевич, "Львівська Русь в першій половині XVI віку," VI-IX (докінчение), in *Записки Наукового товариства імені Шевченка*, 79, 1907, p. 5-51.

Крип'якевич 1994 І. Крип'якевич, *Львівська Русь в першій половині XVI ст.: дослідження та матеріали* (reprint: *Львівські історичні праці. Джерела*, 2), Львів 1994.

Крыжановский 1911 Е. М. Крыжановский, *Русское зарубежье (Холмщина и Подляшье). Сборник статей*, С.-Петербург 1911.

Kruk 1995 Mirosław Piotr Kruk, "Ikona Matki Boskiej Rudeckiej," in I. Sapetowa (red.), *Wizerunki maryjne, archidiecezje krakowska i przemyska, diecezje łódzka, opolska, rzeszowska*, 2. *Materiały z VII Seminarium Oddziału Rzeszowskiego SHS Sacrum et decorum w Łańcucie w dniu 21 listopada 1992 r.*, Rzeszów 1995, p. 25-46.

Kruk 1996 Mirosław Piotr Kruk, "Stan badań nad zachodnioruskim malarstwem ikonowym XV-XVI wieku," in J. K. Ostrowski (red.), *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich*, vol. 2, Kraków 1996.

Kruk 1999 Mirosław Piotr Kruk, "Związki południowe malarstwa ikonowego XV i XVI w. z obszaru Karpat północnych na przykładzie tematu Ukrzyżowania," in J. Giemza, A. Stepan (red.), Sztuka cerkiewna w Diecezji Przemyskiej, Łańcut 1999, p. 49-72.

Kruk 2000 Mirosław Piotr Kruk, *Zachodnioruskie ikony Matki Boskiej z Dzieciątkiem w wieku XV i XVI*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersztetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2000.

Kruk 2001a Mirosław Piotr Kruk, "Balkan features in Ruthenian icon painting in historical Poland," in Günter Prinzing, Maciej Salamon (eds), *Byzantium and East Central Europe*, Cracow 2001, p. 237-246.

M. P. Kruk, "'Deisus dawną zwyczajną robotą y malowaniem': kilka uwag na marginesie inwentarzy cerkiewnych," in W. Bałus, W. Walanus (red.), *Ars graeca, ars latina: studia dedykowane Profesor Annie Różyckiej-Bryzek*, Kraków 2001, p. 207-230. **Kruk 2001b**

Mirosław Piotr Kruk, "The Lvov 'Oktoich' of 1630 in the collection of the Jagellonian Library in Cracow," in *Series Byzantina*, 1, 2003, p. 127-147. **Kruk 2003a**

M. P. Kruk, "Ikona Matki Boskiej Hodegetrii w otoczeniu proroków, Joachima i Anny w cerkwi monasteru Św. Onufrego w Jabłecznej," in K. Mart (red.), *Do piękna nadprzyrodzonego. Wystawa sztuki sakralnej XVI-XX wieku ze zbiorów muzeum chełmskiego i świątyń diecezji chełmskich. Katalog*, t. 1, Chełm 2003, p. 226-237. **Kruk 2003b**

Mirosław Piotr Kruk, "Motifs of the Rotunda in Scenes of the Deposition of Saints into the Tomb on Ruthenian icons," in *Series Byzantina*, 3, 2005, p. 63-87. **Kruk 2005**

Mirosław Piotr Kruk, "Cerkiew w Łużanach," in W. Bałus, W. Walanus, M. Walczak (red.), *Artifex Doctus. Studia ofiarowane profesorowi Jerzemu Gadomskiemu w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, I, Kraków 2007, p. 189-208. **Kruk 2007a**

Mirosław Piotr Kruk, "Gregory Tsamblak and the Cult of Saint Parasceva," in Miliana Kaimakamova, Maciej Salamon, Małgoszata Smorąg-Różycka (eds), *Byzantium, New Peoples, New Powers: The Byzantino-Slav Contact Zone, from the Ninth to the Fifteenth Century* (*Byzantina et Slavica Cracoviensia*, V, Dedicated to the Memory of Anna Różycka-Bryzek), Cracow 2007 [2008], p. 331-348. **Kruk 2007b**

Mirosław Piotr Kruk, "Balkan Connections of Ruthenian Icons of the Former Republic of Poland Exemplified by Iconography and Inscriptions," in Antoni Mironowicz, Urszula Pawluczuk, Wojciech Walczak (eds), *The Orthodox Church in the Balkans and Poland. Connections and Common Tradition*, Uniwersytet w Białymstoku, Białystok 2007, p. 287-298. **Kruk 2007c**

Mirosław Piotr Kruk, "Oktoich lwowski z 1630 r.: historyczne i kulturowe związki między Rzeczpospolitą, Mołdawią i Księstwem Moskiewskim", in *Porta Aurea. Rocznik Instytutu Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego*, 7-8, 2009, p. 45-108. **Kruk 2009a**

Mirosław Piotr Kruk, "Concordia Veteris et Novi Testamenti w ikonie Hodegetrii w otoczeniu proroków w Czarnej k. Uścia Gorlickiego," in Agnieszka Gronek (red.), *Szczelina światła Ruskie malarstwo ikonowe*, Collegium Columbinum, Kraków 2009, p. 215-248. **Kruk 2009b**

М. П. Крук, "Богоматерь Одигитрия в окружении пророков – православная икона 16-того века из села Терло (Украина) в собрании Краковского Национального Музея. Проблемы иконографии, атрибуции и датировки," in *Arta. Seria arte vizuale, arte plastice, arhitectură*, Serie nouă, vol. I (XXII), n. 1, Chișinău 2013. **Крук 2013**

Mirosław Piotr Kruk, "Biserica Ortodoxă din Lujeni," in G. Herea, C. I. Ciobanu, C. C. Solomonea, C. E. Ursu (eds), *Schola, ars, historia: in honorem Tereza Sinigalia la 45 de ani de activitate științifică*, Editura Heruvim, Pătrăuți 2014, p. 129-152. **Kruk 2014**

М. П. Крук, "Архитектура оборонной церкви в Посаде Рыботыцкой," in О. М. Иоаннисян (ed.), *Monumental Architecture of Ancient Rus and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages* (*Transactions of the State Hermitage Museum*, 86), Saint-Petersburg 2017, p. 130-150. **Крук 2017a**

Mirosław Piotr Kruk, "Is the so-called *Ἄνωθεν οἱ προφῆται*, described in Dionysius's Hermeneia, the source of the iconography of the Mother of God surrounded by prophets?," in *Museikon*, 1, 2017, p. 53-68. **Kruk 2017b**

Kruk 2017c Mirosław Piotr Kruk, "Malowidła Graeco Opere fundacji Jagiellonów jako postulat unii państwowej i kościelnej oraz jedności Kościoła," in W. Walecki (red.), *Między teologią a duszpasterstwem powszechnym na ziemiach Korony doby przedtrydenckiej: dziedzictwo średniowiecza XV-XVI wieku* (*Kultura Pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej w dialogu z Europą. Hermeneutyka wartości* v, red. A. Nowicka-Jeżowa), Warszawa 2017, p. 169-186.

Kruk 2019 Mirosław Piotr Kruk, *Ikony XIV-XVI wieku w zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie / Icons from the 14th-16th centuries in the National Museum in Krakow*, vol. I-III, Kraków 2019.

Kruk 2020a Mirosław Piotr Kruk, "Poznawanie ikony-obrazu Matki Boskiej Rudeckiej," in M. Wojnarowski (red.), *Wędrujące Madonny. Wizerunki Madonn Kresowych na Podkarpaciu, Materiały z konferencji naukowych odbytych w latach 2016-2020 w Przemyślu*, Przemyśl 2020, p. 95-110.

Крук 2020b Мирослав Петр Крук, "Исторические и религиозные контексты фундации Ягеллонами т. н. рус(с)ко-византийских фресок в католических храмах Польши," in А. В. Доронин (ред.), *Религия и русь, XV–XVIII вв.*, Москва 2020, p. 52-92.

Kruk 2020c Mirosław Piotr Kruk, "Ikona Zaśnięcia Bogurodzicy w zakrystii kościoła Franciszkanów w Krakowie i kult obrazów wschodnich w klasztorach braci mniejszych," in M. Szyma, M. Walczak (red.), *Sztuka w kręgu krakowskich franciszkanów i klarysek*, Kraków 2020, p. 237-257.

Kruk 2022 Mirosław Piotr Kruk, "Hymny w ikonach Rzeczypospolitej," in *Latopisy Akademii Supraskiej*, 13: *Hymnografia i śpiew cerkiewny w Rzeczypospolitej*, red. M. Kuczyńska, A. Z. Nowak, 2022, p. 283-298.

Krynicka, Wierzbicki 1959 Maria Krynicka, Marek Wierzbicki, "Octaviano Mancini – architekt w służbie Metropolity Piotra Mohyły," in *Rozprawy i sprawozdania Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie*, 5, 1959, p. 22-40.

Кучековић 2010 Александра Кучековић, "Две славонске проскомидије и нове претпоставке о Василију Романовићу," in *Зборник Народног Музеја*, XIX/2, *Историја уметности*, Београд 2010, p. 259-278.

Кучековић 2014 Александра Кучековић, *Уметност Пакрачко-Славонске епархије у XVIII веку*, Висока школа – Академија Српске православне цркве за уметност и конзервацију, Београд 2014.

Кучековић 2016 Александра Кучековић, "Василије Романовић – Још један иконостас у Славонији," in *Зборник Народног Музеја*, XXII/2, *Историја уметности*, Београд 2016, p. 177-200.

Kučeković 2018 Aleksandra Kučeković, "Jovan Četirević Grabovan – an 18th-Century Itinerant Orthodox Painter. Some Ethnic and Artistic Considerations," in Emmanuel Moutafov – Ida Tóth (eds), *Art Readings*, I-II, 2017. I – *Old Art*, Sofia 2018, p. 349-367.

Kučeković 2020 Aleksandra Kučeković, "Painters Jovan Četirević Grabovan and Grigorije Popović: Addenda to the Biographies of the Master and the Apprentice," in *Саопштења / Communications*, LII, 2020, p. 137-152.

Kułakowska-Lis 2008 Joanna Kułakowska-Lis (red.), *Ikony. Najpiękniejsze ikony w zbiorach polskich / Icons. The most beautiful icons in the Polish collections*, Bosz, Olszanicza 2008.

***Kult Bild* 2006** *Kult Bild. Das Altar- und Andachtsbild von Duccio bis Perugino / Cult Image Altarpiece and Devotional Painting from Duccio to Perugino*, Städel Museum, Ausstellung und Katalog von Jochen Sander mit Beiträgen von Matthias Th. Kloft, Rita Sauer und Stefan Weppelmann / Exhibition and Catalogue by Jochen Sander with Contributions by Matthias Th. Kloft, Rita Sauer and Stefan Weppelmann, Michael Imhof Verlag, Petersberg 2006.

Grzegorz Kuprianowicz, Mikołaj Roszczenko, *Cerkiew prawosławna Przemienienia Pańskiego w Lublinie*, Lublin 1993. **Kuprianowicz, Roszczenko 1993**

W. Kurpik, "Odkrycie malowideł ściennych w cerkwi w Posadzie Rybotyckiej pow. Przemyśl," in *Materiały Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego w Sanoku*, 4, 1966, p. 53-56. **Kurpik 1966**

A. Laddach, "Eyes, neurons and the brain perception of historical artworks in the way of sanctification," in *European Journal of Science and Theology*, 18, nr. 6, 2022, p. 141-158. **Laddach 2022**

Alexandru Lapedatu, "Icoanele lui Barnovski-Vodă de la Moscva şi zugravii Trei-Erarhilor din Iaşi," in *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice*, v, fasc. 19, Jul.-Sep. 1912, p. 110-114. **Lapedatu 1912**

Viktor Lazarev, *Istoria picturii bizantine*, vol. II, Editura Meridiane, Bucureşti 1980. **Lazarev 1980**

П. Г. Лебединцев, *Описание Киево-Софийского кафедрального собора*, Киев 1882. **Лебединцев 1882**

Δ. Λιακοσ, "Η ξυλογλυπτική στο Άγιον Όρος τον 16° και 17° αιώνα: από την πρώιμη παραγωγή και τα επείσακτα έργα στους μοναχούς τεχνίτες," in *Αθωνικά Τετράδια*, 1, 2014, p. 99-107. **Λιακοσ 2014**

Fr. Licew, "Кем и когда был основан Яблочинский Монастырь," in *Холмско-Варшавский Епархиальный Вестник*, nr. 44, 47, 1901. **Licew 1901**

А. М. Лидов, "Иконостас: итоги и перспективы исследования," in А. Лидов (ред.), *Иконостас. Происхождение – Развитие – Символика*, Москва 2000, p. 11-32. **Лидов 2000**

В. Шевчук (ред.), "Літопис густинського монастиря," in *"Скарбниця потребна й пожиточна": Українські монастирські літописи, житія, повчання ченцям, чуда та інше*, Київ 2012, p. 194-224. ***Літопис* 2012**

С. Любарський, *Холмські легенди й оповідання*, Краків 1940. **Любарський 1940**

Г. Н. Логвин, *По Україні: Стародавні мистецькі пам'ятки*, Київ 1968. **Логвин 1968**

Е. В. Лопухина, Е. В. Питателева, В. Г. Ченцова, "Поствизантийские фрески церкви Спаса на Берестове в контексте письменных источников и художественно-иконографического анализа," in *The Kapterev Symposium*, 13, Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of World History, Center for the History of Byzantium and East Christian Culture, Moscow 2015, p. 179-220. **Лопухина, Питателева, Ченцова 2015**

Тарас Лозинський, *Українські колекціонери о. Зенон Хоркавий*, Видавництво «Оранта», Львів – Київ 2007. **Лозинський 2007**

Ю. Бірюльов (ред.), *Львівщина: історико-культурні та краєзнавчі нариси*, Львів 1998. ***Львівщина* 1998**

Alexandru Madgearu, *Asăneștii. Istoria politico-militară a statului dinastiei Asan (1185-1280)*, Editura Cetatea de Scaun, Târgoviște 2014. **Madgearu 2014**

R. Majkowska, "Z korespondencji Mariana Sokołowskiego z Władysławem Łozińskim w latach 1874-1908," in *Rocznik Biblioteki Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie*, 32, 1987, p. 109-113. **Majkowska 1987**

Răzvan Malanca, "The Last Icon with Spectacles," in *Brukenthal Acta Musei*, XI/2, 2016, p. 307-323. **Malanca 2016**

Iustin Marchiș (coord.), Ana Dumitran, Daniel Dumitran, Ciprian Firea, Mihaela-Sanda Salontai (texte), Daniel Mihail Constantinescu (fotografii), *Mănăstiri și biserici din Transilvania*, vol. I, Design Books, București, 2020. ***Mănăstiri și biserici din Transilvania* 2020**

Iustin Marchiș (coord.), Ana Dumitran, Daniel Dumitran, Ciprian Firea, Mihaela-Sanda Salontai (texte), Daniel Mihail Constantinescu (fotografii), *Mănăstiri și biserici din Transilvania*, vol. II, Design Books, București, 2022. ***Mănăstiri și biserici din Transilvania* 2022**

Мансветов 1885 И. Мансветов, *Церковный устав (типик) его образование и судьба в греческой и русской церкви*, Москва 1885.

Mantas 2003 Apostolos Mantas, "The Iconographical Subject 'Christ the Vine' in Byzantine and Post-byzantine Art," in *Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, 24, 2003, p. 347-360.

Мароз 2019 В. Мароз, *Драўляныя сакральныя помнікі Берасцейшчыны: нарысы гісторыі, археалогіі і культуры*, Мінск 2019.

Mart 2003 K. Mart (red.), *Do piękna nadprzyrodzonego. Wystawa sztuki sakralnej XVI-XX wieku ze zbiorów muzeum chełmskiego i świątyń diecezji chełmskich. Katalog*, Chełm 2003.

Mârza 1987 Iacob Mârza, *Școală și națiune (Școlile de la Blaj în epoca renașterii naționale)*, Editura Dacia, Cluj-Napoca 1987.

Maszczak 2010 Maria Teresa Maszczak, *Ikony w zbiorach Muzeum Okręgowego w Nowym Sączu*, Nowy Sącz 2010.

Медаковић 1988a Дејан Медаковић, "Барокне теме српске уметности I: Представе Христа као животоносне лозе у српској уметности," in Дејан Медаковић, *Барок код Срба*, Загреб 1988, p. 207-217.

Медаковић 1988b Дејан Медаковић, "Барокне теме српске уметности II: Представа Христа као *Fons Pietatis* у српској уметности," in Дејан Медаковић, *Барок код Срба*, Загреб 1988, p. 218-225.

Медаковић 2010 Дејан Медаковић, *Фрушкогорски манастири*, Прометеј, Нови Сад 2010.

Medeleanu 1986 Horia Medeleanu, *Valori de artă veche românească în colecția Mănăstirii Sf. Simion Stâlpnicul din Arad-Gai*, Arad, 1986.

Medeleanu 1987 Horia Medeleanu, "Pictorul Ștefan Tenețchi. Viața și opera," in *Ziridava*, XV-XVI, 1987, p. 357-378.

Meinardus 1974 Otto Meinardus, "The Iconography of the Eucharistic Christ in the Armenian Churches of New Julfa," in *Oriens Christianus*, Band 58, 1974, p. 132-137.

Мельник 2005 Анатолій Мельник, *Український іконопис XII–XIX ст. з колекції НХМУ. Ukrainian Icon XII–XIX. C. from Collection NAMU*, ТОВ Новий Друк, Київ 2005.

Melnyk, Chlenova 2005 Anatoly Melnyk, Larysa Chlenova, *Ukrainian Icons XII-XIX C. from Collection NAMU*, Kyiv 2005.

Meteș 1929 Ștefan Meteș, "Din istoria artei religioase române. Zugravii bisericilor române," in *Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, Secția pentru Transilvania*, 1926-1928, Cluj 1929.

Michalczuk ms. 1 Witali Michalczuk, *Ikona Bogurodzicy Jabłeczyńskiej i odnaleziony zespół XVI-wiecznych ikon klasztoru św. Onufrego w Jabłecznej. Zarys losów, stylu, datowania i rekonstrukcja zespołu* (doctoral dissertation prepared at the Faculty of Artes Liberales, University of Warsaw, unpublished, digital text in possession of the author).

Michalczuk ms. 2 Witali Michalczuk, *Supraski ikonostas. Próba rekonstrukcji plastyczno-architektonicznego zespołu z połowy XVI wieku* (unpublished, digital text in possession of the author).

Michalczuk 2021 Witali Michalczuk, "Atrybucja XVI-wiecznych ikon wywiezionych z Chełma do Ławry Kijowsko-Peczerskiej w okresie II Wojny Światowej – scalenie i rekonstrukcja zespołu najstarszych ikon klasztoru św. Onufrego w Jabłecznej," in Archimandryte Piotr (Dawidziuk) *et alii* (red.), *Wielkie powroty. O dziełach sztuki, zbiorach bibliotecznych, archiwalnych i świątościach polskiego prawosławia utraconych i wywiezionych w czasie I i II Wojen Światowych*, Jabłeczna 2021, p. 179-220.

Мицько 1993 І. Мицько, "Монастирі Підгір'я XII–XV ст.," in *Галицько-волинська держава. Передумови виникнення, історія, культура, традиції, Галич 19–21 серпня 1993 р.*, Львів 1993, p. 70-72.

Л. С. Міляєва, "Митрополит Петро Могила і мистецтво Києва 30–40-х рр. XVII ст.," in *Вісник Львівського університету*, Серія *Мистецтво*, 3, 2003, p. 161-171. **Міляєва 2003**

Л. Міляєва, за участю М. Гелитович, *Українська ікона XI-XVIII століть* / L. Miliaeva with the participation of M. Helytovych, *The Ukrainian Icon of the 11th–18th Centuries*, Київ 2007. **Міляєва, Гелитович 2007**

Greta-Monica Miron, "Building an Episcopal Town in 18th Century Transylvania," in Mathias Beer, Harald Heppner, Ulrike Tischler-Hofer (eds), *Stadt im Wandel: Der Donau-Karpatenraum im langen 18. Jahrhundert / Towns in Change: The Danube-Carpathian Area in the Longer 18th Century*, Peter Lang, Berlin 2023, p. 55-76. **Miron 2023**

A. Mironowicz, "Monaster św. Onufrego w Jabłecznej," in *Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne*, nr. 9, Białystok 1998, p. 26-49. **Mironowicz 1998**

Ambrus Miskolczy, Árpád E. Varga (szerk.), *Jozefinizmus Tündérországban: Erdély történeti demográfiájának forrásai a XVIII. század második felében*, Tarsoly Kiadó, Budapest 2013. **Miskolczy, Varga 2013**

А. В. Кудрицький *et alii* (ред.), *Мистецтво України*. Енциклопедія в 5 томах, 1 (А-В), Київ 1995. ***Мистецтво України* 1995**

Ioan Moga, "Cea mai veche biserică din Sălişte (jud. Sibiu)," in *Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor istorice*, Secţia pentru Transilvania, 1930-1931, Tipografia Cartea Românească, Cluj 1932, p. 149-160. **Moga 1932**

Петро Могила, *Събраніе короткои науки о артикулах віры православнокафолическои хрістіянскои*, Друкарня Києво-Печерської лаври, Київ 1645. **Могила 1645**

В. Мокрій, "Два твори Григорія Босиковича у Львівській картинній галереї," in *Волинська ікона: питання історії вивчення, дослідження та реставрації*, Луцьк 1997, p. 94-98. **Мокрій 1997**

The Monasteries of Oltenia, Texts by Elisabeta Negrău and Vlad Bedros, Edited and afterword by Father Iustin Marchiş, Design Books, Bucureşti 2018. ***Monasteries of Oltenia* 2018**

Monumente istorice şi de artă religioasă din Arhiepiscopia Vadului, Feleacului şi Clujului, Cluj-Napoca 1982. ***Monumente istorice* 1982**

Николай Мухин, *Киево-Братский училищный монастырь: исторический очерк*, тип. Г. Т. Корчак-Новицкого, Киев 1893. **Мухин 1893**

Андрей Николаевич Муравьев, *Сношения России с Востоком по делам церковным*, vol. 2, Sankt Petersburgh 1860. **Муравьев 1860**

Maria Ana Musicescu, Mihail Berza, *Mănăstirea Sucevița*, Bucureşti 1958. **Musicescu, Berza 1958**

Maria Ana Musicescu, Sorin Ulea, *Voroneţ*, Bucureşti 1969. **Musicescu, Ulea 1969**

J. Mycielski, "Koreferat do referatu Prof. dr. Jana Bołoz-Antoniewicza 'W sprawie sztuki kościelnej'," in J. Bołoz-Antoniewicz, J. Mycielski (red.), *Cele i drogi sztuki kościelnej (odbitka z Księgi pamiątkowej II. Zjazdu katolickiego odbytego we Lwowie w dniach 7. 8. i 9. lipca 1896)*, Żółkiew 1897, p. 19-25. **Mycielski 1897**

Ernő Myskovszky, "Régi fatemplomok," in *Művészet*, 3, 1904, p. 301-306. **Myskovszky 1904**

Μυστήριον Μέγα και Παράδοξον. Σωτήριον Έτος 2000. Βυζαντινό και Χριστιανικό Μουσείο, Αθήνα 2001. ***Μυστήριον* 2001**

В. Насевіч, "Забярезінскія; Іллінічы," in *Энцыклапедыя Гісторыі Беларусі*, vol. 3, Мінск 1996. **Насевіч 1996**

Dumitru Năstase, "Biserica din Bălineşti şi pictura ei exterioară," in *Studii şi Cercetări de Istoria Artei*, seria *Artă Plastică*, 43, 1996, p. 3-18. **Năstase 1996**

A. Naumow, *Rękopisy cerkiewnosłowiańskie w Polsce*, Kraków 2004. **Naumow 2004**

Ion Neculce, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei şi O samă de cuvinte*, Editura de Stat pentru Literatură şi Artă, Bucureşti 1959. **Neculce 1959**

Nedici 2013 Radu Nedici, *Formarea identității confesionale greco-catolice în Transilvania veacului al XVIII-lea: Biserică și comunitate*, Editura Universității din București, București 2013.

Nedici 2021 Radu Nedici, "Books for Transylvanian Greek Catholics: Confessional Printing with Cross-Confessional Sourcing," in Elizabeth Dillenburg, Howard Louthan, Drew B. Thomas (eds), *Print Culture at the Crossroads: The Book and Central Europe*, Brill, Leiden 2021, p. 85-104.

Negrău 2008 Elisabeta Negrău, "Le cycle de la Passion dans la nef de l'église du monastère Polovragi," in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art*, Série *Beaux-Arts*, vol. 45, 2008, p. 93-100.

Negrău 2010 Elisabeta Negrău, "Notes sur deux thèmes iconographiques d'origine occidentale dans la peinture murale d'autel au temps de Constantin Brancovan," in *Annales Universitatis Apulensis*, Series *Historica*, 14/I, 2010, p. 359-370.

Negrău 2020a Elisabeta Negrău, "Painters from Western Macedonia active in the Romanian Principalities. The brothers Ioannis and Georgios (floruerunt c. 1640-1655)," in *Δελτίων της Χριστιανικές Αρχαιολογικές Χεταιρείας*, 41, 2020, p. 299-322.

Negrău 2020b Elisabeta Negrău, "Noi perspective asupra începuturilor portretisticii în Valahia (1750-1830)," in *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 30, 2020, p. 119-142.

Negrău 2020-2021 Elisabeta Negrău, "The Painters of the Bucovăț Monastery and the Kastorian Influences in Wallachia," in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art*, Série *Beaux-Arts*, 57-58, 2020-2021, p. 3-15.

Negrău 2021 Elisabeta Negrău, "Ipoteze privind ucenicia zugravului Constantinos," in Dana Jenei (ed.), *In honorem Acad. Răzvan Theodorescu*, București 2021, p. 259-268.

Negrău 2022 Elisabeta Negrău, "The Evolution of the Iconostasis in Wallachia during the 16th Century," in Srđan Pirivatrić, Andrei Timotin (eds), *The Byzantine Heritage in Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages* (*Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines*, 4. *Supplementa*), Heidelberg 2022, p. 175-207.

Negrău 2023 Elisabeta Negrău, "Lost Icons Prototypes from the Times of Neagoe Basarab," in *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, 61, nr. 1-4, 2023, p. 85-108.

Negrău, Cojocaru 2017 Elisabeta Negrău, Cristina Cojocaru, *Pafnutie-Pârvu zugravul. Tradiție și modernitate în epoca brâncovenească*, București 2017.

Nicolae 2007 Jan Nicolae, "Hristos-viţa de vie / Hristos în teasc: o icoană alegorică a Legământului euharistic în iconografia populară din Transilvania şi în cea europeană," in Picu Ocoleanu, Radu Preda (eds), *Viaţă liturgică şi etos comunitar*, Editura Mitropoliei Olteniei, Craiova 2007, p. 177-206.

Nicolae 2008 Jan Nicolae, "Iconografia Euharistiei: Hristos-viţa de vie / Hristos în teasc (*Christus in der Kelter*) – Interferenţe Orient-Occident în iconografia românească," in Emil Jurcan, Jan Nicolae (eds), *Wer ist die Kirche? / Cine este Biserica? Omagiu monseniorului dr. Albert Rauch*, Editura Reîntregirea, Alba Iulia 2008, p. 532-561.

Nicolae 2010 Jan Nicolae, "*Imago Pietatis:* «Adună pe robii săi cu mare predicare la potir». Reprezentarea miniaturală Hristos Vița-De-Vie din Slujebnicul mitropolitului Ștefan Al Ungrovlahiei (1652) și semnificațiile sale euharistice," in *Annales Universitatis Apulensis*, Series *Historica*, 14/I, 2010, p. 29-56.

Nicolae 2016 Jan Nicolae, Hristos, *Viţa cea adevărată. Iconografia Euharistiei. Dosar teologic, catehetic şi cultural*, Felicitas, Stockholm 2016.

Nicolesco 1964 Corina Nicolesco, *Musée D'Art de la R.P.R. Section d'art roumain ancien*, Bucarest 1964.

Corina Nicolescu, *Miniatura și ornamentul cărții manuscrise din Țările Romîne. Sec. XIV-XVIII. Catalog*, Muzeul de Artă al R.P.R., București 1964.	**Nicolescu 1964**
Corina Nicolescu, "Ceramica otomană de Iznik din secolele XVI-XVII găsită în Moldova", in *Arheologia Moldovei*, V, 1967, p. 287-308.	**Nicolescu 1967**
Corina Nicolescu, *Pagini de artă închinate Transilvaniei, Muzeul Național de Artă al României*, București 1968-1969.	**Nicolescu 1968-1969**
Corina Nicolescu, *Icoane vechi românești*, Editura Meridiane, București 1971.	**Nicolescu 1971**
Corina Nicolescu, *Icoane vechi românești*, București ^{3}1976.	**Nicolescu 1976a**
Corina Nicolescu, *Rumänische Ikonen*, Berlin 1976.	**Nicolescu 1976b**
Darko Nikolovski, *The Icon Painting in Macedonia. Dated Icons, Known Authors and Painting Workshops*, Calamus, Skopje 2011.	**Nikolovski 2011**
Nicolaus Nilles, *Symbolae ad illustrandam historiam Ecclesiae Orientalis in terris coronae S. Stephani*, vol. 2, Felician Rauch, Œniponte 1885.	**Nilles 1885**
Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Alte Hofkammer, Hoffinanz Ungarn, Siebenbürgen Akten, Siebenbürgische Kameralverhandlungen.	**OeStA FHKA, ANK, HFU, 7bgn.**
Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Sonderbestände, Sammlungen und Selekte, Sammlungen und Selekte, Karten- und Plansammlung, Pläne von Schlössern, Kirchen und anderen nichtamtlichen Gebäuden.	**OeStA FHKA, SUS, KS, Rb**
Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Sonderbestände, Sammlungen und Selekte, Sammlungen und Selekte, Kontrakte und Reverse, Reihe C.	**OeStA FHKA, SUS, KuR, C**
Eszter Ojtozi, *A máriapócsi baziliták cirillbetűs könyvei, Kossuth Lajos Tudományegyetem Könyvtára*, Debrecen 1982.	**Ojtozi 1982**
Eszter Ojtozi, *A Görögkatolikus Hittudományi Főiskola könyvtárának szláv és roman cirillbetűs könyvei*, Kossuth Lajos Tudományegyetem Könyvtára, Debrecen 1985.	**Ojtozi 1985**
Eszter Ojtozi, László Kárpáti, "Cirillbetűs könyvek Miskolcon, Nyíregyházán és a Pálos könyvtárban," in *Könyv és Könyvtár*, 15, 1987, p. 139-175.	**Ojtozi, Kárpáti 1987**
Ovidiu Olar, "«Un temps pour parler». Dosithée de Jérusalem et le Synode de Jassy (1642)," in *Analele Putnei*, X, 2014, p. 215-250.	**Olar 2014**
Ovidiu Olar, "Foreign Wisdoms. Tradition in the Služebnik of Metropolitan Ștefan of Ungrovlachia († 1668)," in *Museikon*, 4, 2020, p. 163-188.	**Olar 2020**
С. Оляніна, *Український іконостас. Символічна структура та іконологія*, Київ 2019.	**Оляніна 2019**
Konrad Onasch, Annemarie Schnieper, *Ikonen. Faszination und Wirklichkeit*, Orbis Verlag, München 2001.	**Onasch, Schnieper 2001**
Описи церков, інвентаря церковного і грунтів парохіяльних Судововишенського деканату 1758 р., State Archive in Przemyśl, Acts of the Greek Catholic Eparchy (ABGK), nr. 59.	*Описи церков 1758*
Vasyl Otkovych, *Ukrainian Icon from the Collection of the National Museum in Lviv, XIV-XVIII Cent.*, Light and Shadow, Lviv 1999.	**Otkovych 1999**
Е. С. Овчинникова, *Церковь Троицыв Никитниках*, Издательство «Искусство», Москва 1970.	**Овчинникова 1970**
Володимир Овсійчук, *Українське малярство X-XVIII століть*, Львів 1996.	**Овсійчук 1996**
Pr. Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, vol. 1, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București 1980.	**Păcurariu 1980**

Păcurariu 1992 Pr. Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii ortodoxe Române*, Editura Institutului Biblic şi de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, Bucureşti 1992.

Palamar, Herea 2015 Petru Palamar, pr. Gabriel Herea, *Pătrăuți 1487. Monument UNESCO*, Editura Heruvim, Pătrăuți 2015.

Paleolog 1984 Andrei Paleolog, *Pictura exterioară din Țara Românească (secolele XVIII-XIX)*, Editura Meridiane, București 1984.

Panaitescu 1929 P. P. Panaitescu, "Fundaţiuni religioase româneşti în Galiţia," in *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice*, XXII, fasc. 59, Jan.-Mar. 1929, p. 3-19.

Panaitescu 1939 P. P. Panaitescu, "Pribegia lui Constantin Șerban Basarab și a lui Ștefan Petriceicu și testamentele lor," in *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, series III, XXI, 1939, p. 373-433.

Panaitescu 1996 P. P. Panaitescu, *Petru Movilă. Studii*, Bucureşti 1996.

Panofsky 1979 E. Panofsky, *Abbot Suger and Its Art Treasures on the Abbey Church of St. Denis*, Princeton 1979.

Papacostea 1962 Victor Papacostea, "O şcoală de cultură şi limbă slavonă la Târgovişte în timpul domniei lui Matei Basarab," in *Romanoslavica*, 5, 1962, p. 183-194.

Papacostea-Danielopolu 1995 Cornelia Papacostea-Danielopolu, "L'imprimerie grecque des Pays roumains et la défense de l'Orthodoxie aux XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siecles," in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 34, nr. 1-2, 1995, p. 11-16.

Pargoire 1908-1909 Jean Pargoire, "Mélétios Syrigos, sa vie et ses œuvres," in *Échos d'Orient*, 11, 1908, nr. 72, p. 264-280; nr. 73, p. 331-340; 12, 1909, nr. 74, p. 17-27; nr. 76, p. 167-175; nr. 78, p. 281-286, nr. 79, p. 336-342.

Pârvulescu 2006 Dorina Sabina Pârvulescu, *Pictura românească din Banat (secolul al XVIII-lea)*, Editura Graphite, Timişoara 2006.

Pârvulescu 2008 Dorina Sabina Pârvulescu, *Un caiet de modele de zugrăvie din secolul al XVII-lea*, Editura Graphite, Timişoara 2008.

Pascu, Constantinescu, Ștefănescu 2010 Șt. Pascu, N. Constantinescu, Șt. Ștefănescu, "Cucerirea independenței Țării Românești și a Moldovei," in *Istoria Românilor*, vol. III, Editura Enciclopedică, București 2010.

Паскалева 1981a Костадинка Паскалева, *Иконы Болгарии*, София 1981.

Paskaleva 1981b Kostadinka Paskaleva, *Die bulgarische Ikone*, Sofia Press, Sofia 1981.

Paskaleva 1987 Kostadinka Paskaleva, *Icons from Bulgaria*, Sofia Press, Sofia 1987.

Paul din Alep 2014 Paul din Alep, *Jurnal de călătorie din Moldova şi Valahia*, traducere şi note de Ioana Feodorov, Bucureşti – Brăila 2014.

Paul din Alep 2020 Paul din Alep, *Jurnal de călătorie: Siria, Constantinopol, Moldova, Valahia şi Ţara Cazacilor*, traducere și note de Ioana Feodorov, Bucureşti – Brăila 2020.

Pavlovský 2007 František Pavlovský, *Drevené gréckokatolícke chrámy na východnom Slovensku: Svídnik a okolie*, Alfa Print, Martin 2007.

Pavlovský 2008 František Pavlovský, *Drevené gréckokatolícke chrámy na východnom Slovensku: Humenné, okolie a iné*, Alfa Print, Martin 2008.

Пажић 1983 П. Пажић, "Иконостас манастира Благовештења Рудничког," in *Saopštenja*, 15, 1983. p. 249-255.

Pentcheva 2006 Bissera V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power. The Mother of God in Byzantium*, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006.

Пентковский 2001 А. М. Пентковский, *Типикон патриарха Алексея Студита в Византии и на Руси*, Москва 2001.

Пентковский 2003 А. М. Пентковский, "Иерусалимский типикон в Константинополе в палеологовский период," in *Журнал Московской Патриархии*, 5, 2003, p. 77-98.

А. М. Пентковский, "Иерусалимский устав," in *Православная Энциклопедия*, vol. XXI, Москва 2009, p. 504-506. **Пентковский 2009**

Н. И. Петров, "Южнорусские иконы", in *Искусство въ Южной России. Графика. Живопись. Художественная промышленность*, 11-12, 1913, p. 459-505. **Петров 1913**

Петар Петровић, *Збирка српског сликарства XVIII и XIX века Народог Музеја у Београду*, Народни Музеј, Београд 2020. **Петровић 2020**

Krzysztof Pietkiewicz, "Zagadkowa transakcja sprzedaży dóbr Sławatycze przez Ks. Aleksandra Prońskiego do Wacław Bohowitynowi Szumbarski i następne ich odkupienia za tę samą sumę," in *Nadbużańskie Sławatycze*, 20, 2019, p. 9-30. **Pietkiewicz 2019**

Cornelia Pillat, *Pictura murală în epoca lui Matei Basarab*, Bucureşti 1980. **Pillat 1980**

M. Piotrowski, *Rodowód Książąt Sanguszków Olgierdowiczów*, Gumniska 1931 (polona.pl – accessed 21.03.2020). **Piotrowski 1931**

Письмо супральского архимандрита Сергия Кимбара к киевскому митрополиту Макарию II, in *Архив Юго-Западной России*, ч. I, т. VII, Киев 1887. ***Письмо супральского архимандрита Сергия Кимбара* 1887**

Władysław Podlacha, "Das h. Abendmahl in den Wandgemälden der griechisch-orientalischen Kirchen in der Bukowina. (Ein Beitrag zur byzantinischen Ikonographie des XVI. und XVII. Jhs.)," in *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der k. k. Zentralkommission fur Kunst- und historische Denkmale*, 4, 1910, p. 140-159. **Podlacha 1910a**

Władysław Podlacha, "Die Göttliche Liturgie in den Wandmalerein der Bukowiner Klosterkirchen," in *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst*, 23, 1910, p. 259-268. **Podlacha 1910b**

Władysław Podlacha, "Abendländische Einflüsse in den Wandmalereien der griechisch-orientalischen Kirchen in der Bukowina," in *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst*, 24, 1911, p. 199-284. **Podlacha 1911**

Władysław Podlacha, *Malowidła ścienne w cerkwiach Bukowiny*, Lwów 1912. **Podlacha 1912**

Władysław Podlacha, "Ilarion Swiencickyj, Hałyćko-rus'ke cerkowne malarstwo XV-XVI st. Materijały i zamitky (Odbitka z wydawnictwa: Zapysky naukowoho Towarystwa im. Szewczenka t. CXXI), Lwów 1914, 8 str. 54, w tem 10 stronic z illustracyami," in Kwartalnik Historyczny, 30, nr. 1-2, 1914, p. 143-152. **Podlacha 1916**

Władysław Podlacha, *Umanismul picturii murale postbizantine*, vol. I, Editura Meridiane, Bucureşti 1985. **Podlacha 1985**

Partenie Pop, "Icoana Maicii Domnului de la Ţelna," in *Mitropolia Ardealului*, XIX, nr. 1-3, 1974, p. 81-83. **Pop 1974**

Atanasie Popa, "Triptice transilvane ortodoxe," in *Mitropolia Banatului*, XIV, nr. 1-3, 1964, p. 49-54. **Popa 1964**

Corina Popa, *Bălineşti*, Editura Meridiane, Bucureşti 1981. **Popa 1981**

Corina Popa, "Tradiție și renaștere bizantină în arta epocii brâncovenești," in *Arta istoriei. Istoria artei. Academicianul Răzvan Theodorescu la 65 de ani*, București 2004, p. 25-34. **Popa 2004**

Corina Popa, Ioana Iancovescu, *Mănăstirea Hurezi*, Bucureşti 2009. **Popa, Iancovescu 2009**

Corina Popa, Ioana Iancovescu, Vlad Bedros, Elisabeta Negrău, *Repertoriul picturilor murale brâncoveneşti*, I. Judeţul Vâlcea, vol. 1-2, UNArte, Bucureşti 2008. **Popa, Iancovescu, Bedros, Negrău 2008**

Marin M. Popescu, *Exposition d'art roumain ancient*, Bruxelles, [*sine anno*]. **Popescu s. a.**

Gheorghe Popescu-Vâlcea, "Contribuţii la iconografia Simbolului Sfintei Euharistii," in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, 61, nr. 1-3, 1943, p. 86-107. **Popescu-Vâlcea 1943**

Popescu-Vâlcea 1974 Gheorghe Popescu-Vâlcea, *Slujebnicul Mitropolitului Ştefan al Ungrovlahiei: 1648-1688*, Bucureşti 1974.

Popescu-Vâlcea 1981 Gheorghe Popescu-Vâlcea, *Miniatură românească*, Bucureşti 1981.

Popova, Smirnova, Cortesi 2003 Olga Popova, Engelina Smirnova, Paola Cortesi, *Ikony*, Arkady, Warszawa 2003.

Porumb 1973 Marius Porumb, "Zugravii iconostasului bisericii Sfîntul Nicolae din Hunedoara," in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 10, 1973, p. 677-694.

Porumb 1975 Marius Porumb, *Icoane din Maramureş / Ikonen aus der Maramureş*, Editura Dacia, Cluj-Napoca 1975.

Porumb 1977 Marius Porumb, "Vechi icoane româneşti din Transilvania (secolele XV-XVI)," in *Revista Muzeelor şi Monumentelor. Monumente Istorice şi de Artă*, 1, 1977, p. 51-60.

Porumb 1978 Marius Porumb, "Inscripţii medievale româneşti din Transilvania," in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie şi Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, 21, 1978, p. 307-318.

Porumb 1981 Marius Porumb, *Pictura românească din Transilvania*. I. *Sec. XIV-XVII*, Editura Dacia, Cluj-Napoca 1981.

Porumb 1993 Marius Porumb, "Icoane inedite din Transilvania secolului al XVI-lea," in *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 3, 1993, p. 57-64.

Porumb 1998 Marius Porumb, *Dicţionar de pictură veche românească din Transilvania (sec. XIII-XVIII)*, Editura Academiei Române, Bucureşti 1998.

Porumb 2003 Marius Porumb, *Un veac de pictură românească din Transilvania. Secolul XVIII*, Editura Meridiane, Bucureşti 2003.

Porumb 2023 Marius Porumb, *Pictura românească din Transilvania. Sec. XIII-XVIII. Dicţionar*, Editura Academiei Române, Editura Mega, Bucureşti – Cluj-Napoca, 2023.

Porumb, Sabău 1978 Marius Porumb, Nicolae Sabău, "Vechi inscripţii româneşti din judeţul Mureş (sec. XV-XVIII)," in *Marisia*, 8, 1978, p. 107-117.

Potra 2017 Alexandra-Camelia Potra, *Ţinutul Ciceului. Analiză regională*, Editura Risoprint, Cluj-Napoca 2017.

Приймич 2007 Михайло Приймич, *Перед лицем твоїм. Закарпатський іконостас*, Ужгород 2007.

Приймич 2014 Михайло Приймич, *Іконостаси Закарпаття, Всеукраїнське державне видавництво Карпати*, Ужгород 2014.

Профессия – реставратор **1987** *Профессия – реставратор. Каталог выставки работ отдела реставрации Львовской картинной галереи*, Львов 1987.

Пуцко 1994 В. Пуцко, "Український іконопис у візантійсько-слов'янському контексті," in *Церковний календар на 1994 рік*, p. 88-100.

Пуцко 1998 В. Пуцко, "Ікона святого Миколая Милецкого сучавского маляра Григорія Босиковича," in *Записки товариства імені Шевченка*, vol. 236, Львів 1998, p. 373-397.

Пуцко 2009 В. Пуцко, "До історії іконопису Волині першой половини XVI ст.," in *Волинська ікона: питання історії вивчення, дослідження та реставрації*, Луцьк 2009, p. 31-37.

Puskás 1989 Bernadett Puskás, "Istenszülő a gyermek Jézussal – ábrázolások az Északkelet-Kárpátok vidékének ikonjain," in *Művészettőrténeti Értesitő*, 37, nr. 1-4, 1989, p. 66-88.

Puskás 1991 Bernadett Puskás, *Kelet és nyugat kőzőtt. Ikonok a Kárpát – vidéken a 15-18. században / Between East and West. Icons in the Carpathian Region in the 15th–18th Centuries. Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában 1991. Július-Szeptember / Exposition in the Gallery of the Hungarian National Museum*, Budapest 1991.

Puskás Bernadett, *A görög katolikus egyház művészete a történelmi Magyarországon. Hagyomány és megújulás*, Szent Atanáz Görög katolikus Hittudományi Főiskola, Nyíregyháza 2008. **Puskás 2008**

Bernadett Puskás, "Krisztus szenvedései-ikontöredék Hajasdról. Az ikonográfia rekonstrukciójának kísérlete," in *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, 60, 2011, p. 327-335. **Puskás 2011**

Bernadett Puskás, "Quelques données concernant les icones d'Ilia de Wisznia, peintre de Munkács," in *Apulum*, series *Historia & Patrimonium*, 2013, L, p. 47-70. **Puskás 2013**

Bernadett Puskás, „A fatemplomok építészete és művészete a 17–18. században a Munkácsi Egyházmegyében," in Szilveszter Terdik (ed.), *In the Light of Thy Countenance. Greek Catholics in Hungary*, Magyarországi Sajátjogú Metropolitai Egyház, Debrecen 2020, p. 76-91. **Puskás 2020**

Bernadett Puskás, "The Double-Sided Icon of a Seventeenth-Century Galician Painter in Transcarpathia," in *Museikon*, 6, 2022, p. 129-136. **Puskás 2022**

Путешествие антиохийского патриарха Макария в Россию в половине XVII века, описанное его сыном, архидиаконом Павлом Алеппским, 1, I-III, Москва 1896. ***Путешествие* 1896**

Путешествие антиохийского патриарха Макария в Россию в половине XVII века, описанное его сыном, архидиаконом Павлом Алеппским, 2, IV-VI, Москва 1897. ***Путешествие* 1897**

Путешествие антиохийского патриарха Макария в Россию в половине XVII века, описанное его сыном, архидиаконом Павлом Алеппским, 3, VII-IX, Москва 1898. ***Путешествие* 1898**

Svetozar Radojčić, "Rapports artistiques serbo-roumains de la fin de XIV^e^ siècle jusqu'a fin du XVII^e^ siècle à la lumière des nouvelles découvertes faites en Yougoslavie," in *Actes de Colloque international de civilisations balkaniques*, Sinaia 1962, p. 23-30. **Radojčić 1962**

Jacob Radu, *Istoria vicariatului greco-catolic al Hațegului*, Lugoj 1913. **Radu 1913**

Z. L. Radzimiński, *Monografia XX. Sanguszków oraz innych potomków Lubarta-Fedora Olgerdowicza X. Ratneńskiego*, vol. I, Lwów 1906. **Radzimiński 1906**

C. Rezachevici, "La date de naissance de Petru Movila: une question controversée," in *Révue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 35, nr. 1-2, 1996, p. 109-117. **Rezachevici 1996**

О. О. Рыжова, "Иконопись Киева века XVIII: мастерские и сохранившиеся произведения," in *Вестник ПСТГУ Серия V. Вопросы истории и теории христианского искусства*, 2013. Вып. 1 (10), p. 110-135. **Рыжова 2013**

Romanian Icons. 16^th^-18^th^ Century. Byzantine Museum 29 March–29 April 1993, edited by Myrtali Acheimastou-Potamianou, Athens 1993. ***Romanian Icons* 1993**

Anna Różycka-Bryzek, "Program ikonograficzny malowideł cerkwi w Posadzie Rybotyckiej," in *Symbolae Historiae Artium. Studia z Historii Sztuki*, Warszawa 1986, p. 349-365. **Różycka-Bryzek 1986**

Ioana Rustoiu, Ana Dumitran, *Iconarii din Maierii Bălgradului*, Editura Altip, Alba Iulia 2007. **Rustoiu, Dumitran 2007**

Adrian Andrei Rusu, "Pomelnicul mural al bisericii „Sfîntul Nicolae" din Hunedoara," in *Mitropolia Banatului*, 36, nr. 6, 1986, p. 42-50. **Rusu 1986**

Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich, tom 3, Haag – Kępy 1882. ***SGKP***

Szent Atanáz Görögkatolikus Hittudományi Főiskola Könyvtára, Nyíregyháza. **SZAGKHFK**

Sabados 1985 Marina Ileana Sabados, "Contribuţii la studiul sculpturii decorative în lemn din Moldova, în prima jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea: două iconostase mai puţin cunoscute din judeţul Neamţ," in *Studii şi Cercetări de Istoria Artei*, seria *Artă Plastică*, 32, 1985, p. 341-350.

Sabados 1993a Marina Ileana Sabados, "Iconografia temei Deisis în pictura pe lemn din Moldova secolului XVI," in *Studii şi Cercetări de Istoria Artei*, seria *Artă Plastică*, 40, 1993, p. 25-41.

Sabados 1993b Marina Ileana Sabados, "Iconografie şi stil în pictura din Moldova secolului al XVI-lea. Fresca, pictura pe lemn, miniatura. Vedere comparativă," in *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 3, 1993, p. 41-55.

Sabados 1994 Marina Ileana Sabados, "La peinture d'icônes au temps de Pierre Rareş," in *Révue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art*, Série *Beaux-Arts*, 31, 1994, p. 29-71.

Sabados 1997 Marina Ileana Sabados, "Din nou despre «comoara» de icoane de la Văleni – Piatra Neamţ," in *Studii şi Cercetări de Istoria Artei*, seria *Artă Plastică*, 44, 1997, p. 3-32.

Sabados 2002-2003 Marina Ileana Sabados, "Influences occidentales dans la peinture roumaine d'icônes du XVII^e^ siècle," in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art*, Série *Beaux-Arts*, 39-40, 2002-2003, p. 33-67.

Sabados 2003a Marina Ileana Sabados, "Icoanele împărăteşti de la Plătăreşti. Ipoteză de datare şi atribuire," in I. Cândea, P. Cernovodeanu (eds), *Închinare lui Petre Ş. Năsturel la 80 de ani*, Brăila 2003, p. 479-494.

Sabados 2003b Marina Ileana Sabados, "Transilvania şi şcoala moldovenească de pictură în secolul al XVI-lea. Câteva observaţii," in *Artă, istorie, cultură. Studii în onoarea lui Marius Porumb*, Editura Nereamia Napocae, Cluj-Napoca 2003, p. 149-156.

Sabados 2008a Marina Ileana Sabados, "La datation des iconostases de Humor et de Voroneţ," in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art*, Série *Beaux-Arts*, 45, 2008, p. 67-76.

Sabados 2008b Marina Ileana Sabados, "L'iconostase de Moldoviţa: un répère dans l'évolution de l'iconostase moldave," in *Series Byzantina*, 6, 2008, p. 27-43.

Sabados 2010 Marina Ileana Sabados, "L'iconostase de Rădeana-Bacău," in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art*, Série *Beaux-Arts*, 47, 2010, p. 31-55.

Sabados 2011 Marina Ileana Sabados, "Icônes des peintres russes Kirill et Vassili Oulanov dans la région de Suceava," in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art*, Série *Beaux-Arts*, 48, 2011, p. 139-148.

Sabados 2013 Marina Ileana Sabados, "Les anciennes icônes de l'ermitage Ostrov-Vâlcea," in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art*, Série *Beaux-Arts*, 50, 2013, p. 35-44.

Sabados 2016 Marina Ileana Sabados, "Inscripţiile icoanelor de secol XVI din Moldova şi Ţara Românească. Tipologie şi catalog selectiv," in *Studii şi Cercetări de Istoria Artei*, seria *Artă Plastică* (serie nouă), 6 (50), 2016, p. 153-176.

Sabados 2018 Marina Ileana Sabados, "Icoane şi iconostase din Moldova în secolul al XV-lea," in Răzvan Theodorescu, Marius Porumb (eds), *Arta din România. Din preistorie în contemporaneitate*, vol. I, Editura Academiei Române, Editura Mega, Bucureşti – Cluj-Napoca, 2018, p. 486-497.

Sabados 2021 Marina Ileana Sabados, "O istorie a icoanei din Moldova medievală în Muzeul Mitropolitan din Iaşi," in Petronel Zaharius, Pr. Mihai-Daniel Isai (eds), *Istoria Catedralei şi a Ansamblului Mitropolitan din Iaşi*, Editura Doxologia, Iaşi, 2021, p. 639-656.

Sabados, Lambru [2016] Marina Ileana Sabados, Ruxandra Lambru, "Catalog selectiv I. Inscripţii pe icoane româneşti din secolul al XVI-lea," http://www.medieval.istoria-artei.ro/repertoire.php.

Aurelian Sacerdoţeanu, "Inscripţii şi însemnări din Costeştii Vâlcii," in *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice*, XXVIII, fasc. 85, iul.-sept. 1935, p. 97-104. **Sacerdoţeanu 1935**

И. П. Сахаров, *Обозрение славяно-русской библиографии*, I, 2, IV, Санкт-Петербург 1849. **Сахаров 1849**

В. Д. Сарабьянов, "Новгородская алтарная преграда домонгольского периода," in А. М. Лидов (ред.), *Иконостас. Происхождение-Развитие-Символика*, Москва 2000. **Сарабьянов 2000**

Cristina Daniela Scărlătescu, Răzvan Malanca, "The Restoration of the Royal Icon «The Assumption of Mary» from the Big Royal Church in Târgoviște, Dâmbovița County Iconostasis," in *Brukenthal Acta Musei*, X/4, 2015, p. 647-657. **Scărlătescu, Malanca 2015**

Schematismus venerabilis cleri graeci ritus catholicorum dioecesis Eperjesiensis, pro anno Domini 1903, Eperjes 1903. ***Schematismus* 1903**

A. Semoglou, "Les choeurs (absides laterales) des eglises athonites, lieux d'expressions dogmatiques. Nouveaux traitements iconographiques au XVI^e siècle et leur contexte interpretatif," in *Το Άγιον Όρος στον 15ο και 16ο αιώνα*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2012. **Semoglou 2012**

Cristina Serendan, Ciprian Firea, Simina Işvanca, Alexandru Chelmuş, "Original colors and painting technique of two 17th-century post-Byzantine icons," in *Acta Artis Academica 2020. The Color Theme. Proceedings of the 7th Interdisciplinary ALMA Conference 16th-18th October 2019*, University Library Bratislava, Slovak Republic, Academy of Fine Arts, Prague 2020, p. 13-26. **Serendan, Firea, Işvanca, Chelmuş 2020**

Василь Сивак, "«Христос – Виноградна Лоза»: українські іконографічні інтерпретації XVII – XVIII ст.," in *Народознавчі зошити*, 2009, nr. 3-4, p. 337-342. **Сивак 2009**

В. Січинський, "Архитектура Львова," in *Записки Чина св. Василія Великого*, 5, 1932-1941, p. 193-222. **Січинський 1932-1941**

Олег Сидор, *Давня українська ікона із приватних збірок*, Родовід, Київ 2003. **Сидор 2003**

Tereza Sinigalia, "L'architecture de l'époque «brancovane», réceptacle des influences de la Vénétie," in Sante Graciotti (ed.), *Italia e Romania: due popoli e due storie a confronto (secc. XIV-XVIII)*, Fondazione Giorgio Cini – Civiltà veneziana. Studi, vol. 48, Firenze 1998, p. 205-225. **Sinigalia 1998**

Tereza Sinigalia, *Repertoriul arhitecturii în Ţara Românească. 1600-1680*, vol. 1, Bucureşti 2002. **Sinigalia 2002**

Tereza Sinigalia, "Relaţia dintre spaţiu şi decorul pictat al naosurilor unor biserici de secol XV-XVI din Moldova," in *Revista Monumentelor Istorice*, 76, nr. 1-2, 2007, p. 42-58. **Sinigalia 2007**

Tereza Sinigalia, "Popa Vlaicu şi creaţia sa artistică," in *Studii şi Cercetări de Istoria Artei*, seria *Artă Plastică* (serie nouă), I, 45, 2011, p. 33-47. **Sinigalia 2011**

Tereza Sinigalia, "Pictura murală din Moldova secolului al XV-lea," in Răzvan Theodorescu, Marius Porumb (eds), *Arta din România. Din preistorie în contemporaneitate*, vol. I, Editura Academiei Române, Editura Mega, Bucureşti – Cluj-Napoca, 2018, p. 184-196. **Sinigalia 2018**

О. В. Сіткарьова, *Успенський собор Києво-Печерської лаври: До історії архітектурно-археологічного дослідження та проекту відбудови*, Київ 2000. **Сіткарьова 2000**

Лев Скоп, "Творчість волинського іконописця XVIII ст. (автора ікон «Христос Виноградар»)," in *Волинська ікона: питання історії вивчення, дослідження та реставрації. Тези та матеріали наукової конференції, присвяченої 90-річчю П. М. Жолтовського*, Луцьк 1994, p. 18-21. **Скоп 1994**

Скоп 2004 Лев Скоп, *Маляр ікони Богородиця-Одигітрія з Мражниці*, Логос, Львів 2004.

Skrobucha 1971 Heinz Skrobucha, *Ikonen aus der Tschechoslowakei*, Verlag Werner Dausien, Praga 1971.

Smorąg-Różycka 1996-1997 M. Smorąg-Różycka, "Integracyjna rola sztuki w dobie Unii Brzeskiej," in *Krakowskie Zeszyty Ukrainoznawcze*, 5-6, 1996-1997, p. 147-155.

Sokołowski 1889 M. Sokołowski, "Sztuka cerkiewna na Rusi i na Bukowinie (Wystawa Stauropigialna we Lwowie z r. 1888/9)," in *Kwartalnik historyczny*, 3, 1889, p. 619-657.

Sokołowski 1899 M. Sokołowski, *Studia i szkice z dziejów sztuki i cywilizacji*, I, Kraków 1899.

Сьомак 2023 Оксана Юріївна Сьомак, *Образні трансформації в руслі загальностильової еволюції іконопису Дрогобиччини XV – початку XVI століть*, PhD thesis defended at the National Academy of Visual Arts and Architecture, Kyiv, 2023.

Somak, Covaci 2022 Oksana Somak, Mihai Covaci, "The «Belz-Drohobych Workshop» in Ukrainian Galicia and its Connection with Romanian Maramureș," in *Museikon*, 6, 2022, p. 81-98.

Сопиков 1813 В. С. Сопиков, *Опыт российской библиографии, или полный словарь сочинений и переводов, напечатанных на славенском и российском языках, от начала заведения типографий, до 1813 года, с предисловием, служащим введением в сию науку, совершенно новую в России, с историей о начале и успехах книгопечатания как в Европе вообще, так и особенно в России*, Санкт-Петербург 1813-1876 (1: 1813).

Spinei 1982 Victor Spinei, *Moldova în secolele XI-XIV*, Editura Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, Bucureşti 1982.

Sprawozdania Komisyi 1913 Sprawozdania Komisyi do Badania Historyi Sztuki w Polsce.

Станкевич 2002 Михайло Станкевич, *Українське художнє дерево XVI–XX ст.*, Львів 2002.

Стасенко 2003 Володимир Стасенко, *Христос і Богородиця у дереворізах кириличних книг Галичини XVII століття: особливості розробки та інтерпретації образи*, Київ 2003.

Stawicki 2019 S. Stawicki, "Malowidła ścienne z dawnej cerkwi Zwiastowania NMP w Supraślu – problemy techniczne i technologiczny," in A. Ruta (red.), *Freski supraskie. Relikty XVI-wiecznego malarstwa postbizantyńskiego w kolekcji muzeum ikon w Supraślu*, Białystok 2019.

Stone 2001 Daniel Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1386-1795*, University of Washington Press, Seattle and London 2001.

Stošić 1992 Ljiljana Stošić, *Zapadnoevropska grafika kao predložak srpskom slikarstvu XVIII veka*, Beograd 1992.

Stradomski 2009 J. Stradomski, "Typikon Świętej Góry Athos w rękopisach cerkiewnosłowiańskich w Polsce," in M. Kuczyńska (red.), *Święta Góra Athos w kulturze Europy. Europa w kulturze Athosu*, Gniezno 2009.

Stuart 1975 John Stuart, *Ikons*, Faber and Faber, London 1975.

Студіон 2005 о. Севастіян Дмитрух, *Українське сакральне мистецтво з колекції "Студіон"*, Частина I, *Врятовані від загибелі і забуття*, Ґердан Графіка, Львів 2005.

Suciu 1967 Coriolan Suciu, *Dicţionar istoric alş localităţilor din Transilvania,* vol. I, *A-N*, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, Bucureşti 1967.

Sulikowska-Gąska 2009 Aleksandra Sulikowska-Gąska, "Ikona Św. Paraskiewy Tyrnowskiej ze scenami z żywota z kolekcji Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie," in Agnieszka Gronek (red.), *Szczelina światła. Ruskie malarstwo ikonowe*, Collegium Columbinum, Kraków 2009, p. 99-124.

Sulikowska-Gąska 2011 Aleksandra Sulikowska-Gąska, "O dwóch miniaturach Tetraewangeliarza suczawskiego," in *Krakowsko-Wileńskie Studia Slawistyczne*, 6, 2011, p. 189-218.

Aleksandra Sulikowska, "Księgi i ikony, a problem wzorów ikonograficznych: Zachodnia Ruś i Mołdawia w xv-xvi wieku (uwagi wstępne)," in Agnieszka Gronek (red.), *O miejsce książki w historii sztuki*, Kraków 2014, p. 125-138. **Sulikowska 2014**

E. Ch. Suttner, "Metropolit Petr Mogila und die 1644 verfaßte *Sententia cuiusdam nobilis Poloni graece religionis* über die Einigung der Kirchen," in *Ostkirchlichen Studien*, 50, 2001, p. 106-116. **Suttner 2001**

В. И. Свєнціцька, "Кто же автор ансамбля?," in *Творчество*, 12, 1971, p. 20-22. **Свєнціцька 1971**

В. І. Свенцицкая, "Українське станкове малярство xiv–xvi ст. і традиції візантійського мистецтва," in *Українське мистецтво у міжнародних звязках. Дожовстневий період*, Київ 1983. **Свєнцицька 1983**

І. Свєнціцкий, "Галицько-руське церковне малярство xv–xvi ст. (Матеріяли і замітки)," in *Записки Наукового товариства імені Шевченка*, 121, 1914, p. 63-116. **Свєнціцкий 1914**

І. Свєнціцкий, *Іконопись Галицької України xv–xvi. віків (Збірки Національного Музею у Львові) / Die Ikonenmalerei der Galizischen Ukraine d. xv–xvi. Jhd.*, Львів / Lwow 1928. **Свєнціцкий 1928**

І. Свєнціцкий, *Ікони Галицької України xv–xvi. віків*, Львів 1929. **Свєнціцкий 1929**

И. Свенціцкий, *Опис рукописів: І. Кириличні пергаміни xii–xv вв.*, Львів 1933. **Свєнціцкий 1933**

P. Sygowski, "O kilku ikonach z byłego Muzeum Cerkiewno-Archeologicznego w Chełmie w zbiorach Muzeum Ławry Kijowsko-Peczerskiej," in A. Gronek (red.), *Szczelina światła. Ruskie malarstwo ikonowe. Pamięci Romualda Biskupskiego*, Kraków 2009. **Sygowski 2009**

P. Sygowski, "Rosyjskie Muzeum Cerkiewno-Archeologiczne w Chełmie (1882-1915) – jego powstanie i zbiory sztuki religijnej (malarstwo, rzeźba)," in *Rocznik Chełmski*, t. 17, Chełm 2013. **Sygowski 2013**

P. Sygowski, "Новий документ з історії находження пам'яток Холмського Церковно-Археологічного Музею до збірки Національного Києво-Печерського історико-культурного заповідника," in *Церква-Наука-Суспільство. Матеріали Чотирнадцятої Міжнародної наукової конференції (25 травня - 3 червеня 2016 р.)*, Київ 2016. **Sygowski 2016**

Pawel Sygowski, "Ikona «Matki Boskiej Werchrackiej» – przyczynek do rozwazan na temat pewnych wariantów Eleusy w malarstwie ikonowym na terenie Rzeczypospolitej," in Dominika Maria Macios, Magdalena Anna Piecyk, Maria Tsymbalista (red.), *Sztuka cerkiewna Rzeczypospolitej i krajów sasiednich. Materialy dyskusyjne, Ostravská Univerzita Polski Instytut Studiów Nad Sztuką Swiata Muzeum w Nowym Sączu*, Ostrawa – Warsaw 2020. **Sygowski 2020**

Михайло Сирохман / Mykhailo Syrokhman, *Церкви України. Закарпаття / Churches of Ukraine. Zakarpathia*, Львів / L'viv 2000. **Syrokhman 2000**

Mychajlo Syrochman, Jaroslav Džoganík, *Stratené drevené cerkvi severovýchodného Slovenska*, Svidník 2019. **Syrochman, Džoganík 2019**

Zofia Szanter, "Ruskie i mołdawskie wzory architektury cerkiewnej: ich wpływ na obszar północnego odcinka łuku Karpat," in J. Giemza, A. Stepan (red.), *Sztuka cerkiewna w diecezji przemyskiej: materiały z międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej 25-26 marca 1995 roku*, Łańcut 1999, p. 207-232. **Szanter 1999**

Zofia Szanter, "Powstanie nowożytnej formy ikonostasu w cerkwiach ruskich na południowo-wschodnich terenach Rzeczpospolitej w xvii wieku," in K. Mart (red.), *Do piękna nadprzyrodzonego. Wystawa sztuki sakralnej xvi-xx wieku ze zbiorów muzeum chełmskiego i świątyń diecezji chełmskich. Katalog*, t. 1, Chełm 2003, p. 154-159. **Szanter 2003**

Szaranewicz 1875 I. Szaranewicz, *Rzut oka na beneficja kościoła ruskiego za czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, Lwów 1875.

Szaraniewicz 1892 I. Szaraniewicz, "Muzeum Instytutu Stauropigijskiego we Lwowie," in *Teka Konserwatorska*, 1892, p. 53-60.

Szatmár vármegye **1908** Samu Borovszky (szerk.), *Szatmár vármegye. A Magyarország vármegyéi és városai központi szerkesztő-bizottságának felügyelete alatt*, Budapest [1908].

Szilárdfy 1997 Zoltán Szilárdfy, *A magánáhítat szentképei a szerző gyűjteményéből II. 19–20. század*, Néprajzi Tanszék, Szeged 1997 (*Devotio Hungarorum* 4.).

Шамардина 1998 Н. В. Шамардина, "Галицкая икона «Похвала Богоматери»," in *Русская художественная культура XV-XVI веков*, Москва 1998, p. 22-38.

Шамурина 2006 З. Шамурина, *Киев. Репринтне відтворення видання 1912*, Київ 2006.

Щепкин 1967 В. Н. Щепкин, *Русская палеография*, Москва 1967.

Щербаківський 1921 Данило Щербаківський, "Символіка в українському мистецтві. Виноградна Лоза," in *Українське наукове товариство. Збірник секції мистецтв*, Київ 1921, Т. I, p. 55-74.

Щербаківський 1995 В. Щербаківський, *Українське мистецтво: Вибрані неопубліковані праці* (ред. В. Ульяновський), Київ 1995.

Шедеври **1999** *Шедеври українського іконопису XII–XIX ст.: альбом*, Упоряд Л. Членова, Мистецтво, Київ 1999.

Şerbănescu 1978 Florin Şerbănescu, "Pictura pe lemn de la jumătatea secolului al XVII-lea la monumentul istoric din comuna Sâmbureşti, judeţul Olt," in *Revista Muzeelor şi Monumentelor. Monumente Istorice şi de Artă*, 47, nr. 2, 1978, p. 78-84.

Шередега, Шульц, Карпенко 2008 Н. Н. Шередега, И. В. Шульц, Е. В. Карпенко, *Православная икона России, Украины, Беларуси: Каталог выставки*, Фонд Грани, Москва 2008.

Ševčenko 1984 Ihor Ševčenko, "The Many Worlds of Peter Mohyla," in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 8, June 1984: *The Kiev Mohyla Academy. Commemorating of the 350th Anniversary of its Founding (1632)*, p. 9-44.

Ševčenko 1996 Ihor Ševčenko, *Ukraina między Wschodem a Zachodem. Różne oblicza świata Piotra Mohyły. Polska w dziejach Ukrainy*, Warszawa 1996.

Шевченко 2001 Ігор Шевченко, *Україна між Сходом і Заходом*, Львів 2001.

Ştefănescu 1928 I. D. Ştefănescu, *L'évolution de la peinture religieuse en Bucovine et en Moldavie depuis les origines jusqu'au XIXe siècle*, I-II, Paris 1928.

Ştefănescu 1932 I. D. Ştefănescu, *La peinture religieuse en Valachie et en Transylvanie depuis les origines jusqu'au XIXe siècle*, Paris 1932.

Ştefănescu 1967 I. D. Ştefănescu, *Biserica din Şurdeşti*, Muzeul Regional Maramureş, Baia Mare 1967.

Ştefănescu 1973 I. D. Ştefănescu, *Iconografia artei bizantine şi a picturii feudale româneşti*, Editura Meridiane, Bucureşti 1973.

Ştefănescu 2014 † Melchisedec Ştefănescu, *Viaţa şi minunile Cuvioasei Maicii noastre Parascheva cea Nouă şi istoricul sfintelor sale moaşte*, Editura Andreas Print, Bucureşti 2014.

Шульц 1999 І. Шульц (ред.), *Церковні старожитності XVI-XVII століть. Каталог виставки*, Київ 1999.

Шульц 2013 І. Шульц, "Пам'ятки з Холмського Церковно-Археологічного Музею в зібранні Національного Києво-Печерського історико-культурного заповідника. До історії надходження," in *Церква-Наука-Суспільство. Матеріали Одинадцятої Міжнародної наукової конференції (29-31 травня 2013 р.)*, Київ 2013.

І. Шульц, В. Колпакова (ред.), *Українська ікона трьох століть. Каталог виставки*, Київ 2001. **Шульц, Колпакова 2001**

С. Таранушенко, "Два волынских памятника станковой живописи XVI в., in *Реставрация и исследования памятников культуры*, Москва 21982, p. 226-227. **Таранушенко 1982**

С. А. Таранушенко, "Український іконостас," in *Записки НТШ. Праці секції мистецтвознавства*, 227, Львів 1994, p. 141-164. **Таранушенко 1994**

Cornel Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj (1750-1830)*, Editura Eventus, Blaj 1995. **Tatai-Baltă 1995**

Cornel Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj (1750-1830)*, Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca 2023. **Tatai-Baltă 2023**

Cornel Tatai-Baltă, Ioan Fărcaș, *Iconostasul catedralei greco-catolice 'Sfânta Treime' din Blaj (Sec. XVIII)*, Editura Altip, Alba Iulia 2011. **Tatai-Baltă, Fărcaș 2011**

Anca Elisabeta Tatay, *Din istoria şi arta cărţii româneşti vechi: gravura de la Buda (1780-1830)*, Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca 2011. **Tatay 2011**

Anca Elisabeta Tatay, Cornel Tatai-Baltă, *Xilogravura din cartea românească veche tipărită la Bucureşti (1582-1830)*, Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca 2015. **Tatay, Tatai-Baltă 2015**

Мирјана Татић-Ђурић, "Икона Богородице «Прекрасне», њено порекло и распространеност," in *Зборник Светозара Радојчића*, Београд 1969, p. 335-354. **Татић-Ђурић 1969**

Vera Tchentsova, "Les documents grecs du XVII[e] siècle : pièces authentiques et pièces fausses, 3. Mélétios Syrigos, véritable auteur de la lettre adressée au patriarche de Moscou Nikon par les zographoi Jean et Georges," in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 73, nr. 2, 2007, p. 311-345. **Tchentsova 2007**

Vera Tchentsova, "Pour un corpus des inscriptions grecques de l'église Saint-Sauveur de Berestovo," in *Museikon*, 1, 2017, p. 77-94. **Tchentsova 2017**

J. Tęgowski, "Powiązania genealogiczne wojewodów mołdawskich Bogdanowiczów z domem Giedyminowiczów w XIV-XV wieku," in *Genealogia. Studia i materiały historyczne*, 3, 1993, p. 46-53. **Tęgowski 1993**

Terdik Szilveszter, "A pócsi Szűzanya kegyképének másolatai," in István Ivancsó (szerk.), *"Téged jöttünk köszönteni" Máriapócs, 2005. november 21-22. A máriapócsi kegykép harmadik könnyezésének centenáriuma alkalmából rendezett nemzetközi konferencia anyaga*, Nyíregyháza 2005, p. 49-61. **Terdik 2005**

Terdik Szilveszter, "Újabb eredmények a Munkácsi Egyházmegye művészetének föltérképezésében," in *Athanasiana*, 30, 2009, 119-150. **Terdik 2009**

Szilveszter Terdik, "*Sculptor constantinopolitanus*. Un intagliatore greco a Máriapócs nel Settecento," in Tamás Véghseő (ed.), *Symbolae. Ways of Greek Catholic heritage research. Papers of the conference held on the 100th anniversary of the death of Nikolaus Nilles*, Nyíregyháza 2010, p. 247-267. **Terdik 2010**

Szilveszter Terdik, "A Cantor, Schoolmaster and Painter: Findings about the Lifework of Mihály Paholcsek of Oradea," in *Apulum*, series *Historia & Patrimonium*, 50, 2013, p. 331-360. **Terdik 2013**

Szilveszter Terdik, *Görögkatolikus püspöki központok Magyarországon a 18. században: Művészet és reprezentáció*, Szent Atanáz Görögkatolikus Hittudományi Főiskola, Nyíregyháza 2014. **Terdik 2014a**

Szilveszter Terdik, "Artists from the Balkans in the service of Greek Catholic bishops (18th century)," in Miša Rakocija (ed.), *Niš and Byzantium. Twelfth Symposium: Niš, 3–6 June 2013. The Collection of Scientific Works*, NKC, Niš 2014, p. 477-488. **Terdik 2014b**

Terdik 2018 Szilveszter Terdik, "Some Aspects of the History of the 18th-Century Greek-Catholic Stone Churches in the Area around Baia Mare (Nagybánya)," in *Museikon*, 2, 2018, p. 117-146.

Terdik 2020a Szilveszter Terdik (ed.), *In the Light of Thy Countenance. Greek Catholics in Hungary, Magyarországi Sajátjogú Metropolitai Egyház*, Debrecen 2020.

Terdik 2020b Terdik Szilveszter, "The Altar of Abaújszolnok," in Szilveszter Terdik (ed.), *In the Light of Thy Countenance. Greek Catholics in Hungary, Magyarországi Sajátjogú Metropolitai Egyház*, Debrecen 2020, p. 216-221.

Tetraevanghelul **2016** *Tetraevanghelul ilustrat cu 346 de miniaturi*, Mănăstirea Sucevița 2016.

Theodorescu 1983 Răzvan Theodorescu, "Bizanț, Balcani, Occident la începuturile culturii medievale românești (secolele x-xiv)," in *Revue des Etudes Sud-Est Européennes*, xxi, 1983, nr. 1, p. 339-348; nr. 3, p. 7-21.

Theodorescu 1987 Răzvan Theodorescu, *Civilizația românilor între medieval şi modern. Orizontul imaginii (1550-1800)*, vol. i-ii, Bucureşti 1987.

Theodorescu 2013 Răzvan Theodorescu, *Cele două Europe*, Editura Enciclopedică, Bucureşti 2013.

Thomas 1953 Alois Thomas, "Christus in der Kelter," in *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, 3, München 1953, p. 673-687.

Timbuș 2023 Sergiu Petru Timbuș, *Iconostasul ăn Transilvania. Istorie, artă şi teologie (cca 1400-1650)*, Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca 2023.

Тимотијевиић 1996 Мирослав Тимотијевиић, "«Хлеб животни» у ниши проскомидије манастира Бођана," in *Грата за проучавање споменика културе Војводине*, xviii, 1996, p. 151-161.

Титов 1905 Ф. Титов, *Памятники православия и русской народности в Западной России в xvii-xviii вв*, t. 1/3, Киев 1905.

Tkáč 1980 Štefan Tkáč, *Ikony zo 16.-19. storočia na severovýchodnom Slovensku*, Tatran, Bratysława 1980.

Ткачук 2018 В. Ткачук, *Українські православні антимінси xvii—xviii ст.: система функціонування та смислове навантаження.* Дисертація на здобуття наук. ст. канд. іст. наук.: 07.00.01. Київ. нац.. ун-т ім. Тараса Шевченка, Київ 2018.

Тодић 2013 Бранислав Тодић, *Српска сликари од xiv до xviii века*, i, Платонеум д.о.о., Нови Сад 2013.

Толстой 1829 Ф. А. Толстой, *Обстоятельное описание старопечатных книг славянских и российских, хранящихся в библиотеке тайного советника, сенатора, двора Его Императорского Величества действительного камергера и кавалера, графа Фёдора Андреевича Толстого, Издал Павел Строев, Императорской Академии Наук корреспондент и путешествующий археограф, член разных ученых обществ кавалер. С 24 гравированными изображениями шрифтов*, Москва 1829.

Topolska 1984 M. B. Topolska, *Czytelnik i książka w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w dobie Renesansu i Baroku*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1984.

Tradigo 2004 Alfredo Tradigo, *Icone e Santi d'Oriente*, Electa, Milano 2004.

Требник **1996** *Требник митрополита Петра Могили: (Київ 1646)*, Репринт: у 2 т. 2, Київ 1996.

Trócsányi 1986 Zsolt Trócsányi, "Reformok előtt (A Ministerialkonferenz in Rebus Transylvanicis és a Hofcommission, illetve Hofdeputation in Transylvanicis, Banaticis et Illyricis 1745-1751)," in *Levéltári Közlemények*, 57, 2, 1986, p. 189-245.

ЦДІАЛ Центральний державний архів, Відділ у Львові.

Царські врата **2012** *Царські врата українських іконостасів: альбом* (ed. Ю. Юркевич), Львів 2012.

Liana Tugearu, Monica Breazu, "Reconsiderarea datării unui vechi monument de artă românească," in *Arta*, 28, nr. 3, 1981, p. 33. **Tugearu, Breazu 1981**

Émile Turdeanu, "Grégoire Camblak: faux arguments d'une biographie," in *Revue des Études Slaves*, tome 22, fascicule 1-4, 1946, p. 46-81. **Turdeanu 1946**

А. А. Турилов, *Slavia Cyrillomethodiana: Источниковедение и культуры южных славян и Древней Руси*, Москва 2010. **Турилов 2010**

А. А. Турилов, "Киприан", in *Православная Энциклопедия*, vol. 33, Москва 2013. **Турилов 2013**

Музей Народної Архітектури та Побуту у Львові, *Українська ікона XV-XVII століть*, Львів 1994. *Українська ікона* **1994**

Sorin Ulea, "Gavril ieromonahul, autorul frescelor de la Bălinești. Introducere la studiul picturii moldovenești din epoca lui Ștefan cel Mare," in Mihail Berza (ed.), *Cultura moldovenească în timpul lui Ștefan cel Mare*, Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, București 1964, p. 419-461. **Ulea 1964**

Unter Deinen Schutz … Ikonen vom 15. bis 18. Jahrhundert aus den polnischen Karpaten / Under Your Protection … 15th-18th Century Icons from the Polish Carpatians, Ikonen-Museum – Stiftung Dr. Schmidt-Voigt, Frankfurt am Main 2005-2006. *Unter Deine Schutz* **2005-2006**

Олександр Васянович, Людмила Долгополова, Віктор Мойсієнко, "Мелені і Меленівці," in *Волинь-Житомирщина. Історико-філологічний збірник з регіональних проблем*, 16, Житомир 2007, p. 154-187. **Васянович, Долгополова, Мойсієнко 2007**

Світлана Василевська, "Композиція «Христос Виноградна Лоза» на волинських іконах XVIII ст.," in *Пам'ятки сакрального мистецтва Волині. Матеріали міжнародної наукової конференції*, Луцьк 2001, vol. 8, p. 38-40. **Василевська 2001**

A. A. Vasiliev, *Istoria Imperiului Bizantin*, traducere Ionuț-Alexandru Tudorie, Vasile-Adrian Carabă, Sebastian Laurențiu Nazâru, Editura Polirom, Iași 2010. **Vasiliev 2010**

Anca Vasiliu, *Monastères de Moldavie XIV-XVI siècle. Les Architectures de l'image*, Milano – Paris 1998. **Vasiliu 1998**

Maria Vassilaki (ed.), *Mother of God. Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, Skira, Milano 2000. **Vassilaki (ed.) 2000**

Maria Vassilaki, "Religious Art under Foreign Rule: The Case of the Painter," in Paschalis Kitromilides and Dimitris Arvanitakis (eds), *The Greek World under Ottoman and Western Domination: 15th-19th Centuries. Proceedings of the International Conference in conjunction with the exhibition "From Byzantium to Modern Greece: Hellenic Art in Adversity, 1453-1830", December 15, 2005 – May 6, 2006*, Onassis Cultural Center, Benaki Museum, New York – Athens 2008, p. 80-92. **Vassilaki 2008**

Maria Vassilaki, *The Painter Angelos and Icon-Painting in Venetian Crete*, Ashgate Variorum cellected studies series, 2009. **Vassilaki 2009**

Virgil Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale în țările române*, vol. I, Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, București 1959. **Vătășianu 1959**

В. В. Вечерський, "Мистецтво середини XVII – середини XVIII ст. Образотворче мистецтво: Архітектура," in *Історія українського мистецтва. У 5 т.*, 3, Київ 2011, p. 280-376. **Вечерський 2011**

Pr. Petre Vintilescu, *Liturghierul explicat*, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București 1998. **Vintilescu 1998**

Візитація Жовківського деканату 1792–1793 рр., State Archive in Przemyśl, Acts of the Greek Catholic Eparchy (ABGK), nr. 327. *Візитація Жовківського деканату 1792-1793*

Візитація Лежайського деканату 1777 і 1780 рр., State Archive in Przemyśl, Acts of the Greek Catholic Eparchy (ABGK), nr. 31. *Візитація Лежайського деканату 1777 і 1780*

Παναγιωτης Λ. Βοκοτοπουλος, *Εικονες της Κερκυρας*, Αθηνα 1990. **Βοκοτοπουλος 1990**

Волинська ікона **2017** — *Волинська ікона: дослідження та реставрація. Науковий збірник. Випуск 24. Матеріали XXIV Міжнародної наукової конференції, присвяченої 350-річчю від дня народження Йова Кондзелевича, м. Луцьк, 19–20 жовтня 2017 року*. Упоряд. Т. Єлісєєва, Є. Ковальчук, Луцьк 2017.

Волинська ікона **2018** — *Волинська ікона: дослідження та реставрація. Науковий збірник. Випуск 25. Матеріали XXV Міжнародної наукової конференції, присвяченої 25-річчю Музею волинської ікони, м. Луцьк, 25-26 жовтня 2018 року*. Упоряд. Т. Єлісєєва, Є. Ковальчук, Луцьк 2018.

Vornicescu 1999 — N. Vornicescu, *Sfîntul Ierarh Petru Movilă*, Craiova 1999.

Voroneț **1959** — *Voroneț. Freske auf dem 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Bucharest 1959.

Вуковић, Королија Цркveњаков 2011 — Коста Вуковић, Даниела Королија Цркveњаков, *Српска црквена уметност у Матарској. Каталог*, Галерија Матице српске, Нови Сад 2011.

Wadell 1969 — Maj-Brit Wadell, *Fons Pietatis, eine ikonographische Studie*, Grafia, Göteborg 1969.

Walczak 2022 — Marek Walczak, "*Sic Enim Constantinus…*: The Equestrian Portrait of King Ladislaus Jagiełło in the Holy Trinity Chapel at the Castle of Lublin (1418)," in Maria Alessia Rossi, Alice Isabella Sullivan (eds), *Eclecticism in Late Medieval Visual Culture at the Crossroads of the Latin, Greek, and Slavic Traditions*, De Gruyter, Boston 2022, p. 259-289.

Wardwell 1975 — Anne E. Wardwell, "The Mystical Grapes: A Devotional Tapestry," in *The Bulletin of The Cleveland Museum of Art*, nr. 62, 1975, p. 17-23.

Ware 1997 — Timothy Ware (Bishop Kallistos of Diokleia), *The Orthodox Church*, New York 1997.

Warzecha 2016 — A. Warzecha, "Epitrachelion z fundacji hospodara Jeremiego Mohyły w skarbcu klasztoru Franciszkanów w Krakowie," in A. Gronek. A. Z. Nowak (red.), *Studia o kulturze cerkiewnej w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Kraków 2016, p. 101-112.

Wasilewski 1963 — Tadeusz Wasilewski, "Przyczynki źródłowe do stosunków Polski ze Słowiańszczyzną południową w wiekach XIII-XVI," in *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 8, 1963, p. 117-124.

Winnicka 2013 — Katerina Winnicka, *Icons from the 16th century in the Historical Museum in Sanok. Catalogue of collections*, vol. II, Sanok 2013.

Winnicka 2018 — Katarzyna Winnicka, *Ikony z XVII w. w Muzeum Historycznym w Sanoku. Katalog zbiorów*, III, Sanok 2018.

Wipfler 2014 — Esther P. Wipfler, *Fons. Studien zur Quell- und Brunnenmetaphorik in der europäischen Kunst*, Schnell und Steiner, Regensburg 2014.

Wolff 1895 — J. Wolff, *Kniaziowie Litewsko-ruscy od końca XIV wieku*, Warszawa 1895.

Wurzbach 1891 — Constant von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, vol. 60, Druck und Verlag der k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, Wien 1891.

Wyrostek 1932 — Ludwik Wyrostek, *Ród Dragów-Sasów na węgrzech i Rusi Halickiej*, Kraków 1932.

Wystawa archeologiczna polsko-ruska **1886** — *Wystawa archeologiczna polsko-ruska urządzona we Lwowie w roku 1885 / Polnischruthenische archeologische Ausstellung in Lemberg 1885 / Выстава археологична польско-руска устроєна во Львовъ в роцъ року 1885 / Exposition archéologique des objets polonais et ruthenien à Lemberg 1885*, W. Dzieduszycki (wstęp), L. Wierzbicki (tekst objaśniający), M. Sokołowski (rzecz o malarstwie), Lwów / Lemberg 1886.

Yurchyshyn-Smith 2003 — Oksana Yurchyshyn-Smith, "The Printing-house of the Monastery of Trei Ierarhi in Iaşi and Its Staff," in *Series Byzantina*, 2003, p. 148-158.

Юрчишин-Сміт 2021 — Оксана Юрчишин-Сміт, *Чернець Ілля (Fl. 1637–1663). Каталог творів. Українська та румунська гравюра доби бароко*, Майстер книг, Київ, 2021.

Laura Zaharia, Dumitrița Daniela Filip, "Călătorie în timp prin cercetarea unei biserici de lemn din Maramureș: Biserica de lemn Sfinții Arhangheli Mihail și Gavril din Breb," in *Caietele restaurării*, 2021, p. 312-331. **Zaharia, Filip 2021**

Я. П. Запаско, *Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва : каталог стародруків, виданих на Україні*, 1, Львів 1981. **Запаско 1981**

Я. П. Запаско, *Пам'ятки книжкого мистецтва. Українська рукописна книга*, Видавництво Світ, Львів 1995. **Запаско 1995**

Я. П. Запаско, Я. Д. Ісаєвич, *Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва: Каталог стародруків, виданих на Україні*, Кн. 1, Львів 1981. **Запаско, Ісаєвич 1981**

Я. П. Запаско, Я. Д. Ісаєвич, *Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва: Каталог стародруків, виданих на Україні*, Кн. 2/1, Львів 1984. **Запаско, Ісаєвич 1984**

Роман Зілінко, "Ряд Неділь П'ятидесятниці із жовківського іконостасу Івана Рутковича. (Матеріали до каталогу творів Івана Рутковича в Національному музеї у Львові)," in *Літопис Національного музею у Львові імені Андрея Шептицького*, Національний музей у Львові імені Андрея Шептицького, 2006, nr. 4 (9), p. 143-150. **Зілінко 2006**

M. Zlat, "Władysław Podlacha (1875-1951)," in *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, 37, 2012, p. 21-37. **Zlat 2012**

С. Железнякович, *История Яблочинского Свято-Онуфриевского монастыря*, Варшава 2006. **Железнякович 2006**

М. С. Желтов, "Афон. Богослужение," in *Православная Энциклопедия*, vol. IV, Москва 2002, p. 131-143. **Желтов 2002**

Живопись Древней Руси XI – начала XIII века. Мозаики, фрески, иконы, Художник РСФСР, Ленинград 1982. ***Живопись* 1982**

Павло Жолтовський, *Український живопис XVII–XVIII ст.*, Наукова думка, Київ 1978. **Жолтовський 1978**

А. Жуковський, *Петро Могила й питання єдності церков*, Київ 1997. **Жук овський 1997**

Webography

http://www.bozecialo.net/index.php/bazylika/przewodniki-menu/przewodnik-bazylika/269-oltarz-przewodnik

https://dzieje.pl/dziedzictwo-kulturowe/koniec-konserwacji-oltarza-w-kosciele-sw-katarzyny-w-krakowie

https://en.ppt-online.org/789349 – Монументальная живопись Новгорода (XIV век)

https://georgiantravelguide.com/ru/svanetskiy-istoriko-etnograficheskiy-muzey – Сванетский историко-этнографический музей

https://www.icon-art.info/ – Христианство в искусстве. Иконы, фрески, мозаики

http://icon.org.ua/gallery/bogorodytsya-z-pohvaloyu/ – icon.org.ua інтернет-галерея українського іконопису

https://icons.pstgu.ru/icon – Иконография восточно-христианского искусства. Проект Научного Отдела Факультета Церковных Художеств Православного Свято-Тихоновского Гуманитарного Университета, 2005-2007

http://www.medieval.istoria-artei.ro/resources/Sucevita – Programul iconografic al bisericii „Învierea Domnului" a Mănăstirii Sucevița

https://provincedesienne.com/ – Guide artistique de la Province de Sienne

https://www.ruicon.ru/ – Православные мастерские русская икона

https://www.sinaiarchive.org/ – The Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expeditions to Mount Sinai

https://teatrnn.pl/leksykon/artykuly/ikonostas-cerkwi-przemienienia-panskiego-w-lublinie/

museIKON studies

COLLECTION DIRECTORS:
Ana Dumitran (Muzeul Naţional al Unirii, Alba Iulia, RO) ;
Vladimir Agrigoroaei (Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale, Poitiers – CNRS, FR).

SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE:
Ioanna Christoforaki (Κέντρο Έρευνας της Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Τέχνης, Ακαδημίας Αθηνών, Athènes, GR) ;
Cristina-Ioana Dima (Universitatea din Bucureşti, RO) ;
Agnieszka Gronek (Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków, PL).

When the volume was still in its incipient stages, its chief aim was to identify the features of the Romanian icons of Transylvania that could be linked to models identifiable among the icons of Ruthenian workshops. Its focus was placed on the Westernising influences manifested all through the 18th century and during the first decades of the 19th century, in particular on the icons painted in a workshop founded in Abrud by Simion Silaghi-Sălăgeanu. However, as research delved into wider horizons beyond the Carpathians, towards Moldavia and Wallachia, and into much earlier artistic manifestations from previous centuries, the project gradually went through multiple changes, from an investigation of local icons to an amplified and diversified approach that mutated into a collection of studies. Many important features are still unaccounted for and must be dealt with by future research. The contents of this volume only scratch the surface of the problem and deal with a few points of contact that made cultural transfers possible over vast geographical areas for more than half a millennium.

Such an approach is most welcome in the current scholarly context. One can finally see through Peter Movilă's erection of a Gothic-style Orthodox church at Berestechko, identifying it with the sustainable testimony of the confession that was historically associated to it. After all, this somewhat paradoxical reference to the Gothic style—already archaic by the 17th century, could have been the result of the patron's links with Moldavia, a land wherefrom he claimed his ancestry. It could also be seen as the result of the 'long duration' of a particular architectural style, free from the burden of ideological implications. To quote Ernst Gombrich, "we can never neatly separate what we see from what we know. Let us then wish that our knowledge will protect us from the pitfalls of hasty interpretations. Perhaps it will also help us rediscover the true roots of past events.

ISBN 978-630-6548-10-1
ISBN 978-606-020-691-0

editura MEGA