

SERIES BYZANTINA



Virgin Mary; glassware decoration, from catacombs in Rome, 4th c. AD;
N. P. Kondakov, *Ikonoграфия Bogomateri*, St. Petersburg 1914, p. 77

SERIES BYZANTINA

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Introduction

The sixth volume of the *Series Byzantina* prepared by Polish and foreign scientists is connected with scientific research conducted jointly, based on the initiative of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University. In 2003 the first volume of the journal was published, containing articles on Post-Byzantine art in the Republic of Poland and Moldavia. In the introduction the authors referred to the pre-war scientific papers by Polish and Romanian art historians. This volume was highly appreciated and received a detailed review published in the Belgian magazine: *Byzantion* (2005). The authors of the project continue their scientific research and the present volume shows papers by Romanian, Polish, Greek and British scientists. In the articles included we show the artistic links between the Latin and Byzantine worlds.

The scientific research of Polish art historians results in new publications. Mention should be made of the publication by Piotr Grotowski who translated the work of Procopius of Caesarea entitled *About Monuments*, providing an introduction and extensive explanations. For art historians the publication by Aleksandra Sulikowska is important; she introduces a reader to the issue of the disputes about icons in Russia in the 15th and 16th centuries. This work belongs to the range of publications by Polish art historians dealing with Russian art, initiated by Barbara Dąb-Kalinowska. Similarly, the latest publication by Grażyna Kobrzeniecka-Sikorska refers to the images of Russian emperors and the links between icons and portraits. Agnieszka Gronek in researching the icons of the Passion presented the changes in Orthodox painting in the borderlands of Poland and Ukraine, especially in the 17th and the 18th centuries, referring many times to their graphic prototypes.

A very successful local research center, whose activities are focused around the Museum of Zamość, prepared a deeply profound publication based on the scientific conference organized in 2007: *The Past and the Future. The Role of Polish and Ukrainian Museums in the Protection and Documentation of Cultural Heritage of the Borderland*. The publication, issued in Polish and Ukrainian language versions, introduces the reader to the issues of the museum industry, shared history and future research prospects.

The Collegium Europeum in Gniezno is also a very fast growing institution that includes the center of Balkan cultural heritage research. In 2008 the center organized a conference on the monasteries of the Athos Peninsula. The authors of the project promise the publication of the materials.

The Cracow scientific community organized a very significant conference: *Towards Rewritings? New Approaches to Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, prepared on the initiative of the Jagiellonian University and the Pontifical Academy of Theology represented by Piotr Grotowski and Sławomir Skrzyniarz. The conference, which was held in September 2008, was highly appreciated among the international scientific community.

A huge interest in the icon in Poland and many new icon painting schools inspired Warsaw scientific institutions to set up the International School of Humanism and prepare a conference entitled: *The Icon Today*. Also scholars from Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University took part in preparations for the whole project. They also participated in scientific research on Byzantine art. This year an international conference on Lebanese art was organized, prepared on the initiative of the archeologists represented by Magdalena Łaptaś. Diverse Polish excavation and conservation heritage place us among the leading research centers dealing with the Christian historic monuments in this country.

A further volume of the *Series Byzantina* will include materials from the international conference: *Christian Art on the Borderlands of Asia, Africa and Europe*, organized in the Capuchin Fathers Monastery at Zakroczym by the Polish Society of Oriental Art and the Art History Institute of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University, in May 2008. During a few days' visit to a place situated far from civilization, participants from Eastern and Western Europe had a chance to discuss the subject issues, sometimes until late hours. The participants reported that they liked this type of conference, so we plan to return to similar issues, organizing the second meeting in the same way. This time, however, the subject will be the art of Armenian Diaspora (Zamość, April 2010). We would like to invite both archeologists and art historians pursuing scientific research in this area to attend.

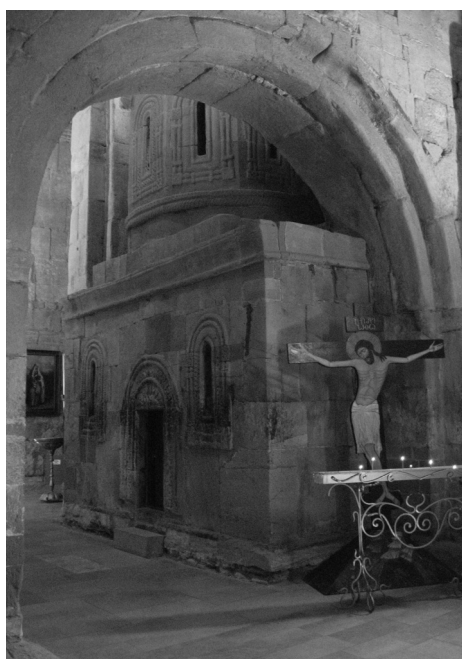


Fig. 1. Svelistkovel Cathedral, Georgia

Waldemar Deluga

The First Masonry Church of the Orthodox Community in Lviv

Anca Brătuleanu, Bucharest

The collaboration of Polish, Ukrainian, and Romanian researchers who until the 1940s had made several attempts to clarify various aspects related to the civilization of their native territories, naturally resulted from a long series of direct cultural contacts. The recent bibliography has re-established this tradition and this article is meant as a contribution to the efforts that have been made for quite a long time.

Rather unexpectedly, we should say, there were but few who considered their connection to architecture, which subsequently led to some major gaps in terms of both the evaluation of the Romanian built heritage and the definition of the dissemination areas of certain models.

In this respect, the appearance of the church-monastery Golia from Iași, unusual indeed within the Moldovian architectural milieu of the period, has been utterly ignored. If we consider thoroughly all the facts of life preceding its building or contemporary to it, we can find that the 'Golia phenomenon' is a natural reflection of the political, cultural, and even personal relationships that developed within the then Moldovian, Polish, and Ruthenian world. Even if these relationships were much older, study of church architecture from Iași makes us confine our analysis to the moment when the first masonry church of the Orthodox community of Lviv was built.¹ As it appears from contemporary documents and the bibliography related to it, its history outlines some parts of the route the models took both during that period and later; obviously, they covered some areas of the present territories of Poland, Ukraine, and Romania.

A major monument of Lviv is the ensemble of Uspenska (Assumption) Church, located in the Ruthenian quarter of the old town, between the central square and the fortification line.

¹ We will use the current name of the locality, appearing in Romanian period documents as Liov or Lemberg, while in other documents and periods as Leopoldis and Lwów.

The centerpiece of the ensemble is the Uspenska Church, built in 1598–1631.² In fact, it replaced the first Orthodox masonry church, of the same dedication and name, that is the ‘Wallachian Church’, since the Moldavians helped to build them both. Close to the church and communicating with it, there stands a bell-tower, the Korniakt Tower, built in 1572–1578, and the Three Hierarchs’ chapel, completed in 1591.

Built to replace the wooden church destroyed by the fire of 1527, the first Orthodox masonry church was erected with the financial support of the ruler prince of Moldavia, Alexandru Lăpușneanu (voivode of Moldavia during 1552–1561 and 1564–1568).³ Almost all the researchers of Lviv architecture conclude that the name ‘Wallachian’ given to the new building refers to the sponsor.⁴ The sources indicate the years 1547–1559 as the building period and Pietro da Lugano as its architect. ‘The church was ready in 1559, [...] the roof and the interior painting were done in 1565–1566.’ We

do not have much information relating to this first ‘Assumption’ church. It is described as being ‘elegant and sumptuous’ and having an interior decoration in ‘alabaster and plaster ornaments.’ The only preserved image is the one represented on the seal of the Orthodox Stauropegion Confraternity from 1591.⁵ A new fire damaged the church in 1571; however, ‘hasty repairs permitted it to be used until it has been rebuilt entirely.’ The analysis of the literature and of its primary sources, as well as architectural arguments, leads to remarks that could modify some of the statements presented above.



Fig. 1. The Assumption Uspenska (Uspenia) church ensemble

² According to the sources, construction works started in 1591; at the same time we found serious arguments to place this moment in 1598, as will be shown in the present study. Cf. M. Karpowicz, ‘Uwagi o genezie form i oddziaływaniu cerkwi wołoskiej we Lwowie’, *Ikonothea*, 13 (1998), p. 169–187.

³ P. P. Panaitescu, ‘Fundatiuni religioase românești în Galitia’, *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice*, 1 (1929), pp. 1–20; see also note 2, where the author quotes the mention made by Izydor Szaraniewicz in: *Vremennik*, 1885, p. 137; the same statement, in L. Onyszczenko-Szweć, *Lviv: wędrówka starówką miasta. Przewodnik architektoniczny*, Lwów 2003, p. 6.

⁴ Panaitescu, *op. cit.*, p. 2, reproduces the church inscription stating that Alexandru Lăpușneanu ‘had begun and built’ the Assumption church; the same information is provided by P. Krasny, *Architektura cerkiewna na ziemiach ruskich Rzeczypospolitej*, 1596–1914, Kraków 2003, p. 71, and I. Zhuk, ‘The Architecture of Lviv from the Thirteen to the Twentieth Century’, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 24 (2000), p. 104.

⁵ Panaitescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–2, reproduced after Izydor Szaraniewicz, reproduced later by G. Mândrescu, *Arhitectura în stil Renaștere la Bistrița*, Cluj 1999, p. 63.

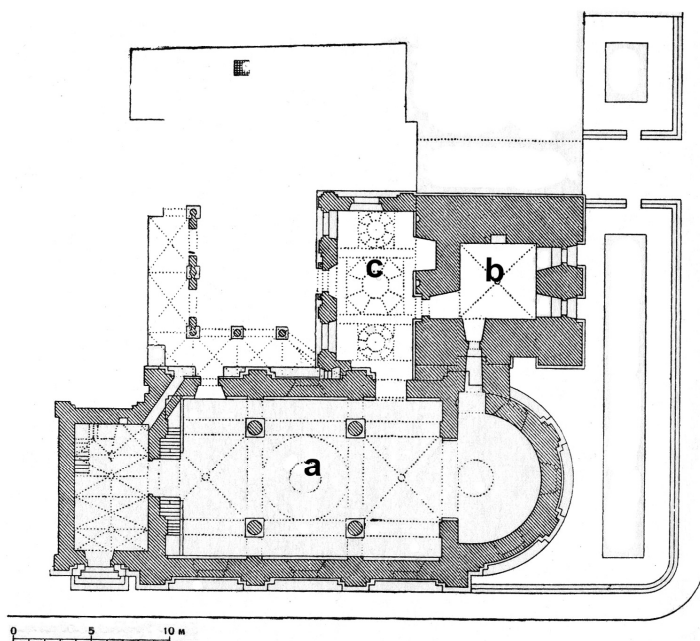


Fig. 2. The Assumption (Uspenia) church ensemble
(after *Arhitectura Ucrainskoi SSR*, Moskva 1954)

- a. the present church, built 1598–1630, on the place of the first masonry church
- b. Korniaht Tower, built 157–1580
- c. the chapel of the Three Hierarchs (or Balaban), completed in 1591, repaired in 1671

We have to question the financial support of Alexandru Lăpușneanu. Based upon the church inscription from 1559, all researchers state that the Romanian ruler provided all the funds, from the beginning to the end of building activity. But even P. P. Panaitescu – who writes that Alexandru Lăpușneanu replaces the wooden burnt church with a new one, in stone, ‘at his expense’ – reproduces a fragment of a letter of the Stauropegion Confraternity from 1592, mentioning that he provided ‘almost all the money’ spent for the building of the Assumption Church. Moreover, in a letter dated February 12, 1558, his first letter addressed to the Lviv Orthodox community, the voivode himself clearly points out that his help is meant to complete an edifice already under construction.

Several other letters on the same subject follow until May 28, 1559.⁶ After this date, Lăpușneanu writes less often to the beneficiaries of his donations. Looking at all this correspondence, one can state that the Moldavian ruler supported the building of the church in

⁶ The letters regarding the church building and consecration, sent by Lăpușneanu to the Lviv Orthodox community, are dated as follows: February 12, July 5, July 6, July 22, August 25 and 26, December 27, 1558; February 23, May 28, 1559.



Fig. 3. Alexandru Lăpușneanu
(after Corina Nicolescu,
Mănăstirea Slatina, Meridiane,
București 1966)

the first stage, between February 12, 1558, and the day of its consecration, August 15, 1559. It is obvious that this period did not overlap the 1547–1559 interval, generally accepted as being the period of building of the church erected at Alexandru Lăpușneanu's expense. Questions naturally arise regarding the correctness of the generally considered building period or regarding the building works which the Moldavian prince really financed.

Some answers could be found in the above-mentioned letters sent by Alexandru Lăpușneanu to the Lviv Confraternity before the church consecration.⁷ The letters evidence the fact that the voivode was constantly kept informed about the work's progress. Obviously, it was not only the letters of the Orthodox community that provided the information. His main sources were the 'reports' of his own delegates;⁸ one of them – whose name is unknown – seems to be permanently present on the building site. 'We have at this

building one of our servants', writes the Moldavian ruler to the king Sigismund August.⁹ It is plausible that this 'servant' was not only a provider of information; he could be the one who implemented the princely orders regarding the future shape of the church, maybe a master builder or an 'ispravnic'.¹⁰ This could explain the accurate references to materials and building details contained in Lăpușneanu's letters, proving a precise knowledge of the architecture he was financing, as well as of the work's progress.

In the same respect one should notice that, beginning with July 22, 1588, the voivode involves himself in the acquisition of materials, such as bricks; more often, he insists on

⁷ The voivode's letters offer an extremely valuable piece of information regarding the sponsor's relation with the funds administrator and with the builder, as well as for the way all those assumed their own obligations for the construction and the use of a church building, following 'the Christian traditions established from centuries', E. Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, Supliment II, vol. 1, București 1887, pp. 220–222.

⁸ Beginning with February 1558, the voivode sends the first money for the church by his men who have also the task 'to see the building site' (Hurmuzaki, *op. cit.*, pp. 205–206); in July, the money is sent 'by Simeon', another Moldavian, (*ibidem*, pp. 207–208); in July too, 'Anton, priest from Suceava' returns from Lviv and informs Lăpușneanu about the stage of works at the building site, (*ibidem*, pp. 209–210); in October 1559, after the church consecration, Lăpușneanu receives news regarding the church from his own envoy, named Burla (*ibidem*, p. 216).

⁹ Letter from August 25, 1558, Hurmuzaki, *op. cit.*, pp. 214–215.

¹⁰ As far as we know, the term is used mainly beginning with the 17th century, meaning an intermediary between the sponsor and the master builder. Cf. N. Stoicescu, 'Cum se construiau bisericile în Țara Românească și Moldova în secolul al XVII-lea – prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea', *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei Serie*, 1 (1968), p. 81.



Fig. 4. Alexandru Lăpușneanu's signature and seal
(after Izydor Szaraniewicz, *Jubilejnoe izdanie w pamiat' 300 liatnago osnovaniia Lvoskogo Stavropigijskogo Bratstva*, Lvov 1886)

elements that suggest his preoccupation to finish the building: the church bell and crosses. Regarding the latter, we must quote the phrase used by Lăpușneanu: 'As concerns the crosses that should be on the top of the church, the main one and the one that should be placed at a lower level, send them to us to have them gilded'.¹¹ It proves the interest he gave to the image and to symbolic elements of the church. Moreover and above all, we find here two pieces of information that could be crucial for defining Alexandru Lăpușneanu's actual role. Thus we know that he dedicates his efforts mostly to the decoration of the upper part of the building: this information could support the hypothesis according to which the voivode is finishing a church already under construction. At the same time, the precise explanation regarding the number and position of the crosses indicate without any doubt a shape typical for Moldavian churches of the period. One can suppose that the nave is covered by a drum supporting a dome or by a cupola closed under a higher part of the roof. In any case, it is clear that the final shape is perfectly known by the voivode, and his 'permanent delegate' could have been deeply involved in its achievement. Under these conditions we can suppose that the ruler prince had in his hands 'a drawing' of the church, a term indicating maybe a plan or a façade, or the plans used to erect the future church.

Alexandru Lăpușneanu writes less often to the Lviv Orthodox community after the church consecration. This is due to the end of the building works, but also to the fact that the Moldavian ruler was overthrown in 1561. Once he regained his place in 1564, the correspondence was re-established. He asks the Ruthenian community to hire workers 'to

¹¹ Hurmuzaki, *op. cit.*, pp. 209–210.

paint, at our expense, the interior of the church, on all its walls, from top to bottom following the custom, and using good colors in order to obtain a beautiful painting'.¹² This operation is executed in 1565–1566. He also refers to the execution of repairs of the roof and vaults, suffering from the unsatisfactory maintenance of the building.¹³ His last letter preserved dates from August 20, 1566.¹⁴ Yet, one can suppose his interventions stopped only at his death, in 1568.

In the same context, one must also pay attention to Petrus Italus' contribution to the building of the Assumption church. All the sources present him as the author of this first masonry church building of the Lviv Ruthenians.¹⁵ He is mentioned later in Transylvania,¹⁶ working at the Evangelical church in Bistritza between 1560 and 1563.¹⁷ His presence in Lviv is mentioned again from 1567 to 1578.¹⁸ It is not unusual to see an Italian architect working in Lviv. The fact is quite normal in the period and the cultural area to which the city belongs.¹⁹ Less plausible is the affirmation according to which Petrus Italus works to the Assumption church for twelve years, from 1547 to 1559. Such a period is far too long to build a church of modest size, as the image of the above-mentioned seal of the Orthodox Stauropegion Confraternity suggests.²⁰ On the other hand, the features of the same image – widely considered as faithfully representing the church as it was in 1591 – put into question the real involvement of a Renaissance architect in planning and building the Assumption Church.

¹² Letter from April 22, 1565, Hurmuzaki, *op. cit.*, pp. 249–250.

¹³ Letter from April 22, 1566, *ibidem*, pp. 256–257.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 257–258.

¹⁵ Krasny, *op. cit.*, cited place; Zhuk, *op. cit.*, p. 104, names him as 'Magister Petrus Italus de Luugon or Pietro da Lugano'; the same architect is mentioned earlier in Lviv by Ettore Lo Gatto: 'Gli artisti italiani in Russia', in: *L'opera del genio italiano all'estero*, I–III, La Libreria dello Stato, Roma 1934–1943, p. 96. Cf. S. Kozakiewicz, 'L'attività degli architetti e lapidici comaschi e luganesi in Polonia nel periodo del Rinascimento fino al 1580', in: *Arte e artisti dei Laghi Lombardi*, Como 1959, pp. 413, 414, 417–418; see especially , A. Crivelli, *Artisti ticinesi dal Baltico al Mar Nero*, Lugano 1969, p. 40, where the same architect is presented with the different names, being known as 'Castelli (Beccaria) Pietro', called also 'magister Petrus murator Italus da Luugon', 'Piotr Italczyk', 'Castilio Piotr', 'murator regius'. Crivelli supposes that he is the one named later as 'Petrus Crassowski Italus murator Swancar'.

¹⁶ Zhuk, *op. cit.*; Mândrescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 63–64.

¹⁷ C. Budinis, *Gli artisti in: Ungheria*, in: *L'opera del genio italiano all'estero*, La Libreria dello Stato, Roma 1936, p. 159, 'Petrus Italus, architetto Luganese. Ricostrui la chiesa di Bistrizza in Transilvania'; G. Sebestyén, *Renășterea*, Meridiane, București 1987, pp. 45, 154; A. Kovács, *Bistrița. Biserica evanghelică*, Sf. Gheorghe 1994; Mândrescu, *op. cit.*, p. 65; L. A. Mangiarotti, *Architetti e architetti militari*, I–III, in: *L'opera del genio italiano all'estero*, La Libreria dello Stato, Roma 1936, vol. 2, p. 439, presents him as being the same person as 'Pietro da Lecco' or 'Petrus Italus o De Lago de Como', but places his activity in Bistritza in early 1500, information that should be reconsidered; Crivelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 109.

¹⁸ Crivelli, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹⁹ For this subject see L. Réau, *L'art du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance en Pologne*, in: *La Pologne*, (1936?), p. 19; J. Zachwatowicz, *L'architecture polonaise*, Arkady, Varsovie 1967, pp. 147 and following.

²⁰ One must also take into consideration the features of the Lviv climate, leading to the fact that – even if built up to a certain level – a building construction falls into ruin if it is not finished in one or two years or protected by a temporary roof, according to the work in progress.

At first glance, the church represented on the seal by its southern façade has eclectic architecture, combining elements of different origins. However, the analysis shows that the façade could be read as being split into two large areas, different in style, separated by the cornice: the masonry body and the roof.



Fig. 5a. The Stauropegion Seals, general image
(after Izydor Szaraniewicz, *op. cit.*)

The silhouette of the masonry part, its elements and their position make up a coherent image, obviously very similar to the façades of churches representative of Moldavian architecture from the first half of the 16th century. One should notice specific elements like the buttresses, including the oblique ones placed on the western limit of the façade, the eastern apse, the number and the position of the windows, the horizontal line of small niches positioned under the roof.

In other words, up to the cornice, the drawing reproduces a brick Moldavian church having three interior spaces – narthex, nave and altar – following a single axis. Two cupolas placed under the roof and arranged along the church axis probably cover the narthex; four windows on the southern and northern façade follow the transverse axes of each cupola. One or more windows should admit the light through the western façade too, whose limits are two oblique buttresses. The nave is of relatively reduced size, illuminated only through two opposing windows, and probably has its lateral apses made as curved niches in the thickness of the wall, also following the above-mentioned Moldavian layout. The limits of each apse are marked on the exterior side by two buttresses, meant to support the charge of a cupola or of a drum with cupola. The line of small niches placed under the roof, as well as the southern position of the entrance, should have the same source.

This image deciphered as the representation of ‘a Moldavian church of the 16th century’, as – of all the researchers – only P.P. Panaitescu notices,²¹ confirms by its coherence the image’s conformity to the building represented. However, the seal drawing contains two elements that do not belong to the same vocabulary: the frame of the entrance and the cornice placed under the line of the small niches. Their shapes and positions, as well as the sumptuous interior decoration already mentioned, could be considered as contributions of Renaissance architecture. As for the upper part of the building, it bears the mark of another intervention. The three thin drums, ‘arranged along a single axis’,²² do not have any connection to the spatial suggestions provided by the image of the lower part of the church. As was already mentioned, they should be attributed to the Ruthenian tradition, and one should notice that their composition is coherent in itself only if we look at it from this point of view. One can conclude that the seal image represents the Assumption church as it looked in 1591, bearing witness to the three stages of construction the edifice had had before this date.

Questions also arise concerning the period in which the church functioned. The building works are finished and the church enters into service after the date of its consecration, August 15, 1559, yet, the interior painting is not even begun. Two years later, Alexandru Lăpușneanu accuses the Lviv Orthodox community of neglecting the building.²³ Yet its condition should have been satisfactory, while the same community asks in 1564 the voivode’s help to finish the bell tower whose construction, as they say, has already started near the church.²⁴ In addition, we know that the same year the body of the former Moldavian voivode Stefan Tomșa is buried inside the church.²⁵ The fact that in 1565 Lăpușneanu himself or-



Fig. 5b. The Stauropegion Seal, image of the church (after Izydor Szaraniewicz, *op. cit.*)

²¹ Panaitescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 1, 7.

²² Zhuk, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

²³ Hurmuzaki, *op. cit.*, pp. 220–222, Lăpușneanu’s letter from June 20, 1561.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 242–243. We can suppose that the bell tower was planned to be built simultaneously with the church, since Alexandru Lăpușneanu orders two bells in July 22, 1558; one of them was destined to the Lviv Assumption church and should have the name ‘Alexandru’ engraved, in both Latin and Cyrillic alphabets, see Hurmuzaki, *op. cit.*, pp. 209–210, 214–215.

²⁵ A. H. Golimaș, *Un domnitor, O epocă, Vremea lui Miron Barnovschi Moghilă, Voievod al Moldovei*, București 1980, p. 121.

ders the interior mural painting, as well as the information that the operation finished in 1566, are further arguments for the good condition of the church.²⁶

However, probably during the winter of 1565–1566, the upper part of the building is damaged²⁷ and one can suppose that the rain water of the spring of 1566 also endangered the newly completed interior painting. Repairs are paid for and probably executed.²⁸

It is generally asserted that a fire destroys the church in 1571. However, we have to assume that some repairs keep it in use after this date: the body of another former Moldavian ruler, Ioan Potcoava, is buried here in 1578.²⁹ Moreover, the sources maintain the year 1572 as the moment when the building works at the tower start, financed by Constantin Korniakt. Would he have done it, if the church could not been used as a place of worship? It is hard to believe, since the declared role of the bell-tower is to shelter the church bell. Equally, one could ask if the two architectural objects – the bell-tower and the church – would be still represented on the Stauropegeion seals in 1591. It is more likely that during this year the church should have been in use, even if it required some repairs. This hypothesis could explain why the decision to rebuild the church is taken only in 1591, after the consecration of the newly built Chapel of the Three Hierarchs.³⁰ We can suppose that from now on, religious services are usually held in the Chapel, and that the church is used only occasionally for another seven years. It is worth our while to read the letter Luca Stroici sends to the Lviv Confraternity in 1598. The logothete manifests his discontent because, instead of repair works financed by his master Moldavian voivode Ieremia Mo-hyila, the Ruthenians began its demolition.³¹ The text suggests that Lăpușneanu's church is still in a condition to be 'restored' even in 1598.

The hypothesis that the first masonry church of Assumption functioned later than the fire of 1671 is supported, even indirectly, by the vaulting system of the Chapel of the Three Hierarchs. Even though its three domes are rebuilt in 1671,³² they are supported by the 'intricate system of arches'³³ that - as one should notice – must have belonged to the first stage of the building, finished in 1591. The structural composition of these arches, their 'intricate system' is an interpretation of the 'stepped arches' of the vaulting system, a characteristic

²⁶ Panaitescu, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

²⁷ In his letter from April 22, 1566, Lăpușneanu asks the Orthodox community to look for good builders who have 'to cover all the church with good quality bricks'; the phrase indicates that the vaults are damaged too'; see Hurmuzaki, *op. cit.*, pp. 256–257.

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

²⁹ C. C. Giurescu, D. C. Giurescu, *Istoria românilor*, 2, București 1976, p. 309.

³⁰ *Lviv, Sightseeing Guide*, Lviv 1999, p. 68.

³¹ Hurmuzaki, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

³² *Arhitectura Ucrainskoi SSR*, Moskva 1954, pp. 10–15; Zhuk, *op. cit.*, cited place, indicates the same date of the vault's reconstruction, accompanied by the name of its sponsor, Alexie Balaban, from whom originates the name of 'Balaban Chapel', the second name under which the building is known, see G. Kos, R. Fedina, *Vulița Russka u Lvovi*, Lviv 1996, p. 88.

³³ Onyszczenko-Szweć, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

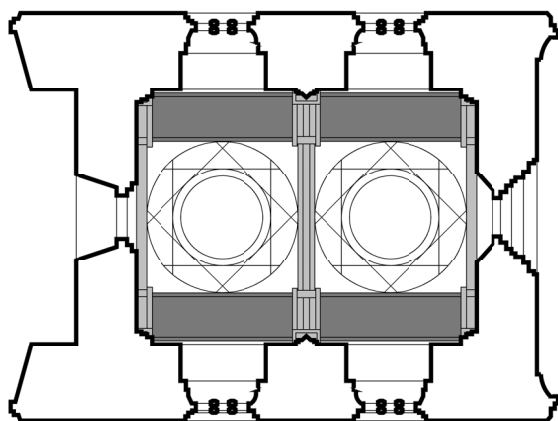
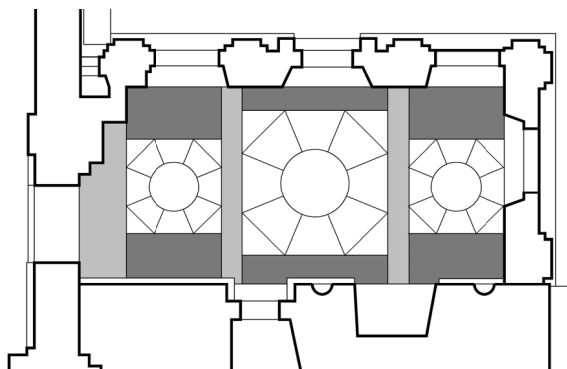


Fig. 6. Similar system of 'stepped arches' supporting a cupola:
up, Lviv, Three Hierarchs Chapel, 1591; down, Moldavia, Probota church, narthex, 1530

of Moldavian architecture only.³⁴ Or, as the architect of the chapel is not a Moldavian,³⁵ the source of this structural composition could not be different from that of the adjoining church. One can conclude that the latter preserved its original vaulting system in the last decades of the 16th century.³⁶ We think there are sufficient arguments to agree with the idea that Lăpuşneanu's church survived longer than was generally acknowledged. More precisely, it certainly did function from 1559 to 1591 and it still existed – probably used intermittently – after 1589.

The documents provide only partial certainties. However, connected with architectural analysis, they lead to some interesting conclusions regarding the evolution of church architecture, as it results from its building stages and interventions and from their probable authors. This is why I chose to present these conclusions in the terms that seemed to be closer to the correctness of the stylistic suggestions the analysis highlights.

Undoubtedly, the coherence of the composition, as well as the absence of similar structures built outside the Moldavian borders show that the first building of the Assumption church was made by Moldavian master builders, following already established patterns in the Romanian Principality. One can affirm that, at the end of this first stage, in 1559, the Lviv Orthodox church could have been seen as a Moldavian church. Having said that, it owes its name of 'Wallachian' not only to the sponsor's origin, but also to the master builder and the shape it acquired.

Two hypotheses could be considered regarding the building period of this first church; they are both based upon the premise that the erection of such a building could have been done during one or two years. The assumed starting date of the church building in 1547 could be interpreted as a declaration of intention without a follow-up, or as a real beginning of the works that were cut short for some unknown reason.

The first hypothesis takes into account the repeated affirmation of the fact that the Moldavian ruler finished an already started building. It is an initiative of the Lviv Ruthenians about which Alexandru Lăpuşneanu learns only on February 12, 1558. At this moment, the church was built up to the roof, following the indications of a Moldavian master builder, hired without the voivode's knowledge not long before, maybe in 1557. Alexandru

³⁴ This vaulting system is one of the structural means used to emphasize the gradual rising and tapering of some of the church spaces. It is one of the features defining the character of Moldavian churches from the 15th c. to the mid-17th c.

³⁵ The spatiality and the forms do not suggest the contribution of a Moldavian master. According to the opinion of some researchers, the architect of the chapel was Andrej Pidlisnyi [Podlesny]; others advance the name of Krasovs'kyi [Krasowski], neither of them originating from Moldavia, see Zhuk, *op. cit.*, p. 105. According to Crivelli, *op. cit.*, cited place, Crassowski is one of the names under which Petrus Italus is known, and he was the author of 'la Capella di Tre Santi (1578) alla Chiesa Valacca'. The hypothesis is plausible if the chapel building starts really in 1578, the last year when documents mention Petrus Italus.

³⁶ Zhuk, *op. cit.*, p. 104, considers Lăpuşneanu's church as being 'the prototype' of the Chapel of the Three Hierarchs.



Fig. 7. Moldavian churches
founded by Alexandru Lăpușneanu:
up and right, the monastery-church of
Bistrița, 1554;
down, the monastery-church of
Slatina 1558



Lăpuşneanu finances the building works of the upper part of the church: the roof corresponding to the already built brick structure, just as the latter is drawn on the Stauropegion seal. Probably another Moldavian master builder sent by the voivode implements his orders and watches the last works in order to observe the planned lines of construction.

The second hypothesis arises if we admit the fact that the building site was not yet started in February 1558, when the Lviv Orthodox community addresses its first letter to the voivode.³⁷ Construction could have begun shortly after,³⁸ with the exclusive support of the Moldavian ruler. He could have hired a master builder and sent him together with the Moldavian delegation to Lviv, in February 1558. This builder could be the same person mentioned – in the letter sent by Lăpuşneanu to Sigismund August – as he was permanently on the building site. One can suppose he was the author of the church project that was known and approved by the voivode, and executed until August 1559.³⁹

Both hypotheses suggest a period of construction shorter than the one generally accepted, but more plausible from the point of view of the period building practice: either two years, between 1557 and 1559, or around 15 months, from February 1558 to August 1559.⁴⁰ In both cases, the shape of the church finished and consecrated in 1559 is similar to ones built during the same period in Moldavia. Taking into account the fact that these churches were not built following a single pattern, as well as the incomplete information contained in Lăpuşneanu's letters, we have to consider two variants of the building which resulted from this first stage of construction.

The Italian architect was given the task of enriching the architecture of the Moldavian edifice. He must have been the one who tried to attenuate the church's medieval character, by alterations designed to make it to fit in with the new Renaissance style which the urban patricians of Lviv had enthusiastically adopted. Obviously, one cannot do much when the

³⁷ It is possible that Volos and the other Lviv Orthodox messengers asking for the Moldavian Court's financial help might have declared that the church was already under construction, just to be more convincing. This hypothesis is suggested by a similar request addressed to the voivode, some years later. In 1564, the Lviv Orthodox community informs Lăpuşneanu that the construction of a bell-tower was begun, asking him to support the completion of it, see Hurmuzaki, *op. cit.*, pp. 242–243. However, no document confirms the beginning of this new building before 1572.

³⁸ The church construction could have been started earlier in March, more probably in April, as the things generally happened in Moldavia, having a similar climate to Lviv. The information was provided by Voica Maria Puşcaşu, an archaeologist and researcher of Moldavian architecture of the epoch, to whom I would like to express my gratitude in this way.

³⁹ In summer 1558, the voivode prepares 'all the liturgical objects the church needs, as well as the priest's ceremonial clothes'; he already has 'the icons, the curtains, the vessels' to be used at the church consecration and during its functioning, see Hurmuzaki, *op. cit.*, pp. 209–210, 214–215. That does not mean that the church building is ready. At that time, the custom was that such objects were done simultaneously with the construction of the church. C. Nicolescu, *Mănăstirea Slatina*, Bucureşti 1966, p. 10.

⁴⁰ A structure, having the dimensions which the drawing suggests, could be built in the interval March–April 1558 – August 1559, covering the period of the correspondence between Lăpuşneanu and the Lviv Orthodox community.

object to be transformed presents a very coherent composition. Thus Petrus Italus adds a Renaissance portal to the façade and a cornice under the small line of niches; probably he also transforms the austere interior, making it ‘elegant and sumptuous’.

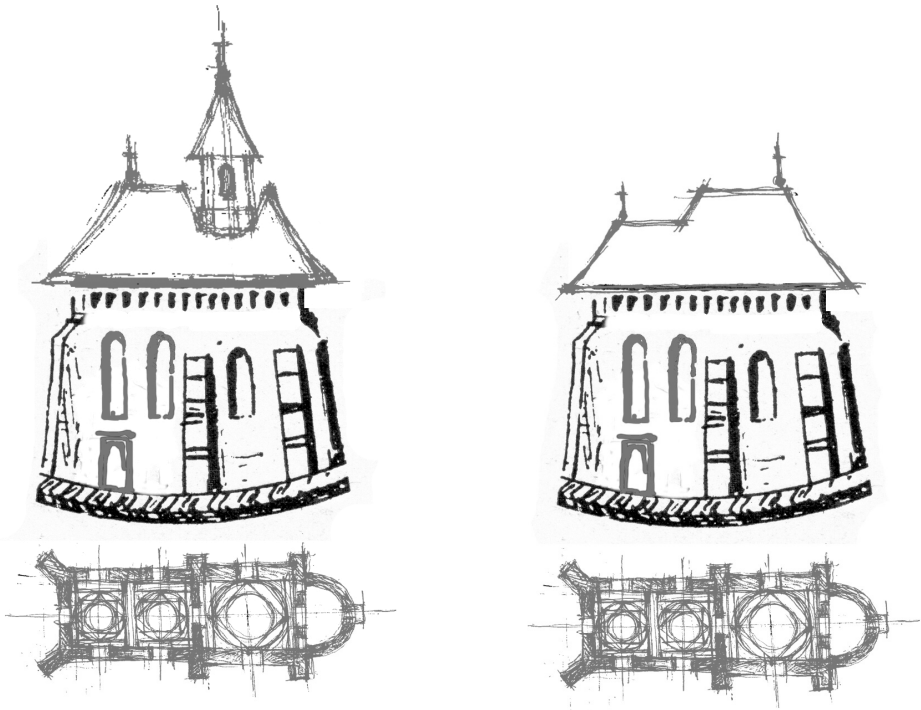


Fig. 8. The Moldavian church, variants of reconstruction.
Renaissance contribution – the interpretation of Petrus Italus

One has to look at the alterations which Petrus Italus undertakes at the Lviv church, probably in 1558–1559, in direct connection with the very similar ones he executes at the Evangelical church in Bistritza, in Transylvania, in 1560–1563. He uses here – maybe even inspired by his experience from the Assumption church from Lviv – an almost identical repertoire of forms, destined to confer a Renaissance specific elegance to an edifice whose Gothic coherence could not be denied. That is probably why, despite the ‘Lombard-Polish attic’,⁴¹ his works on the façade are limited to the Renaissance portal and a cornice on the western façade.⁴² As happens in Lviv, his intervention does not alter the medieval image

⁴¹ Crivelli, *op. cit.*, p. 38; Kovács, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁴² Kovács, *op. cit.*, cited place.

of the building. We can suppose that the interior decoration he proposes at Bistritza, still extant, is similar to the one already done in the Lviv church.

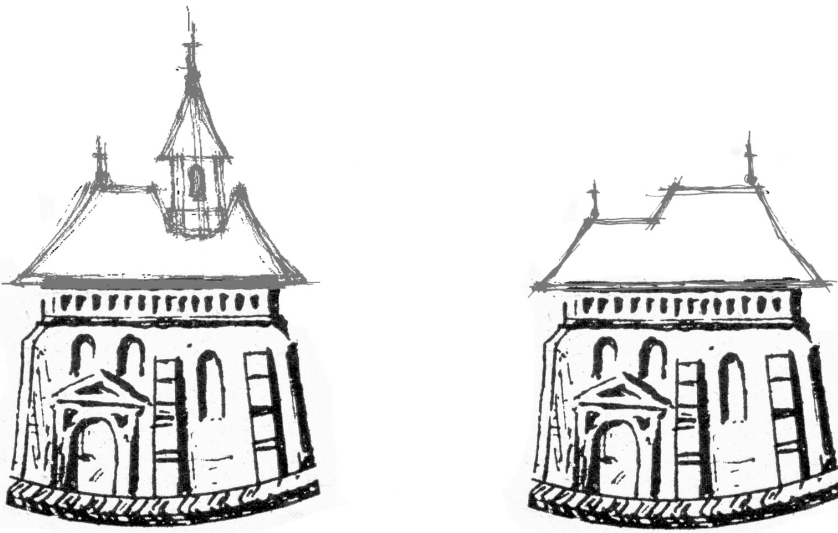


Fig. 9. Results of Petrus Italus' intervention, variants of reconstruction.
The Rhuthenian contribution

The dating of the Lviv intervention in the years 1558–1559 is based upon the supposition that Alexandru Lăpușneanu himself appeals to Petrus Italus, asking him to participate in the construction works of the church. The end of these operations in 1559 could support such a hypothesis, the same year being considered as concluding Petrus Italus's contribution to the Orthodox Church. We have to remember that, also at Alexandru Lăpușneanu's order and only one year before, the work to the church of the Slatina Monastery, in Moldavia, ends. This church includes new elements from the repertoire of forms which the voivode already knows, maybe from his Polish travels, but maybe through Petrus Italus and the architectural modernity towards which he orients the Moldavian ruler.⁴³

⁴³ Not only the church, but the whole ensemble of the Slatina Monastery provides testimony for Lăpușneanu's intention to 'get out from the Medieval Age' in the field of architecture. Thus, he pre-

In April 1566, Lăpuşneanu learns that the roof needs important repairs. He asks the Orthodox community to hire ‘good workers’, who have also to work on the damaged vaults. It is probable that this new intervention consists in the replacement of the nave drum or cupola with a new dome, of a similar size to the ones covering the narthex. Thus, a uniform and unique structure is realized for the new roof, avoiding the previous shape that highlighted the dominant presence of the nave. Some Ruthenian builders could have planned and executed the three equal drums placed along the church axis; they used the symbol of the drum by multiplying it, completely disregarding the volume and the spatial shape such elements generally emphasize. It seems that the three drums are built in wood, ‘false drums’ that could be seen only from the exterior, decorating the upper part of the building.⁴⁴ This seems to have been the last important intervention made on the church until its demolition in 1598.⁴⁵

One can conclude that all these building stages could be attributed to Alexandru Lăpuşneanu, who really finances all the building works of the church as it is represented in 1591. We should consider his contribution as very important: it is the first time a Moldavian church pattern is ‘exported’ outside the borders of the province. This could explain also the fame this church enjoyed and preserved over centuries amongst the Moldavian nobility, who would keep on supporting this Orthodox building, even when its shape or the rite changed, becoming a Greek-Catholic worship place.

On the other hand, the final shape of Lăpuşneanu’s church, combining Moldavian and Ruthenian elements, will represent a new pattern adopted in Moldavia for new churches or for the alteration of elder ones. Even if this happens in a later period, one has to notice the presence of similar structures in examples of the minor arts, such as the liturgical object offered by Metropolitan Gheorghe Mohyla to the Suceviţa Monastery in 1591.⁴⁶ The obvious similarity between Gheorghe Mohyla’s model and the Lviv representation, as well as the same year of their execution could not be accidental. Moreover, it should lead to deeper research work with significant results regarding the artistic connections of the period.

cedes the Wallachian ruler Petru Cercel (1583–1585), known for his orientation towards Western Renaissance art. Cf. Nicolescu, *op. cit.*; D. Horia Mazilu, *Voievodul dincolo de sala tronului*, Polirom 2003, pp. 28, 59.

⁴⁴ This is a supposition, relying on the small dimensions of the drums and the reduced distances between them, that usually could not be realized in brick.

⁴⁵ One must stress the fact that none of these conclusions relies on archeological research, since we have no information regarding their execution.

⁴⁶ Displayed in the Museum of Suceviţa Monastery.



Fig. 10. The image of Lviv church and Gheorghe Mohila's model

*L'iconostase de Moldovița: un repère dans l'évolution de l'iconostase moldave**

Marina Ileana Sabados, Bucharest

L'iconostase de l'église de l'Annonciation du monastère de Moldovița, en Bucovine, fondation du voïvode Pierre Rareș, de l'année 1532, est une œuvre médiévale précieuse de peinture et de sculpture décorative (fig. 1). A fil de siècles, elle a subi des transformations, qui représentent deux étapes bien distinctes: la première qui correspond au XVI^e et la seconde au XVIII^e siècle.

Tout en écartant l'hypothèse qui attribue une partie du décor de l'iconostase de Moldovița au temps de Pierre Rareș¹, car il n'y a aucun indice qui est en état de justifier cette thèse, nous devrions préciser que la datation des plus anciens éléments de l'iconostase a été disputée dans le cadre de la dernière décennie du XVI^e siècle, en vertu des différentes propositions de déchiffrement de l'inscription en slavon se trouvant au dos du grand crucifix: 1593², 1595³ et 1599⁴. La dernière

* Cet article constitue la version développée de la communication présentée à l'occasion du Symposium Ieremia Movilă. Domnul. Familia. Epoca [Jérémie Moghila. Le prince-régnant. La famille. L'époque], qui a eu lieu au Monastère de Sucevița, 1-3 mai 2006.

¹ S.P., 'Mănăstirea Moldovița – monument de arhitectură', *Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei*, 39 (1963), nos. 7-8, p. 381.

² G. Balș, 'Bisericile și mănăstirile moldovenesti din veacul al XVI-lea, 1527-1582', *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice*, 21 (1928), p. 348 (information du Père dr. Păsăilă): «Cette Crucifixion a été faite pour soi-même [à sa mémoire] par l'ainsi-nommé Boul le Trésorier, sous le règne du très pieux prince Jérémie Moghila Voïvode, dans l'année 7101 (1593), au mois de Juin le 19, à l'époque du prieur Isaia. Le maître était le pope Gavril de la ville de Suceava»; les informations concernant le prieur Isaia et le maître Gavril n'appartiennent pas effectivement à l'inscription du dos du crucifix, mais elles sont placées au dos des *molenja* (précision à la p. 347). Al. Bocănețu, *Mănăstirea Moldovița*, Cernăuți 1933, p. 10; N. Iorga, *Les arts mineurs en Roumanie*, Bucarest 1936, vol. 2, p. 12, fig. 16; et T. Voinescu, 'Pomelnicul cu donatori al mănăstirii Moldovița', *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei*, 10 (1963), no. 1, p. 211, note 1, réitèrent, avec des insignifiantes différences, la traduction de l'inscription du livre de G. Balș.

³ V. Brătulescu, 'Pomelnicul cel mare al Mănăstirii Sucevița', *Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei*, 44 (1968), nos. 3-4, p. 200, note 1: l'auteur fait quelques remarques au sujet de la transcription/traduction du Père Păsăilă, tout en ajoutant la formule «à sa mémoire» et lisant à la place de l'année 7101 = 1593, l'année 7103 = 1595, ce qui correspondait au début du règne de Jérémie Moghila. En même temps, V. Brătulescu se trompe lorsqu'il lit и хр[и]столюбиваго au lieu de la formule іѡ.

⁴ C. Nicolescu, I. Micla, *Moldovița*, Bucarest 1978, p. 26: une traduction avec de nombreuses erreurs, parmi lesquelles l'année déchiffrée 7107 = 1599.

transcription de l'inscription, en question qui est récemment publiée après la restauration de l'iconostase de Moldovița⁵ met en évidence la date de la donation comme étant l'année 1602:

† Сїа распѣтіа сътвори себѣ
памѧ(т) БоѸ(л) ви(с)тѣ(р)никъ
въ дѣни блѧгоч(с)тивѧго Г(д)на Іѡ
Іеремїа Могїла воєво(д), вѧтѡ зрї,
мѣсца ю(н) ѿ. (= Cette Crucifixion a
été faite, pour sa commémoraison, par
Boul le trésorier, aux jours du pieux
prince Io<an> Jérémie Moghila Voï-
vode en l'an 7110 <= 1602>, au mois de
juin, le 19)⁶. D'autres informations sur
la réalisation de l'iconostase nous sont
offertes par les inscriptions se trouvant
au dos des *molenja* (icônes de la Vierge
et de saint Jean l'Évangéliste flanquant
le grand crucifix): ainsi, on apprend que
le maître («maistor») fut le pope Gavril
de la ville de Suceava (*molenja* de saint

Jean) – le sculpteur en bois, certainement, car les peintres utilisaient le titre de «zôgraphie», lorsque ça se passait, bien rarement; on apprend aussi que la donation a été réalisée durant le ministère du prieur Isaïa (*molenja* de la Vierge).

Certaines remarques pourraient s'imposer à propos des inscriptions présentées ci-dessus. La formule «cette Crucifixion», indiquant l'objet de la donation, se retrouve dans l'inscription peinte au dos du crucifix de l'iconostase de Humor, commandée par le métropolite Gheorghe Movilă (Moghila) en 1590⁷, ainsi que dans une rédaction légèrement modifiée – «ce crucifix» –, dans l'inscription de 1580/1581 se trouvant sur la *molenja* de la Vierge de l'iconostase de Voroneț, qui fut donnée de pair avec le crucifix et l'autre *molenja* partie de la donation d'un certain moine Cassian⁸. La rédaction ne se réfère, en aucun cas, à l'ico-

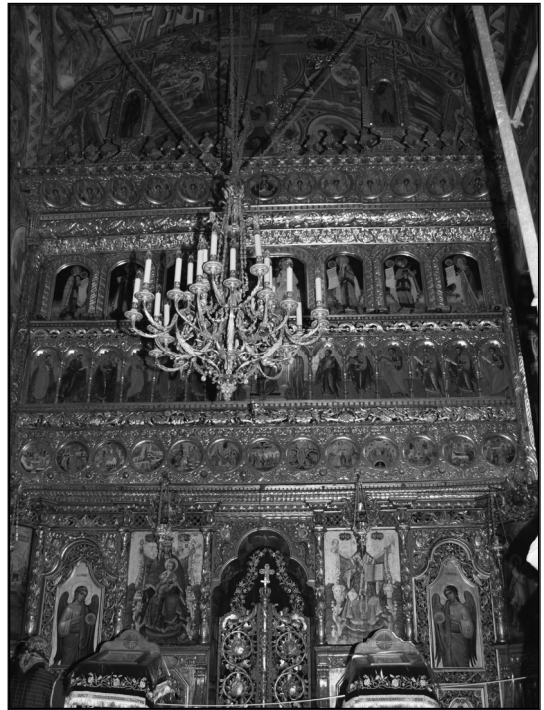


Fig. 1. Monastère de Moldovița, église de l'Annonciation. Iconostase

⁵ Restauration exécutée en 2002, par Cornelia et Dinu Săvescu de Bucarest.

⁶ O. Mitric, 'Nouveaux éléments concernant la datation des iconostases des monastères de Voroneț et de Moldovița', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art*, série «Beaux-Arts», 41–42 (2004–2005), p. 105.

⁷ «Cette Crucifixion a été faite par Kir Gheorghe Movilă, le Métropolite de Suceava, pendant le règne du prince Pierre Voïvode et le ministère du prieur l'Archimandrite Anastase de Humor, dans l'an 7090 <=1582> ?, le mois d'août 19 ...dans la ville...» (transcription/traduction du Père Iftodie). Balș, *op. cit.*, p. 348. Cf. *ibidem*, p.28, avec la correction de l'année: 7098 = 1590.

⁸ «Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ, reçois l'offrande, humble peine, ce crucifix fait par le serviteur de Dieu, le pieux moine Casiian, pour Ton nom saint, dans l'an 7089 <= 1580 ou 1581>». Mitric, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

nostase toute entière en tant qu'objet de la donation, qui néanmoins pourrait être possible au cas de Moldovița.

La remarque suivante concerne le «maïstor» Gavril de Suceava. Il existait toujours un Gavril qui avait «creusé et doré» le crucifix et les *molenja* de Voroneț, selon les précisions sur le dos de l'icône de *Saint Jean l'Évangéliste*⁹, ou, peut-être, l'iconostase toute entière. Il n'est pas impossible que le maître qui avait travaillé en 1580 à Voroneț, tout en étant déjà gagné une réputation professionnelle, n'ait pas été sollicité en 1602 pour exécuter la commande du trésorier Boul, à Moldovița.

En ce qui concerne le donateur de la *Crucifixion* de Moldovița, Théodore Boul le trésorier, il était le fils de Nastasia, petite-fille de Cozma Șarpe, grand *postelnic*¹⁰, et de Cârstea¹¹ Dragotă, «grand *vatag*»¹²; pendant le règne de la dynastie des Moghila, il était *stolnic* (document de 1597¹³), puis trésorier¹⁴, dignité qu'il a gardée pendant le règne d'Étienne Tomșa II, jusqu'en 1615, lorsqu'il fut décollé ensemble avec d'autres boyards moldaves, pour la tentative de détrôner le prince¹⁵.

Nous ne sommes pas parvenus à apprendre ce qui a conduit au remplacement de l'iconostase originelle de l'église de Pierre Rareș, qui comptait déjà ancienne d'environ 65 ans. De toute façon, à la même occasion, l'ouverture d'une fenêtre dans la paroi sud, entre l'abside et l'iconostase, a provoqué le repeint du registre médian, aussi bien à l'intérieur, jusqu'à l'abside sud¹⁶, qu'à l'extérieur.

La partie la plus récente de l'iconostase de Moldovița, qui inclut les portes royales et celles des diacres ainsi que les quatre icônes royales avec celles-ci au-dessous, présente une structure et une décoration caractéristiques du style baroque avec quelques éléments de style rocaille, en variante provinciale, alors que la peinture des icônes témoigne de l'influence occidentale, transmise par le biais de l'art des Ruthènes. En bas de l'icône du *Pantocrator* se trouve une inscription qui désigne le donateur des icônes royales et, certes, de toute la

⁹ «Gavril a creusé et doré en 7089 <= 1580 ou 1581>», *ibidem*.

¹⁰ *Documente privind istoria României, A, Moldova, Veacurile XIV–XVII (1384–1625). Indicele numelor de persoane*, par Alexandru I. Gonța, ed. I. Caproșu, București 1995, p. 681.

¹¹ Brătulescu, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

¹² Ș. S. Gorovei, 'Contribuții la genealogia familiei domnitoare Tomșa', *Revista Arhivelor*, 67 (1971), no. 3, p. 381.

¹³ *Documente privind istoria României, Moldova Veacul XVI*, vol. 4, p. 172, no 230.

¹⁴ Il était probablement le second trésorier, titre suggéré dans le document du 19 novembre 1611 (*Documente privind istoria României, Moldova Veacul XVII*, vol. 3, p. 37, no. 60), où on fait la distinction entre le «grand trésorier» (Nicoară Prăjescu) et le «trésorier» (Boul). N. Stoicescu, *Dicționar al marilor dregători din Țara Românească și Moldova. Sec. XIV–XVII*, București 1971, p. 353.

¹⁵ M. Costin, *Opere*, ed. P. P. Panaitescu, București 1958, p. 61–63.

¹⁶ C. Solomonea, 'Résultats significatifs de la restauration de la peinture de Popăuți, Moldovița et Voroneț', communication à la session annuelle de l'Institut d'Histoire de l'Art de Bucarest, *Date noi în cercetarea artei medievale din România, 2004* (voir: *Chronique. I. Session annuelle du département d'art médiéval de l'Institut «G. Oprescu» de Bucarest : Nouvelles données dans la recherche de l'art médiéval de Roumanie (2004, 2005)*, *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art*, série «Beaux-Arts», 43 (2006), p. 86–87.

nouvelle construction étalée à la base de l'iconostase, l'archimandrite Bénédict (Teodorovici), l'higoumène du monastère de Moldovița pendant les années 1769 et 1785, aussi que l'an 1779¹⁷.

Excepté le registre des icônes royales, qui est remplacé par l'archimandrite Bénédict en 1779, l'iconostase de Moldovița présente quatre rangées d'icônes de formes et de dimensions différentes – les icônes des fêtes en médaillons, le registre de la *Grande Déisis*, la rangée des prophètes et celle des séraphins – alternées aux frises décoratives sculptées, ainsi que le groupe formé par le crucifix et les deux *molenja*.

Conformément à l'état actuel des recherches, les iconostases moldaves les plus anciennes, préservées partiellement in situ, à savoir celles de Humor (fig. 2), Voroneț et Moldovița, remontent à la fin

du XVI^e et au début du XVII^e siècle¹⁸. Nous n'avons pas l'intention d'entamer ici une discussion sur la datation des iconostases de Humor et de Voroneț, qui soulèverait de nombreux et complexes problèmes¹⁹. Elles présentent quelques aspects communs, notamment le répertoire décoratif et la hauteur modérée, due à l'existence de seulement deux rangées d'icônes dans la zone médiane (les icônes des fêtes et la *Grande Déisis*, tandis que la frise des prophètes n'était pas encore connue²⁰), organisation qui permet la vue quasi-libre de la



Fig. 2. Monastère de Humor, église de la Dormition-de-la-Vierge. Iconostase

¹⁷ Protos. Nestor Vornicescu, 'Arhimandritul Venedict Teodorovici, egumenul Moldoviței, 1769–1785', *Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei*, 39 (1963), nos. 7–8, p. 525.

¹⁸ *Istoria Artelor Plastice în România*, vol. 1, București 1968, p. 397–398 (Florentina Dumitrescu); A. Pănoiu, *Mobilierul vechi românesc*, București 1975, p. 19.

¹⁹ Les portes royales de l'iconostase de Humor présentent une technique et une décoration différentes par rapport au reste de la pièce, rappelant plutôt l'art serbe des XIV^e–XVI^e siècles; les icônes royales et le registre de la *Grande Déisis* correspondent à la manière de la peinture de l'époque de Pierre Rareș (M. I. Sabados, 'La peinture d'icônes au temps de Pierre Rareș', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art*, série «Beaux-Arts», 31 (1994), p. 33–40). L'iconostase de Voroneț a perdu, elle-aussi, le registre inférieur original, tout en préservant les portes royales seulement, contemporaines aux frises sculptées, au crucifix et aux *molenja*, datés par inscription en 1581. Les icônes des fêtes, des apôtres et des prophètes indiquent une étape ultérieure, probablement le deuxième tiers du XVII^e siècle. (M. I. Sabados, 'La peinture sur bois de Moldavie au XVII^e siècle. Répertoire' (en roumain), archives de l'Institut d'Histoire de l'Art «G. Oprescu», Bucarest 1997, p. 131–140).

²⁰ Les médaillons aux prophètes de Voroneț sont ajoutés au sommet de l'iconostase à une date ultérieure.



Fig. 3. Monastère de Humor, église de la Dormition-de-la-Vierge. Crucifix et molenja. Vue vers la conque de l'abside du sanctuaire (Cliché: Cornelia et Dinu Săvescu)

peinture de la voûte de l'abside de l'autel, obturée seulement par le crucifix et les *molenja* (fig. 3). Les iconostases de Humor et de Voroneț correspondent au type de tradition byzantine, avec un nombre réduit de rangées d'icônes²¹, à l'encontre des hautes iconostases russes des XVe–XVIe siècles, avec leurs quatre-cinq registres²².

²¹ Le *templon* byzantin des XIe–XIIe siècles, en marbre ou pierre, et, à partir des XIIIe–XIVe siècles, l'iconostase en bois, présentaient un ou deux épistyles peints, qui illustraient les grandes fêtes évangéliques, la *Déisis* aux apôtres, représentés mi-corps (*la Grande Déisis*) et des scènes hagiographiques (V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, Torino 1967, p. 377–378; en ce qui concerne la Serbie, voir M. Čorović-Ljubinković, *Srednjevekovni duborez u istočnim oblastima Jugoslavije*, Beograd 1965, p. 143–144). Ce type fut perpétué dans l'époque post-byzantine (XVIe–XVIIe siècles), lorsque les iconostases de Serbie (*ibidem*, p. 151) et de Bulgarie (I. Gergova, *Rannijat bālgarski ikonostas 16.–18. vek*, Sofia 1993, p. 76–77) ont fixé leur structure à trois rangées d'icônes: en bas, les icônes royales (le *Pantocrator*, la *Vierge à l'Enfant* et l'icône du vocable), la rangée des icônes des fêtes et la *Grande Déisis*. L'iconostase de l'église du monastère de Karpino, près de Kriva Palanka, dans la République de Macédoine, datée environ de 1592 et préservée partiellement au Musée Archéologique de Skopje (les icônes des prophètes et la *Grande Déisis*), représente une preuve, même sporadique, de l'introduction de la quatrième rangée d'icônes, celle des prophètes, dans la structure de l'iconostase balkanique, à la fin du XVIe siècle (Z. Rasolkoska-Nikolovska, 'L'iconostase du Monastère de Karpino', dans: *Actes du XVe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines (Athènes 1976)*, *Art et archéologie*, vol. 2, Communications, Athènes 1981, p. 665–678); toutefois, dans ce cas-là, il s'agit d'une frise étroite aux médaillons, qui ne change pas les proportions de l'iconostase.

²² Lazarev, *op. cit.*, p. 366 et 378, affirme que Théophane le Grec «fut le premier à remplacer la suite de demi-figures, communs chez les Byzantins, avec celle de figures entières» (l'iconostase de la cathédrale de l'Annonciation du Kremlin de Moscou, début du XVe siècle), tout en mettant les bases de l'iconostase haute, spécifique à l'art russe. En Russie, au XVIe siècle, il y avait déjà des registres d'icônes de prophètes

Par conséquent, l'iconostase de Moldovița introduit, au début du XVIIe siècle, la nouveauté d'un nombre augmenté de rangées d'icônes, ce qui détermine l'élévation de l'iconostase et l'obturation de la vue vers la peinture de l'autel, dont le message vient d'être assimilé par les nouvelles rangées d'icônes. L'influence russe est fort possible, compte tenu des nombreux indices perceptibles dans l'art de l'époque de la dynastie des Moghila, surtout dans l'iconographie de la peinture murale de l'église du monastère de Sucevița, qui introduit des illustrations d'hymnes et de commentaires théologiques, puisées dans les icônes russes de la deuxième moitié du XVIe siècle²³.

Malheureusement, ni Humor, ni Voroneț ne conservent plus les icônes originales des fêtes²⁴. Dans un ouvrage antérieur concernant les icônes de l'ermitage de Văleni – Piatra Neamț, nous avons déjà attribué quelques pièces à deux iconostases du temps de Pierre Rareș et, respectivement, du début du XVIIe siècle²⁵; toutefois, ces icônes étaient des œuvres éparses ne pouvant offrir d'indices ni au sujet du nombre de pièces qui appartenaient au registre des fêtes, ni sur la place qu'elles occupaient dans la frise. Par conséquent, nous avons affaire, à Moldovița, au premier témoin du *dodekaorton* moldave.

Le terme *dodekaorton* indique le nombre de fêtes fixé pour composer le cycle abrégé de la vie terrestre du Christ, attesté déjà dans la première moitié du XIIe siècle, dans un poème religieux attribué à Théodore Prodromos²⁶. Les douze scènes étaient partagées en quatre groupes à trois séquences, dédiées à l'enfance de Jésus (*Annonciation, Nativité et Présentation au Temple*), à sa vie publique (*Baptême, Transfiguration et Résurrection de Lazare*), à sa Passion et Résurrection (*Rameaux, Crucifixion et Descente aux Limbes*), tandis que le quatrième groupe était plus varié (*Ascension, Pentecôte et Dormition de la Vierge*)²⁷. Grâce à la popularité du culte de la Vierge, le *dodekaorton* fut

et de patriarches. Ex.: la petite iconostase de l'église Sainte-Sophie de Novgorod, 1524–1542, qui présentait quatre rangées d'icônes (*Novgorod. Art Treasures and Architectural Monuments. 11th–18th centuries*, Leningrad 1984, fig. 19). Dans la littérature concernant les icônes ruthènes des XVe–XVIe siècles, qui nous a été accessible, nous n'avons pas rencontré des registres de prophètes, en dépit du fait que la *Grande Déisis* ressemble à ses homologues russes, ayant cependant une hauteur modérée. De toute façon, dans la première moitié du XVIIe siècle, en Galicie, l'iconostase haute était assez répandue et elle était composée, à part les rangées traditionnelles d'icônes, d'un registre illustrant la *Passion du Christ* et d'un autre avec les prophètes (voir l'iconostase de l'église Sainte-Parascève de Lvov ou celle de l'église en bois de Rogatine, la dernière dépourvue de la rangée de la *Passion*: L. Miliaeva, *L'icône ukrainienne, XIe–XVIIIe s.*, Bournemouth – Saint-Petersbourg 1996, p. 53–59, fig. 145, 161).

²³ C. Costea, 'Naosul Suceviței', dans: *Artă românească – Artă europeană. Centenar Virgil Vătășianu*, Oradea 2002, p. 105–116.

²⁴ Les icônes des fêtes de Humor remontent au XIXe siècle et elles sont peintes sur une planche de type épistyle; il est possible que le support soit celui originaire. En ce qui concerne les icônes des fêtes de Voroneț, voir *supra*, note 20.

²⁵ M. I. Sabados, 'Din nou despre „comoara” de icoane de la schitul Văleni–Piatra Neamț', *Studii și Cecetări de Istoria Artei, serie Artă Plastică*, 44 (1997), p. 6 et 8, fig. 3–4.

²⁶ E. Kitzinger, 'Reflections on the Feast Cycle in Byzantine Art', *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 36 (1988), p. 51.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 52.

élargie par deux scènes de la vie de la Mère de Dieu, représentant la *Nativité de la Vierge* et la *Présentation de la Vierge au Temple*²⁸.

À Moldovița, la rangée des fêtes est composée de treize icônes, peintes sur une seule planche²⁹, de façon que les quatre triades se retrouvent: l'*Annonciation*, la *Nativité* et la *Présentation au Temple* correspondent à l'enfance du Christ; le *Baptême* et la *Transfiguration* présentent sa vie publique; les *Rameaux*, la *Crucifixion* et la *Descente aux Limbes* correspondent à la Passion et à la Résurrection. Le cycle de Moldovița, qui inclut aussi les icônes de l'*Ascension* et de la *Pentecôte*, présente à la fois une triade dédiée à la Mère de Dieu: *Nativité de la Vierge*, *Présentation au Temple* et *Dormition de la Mère de Dieu*. L'ordre de la suite des médaillons paraît aléatoire³⁰ (fig. 4 et 5): les deux premières scènes, dédiées à la Mère de Dieu, semblent indiquer l'ordre de l'année liturgique (le 8 septembre et le 21 novembre respectivement); les huit icônes suivantes correspondent à l'ordre chronologique de la narration évangélique et des Actes; puis, les deux avant-dernières scènes, à savoir, la *Transfiguration* (le 6 août) et la *Dormition de la Vierge* (le 15 août), donnent l'impression que le cycle se remet à l'ordre de l'année liturgique, tandis que la rangée se termine toute paradoxalement avec la *Présentation du Christ au Temple* (le 2 février). Il est possible que cette disposition des médaillons favorise l'emplacement de la *Crucifixion* sur l'axe de l'iconostase. Cette scène d'importance majeure correspond ainsi à d'autres icônes de valeur égale pour la signification de l'iconostase, comme celle de la *Déisis*, le nouveau du Jugement Dernier, et l'autre de la *Vierge Blacherniotissa* – une figure de l'Incarnation du Verbe. Au XVIIe siècle, le nombre d'icônes des fêtes allait accroître sensiblement, probablement sous l'influence de l'art ruthène et russe, en atteignant le nombre de 17 – pour ce qui est de l'iconostase de l'ancienne chapelle de Dobrovăț (aux environs de 1620)³¹, et de 18, pour l'ancienne iconostase du monastère de Probota (vers le milieu du XVIIe siècle)³²; en même temps, un nombre de scènes «atypiques» au dodekaorton, tels la *Mi-Pentecôte*, le *Christ et la Samaritaine*, le *Thrène* etc. élargissent le cycle christologique.

Le registre des Apôtres³³, qui sont représentés à pied, chacun sous un arc appuyé sur des colonnettes, et orientés en geste de prière vers le Christ-Juge, (fig. 4 et 5) constitue le regis-

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 53.

²⁹ Information offerte par Cornelia Săvescu, restaurateur, à qui nous présentons de nouveau nos remerciements.

³⁰ Les icônes des fêtes de Moldovița s'alignent de gauche à droite: *Nativité de la Vierge* [Ро(ж)дество Бѣе], *Présentation de la Vierge au Temple* [Въведение Бѣе], *Annonciation* [Боговѣщеніе Бѣе], *Nativité du Christ* [Ро(ж)дество Хѣо], *Baptême* [Бѣгоавленіе Гне], *Rameaux* [Цѣтконіе Гне], *Crucifixion* [Распѣтіа Хѣо], *Descente aux Limbes* [Въскръсеніе Хѣо], *Ascension* [Възнесеніе Гне], *Pentecôte* [Съшествіе Сѣго Дѣа], *Transfiguration du Seigneur* [Прѣвбраженіе Гне], *Dormition de la Mère de Dieu* [Сспеніе Бѣи] et *Présentation du Seigneur au Temple* [Стретеніе Гне].

³¹ M. I. Sabados, 'Iconostasul bisericii mici de la mănăstirea Dobrovăț', dans: *Artă românească...*, p. 99–100.

³² *Eadem*, 'Iconostasul din secolul al XVII-lea de la Mănăstirea Probota', *Suceava – Anuarul Muzeului Național al Bucovinei*, 26–28 (1999–2001), p. 522–523.

³³ L'ordre des apôtres dans la rangée, de gauche à droite: Philippe, Barthélémy, André, Marc, Jean, Pierre, (Déisis), Paul, Matthieu, Luc, Simon, Jacques, Thomas.



Fig. 4. Monastère de Moldovița, église de l'Annonciation. Partie centrale de l'iconostase, côté nord

tre connu comme la *Grande Déisis*. Celui-ci ressemble aux rangées homologues de Humor et de Văleni (aussi bien l'iconostase de la première moitié du XVI^e siècle ainsi que celle du début du siècle suivant)³⁴, et toutes les trois rappellent les grandes compositions de la *Prière de tous les saints* sur les façades des églises moldaves du XVI^e siècle. Néanmoins, il y a deux distinctions significatives: 1) le Christ-Juge trônant est représenté seul dans les frises de l'époque de Pierre Rareș, à Humor (fig. 6) et à Văleni³⁵, accompagné exclusivement par des anges, tandis que la Vierge et saint Jean-Baptiste, les défenseurs de l'humanité, sont situés en dehors de l'icône de Jésus et sont suivis par les archanges Michel et Gabriel. Ce fait contribue à mettre en évidence le hiératisme de toute la composition. À Moldovița, les deux intercesseurs sont compris dans l'icône du Christ-Juge, déterminant un rapport physique avec la personne de Jésus (fig. 7). Quelques décennies plus tard, nous allons retrouver la même formule iconographique au cas de l'iconostase de Voroneț (fig. 8). Les rangées de la *Grande Déisis* des iconostases de Humor, Văleni I et Văleni II se terminent avec un diacre ou deux diacres (dans les deux dernières cas), qui, avec leurs encensoirs et pyxides, semblent célébrer la messe, leur présence y étant liée aux prières d'intercession

³⁴ M. I. Sabados, *Din nou despre...*, p. 6–9.

³⁵ L'iconostase du début du XVII^e siècle de Văleni réitère l'iconographie de l'iconostase du temps de Pierre Rareș, que le zôgraphe a utilisée comme modèle. Pour les illustrations, voir. M. I. Sabados, 'Iconografia temei Deisis în pictura pe lemn din Moldova secolului XVI', *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei*, série Artă Plastică, 40 (1993), p. 34–35.

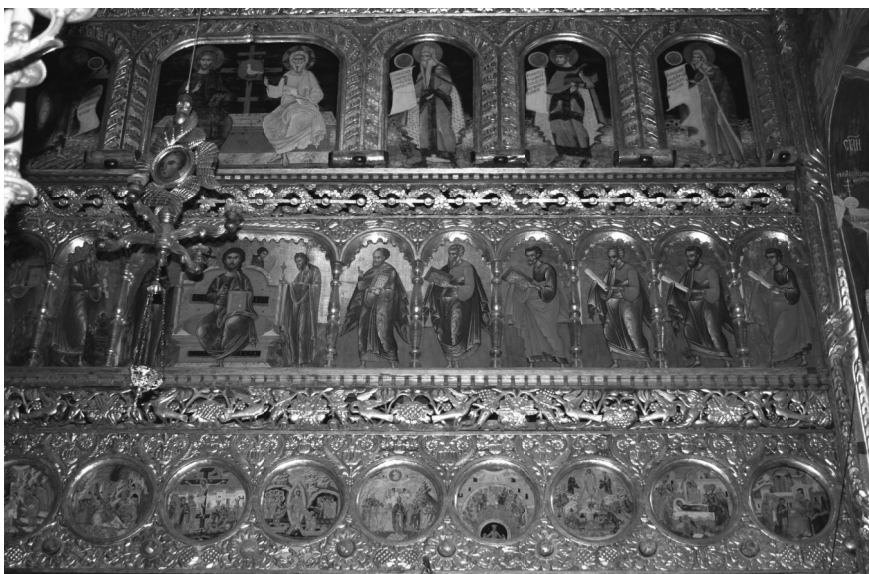


Fig. 5. Monastère de Moldovița, église de l'Annonciation. Partie centrale de l'iconostase, côté sud

du service divin³⁶; les diacres font défaut à Moldovița, signe de l'abandon ou de l'ignorance de l'ancienne signification de la composition³⁷.

Les deux dernières rangées de l'iconostase de Moldovița présentent une innovation dans l'évolution du genre en Moldavie, soit probablement sous l'influence du modèle russe déjà invoqué, aussi bien que par l'iconographie de la *Grande Prière*, déployée sur les façades des églises moldaves du XVI^e siècle³⁸. À Moldovița, dans le registre au-dessus de la *Grande Déisis*, six prophètes sont représentés de façon symétrique par rapport à l'icône de la *Sainte Trinité* (fig. 4 et 5): Zacharie, David et Moïse – à gauche, Aaron, Salomon et Élie – à droite. Quelques-uns présentent leurs attributs (Zacharie – l'encensoir, David – la *cobza*³⁹, à la place de la lyre, Moïse – le buisson ardent, Salomon – le ciboire⁴⁰ et chacun déploie un *rotulus*

³⁶ *Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst*, vol. 1, Stuttgart 1966, col. 1182 et 1186.

³⁷ Les diacres sont présents de nouveau dans le registre de la Grande Déisis de Vânători-Piatra Neamț (se trouvant de nos jours dans le musée du monastère de Văratec). Cf. *Arta din Moldova de la Ștefan cel Mare la Movilești*, catalogue de l'exposition du Musée National d'Art de Roumanie, août-octobre 1999, București 1999, p. 92–93, no. 25.

³⁸ Cf. C. Ciobanu, «Cinul» din pictura exterioară a Moldovei medievale și «iconostasul înalt rus», dans: *Artă, istorie, cultură. Studii în onoarea lui Marius Porumb*, Cluj-Napoca 2003, p. 129–134.

³⁹ Instrument populaire de musique, sorte de luth. L'attribut de David est variable: quelquefois il est un ciboire, à l'instar de celui représenté dans la peinture de la tour de l'église du monastère de Sucevița (A. Cojocariu, *Mănăstirea Sucevița*, București 2001, p. 15).

⁴⁰ L'attribut de Salomon a la forme d'une boîte rectangulaire sans couvercle que le prophète porte sous le bras; cette forme pourrait suggérer soit la base du temple édifié par Salomon, soit un ciboire très simple (fig. 9).



Fig. 6. Monastère de Humor, église de la Dormition-de-la-Vierge.
Iconostase, rangée de la Grande Déisis, icônes centrales

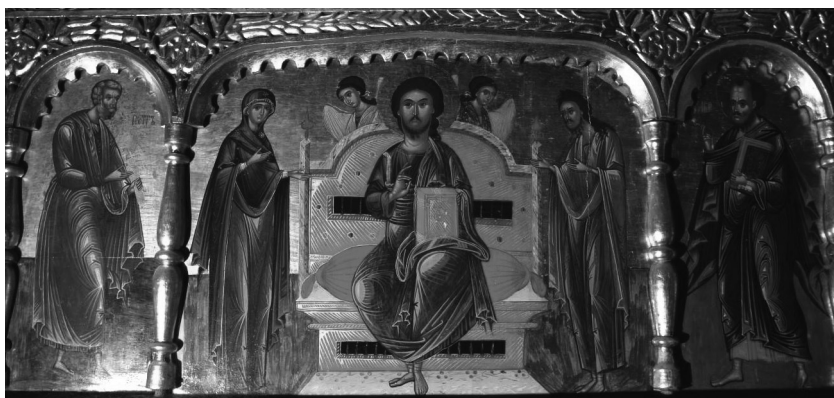


Fig. 7. Monastère de Moldovița, église de l'Annonciation.
Iconostase, rangée de la Grande Déisis, icône Déisis



Fig. 8. Monastère de Voroneț, église Saint-Georges.
Iconostase, rangée de la Grande Déisis, icône Déisis

avec des inscriptions qui reproduisent des fragments des textes bibliques ou des hymnes⁴¹. Même si certaines inscriptions ne se réfèrent pas au rôle de la Vierge dans l'économie du Salut, comme celles de Salomon et Élie qui introduisent des thèmes sapientiaux, toutefois chaque prophète est accompagné d'un *clipeus* avec la figure de la Vierge Blacherniotissa (ébauche bicolore, en noir sur un fond bleu-gris, de la Vierge orante, représenté mi-corps avec Émmanuel projeté contre sa poitrine – fig. 9), qui met en évidence leur qualité de prophètes messianiques. Pour ce qui est de Zacharie, David, Moïse, Aaron et Salomon, cette qualité les accompagne presque toujours, tandis que l'apparition d'Élie dans cet entourage est peu habituelle, sa présence étant liée surtout à l'iconographie eucharistique⁴².



Fig. 9. Monastère de Moldovița, église de l'Annonciation. Iconostase, icônes des Prophètes Salomon et Élie

Quant au rapport iconographique prophètes – Mère de Dieu, on pourrait trouver un parallèle entre le cas de Moldovița et celui de l'iconostase du monastère de Karpino, près de Kriva Palanka, dans la République de la Macédoine, pièce datée de la fin du XVI^e siècle⁴³. On y retrouve le visage de la Vierge en *clipeus*, dans les icônes en médaillons des douze prophètes figurés en buste, chacun portant son attribut et un *rotulus* inscrit. Les textes des inscriptions, ainsi que la présence virtuelle de la Mère de Dieu, affirment l'idée que ce registre de l'iconostase de Karpino illustre l'hymne dédiée à la Vierge «Tous les prophètes t'ont annoncé...»⁴⁴. Même si, à Moldovița, six prophètes sont seulement figurés et les

⁴¹ Zacharie : Кадѣльницѣ златѣа бѣгѣжѣніе (*Encensoir d'or à bonne odeur...*); David: Въплѣ(ше)се слово прѣмножество бѣгости (*Que le Verbe s'incarne du trop-plein de la bonté*); Moïse: Видѣ(х) азъ на (го)рѣ Синаистѣи яко кѣпина нѣсъгарѣлама: (*Je voyais sur le Mont Sinaï que le buisson [ardent] ne se consumait pas*); Aaron: Въсѣлиси въ ѡтробѣ твоѣ слово бѣжѣи исплѣ в(г)и и въсѣлиси въ неѣ (*Que le Verbe de Dieu siège dans ton sein, plein de Dieu, et qu'il y demeure*); Salomon: Оуслѣшите дѣте наказаніе ѡуне и вѣнимѣте раздѣлѣвати пошаніе [?] (*Ecoutez, fils, la leçon d'un père, appliquez-vous à connaître ce qu'est d'intelligence*. Proverbes 4,1); Élie: Ре(ч)и Ісѣнъ къ Іліѣ да вѣниде(ш) ѡубо дѣхъ иже въ тебѣ сѣгоуѣ въ лицѣ (*Élysée dit à Élie: Que vienne sur moi une double part de ton esprit*. Cf. 4 Rois 2,9). Les citations bibliques: d'après *La Bible. Traduction œcuménique de la Bible*, Editions du Cerf, 1988. Je remercie Olimpia Mitric pour son aimable assistance concernant la traduction des inscriptions en slavons.

⁴² Saint Élie est représenté à côté de la Vierge Blacherniotissa (A. Grabar, 'L'iconographie de la Parousie, *L'art de la fin de l'antiquité et du Moyen-Âge*, vol. 1, Paris 1968, p. 572–573), dans une icône russe du X^e siècle, du Musée d'Arts Plastiques d'Arkhangelsk, semblable du point de vue iconographique et sémantique à l'icône de la Vierge à l'Enfant avec le prophète Isaïa, du XIII^e siècle, du monastère Sainte-Cathérine du Mont Sinaï (E.A. Smirnova, V.K. Laurina, E.A. Gordenko, *Živopis velikogo Novgoroda, XV vek*, Moskva 1982, cat. 51).

⁴³ Zagorska Rasolkoska-Nikolovska, 'L'iconostase du Monastère de Karpino', p. 670–673.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 672.

textes des inscriptions de leurs rouleaux ne concordent pas avec celui de l'hymne illustré à Karpino, nous pouvons toutefois supposer l'existence d'une source commune d'inspiration, comme nous laisse supposer le détail iconographique du *clipeus* avec la Vierge, plus riche en significations dans le cas moldave, que dans celui de l'iconostase de la région macédonienne.

Au milieu, parmi les prophètes de Karpino est située l'icône de la «Vierge Orante avec le Christ Orant, qui bénit de ses deux mains»⁴⁵, type iconographique bien connu de l'Incarnation. À l'encontre, à Moldovița, les six prophètes porteurs du message messianique se dirigent vers le milieu du registre où se trouve l'icône de la *Sainte Trinité*, dans la variante iconographique du Nouveau Testament: Dieu le Père⁴⁶ – Jésus Christ – la colombe du Saint Esprit (fig. 10). La nouvelle relation suggérée n'ignore pas la signification de l'Incarnation, au contraire, elle la rend plus compréhensive dans le contexte théologique de l'iconographie de l'époque de la dynastie des Moghila, qui a intensément cultivé le thème de la Trinité⁴⁷, plaidant pour la double nature du Christ, divine et humaine.

L'icône de la *Vierge Blacherniotissa* existe à Moldovița, mais elle fut élevée au milieu de la rangée au-dessus. En fait, il s'agit d'une frise de médaillons qui représentent des séraphins défenseurs les glaives sur leurs deux mains (fig. 11). Ils évoquent les «chérubins artistiquement travaillés» sur le «voile de pourpre violette» qui marquait la «séparation entre le lieu saint et le lieu très saint» dans la Demeure de Dieu (Exode 26, 31–33). En même temps, tout en prenant en considération la signification du sanctuaire en tant que «monde supérieur attribué aux puissances d'en haut», révélée



Fig. 10. Monastère de Moldovița, église de l'Annonciation. Iconostase, rangée des prophètes, icône de la Sainte Trinité



Fig. 11. Monastère de Moldovița, église de l'Annonciation. Iconostase, frise des séraphins

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 670.

⁴⁶ On a indiqué le nom de Jésus Christ à côté de Dieu le Père, particularité que nous pouvons rencontrer souvent dans la peinture de Sucevița.

⁴⁷ S. Ulea, 'Portretul unui ctitor uitat al mănăstirii Sucevița: Teodosie Barbovski, mitropolit al Moldovei', *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei*, 6, no. 2 (1959), p. 242, observait la fréquence de l'apparition du thème de la Trinité dans la peinture du monastère de Sucevița et affirmait que «les ktitors ont accrédité la Trinité de la suprême puissance protectrice, de *palladium* de l'église et, à la fois, de tout l'établissement monacal de Sucevița».

par saint Maxime le Confesseur dans sa *Mystagogie*⁴⁸, – ce qui permettrait de comparer l'espace du sanctuaire au Paradis – nous pourrions aisément supposer que les séraphins représentés au sommet de l'iconostase de Moldovița jouent le même rôle que le séraphin gardien de la porte du Paradis dans les grandes compositions du *Jugement Dernier*. L'image de la Mère de Dieu avec Emmanuel contre sa poitrine parmi les séraphins pourrait être interprétée également comme une illustration de la deuxième partie de l'hymne à la Vierge «Axion estin»⁴⁹. Une fois que l'iconostase fut élevée, son décor semble avoir assimilé le message des peintures de la conque de l'abside du sanctuaire, dominée dans la plupart des cas, y compris celui de Moldovița, par la figure de la Vierge Platytera.

L'ensemble formé par le crucifix et les deux *molenja* (fig. 12) ressemble à ses homologues de Voroneț (1581) et de Humor (1590) (fig. 3): dans tous les trois cas, Jésus crucifié est entouré par les symboles des évangélistes. En même temps, les pièces roumaines ressemblent aux pièces homologues de la République de Macédoine et de Serbie qui leur sont contemporaines: le crucifix et les *molenja* de l'iconostase provenant du monastère de Pološki-Kavadarči (1584)⁵⁰, et ceux du monastère de Dečani (1594)⁵¹; dans le dernier cas,



Fig. 12. Monastère de Moldovița, église de l'Annonciation.
Iconostase, frise des séraphins avec l'icône de la Vierge Blacherniotissa, crucifix et molenja

⁴⁸ St. Maxime le Confesseur, *Mystagogie*, trad. fr. M.L.-B. [M. Lot-Borodine], chap. II, *Irenikon*, 13 (1936), p. 717–718.

⁴⁹ «Toi plus vénérable que les chérubins, et incomparablement plus glorieuse que les séraphins, qui sans corruption enfantas Dieu le Verbe, toi véritablement Mère de Dieu, nous te magnifions».

⁵⁰ Полошки Манастир Св. Ѓорѓи, Музеј на Македонија, Скопје 1998, p. 26, cat. 10.

⁵¹ Čorović-Ljubinković, *Srednjevekovni duborez...*, pl. XLIV.

en bas du crucifix, il y a une ample composition du *Thrène*, qui n'existe pas en Moldavie, tandis que la décoration s'apparente à celle des crucifix moldaves.

La peinture de l'iconostase de Moldovița démontre de multiples rapports – tant du point de vue iconographique que stylistique – avec la peinture de l'époque de la dynastie des Moghila⁵². Le principe de la fusion des séquences narratives successives se retrouve dans les icônes des fêtes de Moldovița, muni d'un rôle éducatif. Dans la composition de la *Nativité de la Vierge*, la scène principale est accompagnée par deux épisodes secondaires: l'*Annonciation à Joachim* dans l'arrière-plan et les *Caresses* au premier-plan, à droite, épisode qu'on rencontre particulièrement dans le *Ménologe*, au jour du 9 septembre. On remarque en même temps le détail du voile déployé par une servante derrière le groupe formé par Joachim, Anne et la Vierge-enfant, ce qui évoque l'iconographie de la quatrième strophe de l'Hymne Acathiste («La puissance du Très Haut couvrit alors de son ombre...»). Nous retrouvons le même détail iconographique dans l'icône de l'*Annonciation* de l'iconostase de Moldovița, où le voile est déployé cette fois-ci par un ange, semblable à la scène peinte dans la tour de l'église de Sucevița (fig. 14).



Fig. 13. Monastère de Moldovița, église de l'Annonciation.
Iconostase, icône de l'Annonciation



Fig. 14. Monastère de Sucevița, église de la Résurrection, la tour. Annonciation, fresque, 1596. Détail [d'après Adriana Cojocariu, Mănăstirea Sucevița, București, 2001, p. 16]

Un autre exemple de fusion des séquences narratives est également détecté dans l'icône du *Baptême* (fig. 15), où l'on distingue dans l'arrière-plan à gauche un groupe composé par Jésus, saint Jean-Baptiste et saint Pierre, désignés par les initiales de leurs noms. Nous aurions pu croire qu'il s'agissait de la première rencontre du Prodrôme avec Jésus qui demandait au premier de Le baptiser, comme dans la scène homologue de la tour de l'église de

⁵² C. Costea, 'La sfârșitul unui secol de erudiție: pictura de icoane din Moldova în timpul lui Ieremia Movilă. Ambianța Suceviței', *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 3 (1993), p. 77–90.



Fig. 15. Monastère de Moldovița, église de l'Annonciation. Iconostase, icône du Baptême



Fig. 16. Monastère de Dragomirna, musée. Tétraévangile, 1609, miniature du Baptême [d'après G. Popescu-Vâlcea, *Anastasia Crimca*, București 1972, cat. V]

Sucevița. En fait, s'agit-il de l'illustration du passage relatif au témoignage de saint Jean-Baptiste et de l'appel des premiers disciples (Jn 1, 35–42), représenté dans le catholicon du monastère de Chilandar (XIV^e siècle), détail iconographique qui a constitué le modèle non pas seulement pour l'icône de Moldovița, mais aussi pour la miniature représentant le *Baptême* (fig. 16) du *Tétraévangile* inv.1/1934 de Dragomirna, écrit en 1609 dans l'entourage du métropolite Anastase Crimca⁵³. Dans la même scène du *Baptême*, on remarque, à Moldovița aussi bien qu'à Dragomirna, le détail de la «cédule de nos obligations» (le phylactère à la main du Christ), particularité iconographique spécifique pour l'illustration de la XXII^e strophe («Voulant faire grâce à ses anciens débiteurs...») de l'Hymne Acathiste représenté dans la peinture moldave du XVI^e siècle.

Pour rester sur les interférences iconographiques de différents sous-genres de la peinture du temps des Moghila, rappelons-nous la représentation de l'arrivée de Pilate à cheval, apportant la petite plaque avec l'accusation du Christ, dans la scène de la *Crucifixion* (fig. 17). Cet épisode compris d'habitude dans le cycle de la *Passion* de la peinture murale des XV^e–XVI^e siècles se retrouve, d'une manière insolite, dans l'illustration de la XVIII^e strophe («Voulant sauver le monde...») de l'Hymne Acathiste, justement ici, à Moldovița ainsi que dans une miniature du même *Tétraévangile* de Dragomirna, déjà mentionné⁵⁴.

Le style des icônes de l'iconostase de Moldovița, particulièrement celui des icônes des fêtes, correspond à la manière livresque de la peinture de l'époque des Moghila⁵⁵. Ce style qui se distingue par «le traitement en hachures dorées des figures» fut dé-

⁵³ G. Popescu-Vâlcea, *Anastasia Crimca*, București 1972, cat. V.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, cat. XIV.

⁵⁵ Costea, 'La sfârșitul unui secol de erudiție'..., p. 82.

terminé par «l'exercice régulier de l'illustration des manuscrits» en Moldavie au XVIe et au début du XVIIe siècles. Cet exercice a développé une attitude d'estime et de respect envers les modèles «classiques» byzantins, tant de la part du mentor théologien que de celle des artistes. La nouveauté de la vision artistique de cette époque ne se limite pas à l'aspect formel, mais elle viserait à une conception plutôt compositionnelle atypique, par rapport à l'art du XVIe siècle. Elle se manifeste ici, à Moldovița, soit par la perspective à *vol d'oiseau*⁵⁶, dans l'icône de la *Nativité du Seigneur*, soit par l'établissement d'une relation directe entre le Christ-Juge et les deux intercesseurs, la Vierge et le Prodrome (dans l'icône de la Déisis).

Le style des icônes des apôtres semble s'apparenter à celle de la peinture murale de Sucevița. Il suffirait de comparer l'image des saints apôtres Pierre, Jean et Marc (fig. 18) avec le fragment de la Communion des apôtres, du sanctuaire de la dite église (fig. 19), afin de constater le même traitement plastique de la matière picturale qui l'emporte sur le graphisme, technique utilisée davantage dans les icônes des fêtes. Ce rapprochement stylistique suggère l'hypothèse de l'appartenance des peintres de l'iconostase de Moldovița au même atelier des zôgraphes qui avaient peint l'église de Sucevița.

En somme, l'iconostase de l'église de l'Annonciation du monastère de Moldovița, donation du trésorier Théodore Boul, n'est pas seulement une remarquable œuvre artistique, mais elle constitue à la fois un repère et une étape importante dans l'histoire de l'évolution de l'iconostase moldave et roumaine.

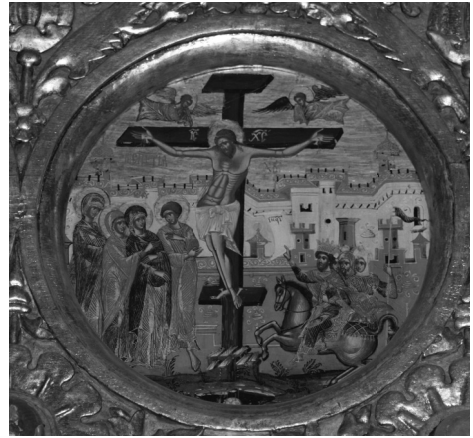


Fig. 17. Monastère de Moldovița, église de l'Annonciation.

Iconostase, icône de la Crucifixion

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 87.

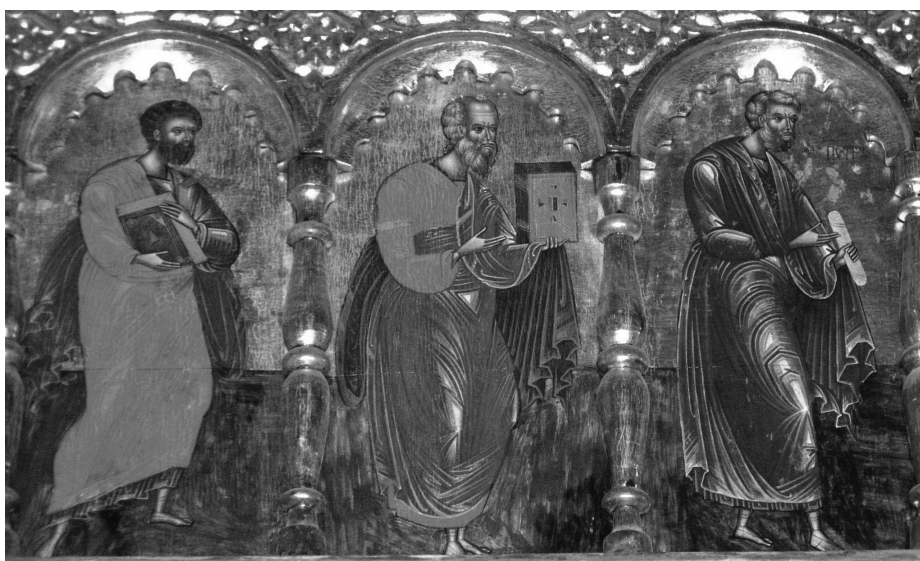


Fig. 18. Monastère de Moldovița, église de l'Annonciation.
Iconostase, icônes des apôtres Pierre, Jean et Marc



Fig. 19. Monastère de Sucevița, église de la Résurrection, sanctuaire.
Communion des apôtres, fresque, 1596. Fragment

Between a Magnate and a Cossack – – Two Marriages of Vasile Lupu's Daughters

Dariusz Milewski, Warsaw

In 1645 and 1652 the Moldavian hospodar Vasile Lupu arranged the marriages of his two daughters, Mary and Rosande, with the Lithuanian chamberlain, future voivod of Vilnius and Great Lithuanian Hetman Janusz Radziwiłł, and with Tymofiy (Tymish) Khmelnytsky, the son of the leader of the Cossack Revolt, who was considered in the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth and Moldavia as an inciter of peasant rebels. A real abyss divides the two marriages, contracted within only seven years. The first one, entered into voluntarily and based upon the common aim of both sides to overcome political difficulties, brought respectability to both the hospodar and the Lithuanian magnate. At the same time it could be considered as a sign of the growing interest of the powerful Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth in the Danubian region. The second marriage, forced on the hospodar, marked the beginning of the end of Polish influence in Moldavia and made apparent the weakness of the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth, which could no longer defend its Moldavian ally against the Cossacks. Both marriages were arranged because of political reasons – therefore their comparison would be an interesting attempt to look more closely at the political and cultural circumstances of the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth and Moldavia in the middle of the 17th century.

The territory of the Moldavian hospodars, which had flourished during the times of Stephen the Great (1457–1504), came under Turkish influence; after the failure of the hospodar Petru Rareș in 1538 Moldavia was forced to accept an unfavorable tributary treaty and the loss of its south-eastern part, which began to be called Budziak. The Nogai Tatars, who inhabited the region, together with the nearby Crimean Khanate, created a constant threat to Moldavia. Subjected to Turkey and threatened by the Tatars, Moldavia started to look for support in neighboring Christian countries – Transylvania and the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth. Transylvanian dukes, although dependent upon Turkey, conside-

red themselves to be the heirs of the Hungarian kingdom and took over its claims to rule over the Transdanubian duchies – Wallachia and Moldavia. These claims were particularly strong during the war between Turkey and the Habsburgs in 1593–1606, when the first duke Sigismund Batory tried to subdue both territories of the hospodars, and later Michael the Brave (Mihai Viteazul) temporarily conquered all the three territories (1599–1600). In the middle of the 17th century the dukes of the Rakoci family – Georg I and Georg II – also tried to gain control over Moldavia and Wallachia. These actions were not approved by the Ottoman Porte and also caused reactions from the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth. Poland had not abandoned its claims to rule Moldavia despite the unfortunate campaign of 1497 by Jan Olbracht against Stephen the Great. Because of decentralization within the state and the growing autonomy of independent magnates, Polish policies towards Moldavia were formed not only by official factors but also by private persons. Moreover, these often acted against the state interest – let us recall, at least, the Moldavian campaigns of Olbracht Łaski, who in 1561 removed Alexis IV Lăpușneanu, who sympathized with Poland, from the throne in Jassy – placed there, it should be noted, by Hetman Mikołaj Sieniawski in 1552 – and replaced him by a Greek adventurer, Jacob Heraclides Despot. In 1568 he intervened again and robbed Oczaków, not taking into account that he was causing difficulties in the current negotiations between Piotr Zborowski and the Sultan in Istanbul.¹ Moreover, the Zaporozhian Cossacks also intervened in Moldavian affairs; in 1574 they supported the hospodar Iwonia (John III the Terrible), who had rebelled against the Turks. In 1577 Iwan Podkowa the ataman of the Cossacks himself took the Moldavian throne for a month.² The turn of the 16th and 17th centuries is marked by especially intensified Polish actions in Moldavia, the victorious campaigns of Jan Zamoyski in 1595 and 1600 and the not always successful interventions of the border magnates Korecki, Potocki and Wiśniowiecki in 1607, 1612 and 1615. They reached their peak in the campaign of Hetman Stanisław Żółkiewski in 1620 and the Polish-Turkish war in 1621, which ended with the victorious defence of the camp near Chocim and the not so favorable peace treaty of Krzysztof Zbaraski in 1623. According to this treaty the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth resigned all claims to rule in Moldavia.³

After 1621 Moldavia again came under strict Turkish control. This new relationship appears in the fact that in 1634 the Turks overthrew Hospodar Moise Movilă, accusing him of taking Poland's side during the Polish-Turkish conflict of 1633. The overthrown

¹ A. Dziubiński, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne polsko-tureckie w latach 1500–1572 w kontekście międzynarodowym*, Wrocław 2005, pp. 228–229 and 251.

² T. Korzon, *Dzieje wojen i wojskowości w Polsce*, vol. 2, Kraków 1912, pp. 3–4; V. Stati, *Istoriya Moldovy*, Kishinyov 2003, pp. 142–143. Let us add that the unfortunate Cossack hospodar was decapitated in L'viv in 1578 on the order of Stephen Batory in order to improve Polish-Turkish relations.

³ The rivalry between Poland and Turkey in Moldavia at the beginning of the 17th century, which was finished by the peace treatise of 1623, was recently discussed in: D. Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie 1595–1623*, Warszawa 2004, pp. 150–152, 166–173, 189–201 and 230–254.

hospodar was replaced by a true adherent of Turkey, Vasile Lupu (Coci), a Moldavian resident of Albanian descent.⁴ The new hospodar turned away from Poland and directed his ambitions towards Wallachia, ruled by Matei Basarab. The Moldavian hospodar tried to remove his neighbour from the throne; however, his two campaigns in Wallachia in 1637 and 1639 did not attain success, whilst the intrigues of Matei Basarab, supported by Transylvania, almost led to the expulsion of Vasile Lupu from Jassy in 1642. Threatened by all his neighbours, the Moldavian hospodar turned to Poland.⁵

In order to start a closer relationship with his northern neighbour in 1643 the Moldavian hospodar offered help to the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth during the journey through Moldavia of Mikołaj Bieganowski, ambassador to Turkey.⁶ It was followed by military cooperation against the Tatars – Vasile Lupu shared information with the Polish side during the attack of Tuhaj Bey in January 1644, which encouraged the glorious victory of Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski at the battle near Ochmatow.⁷ With the passage of time this cooperation was intensified and led to regular communication by letter between the hospodar and the Grand Crown Hetman in autumn 1645 and the inclusion of Vasile Lupu in the plans for the Turkish war by Władysław IV Vasa in spring 1646.⁸

Besides intensified diplomatic and military cooperation Vasile Lupu came closer to the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth by marrying his oldest daughter Mary to the Lithuanian Chamberlain and future hetman, the favorite of king Władysław IV, Janusz Radziwiłł. This marriage could be included in the tradition of Polish-Moldavian kinship relations. In the

⁴ M. Costin, *Latopis Ziemi Mołdawskiej i inne utwory historyczne*, ed. by I. Czamańska, Poznań 1998, p. 166; C. Șerban, *Vasile Lupu, domn al Moldovei (1634–1653)*, București 1991, p. 194.

⁵ A. Alessandri to the Venetian doge, Istanbul, 1642/08/02, in: E. Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor*, vol. 4, part 2, București 1884, nr DCIV, p. 519. See also: E. Baidaus, *Politica și diplomația Moldovei în timpul domniei lui Vasile Lupu (relații politice cu Republica Nobiliară Polonă și Rusia Moscovită în anii 1634–1653)*, Chișinău 1998, pp. 43–44.

⁶ Indicating his fears of the Tatars, who delayed the start of the Polish delegate's journey, and relating his actions in Istanbul in order to calm the situation between Poland and Turkey, the hospodar wrote: 'Zaczem mam nadzieję w Bogu, iż posłaniec J.K.M. ściśle zawartej Cesarza J.M. z Koroną Polską przyjaźni stateczny i w niczym nie uszczerbiony przyniesie efekt. Niech tedy bezpiecznie w przedsięwziętą drogę się puści, a ja asekuruję, iż honorifice przyjęty i przystojnie traktowany będzie, nie suspikując o żadnej przeciwności, gdyż jeśliby jaka była, wiedziałbym ja o niej przez moich agentów, którzy mi *etiam minutissimo* oznajmują, Vasile Lupu to S. Koniecpolski, Jassy, 1643/09/02, in: *Korespondencja Stanisława Koniecpolskiego hetmana wielkiego koronnego 1632–1646*, ed. by A. Biedrzycka, Kraków 2005, no. 499, p. 640. See also: Baidaus, *Politica...*, pp. 44–45.

⁷ S. Oświęcim, 'Stanisława Oświęcima dyariusz 1643–1651', in: *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, vol. 19, ed. by W. Czermak, Kraków 1907, p. 30.

⁸ The correspondence between Vasile Lupu and hetman S. Koniecpolski from September 1645: Ossolineum library, manuscript 224/II, pp. 772–775. For the beginning of Polish-Moldavian cooperation against Turkey in spring 1646 see also: H. Walderode to the emperor Ferdinand III, Warszawa, 1646/05/12, Haus-, Hof und Staatsarchiv, Wien, Pl I, nr 61, [Polonica 1646], f. 43v., Relacja Jana Tiepola posła nadzwyczajnego Rzpłitej Weneckiej do najjaśniejszego Władysława IV, króla polskiego i szwedzkiego, r. 1647, in: *Zbiór pamiątek historycznych o dawnej Polsce*, ed. by J.U. Niemcewicz, vol. 5, Puławy 1830, pp. 22–25, W. Czermak, *Plany wojny tureckiej Władysława IV*, Kraków 1895, pp. 88 and 118–120, I. Eremia, *Relațiile externe ale lui Vasile Lupu (1634–1653). Contribuții la istoria diplomatiei moldovenesti în secolul al XVII-lea*, Chișinău 1999, pp. 168–180.

16th century the Moldavian hospodars looked for Polish wives, not always with the desired results – it is enough to mention here the rejection of the marriage of Elisabeth, sister of Sigismund I the Old, with Hospodar Bogdan III in 1506, which became one of the causes of the Polish-Moldavian war, or the unfortunate attempt to gain Jadwiga Tarłówna by Hospodar Bogdan IV in 1572, who during his absence lost the throne in favor of Iwonia.⁹ More favorable were the unions of the daughters of Ieremia Movilă, a Polonized Moldavian boyar, who was placed as hospodar in Jassy by Jan Zamoyski in 1595 and was at the same time the tributary of both Turkey and Poland (1595–1606). His sons-in-law were, among others: Stefan Potocki, Samuel Korecki, Michał Wiśniowiecki and Maximillian Przerembski. Because of the internal split in Movilă's family after Ieremia's death these marriages resulted in multiple interventions of Polish magnates in Moldavia, which exacerbated Polish-Turkish relation. It also led to closer Polish-Moldavian relations – because the hospodar, a naturalized Pole, had property in Ruthenia, which was taken as a residence by his widow Elisabeth. Likewise, the children of Ieremia's brother Simon Movilă and many Moldavian boyars moved to Poland, improving Polish-Moldavian relations¹⁰. Janusz Radziwiłł when seeking the hand of Vasile Lupu's daughter entered a path already paved by his Polish forerunners.

The reasons which encouraged Janusz Radziwiłł to seek for the hand of Mary Lupu are not clear enough. She was a daughter from the first marriage of Vasile Lupu with Vasilisa, the daughter of boyar Bucioc, possibly related to Movilă's family. Born in 1625, she was 13 years younger than Janusz Radziwiłł.¹¹ The idea of this marriage did not arouse enthusiasm among the Polish magnates – Grand Crown Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski made remarks about the low origins of the Moldavian hospodar, who until the period in question was not closely related to the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth.¹² This remark was intended to remove the Lithuanian magnate from Moldavian affairs, as they were considered to be in the field of interest of the Crown peers, rather than to defend him against a mésalliance. Noting the fortunate course in the Lithuanian chamberlain's attempt to gain the hand of Mary Lupu, Stanisław Koniecpolski did not hesitate to promote Stephen Potocki, the son of his official colleague, Field Crown Hetman Mikołaj Potocki, in order to arrange the marriage with Mary's sister Rosande. In this case the low origins of Vasile Lupu did not trouble the Crown peers.¹³ Radziwiłł himself, when contracting his first marriage

⁹ Korzon, *Dzieje wojen...*, vol. 1, pp. 195–196 and Dziubiński, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne...*, pp. 267–269.

¹⁰ About Movilă and Moldavians in general of Poland in the first half of the 17th century see: W. Łoziński, *Prawem i lewem*, Warszawa 2005, pp. 391–398 and I. Czamańska, 'Rumuńska imigracja polityczna w Polsce XVII wieku', *Balkanica Posnaniensia*, 6 (1993), pp. 7–16.

¹¹ T. Wasilewski, 'Maria z Lupulów Radziwiłłowa', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 30, Warszawa 1987, p. 399.

¹² H. Wisner, *Janusz Radziwiłł 1612–1655, wojewoda wileński, hetman wielki litewski*, Warszawa 2000, p. 73. The author quotes the relation of Stanisław Kurosz from the dialogue with S. Koniecpolski, written down for J. Radziwiłł on the 13 of March 1644.

¹³ The hetman's intentions are clear in the following royal letter: 'Na żądanie U.W. chętnie barzo podpisaliśmy list do hospodara wołoskiego za synem wielmożnego wojewody braclawskiego hetmana polnego

with Catherine Potocka rather from love than because of her wealth, proved the possibility of unconventional reasons for marriage. In the case in question he did not even know his Moldavian bride, hence his aspirations to be related to the ruling family of the Moldavian hospodar could not appear strange in this context. Besides that, as Henryk Wisner remarks, the decisive role was played by possible knowledge about the extreme wealth of Vasile Lupu, who during his long rule was able to acquire considerable possessions and to guarantee stability within his country.¹⁴

Janusz Radziwiłł started to seek for the hand of the hospodar's daughter in summer 1643 at the latest and used Kiev Metropolitan Bishop Petru Movilă as a mediator. In high summer of 1643 Igumen Leontius Szycik Zaleski from Łuck, subordinated to the bishop, travelled to Moldavia and carried out an initial, successful conversation about the planned marriage. After him Janusz Radziwiłł sent Lukasz Miaskowski, the sheriff of Kamieniec, to Moldavia in order to discuss the details of the project with Vasile Lupu. Petru Movilă, satisfied with the progress of events, informed Radziwiłł in January 1644 about the expected successful end of his endeavors.¹⁵

However, a quick finalization of Radziwiłł's plans was postponed by the intrigues of the Transylvanian Duke Georg I Rakoci. During the war with the emperor he tried to secure the eastern border with Moldavia. That is why already in 1643 he offered to Vasile Lupu to arrange a marriage between his son Sigismund Rakoci and Rosande, the younger daughter of the hospodar. Forseeing that this action would increase Transylvania's influence in Moldavia, Vasile Lupu rejected the proposal and came nearer to the Habsburgs.¹⁶ Georg Rakoci, who was afraid of closer contacts between Moldavia and the pro-Habsburgian Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth, started his vengeful intrigues in Istanbul against the planned marriage between Mary Lupu and Janusz Radziwiłł.¹⁷ At the end of March the hospodar informed

koronnego, życząc, aby za tą interpozycją naszą stał się w tym małżeństwie *sui voti compos* i ta sprawa do pożądanego przyszła efektu'; Władysław IV to S. Koniecpolski, Radzanów, 1644/10/03, in: *Korespondencja...*, nr 522, p. 668.

¹⁴ The Moldavian chronicler has noted: 'Panowanie wojewody Bazylego było szczęśliwe, w jego czasie znajdował się ten kraj we wszelkim dobrobycie i bogactwie, a dni tego hospodara ciągnęły się aż do 19 lat, pełne wszelkiego dobra', Costin, *Latopis...*, p. 166. Also see: Wisner, *Janusz Radziwiłł...*, p. 72. T. Wasilewski, 'Janusz Radziwiłł', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 30, Warszawa 1987, p. 210, considers that the decisive role in choosing the wife of Radziwiłł was played by Władysław IV, who looked for closer relations with Moldavia when preparing for war with Turkey. The dynastic connotations of this marriage are also stressed by W. Deluga, 'Portraits de la famille Movilă du XVII^e siècle', *Revue Roumaine d'histoire de l'art*, 31 (1994), p. 80. The author reaches this conclusion when analyzing the royal elements – a scarf in the fashion of the sultan – in the clothing of Mary Radziwiłł as depicted in her portrait of 1646.

¹⁵ E. Kotłubaj, *Życie Janusza Radziwiłła*, Wilno–Witebsk 1859, p. 77; Wisner, *Janusz Radziwiłł...*, p. 72 and Baidaus, *Politica...*, p. 45.

¹⁶ Șerban, *Vasile Lupu...*, p. 144.

¹⁷ The Venetian bailo even considered in November 1643 that the planned marriage could not be accomplished: 'Credo che il matrimonio della figliuola del Moldavo con il Palatino di Littuania non si concluderà, perchè certo il Primo Visir non vi asente', G. Soranzo to Doge, Istanbul, 1643/11/28, in: Hurmuzaki, *Documente...*, vol. 4, part 2, no. DCXVIII, p. 528.

Radziwiłł about these obstacles and sent his own courtier Nicolae Catargi to the Bosphorus in order to defeat Rakoci's intentions. At the same time, answering the demand of Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski to use his influence in Istanbul in order to convince the Turks not to support Rakoci in his war against the emperor, the hospodar did not hesitate to defame the Transylvanian duke in front of the Sultan.¹⁸ The important reason was the fact that in May 1644 Janusz Radziwiłł complained about the loss of his letters to the hospodar which the Moldavian historian interprets as Transylvanian interception. The Lithuanian magnate at the same time expressed his firm decision to continue to ask for the hand of the hospodar's daughter, and this intention was based on goodwill from Vasile Lupu's side.¹⁹

The Moldavian hospodar, being a vassal of the Sultan, had to get his agreement to the marriage of his own daughter. Despite the opposition of Georg Rakoci and through money and inborn diplomatic talent he succeeded: in September 1644 the Sublime Porte made a positive decision about the marriage of Mary to Janusz Radziwiłł.²⁰ Already during the mission of Nicolae Catargi, foreseeing a positive result, Mary Lupu sent a conventional letter to her future husband, informing him about her requital of his feelings ('affections' – the expression rather of a particular goodwill towards Janusz Radziwiłł, not of love).²¹ Thus encouraged, the Lithuanian chamberlain did not hesitate and in September 1644 sent to Moldavia two of his clients, the Lithuanian guards Hrehory Mirski and Jan Mierzeński, who brought Mary Lupu an engagement ring and rich presents for her, her father and family members.²² Maybe as a return for this visit, when the Turks had already given agreement

¹⁸ Baidaus, *Politica...*, pp. 44–46 and Eremia, *Relațiile externe...*, p. 150.

¹⁹ The Lithuanian chamberlain wrote: 'Skryta jakaś fortuny zazdrość wstrętem pierwszym uczyniła listom, że do ręką WMmmPana nie doszły, ale nie uczyniła wstrętu zawziętemu memu affektowi [...]. W tym utwierdzają mnie deklaracje WMmmPana przez JMP. podsędka kamienieckiego, a jeszcze rzetelniej przez ojca Szyca dane. Któremu iżeś WmmPan, na pewny termin powrócić do siebie dla tej sprawy kazał, tedy przez niego dalszą moją z WmmPanem przedłużam konferencję i prośbę moją wnoszę, abyś staraniu memu dawszy miejsce, skłonić się do tego raczył, żeby ta sprawa w spak nie chodziła, ale tymi, któreś sam WmmPan, uważnym rozsądkiem swym upatrzył środkami, do skutku przywiedziona była', J. Radziwiłł to Vasile Lupu, Lithuanian Kamianets, 1644/05/03, in: Kotłubaj, *Życie...*, app. VIII, p. 335. See also: Baidaus, *Politica...*, p. 45 and Wisner, *Janusz Radziwiłł...*, pp. 73–74. The hospodar himself complained about the difficulties in planned marriage of his daughter and Janusz Radziwiłł in spring of 1644, see: Vasile Lupu to Georg I Rakoci, Jassy, 1644/04/05, in: *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării-Românești*, ed. by A. Veress, vol. 10, București 1938, nr 106, p. 180.

²⁰ The endeavors of Vasile Lupu are described by the Venetian bailo, G. Soranzo to the Doge, Istanbul, 1644/10/02, in: *Documente...*, nr 626, pp. 533–534 and the same to the same, Istanbul, 1645/01/19, *Documente...*, nr 627, pp. 534–535. See also: Baidaus, *Politica...*, pp. 45–46. The endeavors mentioned were also interpreted as an intention to achieve closer relations with Poland in order to start a common Polish-Russian action against Turkey. Cf. *Očerki vneshne politicheskoy istorii moldavskogo knyazhestva (poslednaya tret' XIV–nachalo XIX v.)*, ed. D. M. Dragnev, Kishinyov 1987, pp. 203–204.

²¹ M. Lupu to J. Radziwiłł, Jassy, 1644/09/02, in: A. Sajkowski, *Staropolska miłość. Z dawnych listów i pamiątek*, Poznań 1981, p. 365.

²² 'Opisanie zaślubin i wesela ks. Janusza Radziwiłła z Marią Mohilanką księżniczką wołoską', The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, Radziwiłł's archive, ch. XI, no. 39, pp. 39–40. See also: Kotłubaj, *Życie...*, p. 78, Wisner, *Janusz Radziwiłł...*, p. 72 and T. Wasilewski, 'Grzegorz (Hrehory) Mirski', 'Jan Mierzeński (Mierzyński)', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 21, Warszawa 1976, p. 347, 18.

to the marriage, at the beginning of November Mary wrote a letter to Janusz Radziwiłł: 'Jmśc Pan Katardzi, powróciwszy z przedsięwziętej drogi, oddał mi pisanie W.Ks.Mści, które ja wdzięcznie przyjmąwszy, uniżenie W.Ks.Mści dziękuję, że mię z tego, którego z woli Najwyższego przeciwko mnie zawziąć raczył, afektu pisanem swoim nie pomijasz'.²³

Events speeded up. At the end of the year the hospodar sent his representatives to Janusz Radziwiłł, led by Nicolae Catargi, who brought, among other things, a portrait of the bride. Its author is not known – Waldemar Deluga guesses the authorship of Abraham van Westerveldt, the author of Vasile Lupu's portrait – but the painting itself is known only from an engraving in *Theatrum Europaeum*.²⁴ At the end of November the hospodar also sent a messenger to King Władysław IV with an invitation to the wedding. The audience took place on 31 December 1644. Although the monarch himself did not intend to travel to Jassy, he received the messenger generously and authorized Piotr Potocki, count of Śniatyń to participate in the wedding in his name.²⁵ Moreover, in answer to the request of Janusz Radziwiłł, the king wrote to Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski in order to secure to the Lithuanian chamberlain the necessary guard on his way to Moldavia.²⁶

Secure in the agreement of the hospodar and the support of the king, on 10 January 1645 Janusz Radziwiłł started on his way from Kamianets to Moldavia through Lviv, Brody and Kamianets Podilskyi. He was accompanied by a large procession, estimated by his biographers as almost two thousand men, among them – two companies of hussars, the same quantity of Cossacks and dragoons as well as an infantry regiment of mercenaries.²⁷ As Stanisław Oświęcim wrote, on 23 January 'książę JM. Janusz Radziwiłł, jadąc do Wołoch na wesele z hospodarówną wołoską, Wasyla Lupula, hospodara wołoskiego, córką starszą, był u JMci [S. Koniecpolski] w Brodziech dla namowy w tych swoich sprawach'.²⁸ From

²³ M. Lupu to J. Radziwiłł, Jassy, 1644/11/09, in: Sajkowski, *Staropolska miłość...*, p. 365.

²⁴ *Opisanie zaślubin...*, p. 40; Kotłubaj, *Życie...*, p. 78; Wisner, *Janusz Radziwiłł ...*, p. 74 and Deluga, *Portraits...*, pp. 80–81 (with the copy of the engraving from *Theatrum Europaeum*, vol. 6, Frankfurt am Main, 1663).

²⁵ On 31 December 1644 the Lithuanian Chancellor noted: 'Publicznie przedstawiono królowi posła księcia wołoskiego. Uczynił to król wbrew przyjętemu zwyczajowi dla mego krewnego, podkomorzego litewskiego, który zamierzał poślubić córkę Wołocha [...]. Posel więc, złożywszy imieniem swego pana wyrazy uległości, zaprosił go przekazany listem na wesele, złożył też królowi jakieś dary. Otrzymał przez kanclerza koronnego łaskawą odpowiedź oraz obietnicę wysłania na wesele posła; był nim starosta śniatyński', A. S. Radziwiłł, *Pamiętnik o dziejach w Polsce*, ed. by A. Przyboś, R. Żelewski, vol. 2, Warszawa 1980, p. 423.

²⁶ 'Zaczym żądamy U.W., abyś, jeśliby potrzeba tego i postrach jaki był od Tatarów, którzy o tej wyprawie bez chyby swoje mają języki, chciał poblizsze chorągwie zemknąć na ten czas jego przejazdu, a jeśli by w inszą stronę niebezpieczeństwo jakie na państwa koronne padło, *in hoc casu* to żądanie nasze rozsądkowi U.W. i *necessitati publicae* darujemy', Władysław IV to S. Koniecpolski, Warsaw, 1645/01/02, in: *Korespondencja...*, no. 525, p. 672.

²⁷ As a person, participating in the above events, has written, in Jassy 'so knyazem [Radziwiłł] liudei bylo dve tysyachi', P. Movilă to Michał Romanow, Kiev, 1645/03/06 (editor's mistake about the date of letter as 1644), in: *Akty otnosyashchiesya k istorii Yuzhnoy i Zapadnoy Rossii*, vol. 3, Sankt-Peterburg 1861, no. 60, p. 65. See also: *Opisanie zaślubin...*, pp. 41–42; Kotłubaj, *Życie...*, pp. 78–79; Wisner, *Janusz Radziwiłł...*, p. 74 and Șerban, *Vasile Lupu...*, p. 146.

²⁸ Oświęcim, 'Stanisława Oświęcimsa dyariusz', p. 70.

Brody Janusz Radziwiłł departed strengthened by an escort of the standing army and on 29 January reached the Moldavian border at the Dniestr. Moldavian noblemen with their military unit were waiting for him and led him to Jassy. A mile before the capital (about 7 kilometers) on 2 February 1645 the hospodar himself, accompanied by the ambassador of the Transylvanian duke, Jan Kemény, welcomed his future son-in-law. The beginning of the ceremony was also brightened by the delegates of the Polish king, the Elector of Brandenburg, the Duke of Kurland, the Wallachian hospodar and the Patriarch of Constantinople, as well as Kiev Metropolitan Petru Movilă, who himself conducted the marriage ceremony.²⁹

The wedding of Janusz Radziwiłł and Mary Lupu took place in Jassy on 5 February 1645. It was accompanied by several days of festivities. There are several descriptions of the events, some very superficial and others more detailed. For example, Joachim Jerlicz simply noted that ‘wesele acz dostatkiem wielkim odprawiało się, ale nie podług zwyczaju polskiego’.³⁰ Miron Costin made a more detailed, but not very extensive description, noting the splendor of the festivities.³¹ Very detailed descriptions are given by Edward Kotłubaj, who based it on a manuscript from Radziwiłł’s archive in Nieśwież, and Alojzy Sajkowski, analyzing Polish manuscripts in the Kórnik library.³² Filip W. Bajewski made a special printed paper for the marriage, including a panegyric to Janusz Radziwiłł and his Moldavian wedding – the author, a student in the Kiev Collegium, founded by Metropolitan Petru Movilă, wrote a Latin description of the wedding in prose and a Polish panegyric in verse.³³

Basing on surviving descriptions, the following course of events can be reconstructed. On Thursday, 2 February, Janusz Radziwiłł met Vasile Lupu, and the hospodar gave his future son-in-law a costly Turkish horse as a present. Both, accompanied by a multitudinous escort, cheering crowds and the firing of cannons, entered Jassy and went to the palace of

²⁹ The Wallachian hospodar was represented by Great Logofet Radu Cocorăscu and Great Spatar Diicu Buicescu, Costin, *Latopis...*, p. 180. See also: *Opisanie zaślubin...*, pp. 44–45; Kotłubaj, *Życie...*, p. 79; Wisner, *Janusz Radziwiłł...*, p. 74 and Șerban, *Vasile Lupu...*, p. 146.

³⁰ J. Jerlicz, *Latopisiec*, ed. by K. W. Wójcicki, vol. 1, Warszawa 1853, p. 48.

³¹ ‘Nie zabrakło niczego ze wszystkich ozdób, ile potrzeba na wesele takie, jak to, z takimi panami i wielkimi ludźmi z obcych krajów. Mistrzowie kuchni sprowadzeni z innych krajów, przyśpiewki, tańce krajowe i obce. Cały dwór przystrojony, zwołani bojarzy i przywódcy kraju, synowie bojarów i ludzie młodzi w orszakach na koniach tureckich z ozdobami i pióropuszcami na szlicach. I tak przy zabawie ciągnęło się wesele kilka tygodni, aż wyjechał książę Radziwiłł ze swoją żoną do Polski z bardzo bogatym posagiem’, Costin, *Latopis...*, p. 180.

³² Kotłubaj, *Życie...*, pp. 79–81 (based on the manuscript *Opisanie zaślubin*) and Sajkowski, *Staropolska miłość...*, pp. 366–370. Sajkowski uses large fragments of Radziwiłł’s wedding description following BPAN Kórnik, manuscript 201, f. 501–502 (Wesele księcia Radziwiłła w Wołoszech) and 503v.–505 (Suplement do wesela ks. Radziwiłła).

³³ F. W. Bajewski, *Fortunatissimis sponsis Illustrissimo Domino ac D. Ianussio Radziwil Sacr. Rom. Imper. Principi, Birzarum & Dubincorum Duci, M.D.L. Archicamerario [...] et Illustrissimae Dominae Mariae Illustrissimi Io Basilii Palatini et Despotae Moldaviae filiae*, without the place of printing [Kiev?] 1645 and *Wieniec*, without the place of printing [Kiev?] 1645.

the hospodar.³⁴ An accident happened when one of the cannons burst, killing a person from the hospodar's escort.³⁵ The next day of feasts and dances Janusz Radziwiłł spent in the palace with the hospodar – it is curious that 'białogłowy osobno w swoich pokojach tańczyły, a tam księżę nie był, aż w sobotę wieczór'.³⁶ Only on Saturday did Janusz Radziwiłł see his bride; the meeting lasted half an hour and was accompanied by the hospodar and his brother, Chief Cupbearer Georg Coci.

Sunday, 5 February, was fixed as the wedding day. In the morning Mary Lupu sent to the duke ten white scarves with golden embroidery, after that both separately took a bath and dressed for the ceremony. Before the departure to the church the sons and daughters of boyars danced in two separate circles and – as one of descriptions relates – 'tych tańców było najmniej godzin trzy wielkich zegarowych, bo i w piątek, i w tę sobotę przed weselem tak tańcowali co dzień, bo taki zwyczaj'.³⁷ At noon the hospodar sent for the duke, inviting him to the church. Janusz Radziwiłł first visited his father-in-law and then rode to the church. He was accompanied by the delegates, led by Piotr Potocki in a carriage, Wallachian soldiers and musicians – Gypsies and Turks. The hospodar's daughter, together with three gentlemen and two ladies accompanying her during the whole church ceremony, was seated in a carriage with six horses. The author of the description praises the rich clothing of the bride and bridegroom: 'Księżę Jmć we ferezyi ze złotogłowiu bogatego, biały soboli. Żupan takiz, w papuciach tureckich, tak jako i Wołosza chodzą, w czapce aksamitnej, za którą była zapona diamentowa i kita [...]. Maria Dumna w delii złotogłowej, taką właśnie jako księżę Jmć sobolami podszyta. Na głowie zwyczajna czapka aksamitna sobola, na tej czapce druga z pereł zrobiona, gęsto bardzo kamieniami, to jest diamentami sadzona i perły niezmiernie wielkie, na niej diamentowa zapona z prawej strony za czapką i kita czarna z zaponą wielką bardzo'.³⁸

The marriage ceremony in the church of the Trei Svetiteli Monastery took place according to Orthodox ritual and – as was usual in Moldavia – without the participation of the bride's father.³⁹ The bridegroom's Calvinism caused difficulties in taking the marriage oath. Although at the beginning, when the couple were welcomed by Metropolitan Petru

³⁴ 'Wesele księżęcia Radziwiłła w Wołoszech', BPAN Kórnik, manuscript 201, f. 501v., suggests that J. Radziwiłł stayed at an inn, where 'przysłał mu zaraz hospodar konia ubranego od złota, aby na nim do monastyru na ślub jechał'.

³⁵ 'Tam odnu pushku razorvalo, i chast', ot pushki letyachi s levogo boku, Vasil'ya voevody Poika do smerti ubila, a tot Paik poluderzhal tam zhe v gorode', P. Movilă to Michai Romanow, Kiev 1645/03/06, in: *Akty...*, no. 60, p. 65. See also: *Opisanie zaślubin...*, p. 44.

³⁶ 'Suplement do wesela ks. Radziwiłła', BPAN Kórnik, manuscript 201, f. 504. See also: Sajkowski, *Staropolska miłość*, p. 367.

³⁷ *Ibidem*.

³⁸ Sajkowski, *Staropolska miłość...*, p. 368.

³⁹ '[Petru Movilă] stoyal v monastyre Treh Svetiteley; tam v toy tserkvi venchal knyazya iz devitseyu Mariyeu mitropolit Kievskiy, genvary v 25 den', v nedelyu – P. Movilă to Michai Romanow, Kiev, 1645/03/06, in: *Akty...*, no. 60, p. 65. See also: Wasilewski, 'Maria z Lupulów', p. 399.

Movilă, the duke was placed on his right, the hospodar's daughter on the left side, the bishop made a speech in Polish which lasted two hours, addressing Janusz Radziwiłł in Polish, and Mary in Rumanian, everything went smoothly, 'gdy przyszło do onych słów przy ślubie: "Tak mi, Panie Boże, dopomóż i wszyscy święci", jmc pan młody nie chciał tego mówić, czym się bardzo poturbowała Wołosza, mówiąc: "To Lachowie i my takie swoje śluby odprawujemy, jeśli pan młody tak nie będzie mówił, z wesela nic". Tandem p. Radziwiłł wymówił te słowa, przeleszując jednak'.⁴⁰ The following part of the ceremony took place without any obstacles. At the end of the Mass a monk threw coins over the newly married couple and people around them, and after that everybody left the church. The day ended with a feast in the hospodar's palace.

According to one description, the delegates gave presents the next day after the marriage, according to another – only on Tuesday. It is very likely that first Piotr Potocki gave gifts in the name of the Polish king, after that the couple were presented with presents from other ruling persons and the hospodar himself.⁴¹ During the feast there was Moldavian, Hungarian, Turkish and (brought by Janusz Radziwiłł) Polish music played. Another entertainment was artistic tricks, among which the author mentions an acrobat on rope 'który po sznurach chodził od ziemie sześć kopij do góry na baszcie aż ku gałce i różne sztuki wyprawował'.⁴² The manuscript *Opisanie zaślubin*, quoted by E. Kotłubaj, also mentions popular amusements in the form of dramatizations of battles and blockades, which precisely defines the duration of wedding as 12 days. Stressing the splendor of the festivities, the author wrote: 'Mnóstwo było przy tem komediantów, sztukmistrzów, skoczaków, szermierzów i różnej tego rodzaju gawiedzi, którzy umieli różne widowiska przedstawiać [...]. Przy hospodarze stał jego podskarbi, który każdemu z tych kuglarzy, gdy ten swoją sztukę należycie wykonał i według zwyczaju krajowego, hospodarowi do nóg upadł i kraj szaty jego pocałował, wypłacał należną nagrodę w monecie; innym zamiast pieniędzy dawano jedwabne materije i sukno'.⁴³

Janusz Radziwiłł and his wife left Jassy on 16 February, the hospodar accompanying them for a mile, with an escort of Moldavian boyars led by the hospodar's brother (maybe Georg Coci) – to Kamianets Podilskyi. Here the Lithuanian chamberlain gave presents and took leave of the Moldavians, and together with his wife made his way to Poland.

⁴⁰ *Wesele*, in: Sajkowski, *Staropolska miłość...*, p. 366. Janusz Radziwiłł probably uttered the unwelcome words indistinctly, marking his disapproval of the invocations to saints insisted on by the Moldavians, see also: Wisner, *Janusz Radziwiłł...*, p. 75.

⁴¹ *Wesele...*, p. 366, dates the presentation to Monday, *Suplement*, p. 370 – on Tuesday.

⁴² *Suplement*, p. 370.

⁴³ Kotłubaj, *Życie...*, p. 80. In the original text we read: 'Interveniebant comoedi, histriones, caulatores, luctatores, gladiatores et varia hominum spectacula exhibentium genera [...] Adstabat autem Principis Theaurarius, qui singulis comoedis post rem bene actam, promise gentis ad pedes Principum devolutus et fimbriae vestis osculo facto, pecuniam distribuebat nonnullis serica et pannos largiebatur', *Opisanie zaślubin...*, pp. 46–47.

Kiev Metropolitan informed Tsar Michał Romanov about the completed marriage.⁴⁴ The payment of the extremely huge fortune (estimated at about 600,000 Złotys), of the bride lasted into the autumn, because only in October did Janusz Radziwiłł guarantee the property settlement of his wife with some part of his own estate.⁴⁵ This fact did not become an obstacle to further Polish-Moldavian cooperation, including also political affairs. Vasile Lupu used the presence of Transylvanian delegate Jan Kemény to renew good relations with Georg I Rakoci, and at the beginning of the next year he also sent delegates to Warsaw on the occasion of the marriage between Władysław IV and Ludwika Maria, considering at the same time the matter of preparations for war against Turkey. In this way the marriage of Mary Lupu and Janusz Radziwiłł – who in summer 1646 visited his father-in-law, accomplishing the mission commissioned by the king to persuade him to join in a union against Turkey – started the longlasting partnership between Poland and Moldavia.⁴⁶

Vasile Lupu himself had to pay the Turks for the agreement to marry his daughter to a Polish husband by sending her younger sister Rosande to Istanbul as a guarantee of his loyalty to the Sultan. He could not openly declare his enmity towards the Sublime Porte, although provided diplomatic help and information to Poland during the uprising of Bohdan Khmelnytsky. The Cossack rebellion of 1648 and Khmelnytsky's union with the Tatars, whom the hospodar was afraid of, induced him to support Poland in suppressing the rebellion. In 1648 he joined the Polish protest in Istanbul, declaring that the Tatars had broken the Turkish-Polish agreement, and mediated to ransom Polish prisoners. Here his main achievement was helping to ransom both Hetmans of the Crown, Mikołaj Potocki and Marcin Kalinowski, from Crimea in spring 1650.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Petru Movilă to Michał Romanov, Kiev, 1645/03/06, in: *Akty...*, no. 60, p. 65. See also: Kotlubaj, *Życie...*, p. 81 and Wisner, *Janusz Radziwiłł...*, p. 75.

⁴⁵ Wisner, *Janusz Radziwiłł...*, p. 76 and Wasilewski, 'Maria z Lupulów', pp. 399–400. On 30 March 1645 Władysław IV had already granted to the newly married couple the privileges of Sejwen seniority, on behalf of which 'mają pomienieni małżonkowie oboje wspólnie, albo która z nich osoba dłużej żywa będzie, starostwo sejwskie ze wszystkimi przynależnościami i dochodami, nic z nich nie wyjmując, tak jako jest przywileju ks. Podkomorzego WXL opisane, trzymać i używać aż do żywotów swych, żadnej nam i skarbowi naszemu nie pełniąc powinności, krom *simple nomine* donatywy na aparat wojenny uchwalonej', The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, Radziwiłł's archive, ch. XI, no. 39, f. 50. Let us add that after the death of Janusz Radziwiłł in 1655 the seniority was taken over by Mozyr's marshall, Lithuanian army colonel Stanisław Lipnicki – with the king's privilege as taken over from a traitor. In 1660 the hetman's widow assigned the rights of seniority to the Voivode of Trakai Mikołaj Pac, who in 1661 still proceeded because of it against Lipnicki, Wasilewski, 'Stanisław Lipnicki', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 17, Warszawa 1972, pp. 410–411.

⁴⁶ See: Czermak, *Plany wojny tureckiej...*, p. 88 and Șerban, *Vasile Lupu...*, pp. 147–148.

⁴⁷ About the actions of Vasile Lupu in favor of Poland during the first years of Khmelnytsky's uprising see: K. Szajnocha, *Dwa lata dziejów naszych*, vol. 2, Lwów 1869, pp. 91–93; L. Kubala, 'Krwawe swaty', in: *Szkice historyczne*, ser. 2, Warszawa 1901, p. 135; J. Kaczmarczyk, 'Nie tylko "krwawe swaty"'. Stosunki ukraińsko-moldawskie w okresie powstania Bohdana Chmielnickiego', *Studia Historyczne*, 25 (1982), no. 2 (97), pp. 202–204; and D. Milewski, 'Moldawia a Rzeczpospolita w latach 1648–1649', *Biblioteka Poznańskiego Humanistycznego Towarzystwa Naukowego*, 2 (2003), pp. 9–23.

Aware of Vasile Lupu's enmity, in autumn 1648 Bohdan Khmelnytsky started actions in Istanbul in order to deprive him of his rule and to take Moldavia.⁴⁸ After the failure of these attempts the Cossack hetman took other measures. He used the return of Rosande Lupu from Istanbul in August 1649, deciding that she should be married to his own son Tymofiy and to conquer Moldavia in this way.⁴⁹

After the Zborow settlement in August 1649 Bohdan Khmelnytsky was in a difficult political situation. In Ukraine he had to suppress rebellions of unsatisfied crowds, protesting against the limitation of the Cossack army to the register of 40 thousand and the necessity of returning to work in estates, to which the year before the expelled noblemen had now returned. At the same time he was threatened by entering into an unfavorable war with Turkey or Moscow. At the beginning of 1650 the king's palace in Warsaw was visited by the Bulgarian representative Piotr Parczewicz, a titular archbishop of Marcianople, who revived the old plans of Władysław IV to start a war with Turkey. According to the thought of Jerzy Ossoliński, the regent of the chancellery, the war could bring peace within the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth by destroying the Cossack-Tatar union, directing the Zaporozhian rebellion to the realm of the Sultan.⁵⁰ When in March 1650 the Moscow delegation of two Pushkin brothers arrived in Warsaw to demand the return of territories acquired for the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth by Sigismund III, it seemed that a Polish-Tatar union, which could force the Cossacks eastwards, was very close.⁵¹

Neither solution could have been welcomed by Bohdan Khmelnytsky, who saw in Moscow and Turkey possible allies against the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth. In summer 1650, when the Poles in union with the Russians returned to their plans of a Turkish war, and the Tatars had already invaded the steppes against Moscow, demanding the Cossacks' support, Khmelnytsky feverishly sought an agreement with Turkey. The mission of the

⁴⁸ Sending Colonel Filon Dzedżała to the Sultan, the Cossack hetman wrote: 'A mnie za pracę podnóżkowi swemu, jakem pierwiej prosił, tak i teraz powtarzam uniżoną prośbę moje, żebyś gospodarstwo wołoskie z miłościwej łaski swej konferować raczył, wiedząc że gospodar wołoski terazniejszy jest zdrajcą W.C.M. P.M.M.', B. Khmelnytsky to Mehmed IV, Stare Siolo, 1648/11/28, in: *Dokumenty Bogdana Khmelnyts'kogo 1648–1657*, ed. I. Kryp'yakevych, Kyiv 1961, *Supplements*, no. 2, p. 627.

⁴⁹ About the return of Rosande from Istanbul to Moldavia see: G. Soranzo to the Doge, Istanbul, 1649/08/14, in: *Documente...*, vol. 4, part 2, no. 670, p. 571, and the same to the same, Istanbul, 1649/08/20, *ibidem*, no. 671, p. 572.

⁵⁰ About the plans of war with Turkey in 1649–1650 see: rapport of the Nuncio G. de Torres to Rome, Warsaw, 1649/11/20, in: 'Vatykans'ky materyaly do istorii Ukrayiny', in: *Zherela do istorii Ukrayiny*, vol. 16, Lviv 1924, no. 110, pp. 61–62; E. Latacz, 'Ugoda Zborowska a plany tureckie Jana Kazimierza', *Historja*, 3 (1933), no. 3, pp. 4–6; M. Khrushevskyy, *Istoriya Ukrayiny Rusi*, vol. 9, Kyiv 1996, p. 33 and J. Kaczmarczyk, 'Między Zborowem a Białą Cerkwią. Z dziejów sojuszu kozacko-tatarskiego', *Studia Historyczne*, 23/1 (1980), p. 24.

⁵¹ 'Relacja rozhoworu wielkich posłów moskiewskich z pp. senatorami w Warszawie in anno 1650', in: *Dokumenty ob osvoboditel'noy voyne ukrainskogo naroda 1648–1654*, ed. P. P. Gudzenko, Kiev 1965, no. 119, pp. 317–320. See also: J. Seredyka, 'Nieudana próba włączenia w 1650 r. Kozaków Zaporoskich do antyrosyjskiego sojuszu polsko-tatarskiego', in: *Między Wschodem a Zachodem. Rzeczpospolita XVI–XVIII w. Studia ofiarowane Zbigniewowi Wójcikowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, Warszawa 1993, pp. 125–132; and W. Serczyk, *Na płonącej Ukrainie: dzieje Kozaczyzny 1648–1651*, Warszawa 1998, pp. 293–303.

Turkish delegate Osman Aga, who met the Cossack hetman in Chyhyryn on 30 July 1650, offering him the Sultan's protection, was a real salvation.⁵² Khmelnytsky promptly accepted the proposition and grouped his army, pretending to prepare to attack Moscow. At the same time he sent an envoy to the Tatars with the message that he could not unite against the Russians because of Poland, suggesting instead a campaign against Moldavia: 'Wojsko też tatarskie, jako to tryb jego, że się bez zdobyczy niełacno wraca, osobliwie bejowie i murzowie i prawie wszystko przedniejsze wojsko padło do nóg Gałgi Sołtana, aby ich nazad do domów próżno nie powracał, ale przypomniawszy mu wiele krzywd i szkody, o które się brat nasz na Wołoszą urażał, snadnie po usilnej i gorącej prośbie do Wołoch zaprowadził. I to tak się stało'.⁵³

Directing the Tatar impetus against Moldavia, Khmelnytsky both avoided his necessary participation in the campaign against Moscow and subdued the hostility of Vasile Lupu by means of an ally. The Tatar attack, followed by the Cossacks, hit Moldavia in September 1650 so unexpectedly that the hospodar did not attempt to defend his land, and the Poles, not prepared for war, did not dare to help him. Consequently Vasile Lupu was forced to pay about 200 thousand thalers of tribute to the Tatars and Cossacks – from 120 to 130 thousand to the Tatars – and to promise to marry Rosande to Tymofiy Khmelnytsky. The agreement with the Cossacks was made before 26 September 1650, and after that Khmelnytsky quickly returned to Ukraine, being afraid of the reaction of Hetman Mikołaj Potocki.⁵⁴

But Vasile Lupu did not intend to keep the agreement with the Cossacks, and the Poles started to make obstacles to the marriage between Rosande Lupu and Tymofiy Khmelnytsky. The Great Hetman of the Crown even worked out a plan to kidnap the hospodar's daughter and bring her to Kamianets Podilskyi; however, the hospodar did not agree because of Khmelnytsky's possible revenge.⁵⁵ The allies acted in two ways. The Poles prepared for war in Ukraine and incited the hospodar not to submit to the Cossacks, whilst he himself delayed over the date of the promised marriage.

In Poland the news about the Tatar-Cossack attack on Moldavia evoked the will to defend an ally and to finish with the untrustworthy hetman of the Cossacks. King Jan Kazimierz aimed for rapid confrontation and coordinated his plans with the hospodar's

⁵² 'Relacja o działaniach Chmielnickiego z miejsca niewiadomego, 29 lipca do 6 sierpnia 1650', in: *Jakuba Michałowskiego, wojskiego lubelskiego, a później kasztelana bieckiego księga pamiętnicza, z dawnego rękopisma będącego własnością Ludwika hr. Morsztyna*, ed. by A. Z. Helcel, Kraków 1864, no. 184, p. 554.

⁵³ Islam Gerej III to Jan Kazimierz, Bachczysaraj, the beginning of October 1650, in: *Jakuba Michałowskiego...*, no. 192, p. 573.

⁵⁴ The description of the Tatar-Cossack attack in: Costin, *Latopis Ziemi Moldawskiej...*, pp. 191–192. See also: B. Chmielnicki to Georg II Rakoci, at Prut, 1650/09/16(26), in: *Dokumenti Bohdana Khmelniits'kogo 1648–1657*, ed. I. Kryp'yakevych, Kyiv 1961, no. 116, p. 186.

⁵⁵ Kamianets' rector to NN., Kamianets Podilskyi, around 1650/10/20, in: *Jakuba Michałowskiego...*, no. 193, p. 575.

son-in-law, Lithuanian Field Hetman Janusz Radziwiłł⁵⁶. Nevertheless, the campaign had to be postponed until the meeting of the Sejm and a decision about the taxes for the army, which happened only in December 1650. At the same session the hospodar got Polish citizenship in order to strengthen his will to oppose the Cossacks.⁵⁷ Actually, the hospodar, endangered by Khmelnytsky's anger, postponed the marriage of his daughter until the beginning of the Polish-Cossack war and the Zaporozhians' defeat at Beresteczko in June 1651. Bohdan Khmelnytsky threatened the hospodar during the feast on the occasion of the settlement of Biała Cerkiew in September 1651 about the matter of marriage, but at the time his hands were tied.⁵⁸ Lithuanian Hetman Janusz Radziwiłł acted in defense of his father-in-law, while Crown Hetman Mikołaj Potocki did not hesitate with military opposition to the Cossacks and Tatars, when in October 1651 it was rumoured that they were preparing a campaign against Moldavia.⁵⁹ Fortunately this time it ended up only as an empty threat – Khmelnytsky's renewed problems with rebellion and the decisive position of the Crown's army discouraged him from realising the planned undertaking.⁶⁰

The hetman of the Cossacks returned to his plans at a more favourable occasion in spring 1652. The broken meeting of the Sejm did not ratify the settlement of Biała Cerkiew, which became a reason for Khmelnytsky to feel free not to keep it, deceased Mikołaj Potocki was replaced in Ukraine by Field Hetman Marcin Kalinowski, a person of not very great ability in leading the Crown army. The Cossacks' leader decided to renew war with Poland, while his first step was to neutralize the hostility of Moldavia through the marriage of Tymofiy and Rosande. In spring 1652 the Poles succeeded in overtaking several Tatars in Moldavia with letters about the Cossack-Tatar plans of the Moldavian campaign; however, the king's court did not believe in the warnings of Hetman Marcin Kalinowski and the hospodar.⁶¹ In such a situation Hetman Kalinowski decided on his own to oppose the Cossacks' route to Moldavia. He grouped an army at a camp near Batoh, on the Cossacks' route and,

⁵⁶ For the correspondence of Jan Kazimierz with J. Radziwiłł from October 1650, concerning the plans of war with the Cossacks see: 'Diariusz kancelaryjny Janusza Radziwiłła', The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, Radziwiłł's archive, ch. VI, no. 36, pp. 330–359.

⁵⁷ The hospodar himself sought it, while supported by hetman M. Potocki, see: M. Potocki to Jan Kazimierz, camp at Kamianets Podilskyi, 1650/10/22, in: *Jakuba Michałowskiego...*, nr 194, pp. 577–578. See also: 'Diploma Indigenatus Magnifico Vasilio Palatino Moldaviae concessi', in: M. Dogiel, *Codex diplomaticus Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lituaniae*, vol. 1, Vilnae 1758, p. 621.

⁵⁸ 'Diariusz obozowy (rozpoczynający kampanię białocerkiewską 1651 roku)', in: *Relacje wojenne z pierwszych lat walk polsko-kozackich powstania Bohdana Chmielnickiego okresu „Ogniem i Mieczem” (1648–1651)*, ed. by M. Nagielski, Warszawa 1999, pp. 305–306; and A. Radziwiłł, *Pamiętnik...*, vol. 3, p. 313.

⁵⁹ M. Potocki to Jan Kazimierz, camp at Białopole, 1651/10/14, in: *Jakuba Michałowskiego...*, no. 240, pp. 644–645 and Oświęcim, 'Stanisława Oświęcimsa dyariusz...', p. 377.

⁶⁰ See: Hryshevskyy, *Istoriya Ukrayiny-Rusi...*, p. 381.

⁶¹ On overtaken letters see: Islam Gerej III to Vasile Lupu, without place, 1652, Ossolineum Library, manuscript 189, p. 572; and W. Kochowski, *Annalium Poloniae ab obitu Vladislai IV, Climacter I, Cracoviae* 1683, p. 302. On warnings about the prepared campaign and their reception in Warsaw see the reports of G. de Torres to Rome, Warsaw, 1652/05/04, 05/25 and 06/01, in: *Vatykans'ky materialy do istoriji Ukrayiny*, vol. 1, Lviv 1924, no. 246, pp. 140–141, no. 249, p. 142 and no. 250, pp. 142–143.

not expecting great Cossack-Tatar forces, got entrapped in a battle, which ended with his utter defeat and the murder of Polish captives.⁶² Tymofiy Khmelnytsky gained an open road to Moldavia and the hand of the hospodar's daughter.

Bohdan Khmelnytsky led his army to Kamianets Podilskyi, from there on 22 June sent to Jassy the Greek Ilia Manuilow, demanding that Rosande be given to Tymofiy.⁶³ The hospodar, who in spring had promised rather to kill his daughter than to marry her to a Cossack, had reached a deadlock.⁶⁴ In summer 1652 he incurred the disfavor of the Tatars, by helping Polish prisoners of war to escape from the Crimea, where they were kept until the payment of ransom for both hetmans of the Crown. Now he could expect harsh opposition from their side.⁶⁵ Faced with the defeat of Crown's army and his own weakness, the hospodar was thrown on the Cossacks' mercy – no wonder that he not only promised Khmelnytsky his daughter's hand for his son, but also asked for defence against the Tatars.⁶⁶

Vasile Lupu still tried to play for time, asking Khmelnytsky to postpone the date of the wedding and sending a messenger to Poland for rapid help, but the powerless Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth could not defend the hospodar.⁶⁷ In this situation Vasile Lupu, having received the declaration of the Cossacks about Moldavia's defence against the Tatars, and securing himself against the king with a promise to seek to invalidate the marriage as not being contracted by free will, gave his agreement to marry Rosande to Tymofiy. The Moldavian chronicler wrote about this event with regret: 'Wielka dysproporcja zarówno rodzin, jak i natur! Z tej strony hospodar od 18 lat, cesarz z bogactwa i z rozsianą sławą, ta druga zaś [strona] od dwóch lat wyszła z chłopstwa. Rusinki z Łado, Łado ze wszystkich kątów, sam zięć zaś na zewnątrz tylko człowiek, a cała natura zwierzęca. Niczego jednak nie zabrakło, co powinno być na weselu hospodarskim'.⁶⁸

⁶² The battle at Batoj, which took place on 1 and 2 of June 1652, and its political and military circumstances is described in: W. J. Długolecki, *Batoj 1652*, Warszawa 1995.

⁶³ The relation of F. Chilkow and P. Protasjew to the Prikaz of Delegates 1652/07/15(25), in: *Vossoedinenie Ukrajiny s Rossiej*, ed. P. P. Gudzenko, vol. 3, Moskva 1954, no. 119, p. 226.

⁶⁴ The relation of A. Proncziszczew and A. Iwanow to the Prikaz of Delegates, April 1652, *ibidem*, vol. 3, no. 82, p. 174.

⁶⁵ Matei Basarab to J. Kemény, Târgoviște, 1652/07/27, in: Veress, *Documente...*, vol. 10, no. 161, p. 249 and J. Kutnarski to A. Leszczyński, Jassy, 1652/10/19, BUWr, Akc. 1949/440, Steinwehr's collection, f. 544v.

⁶⁶ The relation of F. Chilkow and P. Protasjew to the Prikaz of Delegates, 1652/07/15(25), in: *Vossoedinenie...*, vol. 3, no. 119, p. 226. In Poland circulated information about the overvalued possibilities of mobilization in hospodar's territory – the nuncio supposed the disposability of 30 thousand men (G. de Torres to Rome, Warsaw, 1652/06/16, in: *Vatikans'ky materialy...* no. 253, pp. 144–146) – actually Moldavia could not collect more than 10 thousand men, see: O. Górka, 'Dymitr Kantemir o wojsku i sztuce wojennej Mołdawian', *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*, 3 (1956), pp. 265–272.

⁶⁷ At the beginning the marriage was supposed to take place on 9 July, but the hospodar in his constant negotiations with B. Khmelnytsky won a five week postponement – not enough for Poland to send any help though, see: Wilczkowski to NN., without place, 1652/07/10, in: *Jakuba Michałowskiego...*, no. 252, p. 661 and G. de Torres to Rome, Warsaw, 1652/07/27, in: *Vatykans'ky materialy...*, no. 260, pp. 149–150.

⁶⁸ Costin, *Latopis Ziemi Mołdawskiej...*, p. 194. About the Cossacks' guarantees for Moldavia and the declaration of Vasile Lupu for Jan Kazimierz see the reports of G. de Torres to Rome, Warsaw, 1652/08/10 and 08/24,

The hospodar actually tried to organize his daughter's marriage at an appropriate level. The events can be reproduced based on the very detailed description of Rosande and Tymofiy's marriage by Jerzy Kutnarski, the hospodar's secretary. This description, evidently hostile towards the Cossacks, was intended to justify the hospodar to the Poles, depicting him as a victim of the Cossacks' aggression. This fact has to be taken into account when reading the description.⁶⁹

Tymofiy Khmelnitsky arrived at Jampol on the Dniestr on 16 August 1652. Great courtier Thomas Kantakuzen went to Soroka on the Moldavian bank of the Dniestr in order to greet him in the hospodar's name and escort him to Jassy. Treacherous Tymofiy imprisoned the Moldavian nobleman in Jampol, and also demanded that the brother of the hospodar, Gawryl Coci, should be sent as a prisoner. After the fulfillment of his demand, Tymofiy, leading three thousand Cossacks, crossed the border on 26 August. He arrived in Jassy on Friday, 30 August. The hospodar with his army – around 8 thousand Moldavians – waited for him outside the city walls and welcomed his future son-in-law with an oration, answered in Tymofiy's name by the scribe of the Zaporozhian army, Ivan Vykhovsky; after this both sides ceremonially entered the city, accompanied by the sound of cannons and music. The hospodar led Tymofiy to his rooms, introduced him to his son Stefanica, provided servants and left him to rest before dinner. At the same time the Cossack colonels, adjutants and captains received accommodation in the city, while the Cossack camp was placed outside it. During dinner in the hospodar's palace Tymofiy appeared in Polish costume, but kept silence 'co srodze JM. hospodara urażało'. The feast was accompanied late into the night by Turkish and Moldavian music.

On Saturday Tymofiy prepared for the wedding, the date of which was fixed for Sunday, 1 September. 'W niedzielę także rano bojarci i młódz wołoska tańcowali, a potym hospodar JM. i hospodarowa JejM. Domnę Rozandę *charam pignus suum*, niezgrabnemu ładajakiemu i niememu chłopu z nieznosnym żalem oddali. Jechał do cerkwie na swym koniu tureckim, sam pod kitą w szatach kosztownych od hospodara JM. darowanych, pajków dwóch wedle niego. Prowadzili go bojarowie, jako co dobrego. Tam ich przyprowadzili, gdzie na kobiercu wedle zwyczaju przyklękawszy, przysięgli sobie. Pan Tymosz powrócił frant we-soło z cerkwi do zamku, obłapiwszy pannę'. The ceremony was heightened by fires, songs and huge crowds of people. Only at the Cossack betrothal the older women were missing; a carriage was sent for them, and they were found totally drunk in one of caravanserais. The

in: *Vatykans'ky materialy...*, no. 263, p. 151 and no. 265, p. 152, as far as S. Reniger to Ferdinand III, Istanbul, 1652/09/25, in: *Zherela do istorii Ukrayiny Rusi*, ed. M. Korduba, vol. 12, L'viv 1911, no. 211, pp. 185–186.

⁶⁹ J. Kutnarski, 'Descriptia wesela Tymosza Chmielnickiego z hospodarówną wołoską, anno 1652 die 1. Septembris', in: *Documente...*, vol. 9, part 1, no. 28, pp. 34–37. For the latest critical editions of this description see: *Opisanie wesela Tymosza syna Chmielnickiego z Rozandą córką Wasila Lupula hospodara wołoskiego 1652*, in: 'Anonimny Opis wesillya Timosha Khmel'nyts'koho (1652) yak istoryczne dzherelo', *Naukovi zapysky. Zbyrnik prats' molodykh vchenykh ta aspirantiv*, vol. 1 (1996), pp. 63–71. This work also identifies the initially anonymous description as the work of J. Kutnarski.

bridegroom, undeterred, returned to the feast in the palace with his wife. With the sounds of Polish music and the start of the Cossack dances he finally cheered up. The drunken feast lasted late into the night, and afterwards the bridegroom went to the room of his wife, 'gdzie *actum est de fortuna et integritate młodej panny*'.

The next two days Tymofiy spent in his rooms; only on Wednesday, 4 September, he took a horseride, on Thursday he made a feast with his parents-in-law and chosen boyars. On the same day presents were exchanged. Tymofiy gave the hospodar forty sable furs, to his wife – an Damascus pelt of sable, to each boyar – a hundred thalers in cash. Vasile Lupu gave him four horses, with two Turkish and two Moldavian sets of harness. The hospodar generously endowed his daughter, not forgetting the Cossacks: 'Posagu za córką hospodar JM. dał 50000 talerów, krom inszej wyprawy, osobno czerwonych złotych dwu tysięcy, karetę, skarbnych wozów i inszych wiele rzeczy, majc baczenie na córkę swoją. Wyhowskiemu darował hospodar JM. aksamitu 10 łokci, atlasu dwadzieścia łokci, błam futra rysiego i trzysta lewkowych talerów. Teterze [Cossack colonel Paweł Tetera – D.M.] łokci 10 aksamitu, atlasu 10 i półtora lewkowych talerów. Inszym pułkownikom sukna i bławatu na sukien i po stu pięćdziesiąt lewkowych i inszym assawulom, setnikom pieniędzmi dawano, których bez wstydu jak długo jakiego upominali się'. The delegate of the Wallachian hospodar presented to Tymofiy a Turkish horse with full equipment, to Rosande – a carpet and golden diadem.

The hospodar and his wife said farewell to the newly married couple on 6 September, escorting them outside the city. 'I jak długo hospodar JM. z zięciem swoim żegnając rozmawiał, tak długo Rozanda hospodarową Jej M. obłapiając rzewnie płakała. Potem poszła do hospodara JM., aby go pożegnała, którą on pocałował, pokazując wesołą twarz, ale serce żalem obciążone ledwie mu mówić dopuszcza. Potym bojarki i bojarowie żegnali się. A p. Tymosz, jeszcze hospodar JM. stał *nudo capite*, wsiadł na koń i czapkę nasunawszy pojechał. Hospodar zaś, zbywszy takiego gościa, do miasta pojechał'.⁷⁰

In this way Bohdan Khmelnytsky realized the first stage of his plans to overcome Moldavia, using the marriage of his own son and the daughter of the hospodar. Realizing his own dynastic plans, he looked for means to neutralize Lithuanian Hetman Janusz Radziwiłł – which actually succeeded when in 1653 the Lithuanian army leader opposed the use of force against the Cossacks, remaining neutral during the campaign in Ukraine and criticizing the Polish engagement in Moldavia against the Cossacks and Lupu.⁷¹ His

⁷⁰ *Opisanie wesela...*, pp. 63–68. This edition is slightly different from the one mentioned above of E. Hurmuzaki. See also the same text at K. Szajnocha, 'Domna Rozanda', in: *Dziela*, vol. 3, Warszawa 1876, pp. 313–317. The Lithuanian chamberlain has also based his memoirs on this description, see: Radziwiłł, *Pamiętnik...*, pp. 365–366.

⁷¹ On the dynastic plans of Khmelnytsky see: Z. Spieralski, *Awantury moldawskie*, Warszawa 1967, p. 183 and Ya. Dashkevych, 'Klan Khmel'nitskoho- lehenda chi diysnist?', *Ukrayina v minulomu*, 1 (1992), p. 83. The peace initiative of J. Radziwiłł is aparent in his memorial to B. Khmelnytsky, spring 1653, related by K. Burlaj and S. Muzhylovski to the Prikaz of delegates, 1653/04/22(05/02), in: *Vossoedinenie...*, vol. 3, no. 153, pp. 264–266 (analyzed in: M. Matwijów, 'Próba mediacji hetmana litewskiego Janusza

relations with the Cossacks meant for Vasile Lupu the beginning of the end. He lost his support in Poland – although he tried to keep it by a possible Cossack-Polish agreement⁷² – being opposed by Duke Georg Rakoci II and Hospodar Matei Basarab. The presence of a Cossack on Moldavian territory, their own sphere of influence from the Transylvanian point of view, was unacceptable and in April 1653 Vasile Lupu was overthrown. Cossack help without Tatar support and the necessity of defending Ukraine against Poland was unsuccessful: Tymofiy died in September 1653 near Suceava, where he defended his mother-in-law and the famous treasures of the hospodar, Vasile Lupu arrived in Istanbul via Ukraine and the Crimea, where he died in 1661. Rosande stayed some time in Rashkov in Ukraine and after twenty years went to Moldavia. She died in 1686 in Neamț at the hands of the Cossacks of King John III Sobieski, who tried to force her to show where the treasure of her father was hidden.⁷³

The two marriages of Vasile Lupu's daughters which have been described, Mary's to Janusz Radziwiłł, and Rosande's to Tymofiy Khmelnytsky, lead to some important cultural and political conclusions. Both of them could be characterized as public performances with recurring elements, among which the welcome of bridegroom by the hospodar before Jassy and the ceremonial entry into the city on the first day, festivities on the same day, can be counted. As for the preparations for the weddings, the dances of the young Moldavian boyars took place, starting on Friday, according to the account of 1645, and on Saturday in 1652, being a Moldavian custom, unknown in Poland. The marriages took place in a church according to the Orthodox rite prevailing in Moldavia – which caused difficulties for the Calvinist Janusz Radziwiłł. The pair went to the church in rich clothing, the bridegroom – both Radziwiłł and Khmielnitsky – on a horse, presented by the hospodar and led by two servants. After the ceremony in the church a feast took place. Several days later – in the marriage of Janusz Radziwiłł on Monday or Tuesday, in the marriage of Tymofiy Khmelnytsky on Thursday – presents were delivered by the delegates of the invited ruling persons.⁷⁴ This ceremony was more elaborated in 1645, since during the marriage of Rosande only the Wallachian delegate was present, despite the fact that the hospodar had also waited for Jan Kemény from Transylvania. The wedding feast of Janusz Radziwiłł lasted for twelve days,

Radziwiłła w konflikcie polsko-kozackim w latach 1653–1655', *Wrocławskie Studia Wschodnie*, 5 (2001), pp. 12–13 and T. Ciesielski, *Sejm brzeski. Studium z dziejów Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1652–1653*, Toruń 2003, pp. 22–23).

⁷² The first conversations on this matter took place between the hospodar, J. Kutnarski and I. Wyhowski during the marriage of Tymofiy and Rozande, see: S. Potocki to Jan Kazimierz, Podhajce, 1652/12/26, BUWr, Akc. 1949/440, f. 545.

⁷³ See: C. Gane, *Trecute vieți de doamne și domnițe*, vol. 1, Chișinău 1991, p. 245. Rosande's sister, Mary Radziwiłł, Janusz's widow, died on 14 January 1660 in Sluck, where she had hidden herself, afraid of the Muscovite army. As M. Vorbek-Lettow noted at this date (in *Skarbnica pamięci. Pamiętnik lekarza króla Władysława IV*, ed. by E. Galos i F. Mincer, Wrocław 1968, p. 288), Mary, because 'nieporatowanie chora była na suchoty i puchlinę, dzisiaj z doczesnego do wiecznego reclinatorium przeniesiona jest'.

⁷⁴ The delivering of presents to the newly married couple was a Polish custom, see: T. Chynczewska-Hennel, *Rzeczpospolita XVII wieku w oczach cudzoziemców*, Warszawa 1994, pp. 158–159.

while Tymofiy departed from Jassy five days after the marriage – in both cases the hospodar escorted them outside the city.

The more modest wedding of Tymofiy and Rosande was the result of the political circumstances of the marriage, which were mirrored in its description. The marriage of Janusz Radziwiłł was celebrated by a special panegyric, the wedding of Tymofiy Khmelnytsky is known only through a pamphlet, as the work of Jerzy Kutnarski could be called. In it the author omits the entire church ceremony – which he maybe did not participate in or understand – and concentrates on the description of the hospodar's splendor and the Cossacks' barbarism. It is proved by his description of Tymofiy, portrayed by Kutnarski as a complete fool, who did not know how to behave in society.⁷⁵

Both marriages – especially the second one – should be analysed by taking into account their political backgrounds. The marriage of a ruler is almost always to be treated from the political point of view. The marriage of Mary Lupu and Janusz Radziwiłł was a traditional instance of the relations between the Moldavian hospodars and Polish noble families. Marriage to a magnate of the Crown with property in Ukraine was not extraordinary, but to a Lithuanian nobleman it was – which caused difficulties for Janusz Radziwiłł in playing the role of Moldavia's protector, which he actually felt to be his chosen one.⁷⁶ The hospodar had planned to marry his second daughter 'according to tradition' with a Polish nobleman, a frequently named candidate being Piotr, the son of Mikołaj Potocki: interference with these plans was also possible from old Crown Hetman Marcin Kalinowski.⁷⁷ Both marriages could have been an instance of the pro-Polish policies of Vasile Lupu, who looked for support against the Turks and Transylvania. He accomplished only one point: less than a year after Rosande left Istanbul Bohdan Khmelnytsky wanted her for his son. The hospodar opposed this marriage because of his relations with the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth – which resulted in Khmelnytsky's feeble pressure. The marriage was forced by the Cossacks in 1652, a year later it was annulled by the war, when Transylvania and Wallachia united with Poland opposed the Cossacks' presence in Moldavia. The marriage of Rosande and Tymofiy was paid for by Vasile Lupu by the loss of his throne, the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth lost a temporary ally in this case, who was replaced by the Transylvanian protégé Georg Stefan.

⁷⁵ During the welcoming oration of the hospodar Tymofiy 'i pół słowa nie odpowiedział, tylko stojąc jak wryty wargi swoje gryzł', during the meeting with boyars, 'pojrząwszy na nich jako wilk jaki spode łba, dobył noża i tyłem obróciwszy się (*salve venia*) poczał sobie paznokcie obrzynać przy bojarach wołoskich'. To make long story short, he was 'chłop młody ospowaty, wzrostu niemalego, wielki dureń', Gvozdk, 'Anonimniy Opis vesillya Timosha Khmel'nits'kogo'..., pp. 64–65.

⁷⁶ After the Tatar-Cossack attack on Moldavia in 1650 he wrote: 'Radzić o hospodarze JM. *post factum* trudno i przy tym nieszczęsnym urzędzie mym nie godzi się i nie jak, ale kiedy bym był wolny sobie, ręczę WKs.M., żeby imię Radziwiłłowskie dalej poszło w tamtych stronach, niż Wiśniowieckich, Potockich albo Koreckich. Ale że człowiek związane ma ręce, tylko z daleka *suspirare* przyjdzie', J. Radziwiłł to B. Radziwiłł, without place, 1650/09/29, *Diariusz kancelaryjny*..., p. 319.

⁷⁷ M. Jemiółowski, *Pamiętnik dzieje Polski zawierający 1648–1679*, ed. by J. Dziegielewska, Warszawa 2000, p. 96. See also: Kubala, 'Krwawe swaty'..., p. 141 and Șerban, *Vasile Lupu*..., p. 155.

The new hospodar sent his army against Poland in 1657, supporting Rakoci, who was allied with the Cossacks and the Swedes on his unfortunate road to the Polish crown. This campaign attracted the attention of the Sublime Porte, and the Turks pacified the Transdanubian duchies in 1658–1660, once again introducing their full control. In this way the political profits of the marriage of Mary Lupu (the seven-year cooperation between Poland and Moldavia) were squandered, as well as the negative results in relations between Moldavia and the rebellious Cossacks, due to the marriage of Rosande. The Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth only came back to Moldavian politics actively during the Turkish war of John III Sobieski.

Romanian Treasures in the Monastery of St Catherine, Mount Sinai

Elena Ene D-Vasilescu, Oxford

During my first trip to St Catherine Monastery on the Sinai Peninsula, in March 2003, I kept wondering how long it took the ancient travellers to journey from and to the Romanian lands, because I knew from literature that the Danube provinces have had a connection with Mount Sinai for more than five centuries. With the means of transport available, for example, in the sixteenth century, how long would it have taken to transport the Romanian treasures to the monastery?



Fig. 1. View of St Catherine Monastery, fragment of a destroyed picture from Les Musées d'art et d'histoire, Geneva

The *katholikon* (the main church) of St Catherine Monastery was built some time between 548 and 565, during the last years of the reign of Justinian the Great (527–565), on the ruins of a small chapel dedicated to the Burning Bush. It is certain that the construction work began after the death of Theodora in 548 because on the original timber beam of the roof (preserved) there are carved inscriptions attesting it,¹ as well as revealing the identity of the architect, Stephanos (presumably from Constantinople). Traces of eremitical life dating from the first centuries of Christianity exist in the area, and the pilgrims of the time mention the existence of buildings in the fourth century; the ruins of the Tower of Saint Helen are still there today.² (Among these pilgrims was the well-known Egeria – Aetheria, a noble Spanish or French lady who, supposedly, in the fourth century reached Mount Sinai with her companions.) Here is Kurt Weitzmann's explanation of the foundation of St Catherine Monastery: 'In the sixth century the monks who had settled there and formed a loose community and who were being harassed by the local Bedouins sent a Petition to Justinian, asking to have a monastery built for them. The emperor, interested as much in the security of the outer frontiers of the empire as in propagating the faith, granted their request and built a monastery with the stability of a fortress'.³

If one judges Weitzmann's explanation based on how harmonious the relationship between the monks and the present-day Bedouin is, one would not believe that hostility was the reason for such a building to be in existence. But Weitzmann also has an explanation for the current good relations between the two groups of people living around the Monastery of St Catherine today. He affirms that after the building of the monastery, Justinian settled a colony of mercenaries around it for protection. They intermarried and a new ethnic group resulted: the tribe of Djebeiye. People of this tribe have become Muslims, but still serve the monastery, and literally receive their daily bread from the monks, continuing a tradition the origin of which cannot be established.

Weitzmann quotes Justinian's court historian, Procopius, who in his book *De Aedificiis*, mentions the Sinaite monks: 'A precipitous and terribly wild mountain, Sina by name, rears its height close to the Red Sea [...] On this Mount Sina live monks whose life is a kind of careful rehearsal of death, and they enjoy without fear the solitude which is very precious to them [...] Emperor Justinian built them a church which he dedicated to the Mother of God so that they might be enabled to pass their lives therein, praying and holding services'.⁴

¹ Actually, what the inscription attests is the fact that Justinian alone is the founder. Before the construction of this monastery, he and his wife, Theodora, used to make donations together and to have their names recorded accordingly. Since on the roof beam of the Monastery of St Catherine only Justinian's name is mentioned, the scholars assume that Theodora was dead when the monastery was built.

² *The Glory of Byzantium at Sinai. Religious Treasures from the Holy Monastery of St Catherine*, [Exhibition], 17 September–24 October 1997, Benaki Museum, Athens 1997.

³ K. Weitzmann, Introduction, in: J. Galey, *Sinai and the Monastery of St. Catherine*, Cairo 1985, p. 12.

⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 12–13; Procopius, *De Aedificiis – Buildings*, trans. H. B. Dewing and G. Downey, Cambridge MA vol. 7, 1961, pp. 355, 357.

The connections of the Monastery of St Catherine to the Romanian lands go back many centuries. Heintz Skrobucha, listing the properties of the monastery in the Middle Ages, affirms: 'The monastery of St. Katharine possessed rich endowments in land and rights of property not only in Sinai itself (Pharan, Raithu) but, in the thirteenth century, also in Cairo and Alexandria, in Wadi Musa near Petra, in Jerusalem [...] and in later times in Kiev, Bessarabia, and Romania, where Sinaia, the later summer palace of the Romanian kings, belonged to the Monastery until the Rumanian government confiscated the estates'.⁵

Konstantinos A. Manafis also shows that in the sixteenth century the Archbishops of Sinai travelled 'in the East and even to the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia (modern Rumania) and to Orthodox Russia'.⁶ During that period Romanian princes offered financial help to the Monastery of Saint Catherine. In 1540 Radu VII Paisie, Voivode of Wallachia, offered through one of his chrysobull 10,000 aspers per annum to the monastery.

In the eighteenth century many of the Archbishops there were Cretans as, for example, Marthalis Glykys (1728–1747), Konstantinos (1748–1759), and Cyril of Crete (1759–1747). During their period in office, 'special relations were developed with the princes of Wallachia and Moldavia'.⁷ The Monastery of Saint Catherine received *metochia* in Romanian principalities, and princes Basil Loupos [Vasile Lupu], John Constantine Basharaba (Ion Constantin Basarab), Michael Cantacouzenos (Mihai Cantacuzino), and others offered substantial help to the monastery. In the nineteenth century (during the Anglo-Egyptian rule) the *metochia* in Romania (as well as in Russia) ceased to function because of the complicated international political situation.

The oldest item coming from the Romanian lands to the Monastery of St Catherine is a Panagarion engraved, cast, filigree silver gilt. Moldavian workshop, c. 1500 (Inventory number in the museum 30.8, Fig. 9 below). I will present further in some detail donations from that part of the world, including this *panagarion* – it has never been published before, as is also the case of a Gospel cover, donated in 1636 by Matei Basarab of Wallachia and his wife, Helena (Fig. 7). In the Monastery of St Catherine's museum I found on display only *some* of these donated objects. I will introduce in chronological order those items described in literature, and at the end of the article I will add the two objects which I have seen in the museum but which are not mentioned in any material consulted in order to write this article. (The museum has its own system of classification; I have written their inventory number between parentheses where I had it.)

The next oldest item which I have seen in the monastery's museum, after the *panagarion*, is a silver church-shaped casket. This is mentioned and has its photograph

⁵ H. Skrobucha, *Sinai*, trans. G. Hunt, London–New York–Toronto 1966, p. 91.

⁶ *Sinai. Treasures of the Monastery of Saint Catherine*, ed. K. A. Manafis, Athens 1990, p. 16.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 16.

reproduced in Manafis' book (Fig. 2), but I have not seen it in the museum.⁸ It is probable that the monks in charge of the museum have a system of rotating the objects on display in place.

This casket (*kibotion*) in a shape of a church with five domes, was donated to the monastery by the officials of the Court of Wallachia: the Great Komis [Marele Comis], Badea Zălbău,⁹ the Great Dvornik Jupan Coadă, and his sons Jupan Theodosis and Jupan Staiko.

Manafis describes it in the following terms: 'Its figurative decoration includes prophets, bishops, soldier saints and hermits, range side by side in rectangular panels, a characteristic of the Wallachian workshops of the period. The iconographic programme continues with the Sinaitic subject of the Transfiguration, the *Deesis*, the pillars of the Church, Peter, Paul and Andrew, other Apostles and seraphim. The decoration is completed by the interlacing, with Ottoman subjects and Late Gothic embellishments, which penetrated from the Dalmatian coast to the workshops of Herzegovina and from Transylvania to the Danubian provinces and remained in the Balkans until approximately the middle of the 18th century, together with other styles, sometimes employed side by side in the same object, as here'.¹⁰

Manafis sees a similarity between this casket and the works done by Dmitar from Lipova in the Sișatovac Monastery (1550–1551), but he does not think that the casket in the Monastery of St Catherine was made by Dmitar because 'the execution differs in the detail' and also the work is inferior in quality in the Sinaite case. However, both objects have the characteristics of sixteenth century works.



Fig. 2. Silver gilt, church-shaped casket (height 31,7 cm.), with relief figures, Ottoman type interlacing and Late Gothic ornaments. Offering of officials of the Court of Wallachia, 1542–1545 (Fig. 10 in K. A. Manafis, *Sinai. Treasures of the Monastery of Saint Catherine*, p. 285; caption, p. 284)

⁸ In this article I describe some of the objects by using Manafis' captions from his book, *Sinai, Treasures...* In the case where the item does not exist in his book I use as captions the description of the respective item from St. Catherine's museum which I wrote down in 2003. In the case of Fig. 5. I have used the caption from the book *Sinai* by Skrobucha because this item is not mentioned in Manafis' book, and it was not in the museum during my visit.

⁹ The name of the Great Komis does not appear in *Sinai. Treasures...*, probably because it is not certain. There would not have been enough space to inscribe another donor's entire name on the casket. Badea Zălbău was the Great Komis between 10 Sept 1539–April 1545 according to N. Stoicescu, *Dictionar at Marilor Dregători din Țara Românească și Moldova, sec. XIV–XVII*, Bucharest 1971, p. 30. Since we do not know certainly the date when the casket left Wallachia for Sinai, we are not absolutely certain that Badea Zălbău was the person who dedicated this object.

¹⁰ *Sinai. Treasures...*, pp. 268–269.

There is another church-shaped casket which Manafis assumes might have been a part of a set (Fig. 3). He describes it as follows: 'The sides have cast plant decoration and, in



Fig. 3. Church shaped casket, offering of Gheorghe, Bishop of Rădăuți, Moldavia.

(In the museum: Inventory number 30.7; my notes from 2003).

Caption in Manafis' book, *Sinai. Treasures...*, p. 288, describes it as

a 'Silver gilt church Shaped (*sic*) casket, with Late Gothic features (height 27.2 cm). Offering of Giorgios of Radanti (*sic*) in Moldavia. 1569'; the figure [no. 15] is on p. 289 in that book

two bands, the Greek dedicatory inscription. Three turrets with complex cast pierced Gothic architectural elements culminating in a plain finial and topped with a cross rise from the cover. The edge of the cover has plant decoration with Gothic crochets. The information which we have to date would place this casket as chronologically the first of a series with Late Gothic features, from the second half of the 16th century'.¹¹

A censer (Fig. 4) was presented by Ruxandra, the widow of Alexandru Lăpușneanu of Moldova, and, at the same time, the guardian of his son Bogdan IV. It is interesting to notice that she presented this censer to St Catherine Monastery in the same year in which Bishop Gheorghe (Giorgios), also of Moldova, presented his church-shaped casket. (Were these two religious objects sent through the same messenger? If so, that would be an indication as how harmonious was the relationship between the Court and the Church of Moldova at that moment.)

Alexandru Lăpușneanu (1552–1561; 1564–1568) and his wife dedicated¹² this object to the monastery on Mount Sinai. They also offered the churches of Saint Paraschevi and Frumoas in Iași as *metohia* to St Catherine Monastery.¹³ They were also benefactors of many monasteries on Mount Athos, and their votive portrait is in Docheiariou Monastery built in 1568 on the holy mountain.¹⁴ Manafis describes the censer as

¹¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 269–270.

¹² To dedicate [*a închina*] a monastery means to make it dependant on a larger 'mother' monastery, and consequently, directly dependant on the Patriarchate under whose jurisdiction the 'mother' monastery was. This practice of 'offering' a smaller monastery as a metochion, usually to monasteries from Mount Athos or Jerusalem, was a frequent phenomenon between the sixteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century. That way the dedicated monastery was protected from any attack, especially from Turks. In addition to founding monasteries in their own country, the Romanian princes, benefiting from internal autonomy, focused on helping Athonite monasteries. They did it either through occasional donations for the maintenance of those monasteries (which explains why the Romanian princes appear in votive portraits), or through acts such as the above-mentioned dedication.

¹³ N. Iorga, *Bizanțul după Bizanț*, Bucharest 1971, p. 136.

¹⁴ *Sinai. Treasures...*, footnote 87, p. 391.

follows: 'The censer rests on a cylindrical foot on a six-lobed base. On the shallow hemispherical bowl virtually the sole decoration is the dedicatory inscription in Slavonic. The high cast cover, on three levels, in the form of a church, with its complex pierced Gothic architectural decoration is in contrast with the austere lower section. The plain multi-faceted finial at the top serves to create a balance between the impression given by the decorated and undecorated surfaces. The four-sided part of the handle, in contrast to the whole, has fine Ottoman flower ornaments'.¹⁵

The Sinai censer belongs to a series of similar works known to date from the sixteenth (mainly) and early seventeenth centuries, also reproduced in the paintings of the time. This was inspired by the censers of the wide-spread Gothic style, all of them having an austere structure and clearly-marked characteristics. But even though the features of the sixteenth century are to be seen in it, the St Catherine censer does not match in quality the better examples of its kind, the censer of Banja Monastery at Priboj, for example, on which the latest view is that its probable origin is a workshop in Transylvania.

The next object, a Gospel, is described in St Catherine's museum as a 'Lectionary cover, offering of the Prince of Wallachia Mihnea II. Leather, embossed, chased, and engraved silver gilt, 1577;' (Inventory number 32.1, Fig. 5a, b). Manafis affirms that 'The memory of the piety and generosity of the Voevod of Wallachia Alexander II Mircea, his wife Ekaterini and their son Mihnea is perpetuated at the monastery not only by the commemoration of their names as founders of the Chapel of St John the Baptist, but by their depiction as suppliants on the reverse of a valuable cover for a Greek manuscript of the 11th century'.¹⁶

Manafis goes further by describing the main scenes on the boards: the Crucifixion and the Transfiguration. These scenes are framed by rectangular panels containing busts of prophets, Evangelists, saints and anchorites. There are similar book covers in the monastery, but this particular cover 'has the characteristics of a group of works from Wallachian workshops of the 16th century: the lining up of the severe, inflexible, schematic forms, without mass, around the central scene, and low relief on the ring-punched

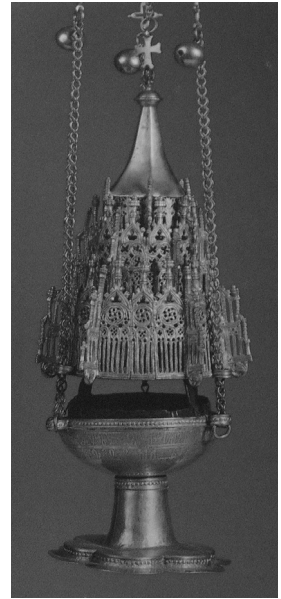


Fig. 4. Silver gilt censer (height 31 cm.) with Late Gothic features. Offering of Roxandra (Ruxandra), widow of Alexander (Alexandru) Lăpușneanu, Voevod of Moldavia, to the Chapel of St. John the Baptist, 1569, Manafis, Sinai, *Treasures of the Monastery of Saint Catherine*; both figure [14] and caption, p. 288

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 269.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

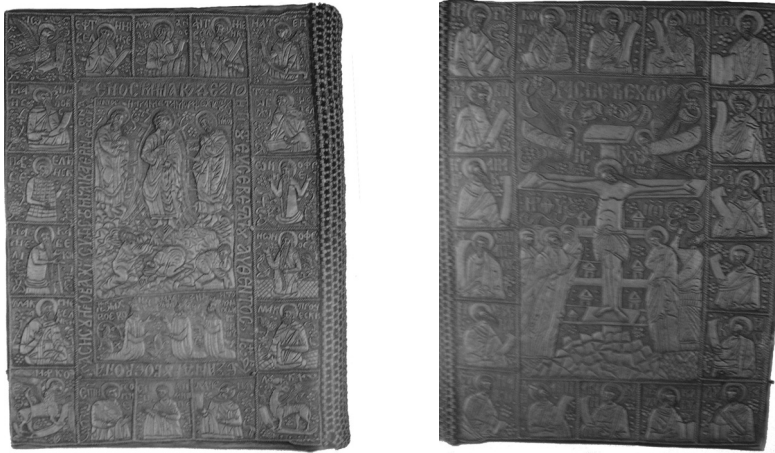


Fig. 5 a, b. Manafis' caption for this image [fig. 11 in that book] describes it as 'Gospel cover (height 39 cm), with a depiction of the donor, Alexander II Mircea, Prince of Wallachia, and his family. Wallachian workshop. 1568–1577.' *Sinai. Treasures of the Monastery of Saint Catherine*; both figure and caption, p. 286. Figure 12 on page 287, represents 'The reverse side of the Gospel cover in fig. 11'



Fig. 6. In H. Skrobucha, *Sinai*, the caption on p. 105 describes this image (on the same page) as 'Pair of pages from a manuscript in the library of St. Katharine's monastery: miniature with John the Evangelist and Prochorus, and opening page of St. John's Gospel.'
Evangelary (Gospel-book) of the Rumanian Prince Jeremias Movila of Moldova, 1598

Fig. 7. Gospel cover, offering of Matei Basarab, Prince of Wallachia, and his wife Helena. Copper alloy cast plaques and enamels, 1636 (Inventory number 32.5). Photograph taken by the librarian of the Monastery of St Catherine, Father Justin, in May 2005 especially for this article



Fig. 8 a, b. Sanctification cross with a clock in its base. Carved wooden core, silver gilt, enamels, stones, pearls. Braşov (Transilvania), 1660 (Inventory number 30.15). In Manafis, *Sinai. Treasures of the Monastery of Saint Catherine*, the caption for this image [fig. 27 in that book] describes it as a 'Combined clock and cross (height 23.5 cm), with mounting covered with painted enamels. Property of the Abbot Ioasaph. From a Transylvania workshop. A little before 1660.' The caption for Fig. 29 (the clock) in Manafis' book says: 'Detail of fig. 27. The clock, the work of Michael Renner, in its case. From a Braşov workshop.' Both images and their captions are on p. 298 in that book

background, which is decorated with schematic plant forms, to a greater or lesser degree influenced by Ottoman models'.¹⁷ Another book (Fig. 6) is described by H. Skrobucha as a 'Gospel cover offering of the Prince of Moldavia, Ieremias Movilă, and his family. Embossed silver gilt, 1598;' (Inventory number 32.4).

In the Monastery's museum there is also a 'Gospel cover, offering of Matei Basarab, Prince of Wallachia, and his wife Helena. Copper alloy cast plaques and enamels, 1636' (Fig. 7, Inventory number 32.5). Since I have not found any reference to it or reproductions of it in the material which I have consulted, the photograph was taken, at my request, by the librarian of St Catherine Monastery, Fr Justin, especially for this article, two years after my visit there. He did the same in the case of the *Panagarion* mentioned in the beginning of this article, and on which I comment further.

The use of a *panagarion* (Fig. 9) consists in carrying the loaf called *Panagia* in the Orthodox Church high above the monks' heads when it leads the monks from the church into the refectory, a ritual which takes place often. A *panagarion* can be anything from a simple tray to a large metal platter with a lid and staff underneath to hold the loaf. George Aquaro describes the ritual in which the *Panagia* and a *panagarion* are involved. 'The Lifting of the Panagia is a vestigial service, originating in the earliest eucharistic traditions in the Church [...] There is a definitive offertory act in the context of an Eucharistic meal, holding to the description in the Synoptic Gospels. [...] It is used in connection with the chalice. It is noteworthy to mention that some ancient monasteries, such as Sinai, continue the practice of having a cup of unconsecrated wine as part of the rite. Another frequent element is the [...] censer, often used to bless the particle taken by the individual from the loaf. This is a further consecratory act in addition to the offertory, implying that this is more than a symbolic act. The Lifting of the Panagia takes place, according to St Symeon of Thessalonika [...], during the 9th Ode of Matins, though the present context is in the meal directly following the Divine Liturgy'.¹⁸ In the case of the Sinaite/Romanian example a platter with a lid forms the *panagarion*. On the platter the Mother of God and two saints are represented.

From the eighteenth century, in the Monastery of St Catherine's storage rooms there is also a silver brooch likely to have been made in Transylvania (Fig. 10), a 'buckle', used probably as an accessory holding up the priestly attire.



Fig. 9. Part of a Panagarion engraved, cast, filigree silver gilt, Moldavian workshop, c. 1500, (Inventory number 30.8). Photograph taken by the librarian of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Father Justin, in May 2005 especially for this article

¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸ G. Aquaro, 'The Lifting of the Panagia', article on <http://www.prosphora.org/page41.html>.

Regarding the objects that have primarily made the Monastery of St Catherine known in modern times – the Orthodox icons – despite Skrobucha's affirmation that 'ikons came to the monastery as presents from all Orthodox countries', sadly I was unable to find any Romanian icon in either the display of icons in the church of the monastery, or in its museum.¹⁹ Nevertheless, since I found the objects described above, I have to agree with him that: 'Russian, Georgian, Syrian, Serbian, and Rumanian pieces at any rate [,] most of the later periods [,] are to be found in the churches, chapels, and rooms of the Sinai district'.²⁰

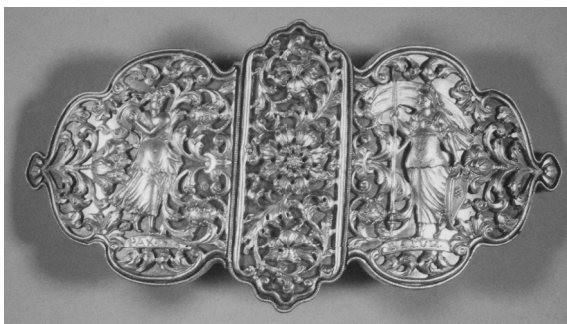


Fig. 10. Silver gilt buckle (length 23 cm.), with relief figures of Peace and War and decoration in the Floral Baroque style. Work of Stephan Weltzer II; Braşov; 1716. In Manafis, *Sinai. Treasures of the Monastery of Saint Catherine*, this is Fig. 40, p. 305; the caption with the above text, p. 304

¹⁹ I have donated one Romanian icon of Christ to the monastery in August 2006 when I met Fr Justin at the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies in London.

²⁰ Skrobucha, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

Les sources européennes de la gravure sur bois de Blaj

Cornel Tatai-Baltă, Alba Julia

Dès le temps des évêques Inochentie Micu et Petru Pavel Aron, Blaj a été et il reste jusqu'à présent ouvert aux grandes valeurs spirituelles et culturelles, aux idées nouvelles, vraiment progressistes, véhiculées à travers l'Europe et d'autres zones de la Terre. C'est ainsi que la petite ville du confluent des deux Târnaves apporta une contribution remarquable au développement de la culture et de la science roumaines, de la conscience nationale et, finalement, à la construction de la Roumanie moderne, libre et européenne, au plus large sens du mot.

Il suffit de nous référer aux oeuvres historiques, philologiques, philosophiques, théologiques ou didactiques des représentants de l'École Transylvaine, des révolutionnaires de 1848 ou à celles des braves érudits qui ont déployé leur activité dans la deuxième moitié du XIXe s. ou bien au cours du tourmenté XXe s.

Une preuve supplémentaire de la liaison de Blaj au circuit de valeurs culturelles et artistiques européennes c'est aussi le fait d'avoir cultivé à réel succès la gravure sur bois qui servit à orner d'illustrations, cadres de feuilles de titre, frontispices, vignettes et initiales de livres ecclésiastiques y imprimés¹. Sans doute, à Blaj fut créé, entre 1750–1830, le plus important centre de xylographie roumaine de la Transylvanie, des XVIe–XIXe siècles. Cette affirmation s'appuie sur les critères qualitatif et quantitatif².

¹ A. Lupeanu-Melin, *Xilografii de la Blaj, 1750–1800*, Blaj 1929; Gh. Oprescu, *Grafica românească în secolul al XIX-lea*, vol. I, București 1942, p. 121–214.

² Voir pour détails et bibliographie: C. Tatai-Baltă, 'Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj (1750–1830)', *Apulum*, 12 (1974), p. 629–641; 13 (1975), p. 719–745; 15 (1977), p. 705–727; 20 (1982), p. 221–239; 21 (1983), p. 245–262; 22 (1985), p. 183–196; 23 (1986), p. 211–222; *Idem*, 'L'activité des graveurs sur bois de Blaj (1750–1830)', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 25 (1986), 1–2, p. 113–121; *Idem*, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj (1750–1830)*, Blaj 1995; *Idem*, 'L'imprimerie de Blaj (1747–1830)', *Magyar könyvszemle*, 2 (2002), p. 113–128; *Idem*, *Interferențe cultural-artistice europene*, Blaj 2003, p. 13–63.

Il est à propos de noter que les xylographes du renommé centre ecclésiastique, culturel et politique transylvain eurent à leur portée de nombreux modèles parus surtout dans les livres roumains au Sud et à l'Est des Carpates, à savoir Râmnic, Bucarest, Buzău, Târgoviște, Snagov, Jassy, Rădăuți etc.



Fig. 1. Petru Papavici Tipograf, L'Incrédulité de Thomas, 1768, Penticostar, Blaj, 1768

Du point de vue iconographique et stylistique, les xylographies roumaines sont fidèles à la tradition byzantino-balkanique et byzantino-russe. De tels ouvrages, assez nombreux, il y en a aussi à Blaj. À titre exemplaire nous pouvons citer *La Descente aux Limbes*, de Sandu, de *L'Évangile*, 1765³ et *La Cenne de Mamvri*, probablement de Petru Papavici, de *L'Octoïk (Recueil de chants religieux)*, 1783⁴. Pour la première illustration, on a pu recourir à celle signée par Ioanichie Bakov, dans *Le Penticostar (Recueil de prières du carême et pour le temps écoulé entre Pâques et la Pentecôte)* de Buzău, de 1701, alors que pour la seconde à *L'Octoïk*, paru également à Buzău, en 1700. Les illustrations exécutées par Petru Papavici Râmniceanu, le plus prolifique graveur de Blaj, venu de l'Olténie, en témoignent

³ *Idem*, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj...*, p. 79–80.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 119.

aussi. On n'en mentionne que celles du *Penticostar* (1768) et du *Minologhion* (1781) pour la réalisation desquelles il a préféré les illustrations du *Penticostar* de 1743⁵, et celles de *L'Antologhion* de 1737 de Râmnic respectivement⁶.



Fig. 2. Popa Mihai Tipograf, L'Incrédulité de Thomas, 1742, Penticostar, Râmnic, 1743

Dans les xylographies ci-dessus, le moment principal de l'action se déroule, de préférence, au premier plan, tout en conférant à l'image une note de solennité. Les silhouettes des personnages, marqué d'une attitude hiératique atténuée et d'une élégance recherchée, sont dessinées dans leurs lignes essentielles. Certes, la tentative de suggérer les volumes n'y manque pas. L'expression des figures est tendue et spiritualisée. Les visages ne sont pas rendus par un passage graduel d'une nuance à l'autre, les cheveux et la barbe sont traités plutôt d'une manière linéaire. En dépit de cela, les personnages relèvent d'une certaine individualisation. Ils sont habillés de costumes antiques ou byzantins dont les plis laissent souvent deviner de façon arbitraire les formes du corps. Les plans sont comprimés,

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 87–91.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 100–109.



Fig. 3. Petru Papavici Tipograf Râmnician, *Le Concile des anges*, 1779, Minologhion, Blaj, 1781



Fig. 4. Mihai Râmnicianu, *Le Concile des anges*, 1736, Antologhion, Râmnic, 1737

l'interprétation de la perspective se limite à une projection illusionniste restreinte. Tout byzantine est également la disposition verticale aussi bien des personnages que des architectures, alors que l'impression de profondeur spatiale est suggérée par la superposition des plans. La manière de styliser les fragments de paysage (collines, tertres) et la végétation (fleurs, arbres) est évidemment de tradition byzantine. La spécificité décorative, saisissable dans presque toutes les gravures, est à la fois suggérée par les surfaces blanches. Toutefois, certains détails réalistes et pittoresques font leur apparition.

Petru Papavici exécute aussi des xylographies d'une influence ukrainienne certaine⁷. Dans ce sens les xylographies *La Crucifixion* et *L'Entrée de Jésus à Jérusalem* (datée 1773) de *Strastnic* (1773), toutes les deux ressemblant à celles parues dans *Les Actes des apôtres* (Lvov 1639), signées par Ilia (Anagnost)⁸, artiste ukrainien de réputation internationale. La source ukrainienne est aussi confirmée par les illustrations *Saint Jean Chrysostome*, *Saint Basile le Grand* et *Saint Grégoire le Grand de Messe* (1775), similaires avec celles des *Missels* parus à Kiev en 1620, 1629, et 1639. Ces gravures ressemblent beaucoup à celles de Striatyn de 1604⁹.



Fig. 5. Petru Papavici, *La Crucifixion*, *Strastnic*, Blaj, 1773

⁷ Voir pour détails et bibliographie: C. Tatai-Baltă, 'Receptarea xilografurii ucrainene la Blaj', *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 4 (1994), p. 97–113; *Idem*, *Pagini de artă românească*, Blaj 1998, p. 42–53. À noter que les xylographies ukrainiennes se trouvent dans l'aire de diffusion de l'art allemand ou de celui italien.

⁸ *Idem*, 'Receptarea'..., p. 101–102; *idem*, *Pagini...*, p. 46–48. On précise que la xylographie *La Crucifixion* est datée par Ilia Anagnost en 1639 mais elle paraît aussi dans d'autres livres ukrainiens.

⁹ *Idem*, 'Receptarea'..., p. 102, 111; *idem*, *Pagini...*, p. 48–49.



Fig. 6. Petru Papavici Tipograf,
Saint Jean Chrysostome,
Messe, Blaj, 1775



Fig. 7. Saint Jean Chrysostome,
Missel, Kiev, 1620

Il est bien connu que Popa Iancu de Sâncel, entré dans les Ordres des moines basilien de Blaj sous le nom de frère Isaïe (avant 1762), a été à Kiev où il a appris le slavon si bien pour traduire *Les Visions de Saint Grégoire le Grand*¹⁰. Grâce à ses voyages, le moine Isaïe rapporta sûrement à Blaj des livres ukrainiens, dont certains étaient illustrés, qui furent ultérieurement utilisés comme source d'inspiration par les graveurs sur bois et particulièrement par Petru Papavici.

En plus, nous savons qu'en 1777, la bibliothèque de Blaj possédait, entre autres, 18 titres de livre ukrainien, en 30 exemplaires¹¹.

Bien que généralement traditionaliste, dans la conception de ses gravures, Petru Papavici s'inspire parfois des modèles de la Renaissance (voir, par exemple, *L'Adoration des Bergers, Minologhion*, 1781)¹² ou baroques (voir, par exemple, *Le Cadre de la feuille de*

¹⁰ T. Cipariu, *Acte și fragmente*, Blaj 1855, p. 107; I. Rațiu, 'Din trecutul ordului bazilitan', *Anuarul institutelor de învățământ gr. cat. din Blaj*, Blaj 1912, p. XIII; Ș. Manciuța, *Biblioteca Centrală din Blaj*, Blaj 1939, p. 18.

¹¹ C. Dima-Drăgan, 'Un ensemble bibliologique roumain de Transylvanie date de l'année 1777 (D'après un manuscrit latin inédit)', *Studia bibliologica*, 4 (1980), no. 1, p. 43.

¹² Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii...*, p. 102.

titre, *Acatistier – Recueil d’hymnes à la Vierge*, 1774)¹³, très probablement de source allemande. Cependant, au point de vue thématique et interprétatif, chez les graveurs Vlaicu, Ioanițiu Endrédi, Sandu le Typographe (Moldave, actif à Rădăuți, Buzău et Jassy) et chez certains auteurs restés anonymes, l’influence de l’art occidental, notamment du gothique tardif, de la Renaissance et du baroque allemand, est encore plus évidente.

Dans ce même ordre d’idées, une place particulière est occupée par les dix illustrations sur onze réalisées par Vlaicu pour *Le Ceaslov* (*Le Livre d’heures*) de 1751: *Le Monastère de Blaj*, *Jésus au jardin de Gethsémani*, *Jésus devant Pilate*, *L’Outrage*, *La Mise sur croix*, *La Sainte Communion*, *La Crucifixion*, *La Descente de la croix*, *La Mise en tombeau*, *La Résurrection*¹⁴. Tout en abandonnant les modèles traditionnels de large circulation dans l’ambiance byzantine, Vlaicu a eu de préférence recours aux sources occidentales; c’est donc grâce à lui que l’illustration de livre roumain changea de ca; autrement dit, il contribua à son renouvellement tout en lui conférant une voie plus réaliste.

Nous sommes en état de constater que Vlaicu s’était trouvé sous l’influence de la xylographie allemande de l’époque de la Renaissance – longtemps imprégnée de réminiscences du gothique tardif, tout comme la peinture d’ailleurs – au prestige et à la diffusion de laquelle Albrecht Dürer apporta, on le connaît, une contribution remarquable. Il est à remarquer par exemple les ressemblances entre l’illustration de Vlaicu, *L’Outrage* et la xylographie de Dürer, exécutée en 1509, qui fait partie du *Petit cycle de la Passion*¹⁵. Nous pourrions également établir certaines analogies entre *La Mise sur croix* de Vlaicu et les créations allemandes, en l’occurrence celles de Dürer: un dessin à la plume et au pinceau sur papier recouvert d’une première couche de couleur verte, mis en relief de blanc, lavis noir (*Grüne Passion*, 1504) et une xylographie de 1509, qui fait partie du *Petit cycle de la Passion*¹⁶.



Fig. 8. Vlaicu, *L’Outrage*,
Livre d’heures, Blaj, 1751

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 95.

¹⁴ Voir pour détails: *idem*, ‘Xilogravurile lui Vlaicu de la Blaj (1751–1752)’, *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 20 (1983), p. 823–842; *idem*, *Gravorii...*, p. 49–63.

¹⁵ *Idem*, *Xilogravurile lui Vlaicu...*, p. 827–828; *idem*, *Gravorii...*, p. 55–56.

¹⁶ *Idem*, *Xilogravurile lui Vlaicu...*, p. 828–829; *idem*, *Gravorii...*, p. 56–57.

L'influence d'Albrecht Dürer est perceptible même dans la manière dont la xylographie non signée de l'ouvrage rédigé en latin, *Votiva apprecatio*, et paru à Blaj en 1760 est conçue. Celle-ci représente en trois registres disposés sur la verticale: *La Sainte Trinité (Le Couronnement de Marie)*; *l'emblème de l'évêque Petru Pavel Aron*; *le panorama de Blaj*. Nous considérons que la source d'inspiration de cette illustration est la xylographie de Dürer, *L'Assomption (Le Couronnement de Marie)*, 1510, qui fait partie du cycle *La Vie de Marie*¹⁷.

L'Annonciation, œuvre signée par I(oanițiu) E(ndrédi) dans *L'Octoik* de 1783, met de nouveau en évidence l'influence exercée par le grand artiste allemand de la Renaissance. La composition et certains éléments du détail réapparaissent dans ses oeuvres représentant *L'Annonciation*. Parmi celles-ci, citons une xylographie, datée de 1510, du *Petit cycle de la Passion*, et un dessin – aquarelle de 1526. D'autres analogies sont rencontrées dans la xylographie *Le Christ se montre à Sa Mère*, 1509/10, du *Petit cycle de la Passion*, qu'on vient de citer¹⁸.

Nous possédons aussi d'autres exemples de l'accueil de la xylographie allemande de la Renaissance à Blaj. Tel est le *Cadre de la feuille de titre*, composé de façon équilibrée, gravé par Sandu le Typographe pour *L'Évangile* de 1765. Pourtant, malgré les cadres similaires, en quelque sorte, des livres *Le Cercueil d'or*, Sas-Sebeș, 1683 et *Les Actes des apôtres*, Bucarest, 1683, on croit bien que l'origine de toutes celles-ci se trouve dans les xylographies de Hans Holbein le Jeune qui orne *Geographia universalis* de C. A. Ptolemaeus, parue à Basel en 1545. Le livre contient des bords de pages gravés sur bois et il connut quelques éditions antérieures et postérieures à celle qu'on a citée: 1540, 1542 et 1552. On y rencontre la même disposition latérale des princes des apôtres, Pierre et Paul, ainsi que la disposition des symboles des quatre évangélistes aux coins¹⁹.

L'origine allemande est aussi évidente dans la xylographie anonyme qui représente *La Nativité de Jésus* du *Molitvenic*, 1784. À ce propos, il est à voir la xylographie au même thème, exécutée par Wolfgang Stuber, qui a déployé son activité à Nürnberg entre 1587-1597; Il est déjà bien connu que l'artiste copiait des gravures de Dürer. La présence des instrumentistes dans le marge de la scène rappelle directement certaines xylographies de Dürer²⁰.

Par conséquent, les xylographes de Blaj ont emprunté à l'art allemand divers schémas de composition ainsi que certains détails, prêtant plus d'attention à la suggestion de la perspective et du volume, en utilisant plus judicieusement l'ombre et la lumière. Les figures se meuvent avec plus d'aisance alors que leurs attitudes et gestes témoignent d'une constance forte (?)²¹.

¹⁷ *Idem*, 'Înrăurirea unei xilogravuri de Dürer asupra ilustrației din *Votiva apprecatio*, Blaj, 1760', *Apulum*, 42 (2005), p. 285–289.

¹⁸ *Idem*, *Gravorii...*, p. 72–73.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 77–78.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 120.

²¹ Voir pour détails et bibliographie: *idem*, 'Influența lui Dürer și a unor artiști germani asupra xilografiilor de la Blaj din a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea', *Apulum*, 43 (2006), no. 2, p. 159–171.

Il serait à propos de noter que l'artiste Ioanițiu Endrédi réalise une gravure intéressante sous divers aspects que nous ne rencontrons pas dans les livres imprimés à Blaj; la gravure en question a été enlevée de la plaque de bois incisée et conservée dans les collections du musée de la localité. L'ouvrage représente *Saint Étienne* dans un décor architectural inspiré de la Renaissance italienne²².

Pour ce qui est de la xylographie de Blaj, le baroque ne contamine pas son caractère profond (esprit) mais touche seulement à sa forme extérieure; elle y emprunte seulement quelques éléments. L'aspiration donc vers la grandiloquence, l'extravagance décorative, les gestes théâtraux, les attitudes pathétiques et le mouvement impétueux sont absents.

Le baroque a pénétré dans la xylographie de Blaj, soit directement, soit indirectement, par la Valachie et la Moldavie, l'Ukraine, la Russie (?) et par d'autres voies²³.

Au début du *Livre d'heures* de 1751, richement illustré par Vlaicu, apparaît la xylographie *Le Monastère de Blaj*. Celle-ci présente la cathédrale de Blaj, le premier édifice baroque du milieu roumain de la Transylvanie dans son état primaire²⁴.

Les illustrations *Saint Jean Damascène*, de *L'Octoïk*, 1760 et *Le Baptême du Seigneur*, du *Molitvenic* (1784), exécutées par Ioanițiu Endrédi sont également de facture baroque. On pense que la source d'inspiration du premier ouvrage c'est une xylographie qui lui ressemble beaucoup et qui paraît dans les livres *Chestodnev* (1700), *L'Abécédaire de Policarp* (1701) et *Irmologhion* (1702), imprimés dans le lointain Moscou²⁵.

Les quatre évangélistes gravés par Sandu le Typographe, pour *L'Évangile* de 1765, sont inscrits chacun dans un cadre baroque en forme d'ellipse, étant lui aussi à son tour inclus dans un quadrilatère aux motifs végétaux traités sur le même style. Habillés de vêtements richement drapés, les évangélistes sont placés dans des cadres dont les éléments décoratifs pourraient être remontés à l'art de la Renaissance. Ceux-ci se combinent parfaitement avec les motifs ornementaux puisés au baroque (les volutes). Il est certain que le maître Sandu pour les portraits des évangélistes Mathieu et Luc utilisa les représentations similaires attribuées à Antim Ivireanul, de *L'Évangile gréco-roumain* de Bucarest, de 1693.

Le Cadre de la feuille de titre du *Polustav* de 1773, exécuté par Sandu le Typographe, est typiquement baroque. Toutefois, ses inscriptions explicatives sont écrites en slavon.

Pour *Le Pentecostar* de 1768, Petru Papavici a grandiosement gravé *Le Cadre de la feuille de titre*; il l'a soigneusement dessiné en forme de niche d'autel baroque. Les deux pilastres sont décorés de médaillons ovales avec des saints du monde orthodoxe. Le couronnement en segment d'arc est fendu au centre, où est placé un ample cartouche

²² *Idem*, *Gravorii...*, p. 73–74.

²³ Voir pour détails et bibliographie: *idem*, 'Le baroque dans la gravure sur bois de Blaj', *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 2 (1992), p. 77–91; *idem*, *Pagini...*, p. 13–27.

²⁴ *Idem*, *Le baroque...*, p. 80–81; *idem*, *Pagini...*, p. 15–17.

²⁵ Voir pour détails et bibliographie: *idem*, 'Modelul rusesc prezumtiv al unei xilografuri de Ioanițiu Endrédi', *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 7 (1997), p. 203–212; *idem*, *Din arta și cultura Blajului*, Alba Iulia 2000, p. 5–14.



Fig. 9. Ioanițiu Endrédi, Saint Jean Damascène, Octoik, Blaj, 1760



Fig. 10. Saint Jean Damascène, Chestodnev, Moscou, 1700

baroque, limité de volutes. Dans ce cartouche s'inscrivent la figure de Jésus-Christ en vêtements d'archevêque bénissant des deux mains ainsi que de petits anges. Sur le socle de la niche prend place l'Annonciation, flanquée de la figure du boeuf ailé et de l'aigle, auxquels correspondent, sur le couronnement, l'ange et le lion ailé, complétant ainsi les symboles des évangélistes.

Du point de vue architectonique, *Le Cadre de la feuille de titre*, réalisé par le maître de Blaj est identique à celui de Gligorie T. et Sandul T. de *L'Antologhion* de Jassy de 1755, repris dans *Les Actes des apôtres* de Jassy de 1756. Nous croyons que les auteurs respectifs ont, à leur tour, utilisé un modèle ukrainien qui orne *L'Antologhion* de Lvov de 1632, repris dans *L'Octoik* de 1639 et 1644 de la même localité.

L'influence du baroque est aussi évidente dans l'ouvrage *La Source de Vie*, du *Recueil d'hymnes à la Vierge* de 1774, exécuté par Petru Papavici. Marquée d'une légère rhétoricité dans ses attitudes, la Mère de Dieu avec l'Enfant dans ses bras est placée sur un trône richement orné et surmontant un bassin où s'écoulent des fils d'eau, celui-ci étant délimité par des lignes courbes. En bas de la gravure, des gens boivent de l'eau par cette source de la vie spirituelle.

La source d'inspiration du *Cadre de la feuille de titre* du *Molitvenic* de 1784 est également baroque. L'auteur en est anonyme. Le cadre a la forme d'une couronne végétale ovale à laquelle un petit crucifix est accroché. Autour de la couronne est enroulé un ruban sur lequel sont cités les Mystères de l'Église Orientale. La couronne est soutenue d'un socle délimité de volutes. L'ensemble est inclus dans un cadre rectangulaire où des motifs végétaux sont disposés. Des compositions semblables, nous en avons rencontrées chez le grand maître du baroque, P. P. Rubens: *Le Portait de l'humaniste Justus Lipsius* du livre de Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *Opera*, Antverpia, 1632; *Le Portrait du duc Olivares* du livre de Luitprandus Ticiniensis, *Opera*, Antverpia, 1640²⁶.

Cette influence multidimensionnelle de l'art occidental sur la gravure sur bois de Blaj pourrait facilement être expliquée par le fait que cette petite ville entretenait des rapports étroits avec l'Occident, par l'intermédiaire de l'Église Gréco-Catholique. L'abondance d'ouvrages imprimés occidentaux (et orientaux aussi), de divers siècles, dans les bibliothèques renommées de cette ville, offrait vraisemblablement aux graveurs un contact direct et permanent avec les réalisations graphiques. La très grande circulation de recueils de gravures et livres illustrés, surtout au XVIe s. ainsi qu'aux siècles suivants constituait pour les graveurs actifs de la Transylvanie un fond riche des sources d'inspiration. De l'autre côté, l'influence byzantine traditionnelle, dans cette partie de l'Europe, avait beaucoup perdu de son intensité dans la deuxième moitié du XVIIIe s. et au début du siècle suivant²⁷.

Remaquons aussi que, même si les xylographes de Blaj préfèrent des thèmes iconographiques spécifiques à l'art occidental, comme par exemple *La Madone sur le croissant de lune* de Ioanițiu Endrédi, illustration parue dans *Les Actes des apôtres* de 1767, toutefois, nous constatons une forte persistance analogue des thèmes iconographiques de la culture byzantino-balcanique et byzantino-russe. Quant au traitement stylistique, l'influence occidentale s'avère beaucoup plus évidente que dans d'autres centres de production de la xylographie de l'époque ou antérieurement²⁸.

Trois xylographies inspirées de la réalité qui constituent des documents importants de l'époque, tirent leur origine d'images similaires diffusées à l'Europe centrale ainsi qu'à l'Ouest de l'Europe. Elles occupent, en effet, une place exceptionnelle dans l'histoire de la xylographie roumaine.

Il s'agit du *Monastère de Blaj* de Vlaicu (du *Livre d'heures*, 1751), du *Panorama de Blaj* (de *Votiva apprecatio*, 1760, toutes les deux mentionnées ci-dessus) et enfin de l'ouvrage resté longtemps méconnu, qui représente, sur une feuille volante, *l'Iconostase de la petite*

²⁶ C. Tatai-Baltă, I. Mârza, 'Cărți cu ilustrații de Rubens în Biblioteca Batthyaneum din Alba Iulia', *Revista muzeelor și monumentelor*, 25 (1988), no. 3, p. 76–89, fig. 6 et 14.

²⁷ Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii...*, p. 130.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 131.

*église de la cour du château épiscopal de Blaj; les funérailles de l'évêque Petru Pavel Aron de Sandu (1764)*²⁹.

La première xylographie représente la cathédrale de Blaj, dotée à ses débuts d'une seule tour sur la façade; le deuxième ouvrage représente la plus ancienne image de Blaj; la troisième nous fait, entre autres, connaître l'icône de la Madone, qui pleure à la mort de l'évêque Petru Pavel Aron, en 1764³⁰; l'œuvre fut peinte en 1736 par Grigorie Ranite et placée dans l'iconostase de la petite église épiscopale.

Par conséquent, les modèles de tradition byzantine ne sont plus repris avec tant d'acharnement. L'art, en l'occurrence la xylographie du livre ecclésiastique suivait les mêmes standards européens que l'imprimerie, la culture et l'enseignement, avaient déjà adoptés et promus à Blaj³¹.

Réalisés avec tant de talent et de dévouement, les xylographies de Blaj vont atteindre un niveau artistique européen dont les artistes Roumains de tous les coins en bénéficieront. Parmi ceux-ci, ce seront surtout les xylographes issus de divers centres d'imprimerie comme ceux de Buda, Sibiu, Braşov, du Monastère de Neamţ, de Bucarest et d'autres.

Enfin, il est intéressant de signaler que l'influence des xylographes est aussi perceptible même dans la création des artistes modernes du XXe s., tels Flaviu C. Domşa, Octavian Smigelschi et Anton Zeiler³². Cette dernière remarque fait preuve du rôle éminent de Blaj et relève parallèlement la contribution de la xylographie sur la floraison et le développement de la culture artistique roumaine.

Traduit par Aurica Tomşit

²⁹ Voir pour détails et bibliographie: *idem*, 'Une valeureuse gravure sur bois de Sandu (XVIIIe s.), conservée au Musée du Banat de Timișoara', *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 5 (1995), p. 75–83.

³⁰ Voir pour détails et bibliographie: *idem*, 'Considerații cu privire la icoana Maicii Domnului "care a lăcrimat" la moartea episcopului Petru Pavel Aron (1764)', *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 6 (1996), p. 57–63; *Icoana plângătoare de la Blaj 1764*; M. Porumb, *Un veac de pictură românească în Transilvania. Secolul XVIII*, București 2003, p. 55–59.

³¹ C. Dima-Drăgan, A. Avramescu, *Die Illustration im altrumänischen Buch (1508–1830)*, in: *Borsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel – Frankfurter Ausgabe*, Nr. 17, vom 24. Februar 1981, p. 518, 524.

³² Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii...*, p. 132–133.

The Role of Orthodox Religious Engravings in the Samokov Painters' Archive: Visual Prototypes?

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A little known group of Orthodox engravings directs attention to the deserving subject of painters' use of Orthodox religious prints.¹ These prints are an underestimated part of an archive acquired from a family of painters active in the 19th century and now in the National Art Gallery in Sofia.² The archive, consisting of miscellaneous prints and drawings, has not been comprehensively studied and it is principally known for a number of western prints.³ Iconographically distinct from these, I have identified 11 prints with Orthodox religious imagery dispersed in the contents and surviving in a condition which evidently results from serving a practical function.

The group of Orthodox prints in the Samokov Archive includes prints of two Orthodox engravings which are known to have been influential in religious painting in Bulgaria. They are composite images, consisting of multiple panels of imagery. Both engravings are published in Dori Papastratos' magisterial catalogue *Greek Orthodox religious engravings 1665-1899*, published originally in 1986. One engraving is of the Theotokos inscribed *eleousa tou Kykkou* and dated 1778⁴ (Fig. 1a). The other is of the Theotokos *Akathist*, published thirty years later in 1819⁵ (Fig. 1b). The former is identified as the source for a

¹ I am grateful to Waldemar Deluga for the invitation to publish an article arising from a Communication in *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, vol. 3, London 2006, pp. 272–273.

² Sofia, National Art Gallery (HXT), department of works on paper.

³ A. Protic, 'Денационализиране и Възраждане на нашето изкуство от 1393–1879 год', *Сборник 1000 Години България*, Sofia 1930, pp. 383–540; A. Vasiliev, *Български Възрожденски Маистори*, Sofia 1965, pp. 313–477.

⁴ D. Papastratos, *Χρτινες Εικονες Ορθοδοξα Χαρακτικα 1660–1899*, vol. 1–2, Athens 1986; *eadem*, *Paper Icons. Greek Orthodox religious engravings 1665–1899*, vol. 1–2, Athens 1990, cat. no. 539.

⁵ *Ibidem*, cat. no. 122.



Fig. 1a. Engraving Theotokos *eleousa tou Kykkou*, Venice, 1778



Fig. 1b. Engraving Theotokos *Akathist* Venice, 1819

scheme of mural painting at the important monastery at Rila, where three panels from the border cycle of the Theotokos *Kykkos* engraving of 1778 are copied in the chapel of the Bogoroditsa *Pokrov* at the Hermitage of St. Luke, one of the monastery's dependencies (Fig. 2).⁶ This scheme of church decoration is attributed to the elder painter from Samokov, Christo Dimitrov, in 1799. The latter engraving is identified as the source for an icon at the Sokolovtsi Monastery dated 1836, where the border cycle is indebted to the Akathist imagery of the engraving of the Theotokos *Akathist* published in 1819⁷ (Fig. 3a). In addition to the debt to the *Akathist* engraving, the central panel of the icon refers to the iconography the *Kykkou* engraving of 1778, because the Theotokos in the central panel is represented *kykkotissa* as in the earlier engraving instead of *hodigitria and Unfading Rose* featuring in the Akathist engraving. The icon is by Ioanniki Vitanov from Triavna, an artistic centre in Bulgaria comparable at the time with Samokov. On

⁶ Е. Ророва, 'Реинтерпретации на чудотворната икона на св. Богородица от Кикос в Булгарската живопис от края на 18–19 век', *Проблеми на Изкуството*, 4 (1998), pp. 32–41; *eadem*, *Зографът Христо Димитров от Самоков*, Sofia 2001, p. 183.

⁷ А. Boshkov, *Българската икона*, Sofia 1984, fig. 332; Ророва, 'Реинтерпретации...', fig. 8, 9.



Fig. 2. Mural scheme – Chapel of Bogoroditsa *pokrov*; Rila Monastery, 1799

the strength of this evidence, prints of these two engravings can be seen to have had a predominant influence among prints as sources of imagery for painters.

I have found two more examples of the influence of these engravings in painting in Bulgaria. An ornamental feature in the earliest signed panel icon by Christo Dimiter's second son Zahari, dated 1830 and representing the Theotokos *kykkotissa* with saints, is arguably copied from the central panel of the Theotokos *Kykkou* engraving of 1778, to which his father was indebted at Rila (Fig. 3b).⁸ This icon is in the Crypt Collection of



Fig. 3a. Icon Theotokos *kykkotissa* with Sts. George & Demetrius
Zahari Zograph, 1830



Fig. 3b. Icon Theotokos *kykkotissa Akathistos*
Ioanniki Vitanov, 1836

⁸ C. Brisby, 'An icon of the Bogoroditsa *kykkotissa* and Zahari's use of Orthodox engravings', *Проблеми на Изкуството*, 1 (2007) pp. 32–36.

the National Art Gallery in Sofia.⁹ The Akathist imagery in the mural decoration of the *katholikon* undertaken by Zahari at the Troyan Monastery in 1847 reflects an awareness of the border cycle in the engraving of the Theotokos *Akathist*, which had served Vitanov as a model a decade earlier. The Akathist imagery at Troyan implies the print of this engraving preserved in the Samokov Archive was the model Zahari used. On the other hand, prints of this engraving surviving in Bulgaria present alternative or additional models potentially known to Zahari and an unrecorded print at the Troyan Monastery itself is particularly relevant.¹⁰ The additional evidence of these two extra examples of influence substantiates the evaluation of the pre-eminent rank of these engravings and underlines the significance to the subject in hand of the surviving prints in the Samokov painters' archive. All but one of the four examples demonstrating the influence of these engravings in painting are found in the work of the Samokov painters, and two of them reflect the role of each of the engravings in the achievement of the most renowned Samokov painter, Zahari.

In this article, I seek to account for the exceptional influence of these two engravings. I examine how the prints in the Samokov painters' archive were used and discuss the idea that their function as prototypes of visual imagery was an integral part of the role assigned to them at their inception.

The evidence of the two influential engravings in the Samokov painters' archive exists in a condition which shows they were used. The prints of these composite engravings survive in fragments of individual scenes loosely dispersed in the archive (Fig. 4a, b).¹¹ This treatment of prints affects other prints in the archive, found to be exclusively Orthodox prints. This may account for the scholarly neglect of the Orthodox prints in the archive, in which the larger proportion of western prints has dominated attention.¹² Moreover, this method of treating prints is particular to prints with a composite format and these make up almost half the group of Orthodox prints in the Samokov painters' archive – comprising five of the total of eleven identified to date. The evidence of the Theotokos *Kykkou* engraving in the Samokov painters' archive is acknowledged but the reconstruction here is the most complete to date.¹³ Despite the evident influence of the other engraving of the Theotokos *Akathist* in Bulgarian painting, the existence of fragments of a print in the archive from Samokov is not, to this point, acknowledged in the literature.

One of the two prints of the Theotokos *Kykkou* engraving in the Papastratos collection is known merely from one of the surviving border panels and the record of only a

⁹ Sofia (HXT) Inv. 690. Cf. *National Art Collection Guide to the Crypt*, Sofia 1999, no. 32.

¹⁰ Troyan Monastery museum, recognised in 2004.

¹¹ Sofia (HXT) Theotokos *eleousa tou Kykkou* Inv. II 905–911, II 913–917, II 949, II 954; Theotokos *Akathist* Inv. II 880, 930–942, 944–945; II 1190/59–62.

¹² A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, pp. 342–343, 356–358.

¹³ Popova, *Зорафът...*, 183, note 20; S. Moscov, *Зорафти Захариеви у Филипе*, City Art Gallery, Plovdiv 2002, p. 23. The three extra fragments are II 907, II 905, II 909.

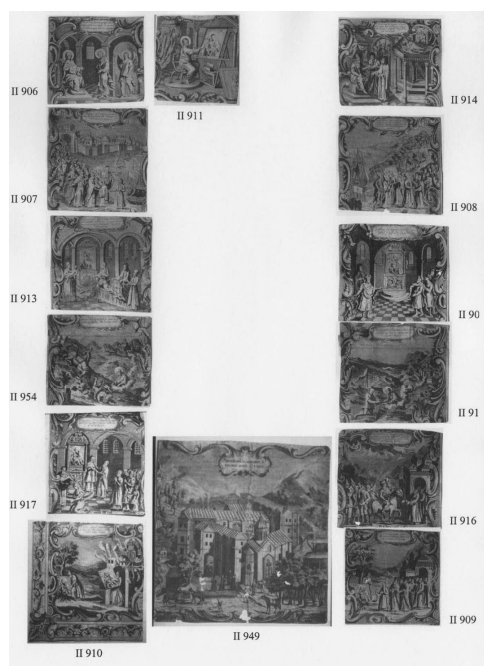


Fig. 4a. Engraving Theotokos *eleousa kykkou*, 1778, Samokov Archive, reconstruction from fragments



Fig. 4b. Engraving Theotokos *Akathist*, 1819, Samokov Archive, reconstruction from fragments

fragment of this print shows that that the fragmentary evidence of prints is not exclusive to the Samokov painters' archive.¹⁴ This suggests that cutting up composite prints was a widespread practice.

The issue of painters' use of prints leads to the question of standard models and the evidence that print-makers were also indebted to the engravings in focus attests to the pre-eminent stature of these engravings. A later copy of the Theotokos *Akathist* engraving survives in what are believed to be the archives of the Karastoyanov family of print-makers.¹⁵ This variant print of the engraving was published in 1836, made by Anthimos Alitzeridis on Athos, and its presence in another archive in Samokov illuminates the idea of common models and universal practices between artisan's workshops. The publishing house of Nicolai Karastoyanov was also in Samokov and historically significant as the first secular press in Bulgaria, active from 1828.¹⁶

¹⁴ Papastratos, *Paper Icons...*, cat. no. 539: the entry lists two in the Papastratos Collection, a significant proportion of which was bequeathed in 1993 to the Museum of Byzantine Culture in Thessaloniki.

¹⁵ Papastratos, *Paper Icons...*, cat. no. 126; and *ibidem*, p. 27, note 35.

¹⁶ E. Tomov, *Български Възрожденски шампи*, Sofia 1975, p. 61.

Given the evident impact of these two Orthodox engravings, I assess the factors they have in common to define the characteristics of exemplary prints. Both engravings are on an exceptional scale and the dimensions of nearly a metre in height endow them with monumental proportions.¹⁷ Both engravings adopt the composite format and display the same design of a central panel representing the Theotokos surrounded by smaller images of narrative content. In both cases, the sequence of the subsidiary panels runs horizontally from left to right and differentiates these series from the conventional circular, clockwise cycles of border imagery. The series of subsidiary scenes are, in both cases, closely indebted to text. The border series of the Theotokos *Kykkou* engraving is derived from a descriptive account of the Cypriot monastery and its miraculous icon, or *proskynetaria* in the form of text, commissioned by the Kykkos Monastery, compiled by monk Ephraim from the manuscript and oral sources and published in Venice by Antonio Bortoli in 1751.¹⁸ The twenty four scenes surrounding the central panel of the Theotokos *Akathist* engraving closely reflect the content of the twenty four verses of the important liturgical canticle of the *Akathistos*.¹⁹ The horizontal layout of the subsidiary series in these engravings directs a literary approach to imagery and acknowledges in form the type of source. The two subjects are of universal significance in Orthodox spirituality concerned with the Theotokos, one being the cult of the miraculous archetype icon venerated in the Kykkos Monastery and the other the liturgical worship of the *Akathistos kontakion*.

Both engravings have extensive inscriptions recording the respective commissions. The inscription on the engraving of the Theotokos *Kykkos* reads: 'This print with miraculous scenes around it has been made from one of the three venerable icons of the Theotokos and Child painted by Luke the Holy Apostle and now in the monastery of Kykkos in the island of Cyprus as testified by chrysobulls in the monastery issued by the then Komninos emperor [executed] through the efforts and at the expense of the wretched and least of hieromonks Kyr Meletios serving as procurator of this monastery. The composition of all the drawings by Michael of Thessaly son of the late Apostolis [and] the least of painters in the one thousandth and seven hundredth and seventy sixth year since the birth of Christ.'

An inscription in the centre of the outer lower border records the role of another patron: 'Do not forget O Virgin Kyprianos supervisor of the printing and pitiable Archimandrite of Cyprus.'²⁰

¹⁷ Theotokos tou *Kykkou* (II 905 etc.) 93 x 63 cms.; Theotokos *Akathist* (II 880 etc.) 73 x 50 cms.

¹⁸ *Η Περιγραφή της σεβασμίας και βασιλικής Μονής του Κύκκου ήτοι Δήγησις περί της εν Κύπρω αποκομίσσεως της θαυματουργικής αγίας Εικόνας της Υπεραγίας Θεοτόκου της λεγομένης Κυκκιδίτσας* (*Description of the venerable and royal Monastery of Kykkos or else/that is A Narrative of the transfer in Cyprus of the miraculous holy Icon of the Most Holy Mother of God the so-called Kykkotissa*), Venice 1751; Ephraim, later Patriarch of Jerusalem [1766–1771] is often referred to as Ephraim the Syrian. Also N. Christodoulou, ed., A. Jakovljević trans., *A Narrative of the Founding of the Holy Monastery of Kykkos and the History of the Miraculous Icon of the Mother of God*, Nicosia, Research Centre of the Kykkos Monastery 1996.

¹⁹ D. Attwater & V. McNabb, *The Akathist Hymn: Ode in honour of the holy... Virgin Mary*, Oxford 1947.

²⁰ Papastratos, *Paper Icons...*, cat. no. 539.

Accordingly, the engraving of the Theotokou *Kykkou* was commissioned in 1776 from a Greek painter by the abbot and the treasurer of the foremost monastery on Cyprus. It was published in Venice two years later, as the date 1778 is inscribed under the printed frame together with the names of the engravers Innocente Alessandri and Pietro Scattaglia. The production of this engraving was carefully monitored, for a print run of 3,000 is documented and twenty of these were hand coloured by two painters.²¹ Despite the scale of production, only five prints of this engraving are known to survive.²² This number includes the mutilated one in the archive of the Samokov painters and one in the Kykkos Monastery, which is coloured.²³

It is appropriate to pause here to assess the significance of colour on Orthodox engravings. The evidence of applied colour on prints of the Theotokos *Kykkou* engraving suggests that colour designated a particular function to monochrome prints. The coloured print at the Kykkos Monastery on Cyprus is one of the few known to survive intact. Another intact print of this engraving is illustrated at the Toplou Monastery on Crete and the published monochrome image suggests it also may be coloured.²⁴ These prints can therefore be recognised as two of the twenty coloured prints of the documented print run. Their survival intact in monastic collections implies that the applied colour attributed to prints the status of icon and governed their reception and function in that capacity. This hypothesis illuminates the spiritual function of Orthodox engravings, distributed to Greek monasteries on Mediterranean islands under Ottoman control. Offering an insight into the underestimated significance of coloured engravings, the case of colour on the Kykkos Monastery's engraving appears to be a differentiating indicator of status and function.²⁵ The notion of the role of colour attributing to engravings an iconic status is sustained by the evidence of the invariably monochrome prints handled by painters. The fragments of prints in the

²¹ O. Gratziou, 'Μεταμορφώσεις μιας θαυματουργής Εικόνας. Σημειώσεις στις Όψεις Παραλλαγές της Παναγίας του Κύκκου (Development of a miracle-working icon: notes on the later variants of the Mother of God of Kykkos)', ser. 4, 17, *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, (1993–1994), p. 323, fn. 31, from S. K. Perdakis, 'The Description of the holy monastery of Kykko in an engraving of 1778, *Annual of the Research Centre of the Kykkos Monastery*, 1, Nicosia 1990, p. 32, fn. 4.

²² Known prints of the Theotokos *Kykkos* engraving two from the fragmentary evidence in the Papastratos Collection (Cf. Papastratos, *Paper Icons...*, cat. no. 539); a third fragmented print, the one discussed in the Samokov Archive in Sofia (Cf. Popova, *Зографѣт...*, p. 183); a fourth at the Monastery of Our Lady of the Cape at Toplou on Crete (Cf. T. Provataki, *Χαρακτικά Ελλήνων λαϊκών δημιουργών 17-19 ος αιώνας Συλλογής Ιεράς Μονής Κυρίας ακρωτηριανής (Τοπλου), Σιτειας Κρητης*, Athens 1993, cat. no. 209); and a fifth at the Kykkos Monastery on Cyprus (Cf. C. Constantinides, *Η Δύγησης της Θαυματουργής εικόνας της Θεότοκου Ελεούσας του Κύκκου [The diegesis (narrative) of the miraculous icon of the Theotokos Eleousa of Kykkos according to the Greek Codex, 2313, Vatican]*, Nicosia 2002, p. 54).

²³ Constantinides, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

²⁴ Provataki, *op. cit.*, cat. no. 209.

²⁵ Papastratos, *Paper Icons...*, p. 21; W. Deluga, 'The influence of Dutch graphic archetypes on icon painting in the Ukraine, 1600–1750,' *Revue des Etudes Sud-Est Européennes*, 34 (1996), nos. 1–2, p. 5; *idem*, 'Views of the Sinai from Leopolis,' *Print Quarterly*, 14 (1997), no. 4, p. 385 for a coloured print of St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai.

Samokov painters' archive suggest that without the discriminating feature of colour, prints were liable to practical use in secular contexts and vulnerable to damages.

Returning to the second of the influential engravings, the circumstances of the commission of the later engraving of the Theotokos *Akathist* are given in the donor's inscription read in a circular line of text inside the printed frame: 'These joyous and world-saving 24 Oikoi of the Theotokos have been engraved on copper at the expense of the Most Reverend Athonite fathers Kyrioi Stephanos and Neophytos, painters by whom they were delineated for the common weal of the Orthodox in Venice 1819'.²⁶

The engraving of the Theotokos *Akathist* is one of five engravings with Athonite subjects the monks Neophytos and Stephanos commissioned in Venice between 1818 and 1820. Personally related with the family name of Skourtaios, the brothers Skourtaios travelled to Venice on behalf of the monastic community on Athos entrusted with the publication of the spiritual writings of an Athonite monk – and evidently also of prints. Amongst the total of five surviving prints of the Theotokos *Akathist* known to Papastratos, one in the Patriarchal collection in Alexandria epitomises the prestigious level of the distribution of these prints. The fragments of the print in the Samokov painters' archive is one of two additional prints encountered in this research, both of which are in Bulgaria. The other is the print at the Troyan Monastery. An inscription visible under the printed frame of the print at Troyan identifies the hitherto unknown engraver of the Theotokos *Akathist* as Giannantonio Zuliani, to whom the Skourtaios brothers entrusted four of the five engravings they commissioned in Venice.

As with the Kykkos Monastery's engraving, the patrons' concern for the circulation of the Theotokos *Akathist* engraving is also documented. In correspondence about religious texts sent by the Skourtaios brothers in 1819 to Greek teachers at a school at Kydonia in Asia Minor, there is reference to an engraving of the Theotokos *Akathist*.²⁷ There is also in their personal papers the evidence that the Skourtaios brothers supervised a later print-run of their original engravings in Venice in 1834 for distribution on Athos.²⁸ Not only does this establish the importance of the original commission as exemplary, the despatch of the original Venetian plates to Athos along with the consignment of prints also attests to the function of these images as workshop models. Vitanov's icon derived from the Skourtaios brothers' engraving and Zahari's treatment of the *Akathist* imagery at Troyan demonstrate the impact of these re-issued prints on the development of imagery in the Balkans. Vitanov's icon is inscribed with the date 1836, two years after these were republished in Venice in

²⁶ Papastratos, *Paper Icons...*, cat. no. 122.

²⁷ *Ibidem*.

²⁸ G. Golobias, I. Simonopetritis, 'Paper icons: from Venice to Mount Athos', *La Stampa e l'illustrazione del libro greco a Venezia tra il Settecento e l'Ottocento, Atti della Giornata di Studio Convegno 3, Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia*, ed. Ch. Maltezos, Venice 2001, p. 61.

1834, and Zahari's work at Troyan in 1847 reflects the prevalence of this imagery, indebted to the collective body of original prints and reprints circulating in Bulgaria.²⁹

In the case of these two composite engravings of the Theotokos, the attention given to documenting the donors, their official status and religious credentials reflects the significance of these engravings as products of institutional patronage concerned with the fundamental religious tenets of the Orthodox Church. The multilingual inscriptions on the Skourtaios brothers' engraving of the Akathist indicate the intended global dimension of its role addressing the diverse ethnic communities of the Orthodox spiritual realm. There are inscriptions in Greek, Cyrillic and Karaman, the Greek script used by the Turkish speaking Christian Karamanli communities of Asia Minor. In addition, an inscription in Italian observed under the printed frame of the print in the Troyan Monastery indicates that the engraving also addressed the Catholics of the Roman church: 'Inno detto da Greci Artiste divini Stanze in opera della Beata Vergine', (Hymn known by Greek artists as *The sacred salutations in honour of the Blessed Virgin*). However peripherally located, this phrase explicitly communicates to the Latin viewer the role of the Orthodox painter visualising liturgical text.

The universal scope envisaged in the donors' inscriptions enhances the designated exemplary role of the engravings. In celebrating a renowned miraculous icon, the Kykkos Monastery's engraving promotes a collective focus of Orthodox spirituality and the distribution of the prints of the Skourtaios brothers' engraving was clearly intended to cultivate common liturgical piety.

In addition, the Venetian manufacture of both engravings hints at the superior rank of these images amongst prints. The publication of the earlier of the two engravings in Venice is understandable, given the underdeveloped printing industry in the Orthodox domain in third quarter of the eighteenth century. On the other hand, the Venetian commission of the later engraving, published in 1819 when printing in monastic workshops on Athos was considerably well established, implies a conscious discernment for production in Venice, from which to infer the prestige associated with Venetian manufacture. The exceptional size of both engravings no doubt exploited the technical skills of Venetian expertise and the Theotokos *Kykkou* engraving is made up of four sections, struck from separate plates.

The enduring influence of the two composite engravings substantiates the notion of status perceived in Orthodox prints by virtue of their production in Venice. The four examples of the influence of these two engravings in painting measure the pace of influence. Christo Dimitrov's debt in the murals at Rila in 1799 to the print of the Theotokos *Kykkos* was a decade after publication of the engraving. Vitanov's debt to the Akathist engraving was almost two decades after the original engraving was published and merely two years

²⁹ In Russia, a variant of the Theotokos *Akathist* engraving edited by V. V. Ribenzov and technically supervised by A. P. Kopilov was published in Moscow in 1847; O. R. Khromov, N. Korneeva, *Prints of the Greek World in Moscow Collections*, Moscow 1997, cat. no. 35.

after the engraving was reprinted in 1834 in Venice and despatched to Athos. Zahari's mural scheme representing the Akathist Hymn at Troyan in 1847 measures his debt to the original prints known to him in an interval of nearly three decades, a debt no doubt prompted by a heightened awareness of the Venetian engraving due to the reprints circulating a decade after they were republished. Zahari's acknowledgement of the Theotokos *Kykkou* engraving in the panel icon inscribed 1830 demonstrates his use of a print over fifty years old.

The notion of the engravings of the Theotokos *Kykkos* and Theotokos *Akathist* as exemplary models is also derived from the original approach to iconography. Both engravings transform the iconography of the Theotokos into images of spiritual reality and actualise aspects of piety. They achieve this by reforming traditional conventions of imagery and by formulating new religious images, most conspicuously in the treatment of narrative.

An inventive approach to religious imagery is seen in the treatment of the *kykkotissa* iconography displayed in the central panel of the Kykkos Monastery's engraving. The subject of scholar's attention, the central panel represents the Theotokos as purported to exist on the cult icon itself with the inscribed epithet *eleousa tou Kikkou* (*Eleousa of Kykkos*) explicitly identifying the icon as the subject.³⁰ The border panels representing episodes associated with the cult icon substantiate the material properties of the central panel's subject, by depicting the icon in an objective historical perspective. This cycle of imagery is unprecedented and inaugurates a narrative dimension to the iconography of the *kykkotissa*.

The source for Michael of Thessaly's extended narrative of Luke painting the Theotokos is unknown. There is indistinct reference to a visual precedent in Ephraim's *proskynetaria*, when he acknowledges a debt for the narrative of Luke the painter to a source in the Kykkos Monastery's *katholikon* and by inference a visual model.³¹ Such a model is not found today, presumably lost in one of the fires ravaging the monastery repeatedly in 1365, 1542, 1751 (and 1813). It was unknown to Ephraim if it was damaged or destroyed prior to the devastating fire of 1751, the year his *proskynetaria* was published. As for the painter responsible for the extended cycle in the Kykkos Monastery's engraving, Michael's awareness of such a precedent was derivative if indebted to Ephraim's text. Michael from Thessaly was active in Cyprus painting icons at the monastery, amongst other commissions, from 1774–1799.³² Accordingly, the *katholikon* Michael knew was after the fire of 1751, and as rebuilt in 1785.³³

³⁰ Gratziou, *op. cit.*, p. 323; A. Weyl-Carr, 'Reflections on the life of an icon: the Eleousa of Kykkos,' *Annual of the Research Centre of the Kykkos Monastery*, 6, Nicosia 2004, p. 122.

³¹ Gratziou, *op. cit.*, p. 317, note 7; pp. 318–319, note 15.

³² Papastratos, *Paper Icons ...*, cat. no. 539.

³³ Gratziou, *op. cit.*, p. 317, note 4.

The new narrative images of the monastery and its cult icon nevertheless hint at Michael's awareness of Ephraim's text, as the compositions reflect the concern for historical veracity characterising Ephraim's account (Fig. 1a).³⁴ Individual scenes depict specific episodes, starting with the panel in the upper right corner dealing with the imperial gift of the archetype icon by the emperor Alexios I Comnenos (1081–1118) and founder of the monastery. The sequence then depicts the voyage of the icon by sea from Byzantium, its reception on Cyprus and the joyous procession of the icon to the monastery. The next six scenes treat miracles of healing and rescue attributed to the cult icon and the narrative concludes with the miraculous survival of the icon from destruction by the hazardous fires, in which other priceless possessions were lost including the chrysobull and typikon. The penultimate scenes no doubt allude to the then most recent conflagration at the monastery, the fire in 1751, causing devastation which is likely to have motivated the monastery's commissions of Ephraim's *proskynetaria* and of its visual counterpart Michael's engraving, as vehicles of a campaign to solicit alms.

The development of narrative characterising the innovative approach to imagery in the Kykkos Monastery's engraving bears also on the treatment of the iconography of St. Luke. A notable feature introduced into the imagery of the Theotokos from the mid-18th century visualising the icon as a product of painting, the image of St. Luke typically consists of the figure of Luke holding a paint brush and placed in smaller scale close to the Theotokos.³⁵ In the Kykkos Monastery's engraving, the depiction of Luke the painter is re-conceived and expanded into a narrative of the apocryphal account of the evangelist's role as painter. The figure of Luke with a paint brush is removed from the conventional position close to the Theotokos in the central panel and relocated to the border panels, where it features in three consecutive scenes representing the successive episodes of the narrative. These depict the archangel's annunciation to Luke, Luke making the images and Luke presenting the images to the Theotokos. As the most extensive treatment of Luke creating archetype icons, this triptych sequence enhances the objective perception of the monastery's cult icon, so well termed by scholars as the apotheosis of the icon.³⁶ Moreover, the position of this triptych sequence at the beginning of the border cycle imparts to it the role of sanctioning the innovative imagery of the historical narrative which then follows.³⁷

Complementing the function of imagery visualising St. Luke at work in certifying innovation, the issue of painters and their models is articulated in the donors' inscription of the Kykkos Monastery's engraving. The credentials of the painter responsible for the composition are specified in his personal identity, given as Michael from the Greek mainland, and in his professional identity as the son of Apostolis, by inference an icon-painter. The role of

³⁴ Constantinides, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

³⁵ Gratziou, *op. cit.*, pp. 324–325.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 323; A. Weyl-Carr, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

³⁷ Weyl-Carr, *op. cit.*, pp. 121–122.

the painter is again directly addressed in the donor's inscription of the Skourtaios brothers' engraving of the Theotokos *Akathist*. As well as commemorating their role as donors, the Skourtaios brothers' role as painters in the commission is explicitly stated in the clause attributing the composition of the engraving to them, even though their role as painters was implicit in their identity as monks, painting being an intrinsic part of a monk's tasks.

As shown in Michael's treatment of the *kykkotissa* in the Kykkos Monastery's engraving, the treatment of the Akathist imagery in the Skourtaios brothers' engraving also demonstrates a revisionist approach to Orthodox iconography, reinterpreting the long and rich tradition of Akathist imagery (Fig. 1).³⁸ The cycle depicts the content of each of the twenty four verses of the Akathist hymn structured in two equal sections. The first twelve verses, and corresponding scenes in the engraving, are concerned with the narrative of the Incarnation and the remaining twelve compositions represent theological implications of the Incarnation in themes of divine revelation. The approach to imagery in the cycle of the engraving reflects the representation of the Akathist as known in painters' manuals, having remarkable similarities to the treatment prescribed in Dionysius of Fournas's *hermeneia*.³⁹ This implies the Skourtaios brothers' debt to this text for their Venetian commission and enlarges on the significance of *hermeneiai* in developing iconography. The renown of the Skourtaios brothers' engraving suggests their use of Dionysius' text, circulating only in manuscript at the time, enhanced the exemplary stature of the prints produced from it.

At the same time, the Skourtaios brothers' engraving also demonstrates the scope for independent interpretation of the inherited tradition and topical invention. The composition of the 8th scene, representing the Journey of the Magi, reforms the standard iconography of the mounted Magi, conventionally represented in procession through mountainous terrain. The Magi are located on level ground and grouped around a central axis provided by the star placed centrally above them (Fig. 5a). Moreover, the Magi are depicted on prancing horses strongly reminiscent of the four Horses of St. Mark's (Fig. 5b). The engraving was published four years after the equestrian sculptures were restored to Venice in December 1815, after their removal in 1808 as trophies of conquest in the Napoleonic wars and controversial display on the Arche du Carrousel in Paris.⁴⁰ It is not unreasonable to assume that in the climate of the heightened awareness of Venice's acclaimed *palladia*, these sculptures were potent images to patrons and craftsmen alike. The demeanour of the group in the Skourtaios brothers' engraving and the prominent breastplates are features distinguishing the plates of the sculptures by Anton Maria di Gerolamo Zanetti & Anton Maria Alessandro Zanetti

³⁸ T. Velmans, 'Une illustration inédite de l'Acatiste et l'iconographie des hymnes liturgiques à Byzance,' *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 22 (1972) pp. 131–165; J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, 'L'illustration de la première partie de l'hymne Akathiste et sa relation avec les mosaïques de la Kariye Djami,' *Byzantion*, 54 (1984) pp. 648–702; A. Pätzold, *Der Akathistos-Hymnos. Die Bilderzyklen in der byzantinischen Wandmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1989.

³⁹ P. Hetherington, *The 'Painter's Manual' of Dionysius of Fournas*, Sagittarius Press 1978, pp. 51–52.

⁴⁰ C. Forman, *The Horses of St. Mark's*, London 2005, pp. 211–222.

published in Venice in 1740 (Fig. 5c).⁴¹ This credits the Zanettis' series of engravings of Greek & Roman sculpture in Venice with a contribution in promoting the imagery of these horses.

A more fundamentally significant innovation in the Skourtaios brothers' treatment of Akathist imagery is in the composition of the scene representing the 24th verse. The composition departs from Dionysius' text and introduces an altar on which is a candelabrum with lit candles. This invented image actualises the performance of Paleologian liturgical ritual by representing the icon of the Theotokos illuminated by candles before which the Akathist is sung.⁴²

As a final observation on the progressive aspects of imagery in these exemplary engravings, the narrative coherence of the subsidiary images is enhanced by a stylistic consistency. The repeated use of certain set-

tings orchestrates a modular regularity of standard compositions harmonising images of separate episodes often lacking consecutive narrative coherence. The formal and thematic integration of these images endows the subsidiary scenes of composite pints with autonomy to account for the interchangeable function of the central panel and subsidiary images of the two engravings displayed in Vitanov's icon of the Theotokos *Kykkotissa Akathist*. The independent roles of different parts of imagery can be recognised as a consequence of the development of narrative, expanding the scholarly notion of a hierarchy of imagery objectivising the icon.

A compelling factor for the case for the two Orthodox engravings designed as prototypes of innovative imagery is their reception by painters. Firstly, painters' acknowledgement of them as prototypes helps to account for the predominant influence of certain Orthodox engravings, and epitomised by these two. The characteristic division of prints into fragments of individual scenes shows the Samokov painters' organised method for handling these model prints. This systematic treatment demonstrates a methodical selection of pictorial compositions for, by inference, distribution of standard models in a workshop context. Fur-



Fig. 5a. Engraving Theotokos *Akathist*, 1819: detail of border scene representing 8th verse of Akathist, Journey of the Magi

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 172–173.

⁴² Attwater, V. McNabb, *op. cit.*, notes; B. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power. The Mother of God in Byzantium*, Pennsylvania 2006, p. 186.



Fig. 5b. The Horses of St. Mark's, Basilica Museum, Venice



Fig. 5c. From A.-M. G. Zanetti & A.-M. Zanetti series of engravings, Venice 1740

ther to this, the invariable loss of the central panel of composite prints which are divided up points to the segregation of parts and substantiates the academic notion of hierarchy. Zahari's acknowledgement of the central panel of the Kykkos Monastery's engraving in his icon of 1830 indicates, however, that central panels nonetheless functioned as painters' models but in different circumstances.

Zahari's interpretation of the central panel of the Kykkos Monastery's engraving demonstrates his perception of the model to sanction innovation in his icon. The addition of the figures of two military saints close to the Theotokos but on a smaller scale introduces a political dimension to the spiritual iconography, the saints George and Demetrius being foremost Slavonic saints typically represented as a pair (Fig. 3b). The transformation of the model image into an icon engaging with the topical issues of the period of national revival in Bulgaria illustrates the methods taken by Zahari to promote national consciousness in imagery and the scope of the increasingly interpretative role scholars perceive in the role of the painter.⁴³

Earlier, Zahari's father's use of the border panels of the same engraving demonstrates an alternative regard for the model authorising innovation (Fig. 2). The three scenes on the theme of Luke painting icons copied by Christo Dimitrov from the engraving in his mural scheme at Rila are the first three panels in a register of four. The fourth panel at Rila adds an extra composition to the sequence with a thematically unrelated subject. It represents an episode in the narrative of the local saint, the hermit Ivan from Rila, concerned with the death of his nephew from snake bite. This image is unprecedented in the iconography of Ivan Rilski and its juxtaposition at Rila with the sequence copied from the Kykkos Monastery's engraving shows Christo Dimitrov's regard for the imagery of Luke to authorise the

⁴³ Popova, *Решенията на...*, p. 33; Weyl-Carr, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

invention of iconography for the local saint. The interpretation of the model print at Rila not only demonstrates the Bulgarian painter copying the formal elements of the model but also imitating the function of imagery in the model print, namely the role attributed to the triptych narrative actualising Luke painting icons in validating the creation of images. These interpretations of the painters' printed model attests to the successful function of Orthodox engravings as examples of reform in Orthodox spiritual imagery from the period of the Enlightenment and after.

In conclusion, this discussion has identified the common features of two influential engravings to define the characteristics of exemplary engravings and has shown how the model role is integral to the commission. The status attributed to these engravings by means of their Venetian production, repeated distribution and extensive circulation is also explained. This sequence of production in a western centre and despatch to Orthodox monasteries common to both engravings is consistent with an existing pattern observed in prints published at the end of the 17th century in Leopold (Lwów, Lemberg, currently L'viv in the Ukraine) commissioned for the Orthodox community in the east, and focussing on St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai.⁴⁴ Moreover, the practice of colouring prints is shown to designate the spiritual function of Orthodox engravings to enhance their exemplary stature.

As exemplary images, the two engravings discussed promote innovative approaches to Orthodox religious imagery, reconciling iconography with narrative tending towards verisimilitude by resort to the composite format enabling clear demarcation of types of imagery. I have shown how extended narrative imagery may be subsidiary in size to the central panel but equal in function of the intended role of model. Promoting sources in text and a literary reception of imagery, the composite engravings offer versatile templates of validated innovative imagery. I discussed how the engravings exemplify an innovative approach to imagery and how their role as visual prototypes is explicit in the actualisation of painting and articulated in the role of painters addressed.

Lastly, I showed in the painters' achievement how their reception of these Orthodox engravings describes their regard for them as visual prototypes of innovation and invention. The division of composite prints characteristic of this archive illuminates a system of handling prints particular to the painters in Samokov and prompts the question of how far this was a universal workshop method. The material evidence of Orthodox prints in this painters' archive is an underestimated facet of the artistic achievement of painters in Samokov and of the rank commanded by painters from this family. More significantly, this article has illuminated the important role of Orthodox prints in icon-painters' working practice, clearly the most systematically used prints in this archive.

⁴⁴ Deluga, 'Views of the Sinai from Leopold'..., pp. 383, 389.

*Studies of Hagiographer Guilds in the Region of Macedonia during the 18th and 19th Centuries. The Lampou Family: the Earliest Hagiographer Family from Kolakia**

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One of the most well-known painter guilds in the region of Macedonia during the 19th century is that from Kolakia.¹ The guild consists of three families. The first one to appear is the Lampou family; the second is the Chatzistamati family² and last follows that of papa-Konstantinou.³ The present article focuses on the 'Lampou' family. Members of the oldest painter family from Kolakia are the brothers Margaritis, Dimitrios and Konstantinos Lampos, as well as their children. Based on the existing literature on this topic, we may conclude that Margaritis was the oldest brother of the family, the one who follows earlier

* This article constitutes a chapter of the author's PhD thesis, carried out in the department of Byzantine Arts and Archaeology of A.U.Th., entitled: 'The artistic identity of the guild of painters from Kolakia (a contribution in the study of 19th century hagiography)'. Due to the large number of paintings elaborated by the painters of this family, icons from the prefectures of Thessaloniki and Pieria have been mainly selected in the context of the present study. The author would like to acknowledge Prof. Athanassios Semoglou for his valuable comments and remarks.

¹ The region of Kolakia is situated 21 kms north-west of Thessaloniki. Its name turned to Pirgos at an unknown date. This name is recorded in the male registry of the Municipality of Chalastra from 1872 (the older archives were destroyed by fire) until 1925. Afterwards, the region is renamed to Chalastra, a name which is kept until our days.

² The Chatzistamati family is the first one for which available information demonstrates activities held outside the region of Macedonia. Indeed, its works have been found in Thessaly, in the temple of the church of St. Nikolaos Stomiou. For more details, see A. I. Tsigkaropoulou, Το τέμπλο του ναού του Αγίου Νικολάου Στομίου, δήμου Ευρυμενών (Η καλλιτεχνική ταυτότητα της συντεχνίας των κολακιωτών ζωγράφων και η τέχνη του Μητάκου Χατζησταμάτη), *Η Μονή του Αγίου Δημητρίου στο Στόμιο και η περιοχή των εκβολών του Πηνειού (Ιστορία, Τέχνη, Ιστορική γεωγραφία)*, Larissa 2007; to be published.

³ Regarding these families, see D. Evgenidou, 'Μια συντεχνία αγιογράφων του 19^{ου} αι. από την Κολακιά' *Μακεδονικά*, 22 (1982), pp. 180 and following.

painting patterns and teaches his younger brothers, Dimitrios and Konstantinos.⁴ He also teaches his sons, Athanasios Margaritis and Stavrakis Margaritis. Based on the signatures, it is not possible to identify the sons of Dimitrios. Finally, Nikolaos Konstantinou, Margaritis Konstantinou and Ntalas Konstantinou are probably sons of Konstantinos Lampou.⁵

The activities of this family are detected in the region of Thessaloniki, Chortiatis, Epanomi, Nea Mesimvria, Melissourgios, Liti, Melissochori, Drimos, Kilkis, Chalkidiki, Kolindros, Voultista and Aeginio in Pieria.⁶ To be more specific, based on the research findings thus far Margaritis Lampou works in the church of St George, at the top of Lofos in Kilkis,⁷ in St Athanasios in Griva,⁸ Kilkis, St George and Virgin Mary Epanomis,⁹ Chortiati,¹⁰ Panagia Dexia, Metropolis and Panagouda in Thessaloniki (Fig. 1) and in St Athanasios in Liti,¹¹ His earliest work dates back to 1813 and his latest one to 1853. The first of his works was traced in the church of St George in Chortiatis¹² and the most recent in St George Epanomis.¹³ He signs as follows: By hand, or hand, of Margaritis, or Margarete, or Margaritou Lampou from Kolakia (or without mentioning the toponym). Rarely, he signs with the initials: M.L.

⁴ With respect to the issue about which one is the oldest brother of the family, no clear evidence is available in the current literature. I. Zarra sustains that the oldest one should be Dimitrios, as the earliest work found bears his signature. Nevertheless, in the same study she mentions that the family of Margaritis is the one which formulates via its hagiographic activity a delineative system based on some fundamental elements that is going to apply during the whole 19th century presenting smaller or greater variations. She also mentions these painters as the oldest ones that serve as models for later artists. See Zarra, *Η θρησκευτική ζωγραφική στη Θεσσαλονίκη κατά το 19^ο αι*, Thessaloniki 1997, pp. 128, 131–132. D. Evgenidou supports that the oldest painter is Margaritis, since according to her research he owns the earliest work and he is the one who follows older painting types. See Evgenidou, *op. cit.*, pp. 181, 183.

⁵ We cannot be sure about Margaritis Konstantinou. He is reported by I. Papaggelos to be the brother of Nikolaos Konstantinou, son of Konstantinos Lampou, who worked in Chortiatis, see I. Papaggelos, *Εργαστήρια ζωγραφικής στη Χαλκιδική κατά το 19^ο αι., Α' Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης*, Athens 1981, p. 70. This information though is not confirmed by Pazaras, see. T. N. Pazaras, 'Έπανομή. Ιστορία-Μνημεία-Τοπογραφία', *Εταιρεία Μακεδονικών Σπουδών*, No. 79 (Thessaloniki 1973), pp. 82, 89 and ff. Furthermore, research this far has not come up with any works signed by this painter that verify his artistic activity. As for the painter Ntalas Konstantinou, we speculate that he is the son of Konstantinos Lampou, on account of the father name and the common stylistic characteristics exhibited in their works.

⁶ About the regions of activities of painters from Kolakia, see also Evgenidou, *op. cit.*, p. 182, and I. Zarra, *op. cit.*, p. 127 and ff.

⁷ *Αρχαιολογικοί χώροι και Μνημεία του νομού Κιλκίς*, Goumenissa, Theotokeia 2003, Thessaloniki 2003, p. 14.

⁸ Evgenidou, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

⁹ Pazaras, *op. cit.*, pp. 89–90.

¹⁰ Evgenidou, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

¹¹ Τετράδια Αρχαιολογίας 2, *Κατάλογοι εικόνων, Λειτουργικών αντικειμένων, Παλαιών βιβλίων*. Νομός Θεσσαλονίκης, Δήμος Μυγδονίας (Δρυμός, Δητή, Μελισσοχώρι), Thessaloniki 2004, p. 120.

¹² Refers to the icon of the Metamorphosis, see Evgenidou, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

¹³ Refers to the icon of St. George that depicts scenes from his life, see Pazaras, *op. cit.*, p. 90.



Fig. 1. St. Grigorios.
Hand of Margaritis Lampou from Kolakia, 1820
(Temple of Panagouda,
dimensions: 103 x 63 cm)

Dimitrios Lampou works in the churches of Prophet Elias in Voultista,¹⁴ St George and Sta Theodora Kolindrou, St. Athanasios, the Hypapante,¹⁵ Laogiditria, St. Minas, St Constantine and Helen, Nea Panagia, and Panagouda Thessalonikis, Vasilika and St Athanasios Litis. His oldest signed work dates to 1796 at St Athanasios Thessalonikis¹⁶ and the most recent to 1849 at Prophet Elias Voultistas¹⁷ (Fig. 2). He signs as: by hand of Dimitrios Lampou from Kolakia (or without the toponym), or Dimitrios Lampou, or with the initials: D.L.

Konstantinos Lampou, the third brother in line based on their dated works, paints in St Athanasios Neas Mesimvrias,¹⁸ St George Epanomis,¹⁹ St George Chortiaty,²⁰ St George²¹ and Sta Theodora Kolindrou, Hypapante²² (Fig. 3) and St Constantine and Helen in Thessaloniki. His earliest work dates to 1832 and comes from St George Epanomis,²³ while the most recent works to 1857, located at St Athanasios in Nea Mesimvria.²⁴ He prefers a

¹⁴ Evgenidou, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 193.

¹⁶ We refer to the icon of the Three Hierarchs at the church's temple.

¹⁷ Refers to the icon of St. Charalampos. Among the unsigned works of Dimitrios Lampou that are attributed to the painter based on the various iconographic and stylistic characteristics, the older ones are dated to 1784 (Gorgoepeikoos, confessional of St. Minas Thessalonikis, the Fountain of Life, St. George Kolindrou, Fig. 10) and the most recent to 1852 (Panagia Portaitissa in New Panagia). We observe that the early works of the artistic production by the Lampou family are saved through the production of Dimitrios, not Margaritis, who is according to the existing literature the oldest brother of the family.

¹⁸ E. Makri, *Ο Άγιος Αθανάσιος Νέας Μεσημβρίας. Ιστορία, Εικόνες, Κειμήλια*, Thessaloniki 2006, p. 61.

¹⁹ Pazaras, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

²⁰ Evgenidou, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 194.

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ Icon of Theotokos Vrefokratousa, see Pazaras, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

²⁴ Refers to nine despotic icons. About their themes, see Makri, *op. cit.*, p. 29 and ff.

complete signature: by hand of Konstantinos Lampou from Kolakia, or by hand of Konstantinos Lampou.



Fig. 2. St. George.
Hand of Dimitrios Lampou from Kolakia 1849
(Temple of Prophet Elias Voulvistas,
dimensions: 88 x 60 cm)



Fig. 3. Pantokrator.
Confiteor of God's slaves anastasios
and stamathis hand of Konstantinos lampou
from Kolakia, 1844
(Temple of Hypapante,
dimensions: 110 x 73 cm)

As far as the second generation of the Lampou family is concerned, research demonstrates that Athanasios Margaritis works in Griva Kilkis and in Vafiochori,²⁵ Liti and Melissochori.²⁶ Based on his dated works, he seems to start his artistic production in 1850 at St Athanasios at Griva Kilkis²⁷ and he completes it in 1859 in the church of Theotokos in Vafiochori.²⁸ He uses a complete signature: by hand of Athanas(s)ios Margaritis, or by hand of Athanasios Margaritis from Kolakia.

²⁵ Evgenidou, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

²⁶ Τετράδια Αρχαιολογίας 2..., p. 120.

²⁷ The iconographic theme of the painting is: The Harrowing of Hell, see Evgenidou, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

²⁸ Refers to the icon of Apostles Peter and Paul, see, *ibidem*.

The work of Stavrakis Margaritis is detected in St Athanasios Neas Mesimvrias,²⁹ in the church of St Constantine and Helen, Nea Panagia and the Metropolis of Thessaloniki (Fig. 4), Assumption of Virgin Mary in Drimos, St Athanasios in Liti and St George in Melissochori.³⁰ His earliest works date to 1855 and they were found in Drimos, in the church of the Assumption of Virgin Mary.³¹ The latest one was found in the church of Nea Panagia in Thessaloniki. It is a banner with a bifacial depiction of the Resurrection that dates back to 1893 (Fig. 5). He signs as: by hand of Stavros or Stavrakis Margaritis from Kolakia.

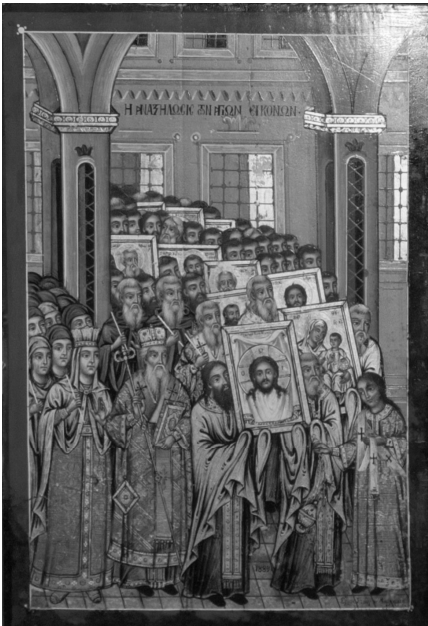


Fig. 4. The restoration of the holy icons, 1899; work of Stavros Margaritis (Comes from the church of St Hypatios. Located at the metropolitan Museum, dimensions: 41 x 31 cm. See A. Semoglou, as above, p. 78, fig. 28)



Fig. 5. Labarum (bifacial representation); 1893. Work of Stavros Margaritis from Kolakia (Nea Panagia Thessalonikis – Storehouse)

²⁹ Makri, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

³⁰ Τετράδια Αρχαιολογίας 2..., pp. 120–121.

³¹ *Ibidem*, figs. ΔΚ 25, ΔΚ 38, ΔΚ 42.

Nikolaos Konstantinou works in Nea Mesimvria,³² Panagia and St George Epanomis,³³ Sta Theodora and St George Kolindrou,³⁴ in the Metropolis and Prophet Elias Pilaia. Based on the signatures of his dated works, he painted his first work in 1862 for the church of St George Kolindrou³⁵ (Fig. 6), while his last works date to 1882 and they are located in the church of St George in Epanomi.³⁶ He signs as: hand (or by hand) of Nikola or Nikolaos Konntinou or Konstantinou or Konst (without a father name), from Kolakia (or without the toponym). As already mentioned, we do not have information about the activities of the painter Margaritis Konstantinou. It is worth though to mention here the work of Dalas Konstantinou, located in the church of St Athanasios in Liti, which dates back to 1860.³⁷ Based on the pictorial and stylistic characteristics of the painting, as well as the father name and the years when he works, we speculate that this is about the son of Konstantinos Lampou.

The painters work in pairs or triads in order to deliver big requests to churches, and they sign individually. Stavrakis Margaritis for instance cooperates almost always with his brother Athanasios Margaritis and the Chatzistamati brothers.³⁸ In the temple of St Athanasios in Liti a painting was found where Stavrakis Margaritis works with his brother and his father.³⁹ This is the only case so far regarding the first family of hagiographers from Kolakia, where three artists place their signatures in common. Finally, we report the work on the bema door of St George in Chortiatis, which dates back to 1840 and bears the signature: Hand of Margaritis, Konstantinos from Kolakia.⁴⁰ This signature indicates

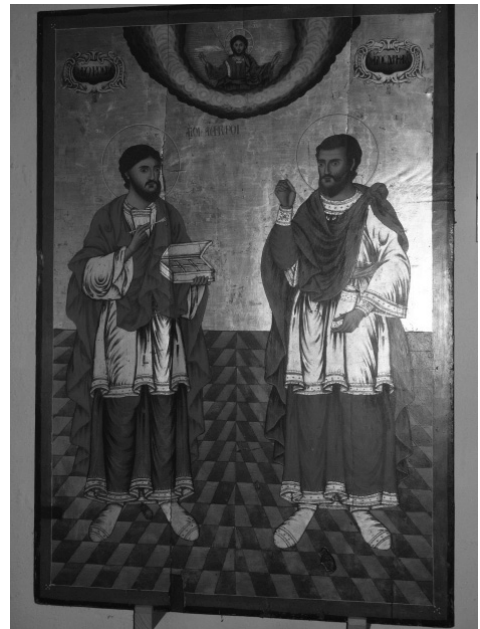


Fig. 6. Agioi Anargyroi: St Kosmas and St Damianos.
Hand of Nikola of Konntinou, 1862
(St George Kolindrou – loft,
dimensions: 104.5 x 72.5 cm)

³² Makri, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

³³ Pazaras, *op. cit.*, pp. 90–91.

³⁴ Evgenidou, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

³⁵ The icon, which is located in the church loft, depicts the Agioi Anargyroi.

³⁶ Refers to four icons. About the iconographic issues, see Pazaras, *op. cit.*, pp. 90–91.

³⁷ Τετράδια Αρχαιολογίας 2..., p. 120.

³⁸ Evgenidou, *op. cit.*, pp. 181, 185.

³⁹ Τετράδια Αρχαιολογίας 2..., p. 120.

⁴⁰ Evgenidou, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

the cooperation of the two brothers, Margaritis and Konstantinos Lampou, and provides support to the notion implying the cooperation of members that belong to the same family in order to elaborate a work, and not that of a new member of the family, as considered by I. Papaggelos,⁴¹ and concluded by I. Zarra.⁴²

The painters from Kolakia sometimes sign their works, some others not. We suggestively mention that out of a total of 292 works related to the artistic production of the Lampou family in the prefectures of Thessaloniki and Pieria, only 69 bear the signature of their creator. The rest have been attributed to artists based on their specific pictorial and stylistic characteristics. Unsigned works are mainly encountered in the case of mass production. The raised demand for icons in the 19th century, the revival of the interest in religious iconography, a consequence of the paramount importance that the church plays in the everyday life of the believers,⁴³ lead to the direct absorption of these works, as well as their approval on behalf of the public. Given the abundant hagiographic production, which exhibits almost industrial rates, the remembrance of the artist's name is considered to be optional, as their long-standing presence in the artistic actuality already creates a distinct tradition.⁴⁴

The themes treated by their works vary greatly and they include scenes from the Dodekaorton, the lives of saints and the depiction of individual saints. Their iconographic repertoire comprises and reproduces themes and models from earlier metabyzantine icons. Among these, one may observe themes that are frequently depicted, such as the depiction of St Nikolaos, along with the permanent presence of divine figures, Christ and Virgin Mary, as well as other themes emphasizing on the human nature and historical presence of Christ on earth, such as the Pentecost, the Root of Jesse, the Holy Mandelion, the Fountain of Life, St Constantine and St Helen with the Cross. Moreover, we encounter fixed standard themes with a clear doctrinal content and cult purpose, such as Virgin Hodegetria and Christ Pantocrator, rare and unusual themes, such as the depiction of the protoplasts, the Erection of the Holy Cross, the Stoning of Stephan and finally themes, such as the Restoration of the Holy Icons⁴⁵ (Fig. 4), with strictly defined iconography, which are enriched with elements of biographical depiction of everyday life.

⁴¹ Papaggelos, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

⁴² Zarra, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

⁴³ A. Semoglou, Η συλλογή εικόνων του Εκκλησιαστικού Μουσείου της Ιεράς Μητρόπολης Θεσσαλονίκης: Μια πολύτιμη μαρτυρία για την παλαιολόγεια και μεταβυζαντινή θρησκευτική τέχνη της Θεσσαλονίκης, *Το Εκκλησιαστικό Μουσείο της Ιεράς Μητρόπολης Θεσσαλονίκης*, Thessaloniki 2007, pp. 79–80.

⁴⁴ Zarra, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

⁴⁵ For further information about the themes of the 19th century, see Zarra, *op. cit.*, p. 271 and ff. For the depiction of the Restoration of the Icons by a painter from Kolakia, see Semoglou, *op. cit.*, p. 78. General information on the iconography regarding the restoration of the icons may be found in A. Dranaki, 'Η Αναστήλωση των εικόνων: Παράδοση και ανανέωση στο έργο ενός Κρητικού ζωγράφου του 16^{ου} αιώνα', *Μουσείο Μπενάκη*, 1 (2001), p. 59 and following.

In order to depict the above themes, they consult iconographically the interpretation of Dionysios and they are inspired by copper and Mt. Athos engraving relief printings, as well as by the general rules of metabyzantine art.⁴⁶ Comparisons among the various painters lead to the conclusion that Margaritis, Dimitrios Lampou, Athanasios and Stavrakis Margaritis use the same anthivola. Konstantinos Lampou follows the rules of the above painters as far as the depiction of facial characteristics is concerned, but he follows Mt. Athos norms regarding the depiction of garments.⁴⁷ The style of Konstantinos is followed by his son Nikolaos Konstantinos, who – along with Stavrakis Margaritis – seem to draw away significantly from the style of Kolakia after the middle of the century and henceforth. In general, as time passes by we remark that the actual artistic influences differentiate the artistic spirit and conclusively hagiography approaches the art of painting of religious themes, without losing, though, the immediacy of its folklore style.⁴⁸

While studying the art of these painters, one may notice some common stylistic characteristics which are: the background is rarely golden and in case it does not bear any architectural elements (Fig. 4) – which are synoptically and schematically declared – or the depiction of a natural landscape (Fig. 7), it is divided in two levels (Fig. 6). The floor is often depicted abacus-shaped (fig. 6) or with multicolor strokes (Fig. 1). The frames are also adorned in the same manner and they are defined by a white tape internally, which bears anthemia and spots in the corners, and by a black one externally. The figures are large (Fig. 1), unless the representation depicts many persons, the faces of young persons are oval, while the elder are characterized by oblong faces. Common elements among painters from Kolakia constitute the dark proplasms in the depiction of sarcomas, intense writings for the depiction of facial characteristics, intense almond-shaped eyes, profile-depicted noses, and the contour of the lips and wrinkles (Fig. 2). The garments are depicted with dark colors, they bear anthem decoration (Fig. 1), while the pleats are not



Fig. 7. St John The Precursor.
Hand of Dimitrios Lampou from Kolakia,
1844
(Temple of Hypapante, Thessaloniki,
dimensions: 110 x 73 cm)

⁴⁶ Zarra, *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 142.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 144.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*.

declared via intense writings but mainly by golden embellishments (Fig. 3). Furthermore, the depiction of gold-inlaid thrones is governed by an intense decorative mood, and so are the nimbuses, which are declared by dotted ornaments⁴⁹ (Fig. 1).

Despite the common features of the paintings created by the first family of hagiographers from Kolakia, some differentiations that characterize the artistic identity and personality of each painter are also observed. Margaritis and Dimitrios Lampou exhibit most similarities. They use the same models, they attribute the facial and garment characteristics in the same manner, the floor in their paintings is usually dotted and in general they are governed by an intense decorative mood with respect to details. We deem that in the works of these two painters the characteristics of hagiographers from Kolakia may be detected in their finalized form⁵⁰ (Figs. 1, 2, 7). As far as their differences are concerned, Margaritis prefers multicolor frames, while Dimitrios usually chooses dotted decoration (Figs. 1, 7). In addition, the architectural background in the works of Margaritis is more elaborately declared, comprising more detail, thoroughness and the perception of the third dimension. On the contrary, the architectural background plays a secondary role compared to the central figure or representation in the works of Dimitrios.⁵¹ Moreover, Dimitrios prefers to depict faces in a more luminous, plastic fashion (Figs. 2, 7).

The elements where the art of these two painters is differentiated lead to the conclusion that Margaritis keeps in his work features that remind the artistic quality of earlier times, since he concentrates on older painting types, while Dimitrios seems to be more influenced by the commands of the 19th century art and its western models. With relation to the question which one is the oldest brother, we cannot give a clear answer, as they work almost simultaneously. The fact that the oldest extant work belongs to Dimitrios is not indicative, because overall research on these paintings has not yet been finished. Should we like to credit one of them with a pioneer role, we shall encounter once more significant difficulties. We could reply that the older one should be Dimitrios, as his works seem more complete and evolved. Indeed, we notice a desire for enrichment and originality along his artistic evolutionary course, which might characterize him as a painter with a discrete personality that does not merely copy, yet he transfers models to the contemporaneous and later painters of the family. One sure thing is the two of them together set the grounds for a successful artistic course of a laboratory which covers 122 years of continuous production.

Konstantinos Lampou (Fig. 3) uses more intense colors in his compositions, which he uses purely, without any admixtures. The architectural background is depicted secondarily, as is the case of Dimitrios, but with fewer details regarding the depiction of houses and the natural landscape compared to his older brothers. He paints monochrome frames, as does

⁴⁹ Tsigkaropoulou, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁵⁰ Evgenidou considers that these characteristics are encountered only in the work of Margaritis' see Evgenidou, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

⁵¹ Τετράδια Αρχαιολογίας 2..., figs. ΛΑ 14, ΛΑ 122.

his brother Margaritis. Nevertheless, he prefers to draw the characteristics of figures and the garment pleats using more intense writings and contrast between shades and lightening, unless it concerns secondary persons of the composition.

With reference to the art of Athanasios Margaritis (Fig. 4), the limited existing samples demonstrate that he follows literally his father's model, with whom he usually works. Indeed, similarities may be observed between the works of the two painters concerning the depiction of the frame, the architectural background and the characteristics of the figures. His art is differentiated substantially in comparison to that of his precedents in terms of the depiction of noses, which are more flat, and his timid attempt – without significant success – to declare the profile of figures.

His brother, Stavrakis Margaritis, follows the general characteristics of the art of painters from Kolakia, reproducing frames in a single color, such as his brothers Margaritis and Konstantinou, dotted floors and he gives a secondary role to architectural background, as does Dimitrios. He shows no perception of the third dimension and he fails to declare the profile of figures, as Athanasios Margaritis. He thus depicts more schematic figures, which are simply declared in space, while with respect to the garments, he uses colored lazure (red or green) over their decoration instead of writings or lighting in order to depict the pleating. The natural landscape is depicted in an intense schematic manner. The way trees are depicted is also very representative (by two concentric cycles, one above the other).

It is worth to mention the stylistic evolution of Stavrakis Margaritis' work, as it evolves before and after the middle of the century. To be more specific, if we observe some of his works with the same theme that were painted with a 13-year interval in-between,⁵² we notice intense differentiation in terms of the models he follows, as well as the facial details, which are depicted more oblong in his post works, with more intense writings and whiter lightings. In addition, figures are depicted more slender, the architectural background and the natural landscape are further simplified and in general the decorative spirit is suppressed. Finally, a difference is also noticed with respect to the frames, which constitute the most representative feature of hagiography from Kolakia (no anthems are depicted in the corners).

We cannot be sure whether this is about a stylistic evolution of the same painter or of Stavrakis' disciples that follow his art, while Stavrakis simply signs their works. Given though that usually in the case of mass production the painters from Kolakia, as already mentioned, do not sign their works – signed works are fewer compared to the unsigned ones – we conclude that these works were of Stavrakis, who draws away significantly from the workshop's tradition after the middle of the century.

Next follows Nikolaos Konstantinou (Fig. 6), whose art is surprisingly similar to his father's. The difference consists in the fact that Nikolaos simplifies the pleats of the figures' garments, as well as the decorative motives.

⁵² Τετράδια Αρχαιολογίας 2., pp. 117, 224. Figs. ΔΚ 99 (1855), ΛΑ 135 (1868).

The painter Ntalas Konstantinou, probably son of Konstantinos Lampou as implied by the references to his father's art, is characterized by the intense colors he uses and the dark proplasms. In his signed works – not many – one can notice many similarities with the work of Konstantinos, so that we cannot be definite to attribute their unsigned works to either one of them.

Following the thorough report about the common characteristics of painters from Kolakia, the detection of the differences among them, as well as the overview of their artistic evolution in time, we conclude that Margaritis and Dimitrios Lampou establish the main types and features of this art, followed afterwards by Konstantinos and the next generation of hagiographers. Each one of them, according to his personality, adopts the art to the actual demands and aesthetic reality, enriching it with new or removing any redundant elements (e.g. intense decorative spirit). Despite the fact that these painters differentiate substantially and given their artistic evolution, one may perceive the difficulties involved in correctly attributing their unsigned works, bearing in mind that a big number of signed works is not available.

In our attempt to compare the works of the first family of hagiographers from Kolakia with those of the second and third, we remark that the Chatzistamati family⁵³ chooses to depict oblong faces, to use darker proplasms and pale lighting, more intense writings, shades and sarcomas below the eyes. Pleats in garments are depicted more liquidly using lighting, while the natural or architectural background is declared in a conventional manner, without insisting in details (Fig. 8). Finally, the frame is depicted following the technique from Kolakia, but with spots, not an-thems, in the corners.



Fig. 8. St John The Precursor, 1883
Hand of Mitakos Cha[tzi]stamati from Thessaloniki
(Temple of St Nikolaos Stomiou,
municipality of Evrimenes,
dimensions: 89 x 55 cm)

⁵³ Based on available data so far, the activity of the Chatzistamati family begins in 1854 with Dimitrios Chatzistamatis in St. Dimitrios Kolindrou and finishes in 1906 with the work of Mitakos Chatzistamatis in the Metropolis of Thessaloniki. The Chatzistamati family comprises of three brothers, Dimitrios, Ntakos, and Mitakos.

As for the production of Papa-Konstantinou family⁵⁴ which comes next, we remark that the Chatzistamati style is adopted, using oblong faces and dotted frames, but in the same time white lightings resembling masks are preferred, the facial characteristics are more intensely depicted, while an attempt is also made to reproduce the third dimension in the icon's background, be it a natural landscape or an architectural composition (Fig. 9).

These are the research data so far and the findings resulting from the study of a sample of 292 icons from 16 churches in the prefectures of Thessaloniki and Pieria, compared among them and with the production of next families of hagiographers from Kolakia. As far as the comparative of the above works with the workshops of Litochoriton⁵⁵ and Galatsianon⁵⁶ painters which are contemporaneous with those from Kolakia, we notice that each workshop seems to work autonomously, exhibiting strong local features, without being influenced or copied by colleague groups.⁵⁷ The common features among guilds concern the inflow of western influences and they are related to the static and voluminous depiction of figures, wide lightings, as well as specific motives, such as the western veil of Virgin Mary, the lilies in the Annunciation etc.⁵⁸

In summary, the guild of painters from Kolakia hold a pioneer position among the workshops of the 19th century in the region of Macedonia, as its activities begin in 1784 (Fig. 10), at the same time with the emergence of the Galatsianiko workshop and thirty-two years before that of Litochoro. In the beginning, its artistic character was local and familiar, while afterwards it turned into a small industry that produced massively icons in order to respond to the acceptance and recognition of its art by the public. This is about a civil art with intense popular characteristics that reflects the financial prosperity of the region during the 19th century. It constitutes a special art which is not limited to copying, but marks modern hagiography. Undoubtedly, the hagiographers from Kolakia are dominant in the 19th century and they compete all other hagiographic workshops that decline after the middle of the century as a consequence of their inability to meet the actual needs and to adopt to new artistic trends.⁵⁹ On the contrary, the painters from Kolakia continue their production until the beginning of the 20th century, till 1906.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ The Papa-Konstantinou family consists of two brothers. Zisis papa-Konstantinou, who works from 1867 until 1880, and Michael that continues the production until 1896; see Evgenidou, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

⁵⁵ The activity of the workshop from Litochoro begins in 1816 with the painter Anastasios and finishes in 1899 with the painter Ioannis Kafkos. The two of them, along with the painter Ioanni A.R. constitute the three known painters of this workshop; see Zarra, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 112, 114.

⁵⁶ The activity of this workshop begins in 1784 with the priest-monk painter Makarios and finishes in 1899 with the works of George Athanasiou; see *ibidem*, pp. 118, 120.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 286.

⁵⁸ Tsigkaropoulou, *op. cit.*, pp. 6–7.

⁵⁹ The activity of the Galatsianiko and the Litochoritiko workshops finishes in 1899; see Zarra, *op. cit.*, pp. 112, 120.

⁶⁰ The last works produced by the painters from Kolakia are signed by Dimitrios Chatzistamati and date to 1906. It is about the icons of the Filoxenia of Abraham and the Sacrifice of Abraham. They are located at the Metropolitan Mansion of Thessaloniki.

Their ability to adopt in a most flexible fashion to the artistic demands of their age leads them to pioneer in the artistic field of the 19th century and to contribute dynamically to the evolution of religious painting.



Fig. 9. Sta. Theodora
(Sta Theodora Kolindrou,
dimensions: 30 x 23.5 cm)



10. The Fountain of Life, 1784
(Temple of St George Kolindrou,
dimensions: 103 x 73 cm)

Table I. Hagiographer Families – Lampou Family

Painter Name	Earliest work	Latest work
Margaritis Lampou	1813, Metamorphosis, St. George, Chortiatis	1853, St. George, St. George, Epanomi
Athanasios Margaritis	1850, Harrowing of Hell, St. Athanasios Griva, Kilkis	1859, St. Peter and Paul, Birth of Virgin Mary, Vafiochori
Stavrakis Margaritis	1855, St. Nikolaos, Three Boys in Furnace, The Exile of the Protoplasts, The Assumption of Virgin Mary, Drimos	1893, Labarum depicting the Resurrection, Nea Panagia, Thessaloniki
Dimitrios Lampou	1784, Gorgoepikoos, St. Minas, Thessaloniki. The Fountain of Life, St. George, Kolindros	1849, St. Charalampos, Prophet Elias, Voultista
Konstantinos Lampou	1832, Virgin Mary Holding the Child, St. George, Epanomi	1857, Temple of St. Athanasios, Nea Mesimvria
Nikolaos Konstantinou	1862, St. Kosmas and St. Damianos, St. George, Kolindros	1882, Baptism of Jesus, St. John Chrysostom, St. Panteleimon, St. Gregory the Theologian, St. George, Epanomi
Ntalas Konstantinou	1860, St. Hypatios, St. Athanasios, Liti	Other works have not been found

