

SERIES BYZANTINA

Studies on Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art



VOLUME X

Warsaw 2012



SERIES BYZANTINA
SERIES BYZANTINA

Studies on Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art

VOLUME 3



CARDINAL STEFAN WYSZYŃSKI UNIVERSITY

Warsaw 2012

SERIES BYZANTINA



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

EDITOR:

Waldemar Deluga

EDITORIAL BOARD:

Anca Bratuleanu, Bucharest

Viktoria Bulgakova, Berlin

Ana Dumitran, Alba Iulia

Mat Immerzeel, Leiden

Michał Janocha (chairman), Warsaw

Alina Kondratjuk, Kiev

Magdalena Łaptaś, Warsaw

Jerzy Malinowski, Warsaw

Márta Nagy, Debrecen

Athanassios Semoglou, Thessaloniki

Tania Tribe, London

Natasha Tryfanava, Minsk

ADMINISTRATOR:

Dominika Macios

EDITORIAL ADDRESS:

Institut of History of Art

Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University

ul. Wóycickiego 1/3

PL 01-938 Warszawa

wdeluga@wp.pl

Revised by Nicholas Barber, Athanassios Semoglou and Nicholas Smith

Cover design, typographic project, illustrations editing and typesetting by Paweł Wróblewski

Continuation of the series published by the NERITON Publishing House

The issue subsidized by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education

© Copyright by Waldemar Deluga

ISSN 1733-5787

Printed by Sowa - Druk na Życzenie

www.sowadruk.pl

tel. (48 22) 431 81 40

Edition of 400 copies

Introduction

Contents

Introduction.....	7
<i>Agnieszka Groniek</i> , The Officiating Bishops of the Fresco Cycle in the Church of St. Onouphrios, Posada Rybotycka: the Problem of their Identification.....	11
<i>Dariusz Milewski</i> , The two missions of Petar Parchevich to Poland.....	27
<i>Vanya Sapundzhieva</i> , The cults of St. Rocco and St. Haralambos in the Eastern Mediterranean and in the Balkan.....	49
<i>Cornel Tatai-Baltă</i> , The Icon of the Virgin Which Shed Tears at Bishop Petru Pavel Aron's Death (1764).....	61
<i>Iliana Zarra</i> , The synthesis of a new iconography under the stimulus of emerging Greek liberation.....	67
<i>Taras Stefanyshyn</i> , Sacred Art in Ukrainian Art Studies of Lviv in the 1920s-1930s. Personalities, works, tendencies.....	105
<i>Anca Brătuleanu</i> , Quelques notes sur la modernité de la recherche architecturale de Georg Balş.....	117
<i>Iryna Hayuk</i> , Yaroslav Dashkevych.....	123

EDITOR:
Waldemar Deluga

EDITORIAL BOARD:
Anca Brateanu, Bucharest
Viktoria Bulgakova, Berlin
Ana Dumitrescu, Alba Iulia
Nina Immerzeel, Leiden
Michał Jasiński (chairman), Warsaw
Alma Koudřatová, Kiev
Maggelena Lepiało, Warsaw
Jerzy Mielniczek, Warsaw
Mária Nagy, Debrecen
Konstantin Nikolov, Sofia
Tania Tche, London
Natalia Wawrzyniak, Warsaw

ADMINISTRATOR:
Waldemar Deluga

EDITORIAL ADDRESS:
Journal of Ukrainian Art Studies
c/o Waldemar Deluga
ul. Włocławskiej 1/3
Warsaw 01-645
tel. 22 62 62 62
e-mail: wdeluga@wp.pl

Yvonne Sponandshiane, The cult of St. Rocco and St. Hilarion in the Eastern Mediterranean and in the Balkan
Cornel Yvon-Bușă, The Icon of the Virgin Which Shed Tears at Bishop Peter Pavel Aron's Death (1764)

Ilina Zheva, The synthesis of a new iconography under the stimulus of emerging Greek liberation

Taras Stepaniuk, Sacred Art in Ukrainian Art Studies of Lviv

in the 1920s-1930s. Personalities, works, techniques

Anca Brănuțanu, Quelques notes sur la modernité de la recherche architecturale de George

Lynda Hoyle, Yaroslav D. Kikavych

ISSN 1732-7797

Printed by Sowa - Kraków
www.sowa.pl
tel. 71 62 62 62

Edition of 400 copies

Contents

Introduction

Agneska Groniec, The Offsetting Bishop of the Fresco Cycle in the Church of St. Onofry, Poznań
Krzysztof Rybczyński, The Problem of their Identification

Grażyna Mielniczek, The two missions of Peter Parthenios to Poland

Yvonne Sponandshiane, The cult of St. Rocco and St. Hilarion in the Eastern Mediterranean and in the Balkan

Cornel Yvon-Bușă, The Icon of the Virgin Which Shed Tears at Bishop Peter Pavel Aron's Death (1764)

Ilina Zheva, The synthesis of a new iconography under the stimulus of emerging Greek liberation

Taras Stepaniuk, Sacred Art in Ukrainian Art Studies of Lviv

in the 1920s-1930s. Personalities, works, techniques

Anca Brănuțanu, Quelques notes sur la modernité de la recherche architecturale de George

Lynda Hoyle, Yaroslav D. Kikavych

© Copyright by Waldemar Deluga

Introduction

The tenth volume of *Series Byzantina* brings a long lasting research of numerous scientists from various countries to a conclusion. It presents directions of scientific exploration of our associate institutions in Central Europe. Back when we started to discuss ideas for a scientific journal, we had no support from scientific institutions. Discussions held in Kiev and Gdańsk led to the presentation of the first articles on the website even before the first volume was published. At that time, we did not have sufficient funds to publish a book, but thanks to the courtesy of the Neriton publishing house, we could finally publish the early volumes. Now, we want to come back to the idea of presenting the content of our volumes on the website; first archived issues in an electronic form will follow soon.

As always, in this short introduction we would like to present the most important achievements of Polish Byzantologists. Special mention goes to the group of young scientists at the Pontifical University of John Paul II and the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, Piotr Grotowski and Sławomir Skrzyniarz, who organized two international conferences on Byzantine art. They combined the efforts of scientists from both the past and the present capitals of Poland (i.e. Cracow and Warsaw) to conduct joint research, some of it published in this journal. In the 8th volume, *Series Byzantina* presents materials from the 2008 conference *Towards Rewriting? New Approaches to Byzantine Archaeology and Art*. In September 2012, they held the second conference *Μίμνησις in Byzantine Art: Classical, Realistic or Imitative?* This one was also attended by many scientists from abroad. In December 2012, the community in Cracow held another conference on the history book, with many papers on illustrations in Orthodox liturgy books.

The initiatives of Polish Byzantinologists include a new research centre *Ceraneum*, named for Waldemar Ceran, a historian who posthumously donated his library to the University

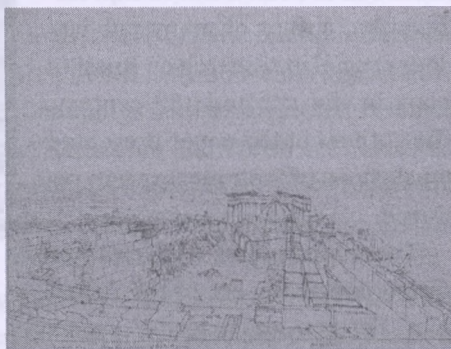


Fig. 1. William Gell, Holy Virgin church, Parthenon, drawing, 1811, British Museum

of Łódź. Research at *Ceraneum* is interdisciplinary and covers various areas of interest and methods.

Another important centre of Byzantine studies is Institute Artes Liberales at the University of Warsaw, run by Rev. Michał Janocha. Together with his peers, Aleksandra Sulikowska-Gąska, Irina Tatarowa and Karolina Wiśniewska, he held two scientific conferences *Byzantium and Renaissances*, a Polish one in 2008 and an international one in 2011. These meetings greatly fostered interest in artistic relations between Eastern and Western Christianity.

One prominent book we would like to mention is *Ikonotheke*, dedicated to Prof. Barbara Dąb Kalinowska, author of many publications crucial in research on Russian icons in the 17th and 18th century. The authors of the paper presented conclusions of their most recent research.

The ninth volume of *Series Byzantina* covers the art of the Armenian diaspora and includes papers from the conference of April 2010, which accompanied the exhibition *Ars Armeniaca*. The end of 2011 saw another Armenian studies conference, with Polish and Ukrainian scientists working together on a book on the history, culture and art of Armenians in Lviv, as the Armenian cathedral in Lviv celebrates its jubilee anniversary in 2013.



Fig. 2. Supraśl monastery church, photos taken in 1947, Archive, Institute of Art, Warsaw

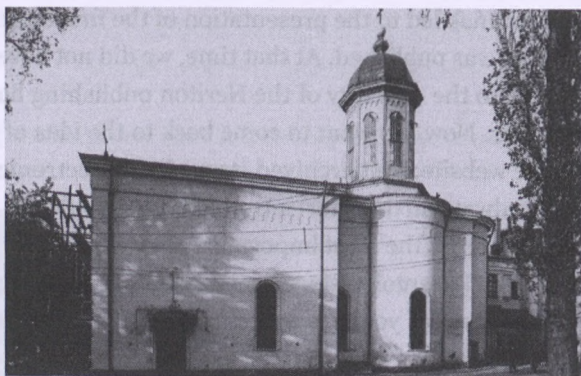


Fig. 3. Crețulescu church, photo, ca. 1930, Archive of the National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucarest



Fig. 4. Crețulescu church, photo taken in 2006

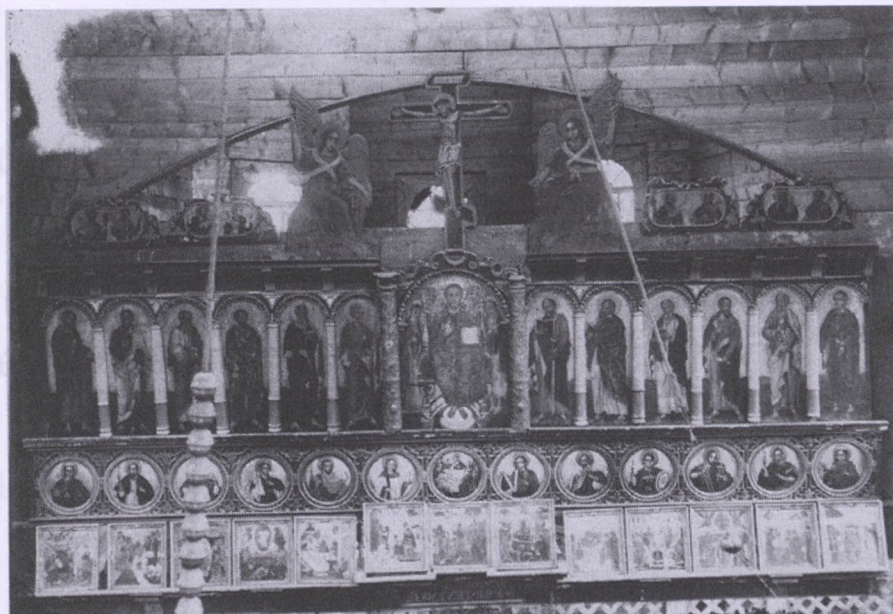


Fig. 5. Iconostasis, church in Lipie, ca. 1925, Jarosław Konstantynowicz Archive, Rural Architecture Museum of Sanok

In Central Europe, comparative studies usually analyze the artistic relations between the East and the West. However, the direction North – South is by no means any less important. Some time ago, Răzvan Teodorescu, a Romanian scientist, suggested research in this area (“between Istanbul and Poland”). Some Romanian and Polish art historians followed this direction (especially Tadeusz Chrzanowski, co-author of the first Polish book on the history of Romanian art). Our previous volumes included similar papers on artistic relations between Poland and Moldavia.

In our seventh volume, we started publishing papers on Bulgarian art. In this tenth volume, we present two more articles on Bulgaria. Moreover, we get back to the issues in history of research, following the discussion started at the conference in Toruń in 2011, which was held by the Polish Institute for Studies of the World Art. We would like our journal to grow and include more elements: reviews, short descriptions of little-known relics, documentation of demolished relics. Studies of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine art are an attempt to reconstruct what has been lost through wars and political activities. This is why for this line of research, iconographic documentation from past centuries and literary works are so crucial. We would like to invite all researchers to work on the future volumes of *Series Byzantina*.

Waldemar Deluga

of Lo
inter
areas
Ar
Byza
Libe
saw
Toget
Sulik
and H
two
num
in 200
2011
inter
Easte

One
like to
dedicated to Prof. Barbara Dab Ka-
followed this direction (especially
the history of Romania etc.) Our previous volumes included similar papers on a
relations between Poland and Moldova.

In our seventh volume we presented articles on Bulgaria. Moreover we got back to the history of Romania which was held in the first volume. The articles published in this volume were devoted to the relations between Romania and Poland. There were also articles on the relations between Poland and Romania. The articles were published in the journal of the Polish Academy of Sciences in 2011. The articles were also published in the journal of the Polish Academy of Sciences in 2011. The articles were also published in the journal of the Polish Academy of Sciences in 2011.

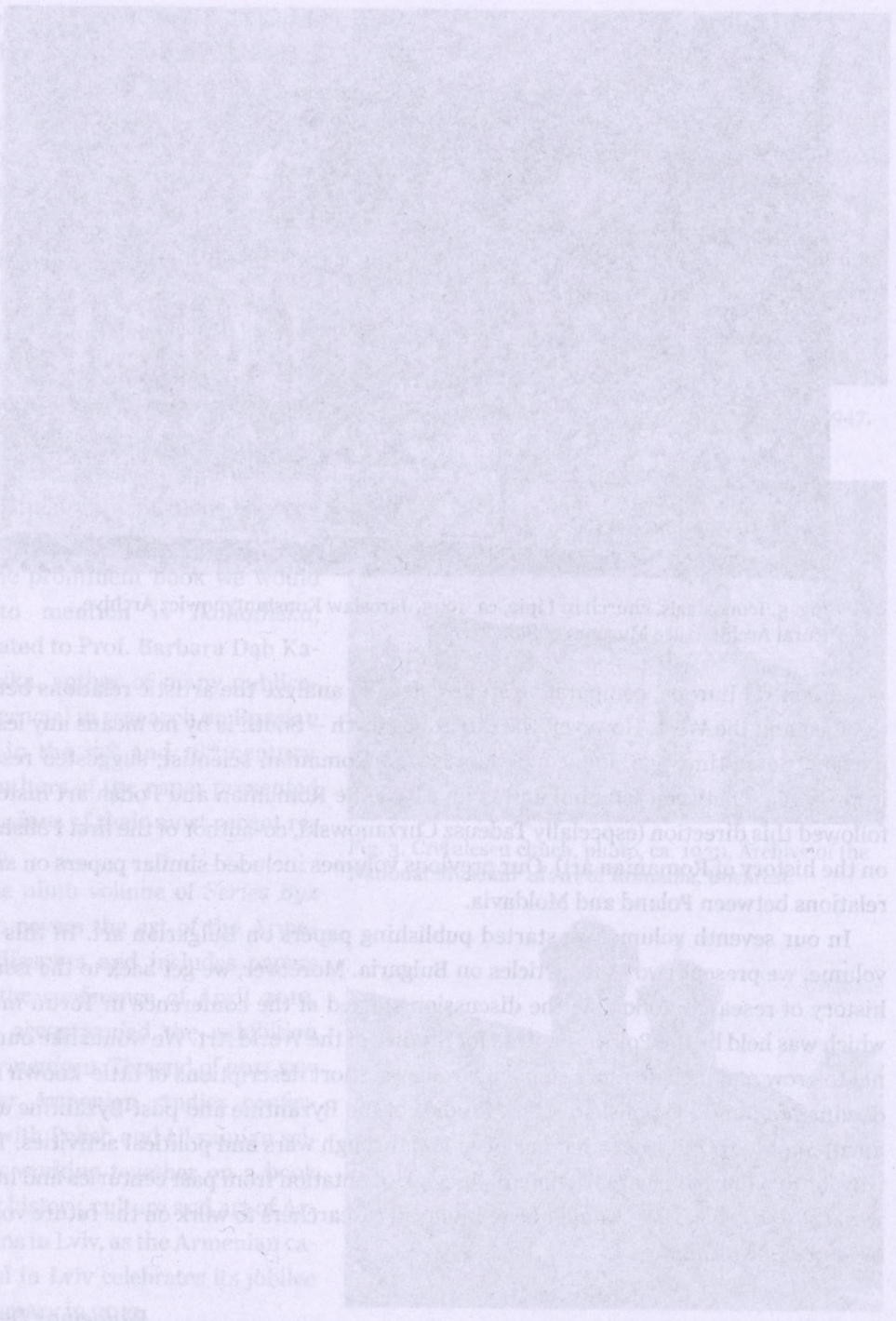


Fig. 4. Crețulești church, photo taken in 2006

*The Officiating Bishops of the Fresco Cycle in the Church of St. Onouphrios, Posada Rybotycka: the Problem of their Identification**

Agnieszka Gronek, Jagiellonian University, Cracow

In this article an attempt is made to identify the bishops represented in the scene *The Officiating Bishops* in the sanctuary of the old orthodox church of St. Onouphrios in Posada Rybotycka near Przemyśl (fig. 1). The paintings in this church were discovered by Wojciech Kurpik in 1966, who published his findings in 'Materials of the Museum of Folk Architecture'¹. Anna Różycka Bryzek gave a preliminary description of the painted decoration in the sanctuary, dating it to the 15th century, and publishing her findings in 1986 and 1994². These findings provide a perfect basis for further, more detailed, study, particularly given that, further fragments of the frescoes have since been discovered.

The walls and the vaulting of the presbytery and nave were covered with artwork arranged in zones. Research carried out during the restoration process has shown considerable technical and stylistic differences in the frescoes in both areas of the church, indicating different painters and different time periods for their creation. The techniques employed, according to Janusz Lehmann's findings, suggest that the painted decoration is

* This article is part of an exhaustive monograph on paintings in the orthodox church in Posada Rybotycka currently being drawn up by its author, although more detailed and substantiated findings require further study.

¹ W. Kurpik, 'Odkrycie malowideł w cerkwi w Posadzie Rybotyckiej pow. Przemyśl', *Materiały Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego*, 4 (1966), p. 72-74; Idem, 'Dalsze prace nad odkryciem malowideł ściennych i napisów w cerkwi w Posadzie Rybotyckiej', *Materiały Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego*, 7 (1968), pp. 53-56.

² A. Różycka Bryzek, 'Program ikonograficzny malowideł w cerkwi w Posadzie Rybotyckiej', in: *Symbolae Historiae Artium. Studia z historii sztuki Lechowi Kalinowskiemu dedykowane*, Warszawa 1986, p. 349-365; Eadem, 'Новооткрытые росписи церкви в Посаде Рыботыцкой и их иконографическая программа', *Пятнадцать культуры. Новые открытия*, 1993 [1994], pp. 108-120.



Fig. 1. Posada Rybotycka, St. Onuophrios' church in, the main view (all photos by Piotr Krawiec)

close in date to those used in Moldova in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries³. In addition, these findings are corroborated by an initial iconographic analysis that indicates two independent painting schemes. The earlier of these probably dates from the sixteenth century, and is to be found in the presbytery, while the later one is to be found in the nave.

The Officiating Bishops representation, which has been chosen as the topic of this paper, is situated in the lowest zone of the painted decoration in the sanctuary. As a result, in this introduction I intend simply to describe the sanctuary decoration, leaving other sections for later analysis. In the middle of the sky-blue painted cradle-vaulted ceiling, there was originally a multicoloured sphere, which probably showed a representation of Christ Pantocrator. Despite considerable damage to the painting, this interpretation is supported by the existence of seven circles that have been carved into the mortar using compasses, the centre of which is filled with ochre forming the ground for a number of unclothed body parts (e.g. faces). To the east, on the vaulting axis small fragments of painting are to be found which support the identification of the outline of a front-facing six-winged seraph. This figure has his head turned to the west and his folded side wings inclined towards the

³ J. Lehmann, *Cerkiew w Posadzce Rybotyckiej. Sprawozdania z badań laboratoryjnych, cz. II, Freski, zasolenia* (1984), typescript in Muzeum Narodowym Ziemi Przemyskiej w Przemyślu, p. 47.

east. For the purposes of symmetry, there was most probably, an analogous representation on the opposite side of the sphere, but there are no remaining traces to corroborate this.

Below, from the north and south, angels follow to the east in two rows of six. They are represented as tall three quarter-facing anthropomorphic beings, who have dark haired, haloed heads, and a pair of long wings covering their torsos, but which reveal long, white bare feet. Unfortunately, the loss of a considerable part of the painting makes it impossible to decide whether anything is being carried in their outstretched hands, although these hands do appear to be in a position suggesting adoration or intercession.

Below, on both sides, abutting the narrative representations on the walls, in sky-blue zones, separated with a thick white frame, there are seven, front-facing six-winged angels—probably seraphim. Their whole bodies, with the exception of a small rhomboid of the face, are covered by their wings which are placed with one pair of wings angled upwards, and another downwards. Yet another set of wings, used for flying, is to be found at the sides of each figure.

All the angels are depicted with white wings, with clearly delineated feathers, that are arranged in the same fashion, with the exception of the first angel on the southern wall, whose wings are crossed and slightly longer at the bottom.

On the highest part of the western wall, in a field which is delimited by the arch of the cradle roof above, there is a representation of the Madonna and Child, seated upon a throne, attended by four archangels. There has been considerable damage, in particular to the central part of the image, where the original layer of plaster was lost and subsequently replaced. Despite this, the outline of a figure wearing a long sky-blue dress and a dark brown cloak which also covers the haloed head, is visible. The Virgin is seated, front-facing on an oval cushion placed upon a solid bench which takes the form of a large coffer supported by four disproportionately short legs. The dark area in front of the Virgin strongly suggests that originally Christ was depicted there. Unfortunately it is, today, impossible to state with confidence the iconographic type of this image, or whether Christ was directly on the Virgin's lap or was raised above it. The irregular shape of the remaining ground layer rules out only the representation of Emmanuel in a *clypeus*. On either side of the throne there are two three-quarter facing angels who are dressed in white tunics with a decorative trim at the bottom and tied with *loroses*. They are addressing the seated couple with outstretched hands in a gesture of adoration.

Below, in two zones covering the northern, eastern and southern walls of the sanctuary can be found: *The Communion of the Apostles*, *The Last Supper*, *The Washing of Feet*, and below, and of particular interest here, *The Officiating Bishops*, along with *The Unsleeping Eye* and *The Man of Sorrows*. The scheme is completed by a white curtain below it, modelled in ochre and decorated with two strips of an undulating form and circles dependent upon other circles along the three walls of the sanctuary.



Fig. 2. Posada Rybotycka, fresco of the presbytery, view on the western wall



Fig. 3. Posada Rybotycka, fresco of the presbytery, view on the southern wall

In the scene of *The Officiating Bishops*, the participants, who are placed under the arch of the arcade, are presented as complete figures showing a three-quarter profile towards the altar they are approaching, again with arms outstretched in a gesture of adoration. On the southern and eastern walls the procession continues into infinity (fig. 2, 3). The procession is led by an angel in deacon's robes. These robes are a short white *sticharion* which has a brown *podriasnik* showing from beneath, and an *orarion* hangs loosely from the shoulder. Seven hierarchs follow the angel, two on the eastern wall, and five on the southern. The first hierarch has a white *sakkos*, covered in its entirety with black crosses which have dark brown circles upon them, like *polistaurion*. The other hierarchs are dressed in white *phelonions* on *sticharions* of various colours. Their clothes have complementary *epigonations* or *encheirions*, and also alternating yellow and blue *epitrachelions* and *omophorions*. Although there is considerable damage it is possible to discern distinct facial features and various lengths of hair and beard. In close proximity to the last of the saintly dignitaries an inscription *ΔΕΩΝΗΣΙ* – Dionysius (fig. 10, 11) can be seen. The rearmost member of the procession is a deacon dressed similarly to the angel, except that his *podriasnik* is navy blue. From the sketched outline of two geometric figures, a rectangle and a triangle, which emerge from a dark background, he may have held not only the end of the *orarion*, but also an *artophorion* in his right hand (fig. 11). This object, which was used to store the Sacrament for the sick or for the Liturgy of the Presanctified Offerings, was often in the shape of a church – sometimes the local church. However, the suggestion that this one represents a model of the orthodox church in Posada is far too risky a hypothesis if based on this unclear image.

Part of the procession on the opposite side was broken by two representations: *The Unsleping Eye* and *The Man of Sorrows* (fig. 2, 4). Because of this, the procession here has fewer members, and on both the eastern and northern walls there are three fields enclosed by an arcade from the top, which contain three figures. Once again the procession is led by an angel in deacon's robes, who is followed by two Patriarchs, the first one in a *sakkos* decorated with crosses, the second wearing a *phelonion*. Unfortunately there has been damage to the top sections of the scene which makes it impossible to make out any characterisation of their facial features. On the northern wall a further three church dignitaries in *phelonions* face the altar with their palms raised in supplication. The central figure is sole among them in having an inscription – *СТИ ГРИГОРИ* – St. Gregory (fig. 8).

The procession of bishops, who were selected over the centuries from the ranks of saints, and whose importance as protectors of the rightful orthodox doctrine gradually increased, first took its place in sanctified buildings in the eleventh century⁴. In the oldest surviving Panagia Chalkeon in Thessaloniki and in the Cathedrals of St Sophia in Kiev and Ohrid, they were shown full-face, but from the next century representations which were

⁴ Ch. Walter, *Sztuka i obrządek Kościoła bizantyńskiego*, Warszawa 1992, pp. 194–203.



Fig. 4. Posada Rybotycka, fresco of the presbytery, view on the northern wall

less static and stylised became more prevalent, showing hierarchs, slightly bowed and in three-quarter profile, moving to the east in two equal processions. In most cases an altar is shown in the middle of the apse wall, on which, from the end of the twelfth century a representation of the Holy Child was placed on the paten (Kurbinovo, 1192), and from the fourteenth century a representation of the deceased Christ⁵. The selection of bishops who were represented was not prescribed, but was dependent upon local custom. However, in most cases the procession was opened by two great patriarchs who were also creators of the liturgy, John Chrysostom on one side, and Basil the Great on the other⁶. Generally directly behind them, or on occasion further back in the procession were Gregory of Nazianzos, Athanasios, Cyril of Alexandria and Nicholas of Myra.

There is no reason to doubt that the procession of bishops in Posada Rybotycka is headed by the afore-mentioned liturgists. As a traditional pattern was generally strictly followed for their facial features, instant recognition is often possible when examining images of these hierarchs of the orthodox church as well as others. John Chrysostom has a characteristically ascetic face with hollow cheeks and a high forehead. And, although the

⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶ S. E. J. Gerstler, *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries: Programs of the Byzantine Sanctuary*, Seattle & London 1999, p. 22.

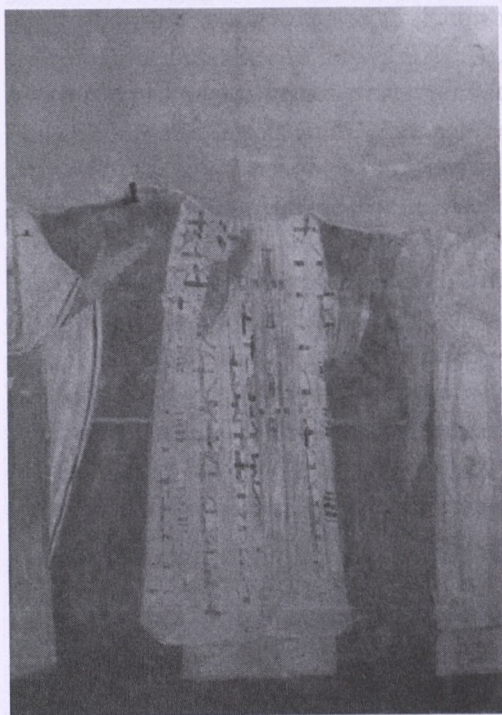


Fig. 5. *John Chrysostom*,
detail from *The Officiating Bishops*

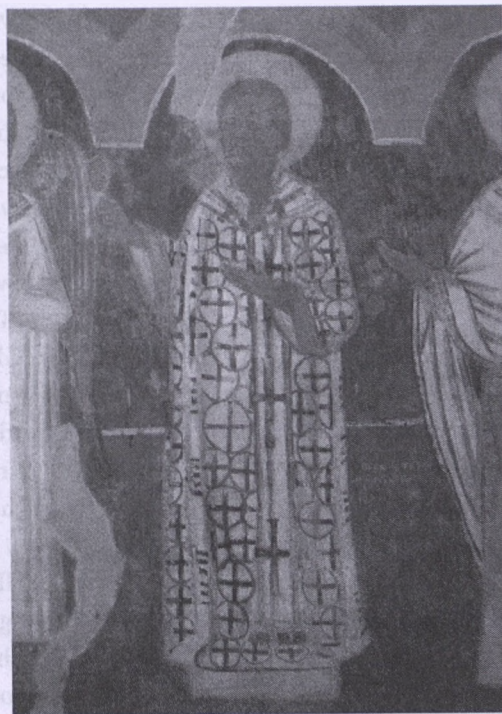


Fig. 6. *Basil the Great*,
detail from *The Officiating Bishops*

Hermeneia recommends his presentation as a “young man with a short beard”⁷, and in *The Stroganov Patternbook* he is represented as a young man with curly hair and a thick short beard⁸, in earlier works he is also represented as a balding emaciated man with a short, white, pointed beard⁹. Basil the Great, who died at the age of fifty, is not represented as an old man, and his face, which is elongated but not thin, is fringed with black hair and a long, pointed beard¹⁰. So even though in the presbytery of the orthodox church in Posada the face of one of the hierarchs has been obliterated, it is very probable that he is John Chrysostom (fig. 5), as the other one, on the opposite side, with a rounded face, thick, dark hair and a long, pointed beard is undoubtedly Basil of Caesarea (fig. 6).

While in the earliest of the sanctuary representations of the Patriarchs in the Cathedrals of St Sophia in Kiev and Ohrid both these saints appear dressed in simple *phelo-*

⁷ *The 'Painter's Manual' of Dionisius of Fournas*, transl. P. Hetherington, London 1996, s. 54; pol. transl. Dionizjusz z Furny, *Hermeneia czyli objaśnienie sztuki malarskiej*, Kraków 2003, s. 195.

⁸ Ch. F. Kelley, *An Iconographer's Patternbook: The Stroganov Tradition*, Torrance 1999, p. 205.

⁹ O. Demus, ‘Two Palaeologan Mosaic Icons in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 14 (1960), p. 84–119.

¹⁰ A. Chatziniolaou, ‘Basil’, in: *Reallexicon Byzantinische Kunst*, vol. 2, ed. H. Maguire, Stuttgart 1996, p. 25.

nions, from the following century John Chrysostom is depicted wearing a particular type of *phelonion*, completely covered with crosses, which is known as a *polistaurion*. In depictions of this early date this type of robe is sometimes also worn by Epiphanius of Cyprus, Gregory of Nazianzos and of Nyssa, Basil the Great and Athanasios of Alexandria, as in the case of St. Panteleimon's orthodox church in Nerezi¹¹. However, in Posada Rybotycka the two hierarchs are dressed not in *polistaurions*, but in a *sakkos* adorned with crosses, similar to that of Christ in *Communion of the Apostles*, placed above. From the fourteenth century John Chrysostom was associated with this type of garment, although at times other bishops were also shown wearing it¹². The earliest Ruthenian representations of this great hierarch dressed in a *sakkos* adorned with crosses within circles come from the fifteenth century, in, for example, icons from the *Deesis* zone in the Elevation of the Holy Cross orthodox church in Drohobych¹³, and from Strilka near Old Sambor, from Javor near Turka and from Ilnik¹⁴. Both of the liturgists can sometimes be seen thus adorned in paintings from the first half of the fourteenth century on the walls in orthodox churches in Bucovina, for example in the *Last Judgment* in Voroneţ or in the cloisters in Probota¹⁵.

The identity of the bishops immediately following the creators of the liturgy is unclear. According to frequently used practice in painting one of them could be Gregory the Theologian, as seen in St. Panteleimon's orthodox church in Nerezi¹⁶, in the orthodox church-morgue of Bachkovo monastery¹⁷, and often in Kastoria (Hagios Anargyros, Panagia Koubelidiki, Taxiarches, Hagios Athanasios)¹⁸, in St. Nikita's church in Čucher¹⁹, in Sopočany, Studenica, and St. Saviour in Chora (Kariye Müzesi) in Constantinople. Gregory the Theologian, one of the major hierarchs of the Church, and a great Cappadocian Father, has been memorialised since the eleventh century on January 30th, together with John Chrysostom and Basil the Great. This resulted in an increase in their representation together, where he is seen as an old, balding man with a thick, widely bifurcated, slightly rectangular beard. This is the way

¹¹ I. Sinkevič, *The Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi; Architecture, Programme, Patronage*, Wiesbaden 2000; Ch. Walter, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹² Ch. Walter, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

¹³ Touring Museum, Drohobych, no i-191; L. Miliaeva, *The Ukrainian Icon 11th – 18th centuries. From Byzantine sources to the Baroque*, Bournemouth – Saint Petersburg 1996, no 92; Патріарх Дмитрій (Ярема), *Іконопис західної України XII-XV ст.*, Львів 2005, fig. 526.

¹⁴ All from second half of fifteenth century, National Museum, Lviv; Патріарх Дмитрій (Ярема), *op. cit.*, figs. 513, 558, 564.

¹⁵ A. Ogden, *Revelations of Byzantium. The Monasteries and Painted Churches of Northern Moldavia*, Iași, Oxford, Portland 2001, pp. 87, 193.

¹⁶ I. Sinkevič, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹⁷ Е. Бакалова, 'Фрески церкви-гробницы Бачковского монастыря и византийская живопись XII века', in: *Византия. Южные Славяне и древняя Русь. Западная Европа. Искусство и культура, Сборник статей в честь В. И. Лазрева*, Москва 1973, p. 217.

¹⁸ M. Chatzidakis, *Kastoria. Byzantine Art in Greece*, Athens 1985, pp. 25, 30, 86, 95, 108; S. E. J. Gresler, *op. cit.*, fig. 21.

¹⁹ Ch. Walter, *op. cit.*, fig. 60.

that *Hermeneia* suggests he should be represented²⁰, and in *The Stroganov Patternbook* his beard is longer and rounded²¹.

It seems, however, that in Posada Rybotycka Gregory the Theologian is not standing behind either John Chrysostom or Basil of Caesarea. The bishop on the right has luxuriant dark hair and a small beard, a representation which is far from Gregory's established iconography. The top parts of the bishop on the left are damaged, but in the area currently obscured with plaster immediately under the face there isn't enough space for a beard as wide as those in the representation of the bishop in the Saviour's monastery church in Chora (Kahriye Camii)²² and in Myriokephala in Crete²³, or as long as the beard on the wall of the orthodox church of the Holy Mother Periblettos in Mistra²⁴, on the *Three Hierarchs* icon dating from the first half of the fourteenth century in Tretyakov Gallery²⁵ or in *The Stroganov Patternbook*²⁶. In view



Fig. 7. *Gregory the Great?*, detail from *The Officiating Bishops*

of this information, the figure of the bishop in the middle on the southern wall, marked out with the inscription - *СТИ ГРИГОРИ*, should be Gregory of Nazianzos (fig. 8). While he is often depicted as a balding old man, here, in the remaining fragment of the painting, the hair on his head is clearly visible. None of the other Gregories can boast such a luxuriant and broad beard²⁷. He has a beard of a similar length in an icon by Andriey Rublov with Danila Cherny in the *Deesis* zone in the orthodox church in the icon by the creator of

²⁰ *The 'Painter's Manual ...*, p. 54.

²¹ Ch. F. Kelley, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

²² В. И. Лазарев, *История византийской живописи*, Москва 1986, fig. 479.

²³ I. Spartharakis, *Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete*, London 1999, pl. 16a, fig. 176.

²⁴ В. И. Лазарев, *op. cit.*, fig. 566.

²⁵ Е. Трубецкой, *Миниатюры Хлудовской Псалтыри. Греческий иллюстрированный кодекс IX века*, Москва 2006, fig. 752.

²⁶ Ch. F. Kelley, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

²⁷ Except Gregory Palamas, but his images are very rare; В. И. Лазарев, *op. cit.*, fig. 546.



Fig.8. *Gregory the Theologian with inscription, detail from The Officiating Bishops*

*Descent into Limbo with Selected Saints Vladimir Volynski*²⁸ in Ostrov near Pskov²⁹; and a beard which is only slightly shorter in the noted representation of St. Paraskeva with the three hierarchs in the Tretyakov Gallery³⁰.

Nicholas of Myra (fig. 9) stands directly before Gregory at the head of the part of the procession on the northern wall. Although the inscription has not survived, as the saint's facial features are consistent with traditional iconography, this facilitates recognition. He is a middle aged man, whose balding forehead is fringed by short, white hair, and whose face with regular features is complemented with a short, rounded beard.

This legendary saint has been venerated in the East from the sixth century, and in the West from the eleventh century, when his remains were moved from Myra to Bari³¹, and a depiction of him was included in the gallery of bishops placed on sanctuary walls from

²⁸ И. Антонова, Н. Е. Мнева, *Каталог древнерусской живописи XI–начала XVIII в.в.*, Москва 1963, по 223, fig. 179; Е. Трубецкой, *op. cit.*, fig. 262.

²⁹ В. П. Лазарев, *op. cit.*, fig. 82; Е. Smirnova, 'Mediaeval Russian Icons. 11th–17th century', in: *A History of Icon Painting. Sources. Traditions. Present Day*, Moscow 2005, fig. 75; Е. Трубецкой, *op. cit.*, fig. 502.

³⁰ И. Антонова, Н. Е. Мнева, *op. cit.*, по 144, fig. 97; В. П. Лазарев, *op. cit.*, fig. 77; Е. Smirnova, *op. cit.*, fig. 74.

³¹ About St. Nicholas see: N. P. Ševčenko, *The Life of St. Nicholas in Byzantine Art*, Turin 1981; М. Гелитович, *Святой Миколай з життєм. Ікони XV–XVIII ст. Національного музею у Львові імені Андрея Шептицького*, Львів 2008.



Fig. 9. *Nicolas of Mira*, detail from *The Officiating Bishops*

the very beginning. The latter fact can be corroborated by the mosaic in the Cathedral of St Sophia in Kiev³². He was frequently depicted in the procession, but his place within it varied. In orthodox churches in Crete, for example, he was usually placed directly behind one of the liturgists³³. Nicholas of Myra is to be found in this position in both the Theotokos orthodox church in Lagoudera, Cyprus³⁴ and Hagioi Anargyroi in Kastoria³⁵. However, he was sometimes depicted further back in the procession.

The last hierarch in the procession on the southern wall, standing just in front of the deacon is Dionysius the Areopagite (fig 10). His identification is indicated by the extant inscription ΔΕΩΝΗΣΙ (fig. 11). Converted by St. Paul, he became the first bishop of Athens, and in later western tradition he became associated with the apostle to the Gauls and the first bishop of Paris. However it was his posited authorship of theological and mystical works, which were considered orthodox, which had enormous influence on mediaeval religious writers in both the West and the East³⁶. The art of these cultures did not, however, develop a con-

³² Г. Н. Логвин, *Софія Київська. Державний архітектурно історичний заповідник*, Київ 1971, fig. 73; Г. Логвин, *Собор Святої Софії в Києві*, Київ 2001, p. 214, fig. 156.

³³ I. Spartharakis, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 49, 77, 88, 103, 162, 181, 238; S. E. J. Gersler, *op. cit.*, fig 22.

³⁴ A. Stylianou, J. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus. Treasures of Byzantine Art*, London 1985.

³⁵ M. Chatzidakis, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

³⁶ T. Stepień, 'Przedmowa', in: Pseudo-Dionizy Areopagita, *Pisma teologiczne. Imiona boskie, Teologia mistyczna. Listy*, Kraków 1997, pp. 9–13; *Encyklopedia Kościoła*, Warszawa 2003, pp. 519–520.

sistent iconographic formula for this Saint. In the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* his description runs as follows: a man of "moderate height, emaciated, with white and sallow skin, flat-nosed, with puckered eyebrows, sunken eyes, always deep in thought, with large ears, abundant grey hair, a slightly cleft upper lip, a straggly beard, a slight paunch and long slender fingers"³⁷ Further, a black and white drawing in *The Stroganov Patternbook* provides a short description which informs us that the thick hair and the beard, unkempt at the bottom, are white³⁸. Dionysius of Fournas puts forward a representation of him as 'an old man, with long curly hair and a parted beard'³⁹, and *The Bolshakov Patternbook* describes the way in which his white, curly hair was arranged: 'like that of St. Clement whose hair is described as 'arranged at the bottom below the ears, like St. George's'⁴⁰. In Posada Rybotycka he is depicted as a young man with dark hair and a short beard, similar to that in Old Metropolis of Veroia⁴¹ or in a miniature in Chludov's Psalter⁴².



Fig. 10. *Dionysius the Areopagite*, detail from *The Officiating Bishops*

The identification of the other bishops is more problematic and must remain in the realm of the hypothetical. A young man with a small beard, following Basil the Great is of considerable interest (fig. 7). Among the hierarchs placed in the scene of *The Officiating Bishops*, according to the *Hermeneia's* instructions, it is Gregory the Great who is represented as 'a young man with a small beard'⁴³. But why would this saint be honoured with such a position? On the one hand, his role as a great propagator of monasticism should be stressed. Self-funded, he established seven monasteries and later joined one of them, deciding upon an austere life. In an orthodox monastery he may have deserved recognition

³⁷ *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 1, New York 1991, p. 629.

³⁸ Ch. F. Kelley, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–36.

³⁹ *The 'Painter's Manual ...*, p. 54.

⁴⁰ G. Melnick, *An Icon Painters Notebook: The Bolshakov Edition*, Torrance 1995, pp. 62, 86.

⁴¹ S. E. J. Gerstler, *op. cit.*, 170, fig. 30.

⁴² В. Щепкина, *Миниатюры Хлудоввской Псалтыри. Греческий иллюстрированный кодекс IX века*, Москва 1977, p. 45.

⁴³ *The 'Painter's Manual ...*, p. 54.



Fig. 11. *Inscription of Dionysius and artophorion?*, detail from *The Officiating Bishops*

for this attitude. But on the other hand, since the sixteenth century, as a result of a faulty translation of the *Synaxarion* into the Slavonic language, Gregory Dvojeslovov (Dialogos) was ascribed with the authorship of the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts⁴⁴. In this way, as the third liturgist, his presence in the close vicinity of Basil the Great would be justified. However, this hypothesis, although tempting, needs to be very cautious, as, up till now, the frescoes have been dated to the fifteenth century.

Another frequent participant of the procession is Athanasius the Great. The bishop of Alexandria, Patriarch and Doctor of the Church became a symbol of the battle against Arianism, and his rank is stressed by his frequently being placed at the head of the procession. Thus, in orthodox churches on Crete he is often placed just behind Basil the Great⁴⁵. He was also placed behind one or other of the liturgists on the walls of the orthodox church of Cyril of Alexandria in Kiev⁴⁶, The Mother of God in Studenica, St.

⁴⁴ H. Paprocki, 'Boska Liturgia uprzednio uświęconych darów', in: *Liturgie Kościoła prawosławnego*, Kraków 2003, p. 221.

⁴⁵ I. Spartharakis, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 77, 88, 162, 181, 238.

⁴⁶ I. Марголіна, В. Ульяновський, *Київська обитель святого Кирила*, Київ 2005, pp. 100–101.

Nicholas Orphanos in Thessaloniki⁴⁷, in Moldovița⁴⁸ and in Kastoria (Panagia Mavriotissa, Taxiarches)⁴⁹. He is usually represented as a balding old man with a broad beard⁵⁰, sometimes slightly shorter, as in the above mentioned orthodox church in Kiev⁵¹, or longer, as in Hagios Athanasios in Kastoria⁵², often consisting of thick curls. Dionysius of Fournia also mentions a bald head and a broad beard as part of this saint's description⁵³, and in *The Stroganov Patternbook* there is sparse hair over a high forehead, and the lower parts of the face are lost in a luxuriant beard which is rounded at the bottom⁵⁴. In the orthodox church in Posada only the second bishop on the southern wall of the sanctuary fits this description (fig. 12). What is noteworthy is primarily the shape of his mid-length beard, which is thick and rounded, where thick, fair curls are clearly visible against the dark background provided by the backdrop.

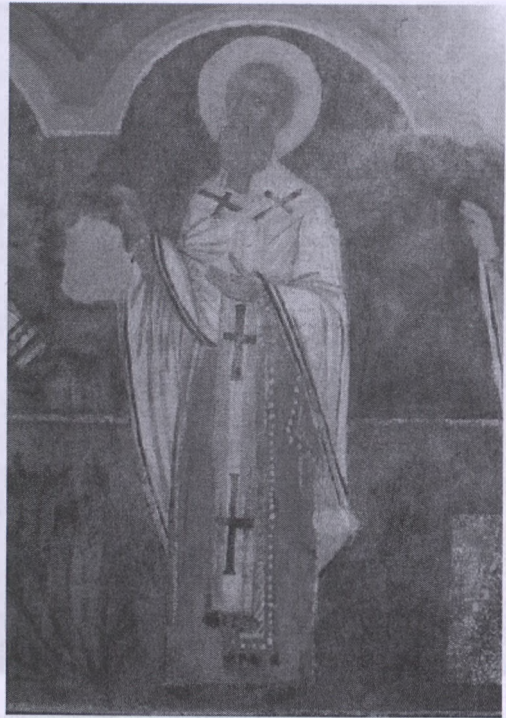


Fig. 12. *Athanasios of Alexandria ?*, detail from *The Officiating Bishops*

Athanasios is usually accompanied by Cyril of Alexandria, Patriarch and Doctor of the Church. Despite having lived at different times, they had the patriarchal rank in common, as well as the protection of orthodoxy against the heretics, or in Cyril's case – more particularly against Nestorius. As a result, they were honoured in the church tradition with a joint holiday – 18th January. In St. Cyril's orthodox church in Kiev, among scenes from his life, he is depicted alongside his predecessor as bishop of Alexandria several times⁵⁵. There are also icons with representations of both dignitaries, which are similar to those

⁴⁷ S. E. J. Gerstler, *op. cit.*, fig 56.

⁴⁸ P. Henry, *Monumentale din Moldova de Nord*, București 1984, fig. XXI.

⁴⁹ M. Chatzidakis, *op. cit.*, 68, 95.

⁵⁰ *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 1, New York 1991, pp. 217–218.

⁵¹ I. Марголіна, В. Ульяповський, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

⁵² M. Chatzidakis, *op. cit.*, 109.

⁵³ *The Painter's Manual ...*, 54.

⁵⁴ Ch. F. Kelley, *op. cit.*, 192–193.

⁵⁵ I. Марголіна, В. *op. cit.*, 128–130.

in the Hermitage from the late fourteenth century⁵⁶ and in the Russian Museum in St. Petersburg at the turn of the sixteenth century⁵⁷. Both bishops also appear with other saints, such as Leontine Rostovski⁵⁸ or Ignatius of Antioch⁵⁹, both dating to the end of the fifteenth century. In the bishops' procession inside the sanctuary they often appear close to each other or even juxtaposed, as in Moldovița or Voroneț⁶⁰. In all cases Cyril is represented as a middle-aged man, with a long, dark beard which is pointed at the end and wearing a rounded or conical hat covered in crosses. Dionysius of Fournna also recommends this form of depiction, but according to his prescription the beard should be grizzled⁶¹. In the *Bolshakov Patternbook* he resembles Basil of Caesarea⁶². Given that an ever-present feature, and therefore a distinctive garment of this saint is headgear, and that none of the bishops in the orthodox church in Posada is presented thus attired, it can be assumed that this item was present in the parts of the paintings that have not survived. Cyril of Alexandria may be the bishop directly behind Athanasius on the southern wall, with his head obliterated entirely, or the next bishop in line, whose long pointed beard, without a parting survived the damage (fig. 3).

In conclusion, among the twelve bishops in *The Officiating Bishops* only four are definitely recognisable: John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzos and Dionysius the Areopagite. The identification of another four as Gregory the Great, Nicholas of Myra, Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria, while justifiable, must remain in the sphere of the hypothetical, and the identification of the remaining four appears impossible.

⁵⁶ No I-327.

⁵⁷ No 2068; D. Likhachov, V. Laurina, V. Pushkariov, *Novogrodian Icons 12th-17th Century*, Leningrad 1983, no 134.

⁵⁸ No 10922, Novgorod Museum; Ibidem, no 112; E. Трубецкой, *op. cit.*, fig. 733.

⁵⁹ A. Tradigo, *Icons and Saints of the Eastern Orthodox Church*, Los Angeles 2006, p. 302.

⁶⁰ P. Henry, *op. cit.*, tables X, XXI.

⁶¹ *The Painter's Manual ...*, p. 54.

⁶² G. Melnick, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

...and in the same way, as in the case of the other saints, the icon of Theophanes is usually accompanied by Cyril of Alexandria, Patriarch and Doctor of the Church. Despite having lived at different times, they had the patriarchal rank in common, as well as the protection of orthodoxy against the heretics, or in Cyril's case – more particularly against Nestorians. As a result, they were honoured in the church tradition with a joint holiday – 18th January. In St. Cyril's orthodox church in Kiev, among scenes from his life, he is depicted alongside his predecessor as Bishop of Alexandria several times.¹⁰ There are also icons with representations of both dignitaries, which are similar to those

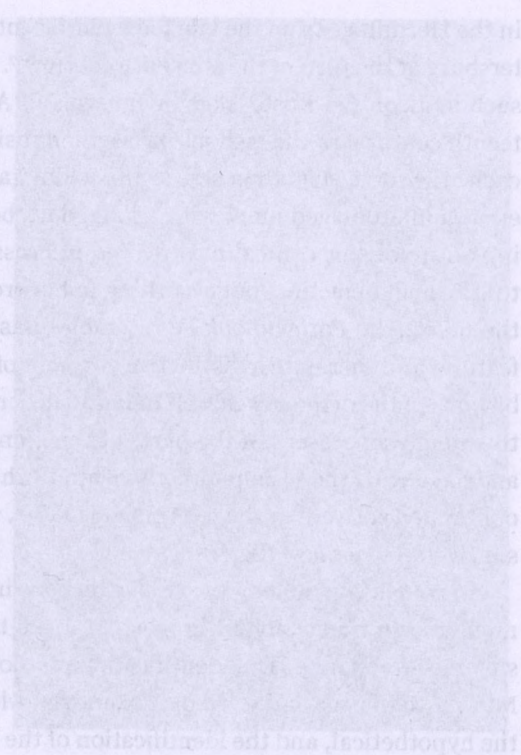


Fig. 12. Athanasius of Alexandria 7. 1. *Detail from The Officiating Bishops*

Athanasius is usually accompanied by Cyril of Alexandria, Patriarch and Doctor of the Church. Despite having lived at different times, they had the patriarchal rank in common, as well as the protection of orthodoxy against the heretics, or in Cyril's case – more particularly against Nestorians. As a result, they were honoured in the church tradition with a joint holiday – 18th January. In St. Cyril's orthodox church in Kiev, among scenes from his life, he is depicted alongside his predecessor as Bishop of Alexandria several times.¹⁰ There are also icons with representations of both dignitaries, which are similar to those

¹⁰ S. K. J. Gerstel, op. cit., p. 50.

¹¹ P. Henry, *Manuscrits de la Grande Bibliothèque de Saint-Petersbourg*, t. III, p. 133.

¹² No 202: D. I. Ibradov, V. I. Ivanov, V. I. Ivanov, *Manuscrits de la Grande Bibliothèque de Saint-Petersbourg*, t. III, p. 133.

¹³ The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, ed. E. Jeffery, p. 133.

¹⁴ No 1022: *Novgorod Manuscript*, no 112, fol. 102v.

¹⁵ A. Tardieu, *Les manuscrits de la Grande Bibliothèque de Saint-Petersbourg*, t. III, p. 133.

¹⁶ P. Henry, op. cit., t. III, p. 133.

¹⁷ The *Praxis*, ed. P. Henry, p. 54.

¹⁸ G. Melnik, op. cit., p. 107.

The two missions of Petar Parchevich to Poland

Dariusz Milewski, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University

The conquest of the Balkans by the Ottoman Turks in the 14th and 15th centuries resulted in the elimination of Polish influence in Moldavia. As a consequence of this, Polish-Bulgarian contacts were rather sporadic in the modern era and are relatively rarely mentioned in Polish written sources. This tendency also affects the activities of Petar Parchevich, the Catholic archbishop of Marcianopolis and politician, who sought intensively to organize an anti-Turkish league in order to help the Bulgarians to gain freedom from Ottoman domination. For this reason he visited Poland several times on diplomatic missions, trying to use the military plans of Władysław IV and John II Casimir until the following Polish-Turkish war in the time of Michael Korybut Wiśniowiecki. His activity, partly because of its unofficial or even secret character, was not clearly reflected in historical sources and is almost unknown in Poland. The main source is still the accounts of Parchevich himself, especially the one made to the Venetian Senate in 1650 and a letter to the Papal Nuncio Mario Alberici in Vienna, 1673.¹ They could be supplemented by diplomatic correspondence and fragments from diaries and notes, spread in various published sources², which do not help to elucidate Parchevich's missions in Poland.

Such a situation regarding the sources allows us to notice the characteristic dichotomy between the statements of Bulgarian and Polish historiography concerning the activity of Parchevich. The bishop is known in Bulgaria as a notable activist for independence; he

¹ Both published in: J. Pejacevich, *Peter Freiherr von Parchevich, Erzbischof von Martianopel (1612–1674). Nach archivalischen Quellen geschildert von Julian Grafen Pejacevich*, in: *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte*, vol. 59, Wien 1880, no. 12, pp. 496–502 and no. LXXXIV, pp. 617–622.

² Among others there could be mentioned: *Ojczyście spominki w pismach do dziejów dawnej Polski*, ed. A. Grabowski, vol. 2, Kraków 1845; *Acta Bulgariae ecclesiastica*, ed. E. Fermentžiu, Zagrabiae 1887; *Documente privitoare la istoria României culese din arhivele polone*, ed. I. Corfus, vol. 2, București 1983; С. Станимиров, 'Полски документи за политическата дейност на Петър Парчевич', in: *300 години Чипровско въстание (принос към историата на Българите през XVII в.)*, ed. В. Паскалева, София 1988.

was acknowledged as such even in Communist times, despite his Catholic faith. There are many works dedicated to P. Parchevich, the most important of which is still the above mentioned 19th c. essay of J. Pejacevich, followed by notable annexes of sources. Parchevich's activity in Poland is summarized in a bibliographical article by A. Paunova and A. Kirmagova, reflecting the state of Bulgarian research on this theme at the end of 1980.³ It has to be noticed, that Bulgarian historiography is very often based on their own sources, emphasizing the discourses of P. Parchevich, while neglecting Polish sources and resulting in obvious mistakes⁴. Similar mistakes can be encountered in the works of Polish authors, especially concerning Bulgarian sources.⁵ Polish historiography consequently focussed on the internal aspects of war with Turkey, planned by Władysław IV and later by John Casimir, neglecting the possibility of the realisation of plans proposed by Parchevich. In this background the works of Tadeusz Wasilewski appear valuable, as they combine knowledge of both Polish and Bulgarian sources.⁶ However, the history of the mission of Parchevich in Poland requires further studies, possibly larger than this article could present. From the three diplomatic journeys of Parchevich to Poland in 1647, 1650 and 1673 – without taking into account his mission to Bohdan Khmelnytsky in 1657 – only the first two can be analyzed here. They were close in time (the second one could be assumed to continue the first) and shared similar aims – to incline Poland to enter into war with Turkey.

Petar Parchevich was brought up in a specifically Catholic environment, which was formed in northwestern Bulgaria in the 17th c. as a result of an agreement between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans, allowing the subjects of the sultan to practice the Roman Catholic faith. This agreement was concluded and ratified in 1615–1616, under the rule of emperor Matthias I and sultan Ahmed I; it also indicated the normalization of relations between both states after the peace in Zsitvatorök on November 11th 1606.⁷ The agree-

³ А. Паунова, А. Кирмагова, 'Чипровско въстание. Библиография', in: *Чипровци 1688–1988. Сборник на 300-годишната от Чипровското въстание*, ed. Г. Нешев, София 1989, pp. 352–358.

⁴ The Bulgarian authors are mistaken in the definition of the date of death of Władysław IV, placing it on March 1st, 1648 (see: П. Милевъ, *Католишката пропаганда въ България презъ XVII векъ*, София 1914, p. 175), on the 10th of March (J. Pejacevich, *op. cit.*, p. 362) or even on the 20th of March (I. Duicev, 'Petăr Parceviци și încercările de eliberare ale popoarelor balcanice de sub stăpînirea turcească', in: *Relații româno-bulgare de-a lungul veacurilor (sec. XII–XIX). Studii*, vol. 1, București 1971, p. 158). The same could be observed concerning the discussion about the presence of hetman M. Potocki during the audience of Parchevich with John Casimir in January 1650; see below.

⁵ The most obvious is the premature reference to Parchevich as archbishop of Marianopolis in 1650 – see: W. A. Serczyk, *Na płonącej Ukrainie. Dzieje Kozaczyzny 1648–1651*, Warszawa 1999, pp. 303–304 and Z. Wójcik, 'Dyplomacja polska w okresie wojen drugiej połowy XVII wieku (1648–1699)', in: *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, ed. G. Labuda, vol. 2, Warszawa 1982, p. 194.

⁶ Extensive account of Parchevich's activity in 1649–1650: T. Wasilewski, *Ostatni Waza na tronie polskim*, Katowice 1984.

⁷ About this agreement among others see: Г. Нешев, 'Към въпроса за разпространението на католицизма в българските земи', in: *300 години ...*, p. 111; И. Божилов, В. Мутафчиева, К. Косев, А. Пантев, С. Грънчаров, *История на България през погледа на историците*, София 1993, p. 236

ment was signed at the moment when Pope Gregory XV founded the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, which was charged with fostering the spread of Catholicism among pagans and heretics including the Orthodox.⁸ In Bulgarian territory this task was assigned to the Bosnian Franciscans, who chose for their missionary activity mining towns in northwestern Bulgaria, at the feet of the Chiprovtsi mountains and Berkovitsa, near the modern border between Bulgaria and Serbia. The main missionary centres were in Chiprovtsi, Kopilovtsi, Zhelezna and Klisura.⁹ The Franciscan activities, started in 1595 on behalf of the commission of Pope Clement VIII, were proceeding successfully in these new circumstances. However, the greatest success was achieved during the times of the Bulgarian Catholic Archbishop of Sofia (sometimes called Sardica) Petar Bogdan Bakshev, also named Peter Deodatus. After education in Italy he was nominated as Archbishop of Sofia in 1641, entering in this position after Ilia Marinov, and became the spiritual and political mentor of Petar Parchevich.¹⁰

Under his leadership the Bulgarian Catholics felt powerful enough to start organizing a conspiracy against the Ottoman rule.

Petar Parchevich was born in Chiprovtsi around 1612. His family goes back to Bosnian-Bulgarian source of Knezevich and Parchevich; the families of Peyachevich and Tomogyonovich have the same roots. Their first known ancestor was probably Stephen Dabiša, king of Bosnia in 1391–1395. Affirming the aristocratic origin of Parchevich, the emperor Ferdinand III confirmed the title of nobility and coat of arms on January 12th 1657, while Leopold I granted him the rank of Hungarian baron on July 20th 1668.¹¹ Recently attention was drawn to the fact that, although these imperial acts could have reflected the family tradition, they were primarily granted to Parchevich personally as a reward for his support for the Empire and Catholicism¹². Parchevich had early demonstrated his talent

and in Polish: T. Wasilewski, *Historia Bulgarii*, Wrocław 1988, p. 130, J. Skowronek, M. Tanty, T. Wasilewski, *Słowianie południowi i zachodni VI–XX wiek*, Warszawa 2005, p. 151 (repetition from the previous source).

⁸ The Congregation was founded on January 6th, 1622 – see: M. Banaszak, *Historia Kościoła katolickiego*, vol. 3, Warszawa 1989, p. 115.

⁹ И. Божилов, В. Мутафчиева, К. Косев, А. Пантев, С. Грънчаров, *op. cit.*, p. 236 and T. Wasilewski, *Historia ...*, p. 130.

¹⁰ М. Йонов, 'Католишка пропаганда в България през XVII в.', in: *История на България. Том четвърти. Българският народ под османско владичество (от XV до началото на XVIII в.)*, ed. X. Гандев, София 1983, pp. 203–205 and И. Божилов, В. Мутафчиева, К. Косев, А. Пантев, С. Грънчаров, *op. cit.*, p. 236. Petar Bogdan Bakshev lived in the years 1601–1674.

¹¹ Both documents are quoted by J. Pejacsevich, *op. cit.*, no. I, pp. 475–480 (the confirmation of nobility by Ferdinand III) and no. II, pp. 480–487 (the confirmation of baronial rank by Leopold I). On the Bosnian-Bulgarian origins of the Parchevich family see also: *Ibidem*, p. 341 and X. Дерменджиев, 'Родът Кнежевич-Парчевич и чипровските фамилии Парчевич, Пеячевич, Кнежевич и Томагионович', in: *Чипровци 1688–1988 ...*, pp. 101–105. Compare: *Vademecum balkanisty*, ed. I. Czamańska, Z. Pentek, Poznań 2009, p. 90.

¹² E. Vecheva, 'L'intelligentsia catholique balcanique durant le 17 siècle (essai d'un portrait social et professionnel)', *Bulgarian Historical Review*, 2002, no. 3–4, p. 91.

and persistency in the realisation of planned tasks. Besides his inborn predisposition he was supported by an excellent education in Italy and by his Italian acquaintances.¹³ He returned to Bulgaria when asked by the Archbishop Petar Bogdan, who appealed on May 20th, 1643 for Parchevich to be sent because of the lack of Catholic priests. The latest date of his return could be placed in spring 1644, while Petar Bogdan in his next letter of June 10th 1644 already confirms his presence in Bulgaria.¹⁴

But Parchevich was prevented from starting missionary activity in his homeland. His return to Bulgaria coincided with two important events in the Church and Europe and decided his fate. In the Catholic Church a new metropolitanate was created (in Marcianopolis – the former and modern Preslav); the Turkish-Venetian war over Crete had started.

The decision to found the Archbishopric in Marcianopolis was made in Rome in 1644. Its territory included Bulgarian lands north from Stara Planina and Moldavian lands up to the Seret. The Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith proposed the Archbishop's throne to the Bosnian missionary Marko Bandulovich (in some sources his Italian name – Marco Bandino – may be found¹⁵), who had previously worked in Hungary and Transylvania. Parchevich was appointed as his secretary. Because the new Metropolitan was afraid of being placed under direct Turkish administration, he transferred his seat to Bacău in southwestern Moldova. In this way Parchevich was at once brought into the top circles of the Church in Bulgaria, but in the territory of Moldova, sympathizing with Poland.¹⁶ It was an event of great significance, especially if one takes into account that at almost the same time Moldova, ruled by the Hospodar Vasile Lupu, was in the area of the war with Turkey, planned by the Polish king Władysław IV.

The explosion of the Turkish-Venetian war over Crete in 1645 unexpectedly activated the political life in the Balkans. The attack of the Turkish armed forces resulted in a quick conquest of a great part of the island, but its main fortress of Candia resisted all attempts of the enemy and held out until 1669. It was a clear indication that the imperial war machine had suffered a crisis and could not deal with the theoretically weaker Venice. This war also demonstrated the incompetence of the central Ottoman powers, which under the rule of the incompetent Ibrahim I (1640–1648) and during the first years of his son Mehmed IV (1648–1687), who succeeded to the throne as a child, were paralyzed by the

¹³ Parchevich left to study in Italy in 1623 and spent seven years in the Illyrian College in Loreto. Later he pursued studies of theology and canon law in Rome and was granted the title of doctor „utriusque iuris” – see: J. Pejacsevich, *op. cit.*, pp. 351–352; I. Duicev, *op. cit.*, pp. 152–153 and (idem) И. Дуйчев, 'Архиепископ Петър Парчевич (политическо значение на българското католичество през XVII в.)', in: *300 години ...*, p. 162.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 162.

¹⁵ Parchevich to M. Alberici, Vienna, on September 29th, 1673, in: J. Pejacsevich, *op. cit.*, no. LXXXIV, pp. 617–622.

¹⁶ М. Йонов, *op. cit.*, p. 209; I. Duicev, *op. cit.*, p. 153. It is worth mentioning that in older Bulgarian historiography the decision of M. Bandulovich to transfer his seat to Moldova was criticized as an abandonment of the faithful in Bulgaria – see: Н. Милевъ, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

continuous conspiracies in the palace and the rivalry of two women – Ibrahim's mother Kösem Sultan and his wife Turhan Sultan.¹⁷ The Venetians, attacking in Dalmatia, made use of this situation. Its Venetian governor Leonardo Foscolo drove the Turks out from the Zadar region in spring 1647 and on May 9th took Skradin. Local Muslims were forced to seek shelter in Bosnia. The Turkish counterattack broke down when in August and September 1647 the Venetians defended Šibenik. The Venetian army, in its turn, took Drniš, Knin (on February 26th, 1648) and Klis (on March 31st, 1648). The local Christian population supported the Venetians. Moreover, aroused by Venetian success, the Catholic bishops of Albania – among whom were Marco Scura from Durazzo and Georg Fascina from Scutari – raised a revolt, which was suppressed by the Turks in February 1648. The palace rebellion in Constantinople in August 1648, which deprived Ibrahim I of power and life, encouraged the Montenegrins and Albanians to a new revolt. L. Foscolo moved to help them from Zadar in December 1648 with 70 ships, but the Venetians, because of the lack of Albanian initiative, retreated to Budva on the coast (today – Montenegro) and acted successfully the whole winter.¹⁸

It is not surprising that the obvious signs of the weakness of the Ottoman Empire encouraged the Bulgarians to make efforts in order to get liberation. The animation of the Christian population was expressed in, among other things, the strengthened activity of the haiduks, attacking the Turks on Bulgarian territory.¹⁹ The first important conspiracy of this time can be dated in 1646. The Catholic leaders of Bulgaria, headed by Petar Bogdan, decided to create an uprising. Their intentions are known mainly from the relation of Parchevich before the Venetian Senate on July 9th, 1650.²⁰ According to him, the conspirators planned an uprising in Bulgaria, but because of their weakness asked the Wallachian Hospodar Matei Basarab for help. They still had in mind the successes of Michael the Brave (Mihai Viteazul) in the 1590s, who took action against the Turks south of the Danube. In order to encourage the Hospodar to take part in this risky action the conspirators promised him 'the crown of the East'.²¹ It is commonly accepted that this title conceals the proposition of ascending the throne as Tsar of a liberated Bulgaria.²² The Hospodar

¹⁷ H. Inalcik, *Imperium Osmańskie. Epoka klasyczna 1300–1600*, Cracow 2006, p. 111. Interesting examples of harem influences in this time are given by Evliya Çelebi, who described the fall of the Grand Vezir Siyavuş Pasha in fall 1651 and the entrance into his position of Mehmed Gürcü Pasha – see: *Księga podróży Ewliji Czelebiego (wybór)*, ed. Z. Abrahamowicz, Warsaw 1969, pp. 42–45.

¹⁸ M. Jačov, *Europa i Osmanie w okresie lig świętych*, Kraków 2003, pp. 82–85; A. Decei, *Istoria Imperiului Otoman pînă la 1656*, Bucureşti 1978, pp. 398–399.

¹⁹ Б. Цветкова, *Хайдутството в българските земи през 15/18 век*, vol. 1, Sofia 1971, pp. 47–48.

²⁰ The memorial of Parchevich to the Venetian Senate, on July 9th, 1650, in: J. Pejacevich, *op. cit.*, no. XII, pp. 496–499.

²¹ According to Parchevich, Matei Basarab was called to help „come primo capo, con animo di volerlo eleggere per il prencipe del `Oriente” – *Ibidem*, p. 497.

²² T. Wasilewski, *Historia ...*, p. 131 and H. Милевъ, *Исторически връзки между българци и поляци*, Sofia 1923, p. 9.

kindly accepted the proposition, but did not dare to act against the Turks alone. Because at that time the plans of Władysław IV to engage in war against the Turks were already known, Matei Basarab advised the Bulgarians to seek for the help of the Polish King and the Venetians – on this condition he promised to join the planned uprising. He agreed to help the Bulgarians with an army of 20,000 soldiers. It is interesting that the conspiracies asked him to take care of Bulgarian settlements during the war.²³ They still had in mind the incident of Michael the Brave, who in 1598 entered Bulgaria, leaving behind great destruction.²⁴

The decision to send a legation to Poland and Venice indicates the participation of Parchevich in the anti-Turkish action. Professional literature and sources present different opinions, however, concerning the time of the legation and the role of Parchevich in it. He relates that he started to Poland with appropriate letters together with a Franciscan brother, dressed in a Turkish style to remain unrecognised.²⁵ But he did not mention the date of his mission. Some researchers accept that Parchevich appeared in Poland as early as 1646.²⁶ while others date this event to 1647. In the latter case there also emerge different opinions – whether Parchevich was in Poland at the beginning of the year²⁷ or only in November.²⁸ The problems of dating the arrival of Parchevich in Poland are partly to be traced in the difficulty of stating the correct time of negotiations between Bulgarian conspirators and the Hospodar Matei Basarab. In all the above quoted works, despite the inconsistency of sources, the accepted date is the end of 1646 or the winter of 1646/1647.²⁹

²³ On the negotiations of Bulgarians, lead by Petar Bogdan, with the Wallachian Hospodar see: J. Pejacsevich, *op. cit.*, p. 360; М. Йонов, *op. cit.*, p. 211; И. Дуйчев, *op. cit.*, p. 163; И. Милевъ, *Католишката ...*, p. 175; Ch. Georgescu, *Matei Basarab*, București 1937, p. 28 and D. Dimitrow, 'Piotr Parczewicz w Polsce', in: *Braterstwo-przyjaźń. Szkice z dziejów przyjaźni polsko-bułgarskiej*, ed. J. Świerczyński, Warszawa 1970, p. 36.

²⁴ About the campaign of Michael the Brave see: D. Bienkowska, *Michał Waleczny*, Katowice 1975, pp. 117–118; J. Demel, *Historia Rumunii*, Wrocław 1986, pp. 161–164 and J. Skowronek, M. Tanty, T. Wasilewski, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

²⁵ The memorial of Parchevich to the Venetian Senate, on July 9th, 1650, in: J. Pejacsevich, *op. cit.*, No. XII, p. 498: „Elessero dunque me indegno sacerdote con un altro Padre Francescano alla Turchesca amendoi vestiti e con le lettere e con le informazioni a quella volta ci spedirono”.

²⁶ T. Wasilewski, 'Polska w walce z ekspansją turecką w Europie – uchodźcy bułgarscy w Polsce', in: *Braterstwo-przyjaźń. Szkice z dziejów przyjaźni polsko-bułgarskiej*, ed. J. Świerczyński, Warszawa 1970, p. 32; idem, *Historia...*, p. 131 (here the date of 1646 is not stated directly, but rather emerges from the context of the narrative); D. Dimitrow, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

²⁷ И. Милевъ, *Католишката ...*, p. 175; idem, *Исторически ...*, p. 10 (in his opinion, Parchevich had been to Poland with the political legation also in 1646 – *Ibidem*, p. 9); М. Йонов, *op. cit.*, p. 211, where we read: „С тази мисия били патоварени Петър Парчевич и още един български францисканец. В началото на 1647 г. след много опасности те пристигнали при полския крал Владислав IV”.

²⁸ The opinion of: L. Kubala, *Jerzy Ossoliński*, Warszawa 1924, p. 261; С. Станимиров, *op. cit.*, pp. 176–177. The exact date is not given, but only the year 1647 stated in: И. Дуйчев, *op. cit.*, p. 163; (idem) I. Duicev, *op. cit.*, pp. 156–157; J. Pejacsevich, *op. cit.*, pp. 361–362; Б. Цветкова, 'Петър Парчевич и българското освободително движение през XVII век', in: *Чипровци 1688–1988 ...*, p. 21.

²⁹ For example, N. Iorga, *Histoire de Roumains et de la romanité orientale*, vol. 6, București 1940, p. 175 seems to date the event to winter or spring of 1647.

It is also unclear whether Parchevich took part in the negotiations. He could have been invited from Bacău to Wallachia, when it was decided, following the advice of the Wallachian Hospodar, to ask for help from the Polish King and Venice. Parchevich, who knew Western affairs and languages (certainly Italian and Latin), could have been appreciated as a proper person to take part in the legation.³⁰

Because it is not possible to verify the date of the first mission of Parchevich to Poland from Bulgarian sources, we have to examine Polish sources. These could also elucidate the role of Parchevich. It is important to note here, that because of the secrecy of the plans and contacts with the subjects of the Sultan made by Władysław IV, Polish sources and works, which are based on them, are not numerous.

The starting point is the statement of Parchevich that he with his companion were forced to enter Poland in Turkish dress because of the threats of the Moldavian Hospodar. It appears as a paradox, especially if taking into account the pro-Polish position of the Hospodar Vasile Lupu and his hospitality shown to the Archbishop of Marcianopolis, M. Bandulovich. Despite the friendly relations of Vasile Lupu with Poland, in autumn 1646 he ceased to support the plans of war with Turkey, although Władysław IV had reserved him an important role. Until that time Vasile Lupu was considered to be an important ally of Władysław IV; the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, Parthenius II, even saw him as a ruler of restored Byzantium.³¹ But when the Sejm rejected the war plans in autumn 1646, the Hospodar changed his mind. Fearing Ottoman repressions, he acted in order to improve Polish-Turkish relations, as a war between the two states appeared to him as a threat.³² This fact allows us to state that the Bulgarian legation travelled to Poland via Moldova later than in autumn 1646 – probably in 1647.

In Poland contacts with Balkan Christians, directed towards their liberation from Turkey, are dated from March 1646. To the wedding of the King Władysław IV with Ludwika Maria not only the delegates of the Hospodar were sent, there also participated two Basilian monks from Mount Athos with letters from the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria and Jerusalem, declaring their intentions to be liberated from the Turks.³³ The Bulgarian legation is difficult to trace. This was a consequence of its secret character before both Turks

³⁰ Л. Милетиць, 'Изъ историята на българската католишкия пропаганда въ XVII векъ', *Български преглед*, 1 (1894), no. 11–12, p. 171, considers that the Archbishop M. Bandulovich sent Parchevich to Poland in order to persuade Władysław IV to support the quest for Bulgarian independence, but his opinion is exceptional. If Parchevich had written to be equipped with appropriate letters, then it is almost sure that he got them in Wallachia personally.

³¹ N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 171 – the author refers to the speech of the Patriarch during Easter 1645.

³² D. Milewski, 'Moldawia w planach wojny tureckiej Władysława IV', *Przegląd Wschodni*, 9 (2005/2006), no. 4 (36), pp. 732–735. The hostility of Vasile Lupu is mentioned in the memorial of Parchevich to the Venetian Senate, on July 9th, 1650, in: J. Pejacsevich, *op. cit.*, no. XII, p. 498., George I Rákóci the Prince of Transylvania definitely withdrew from the planned war with Turkey in spring 1647, although the Polish King tried to persuade him to change his mind – N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

³³ W. Czermak, *Plany wojny tureckiej Władysława IV*, Kraków 1895, p. 92; W. Czaplinski, *Władysław IV i jego czasy*, Kraków 2008, p. 299.

and Polish – after the autumn Sejm of 1646, when Władysław IV was forced officially to withdraw from the planned war with Turkey, all his later actions to return to the plan had to be kept secret.

Only one Polish source elucidates the activity of the Bulgarian mission in 1647. It is a fragment from the diary of Pierre des Noyers, the secretary of Queen Marie Louise Gonzaga, which was recently published by a Bulgarian researcher.³⁴ In it we read, that in October 1647 a Greek cleric arrived in Toruń, where the Polish monarch and his wife were staying at the time. He was sent by the Patriarch of Constantinople and encouraged them to become involved in a war with Turkey. In December a delegate from 'a part of Greece' presented himself in Warsaw, offering the King the crown of Bulgaria and an army of 40,000 soldiers in case the King decided to wage war with the Sultan and to appoint a commander to the mobilized rebels.³⁵ Furthermore, this proposition was known only by the Queen and two 'Polish' Chancellors – possibly the Great Crown Chancellor, Jerzy Ossoliński, who supported the war plans of the King, and the Deputy Chancellor of the Crown, Andrzej Leszczyński.³⁶ The delegate met the King in secret as a pseudo-magician, whom the King wanted to see. He looked like an old man with a long beard and addressed to the King only in Italian. The whole event was kept secret from the Turks and the Poles, despite gossip in Warsaw. The King's conversation with the delegate – P. des Noyers finishes his relation – continued in January 1647.³⁷

Let us compare the relation of P. des Noyers with an account of Parchevich about his mission to the Venetian Senate on July 9th, 1650. He says that after many dangers on his way he with his companion arrived to the King, presented him with instructions, plans and a list of conspirators. The King wrote to the Hetman to prepare an army and to Matei Basarab, designating him the commander of the eastern army, promising that he will soon start out with his army to help. The delegates were ordered not to go to Venice, but return to Bulgaria and calm the people down. On this occasion they were given gifts, among which was a red flag with a cross on one side and with an inscription 'Vindica gloriam tuam' on the other, a ring as a sign of the marriage between East and West, precious clothing and a portrait of the King. The last gift was accompanied by words: „Habeatis me

³⁴ С. Станимиров, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

³⁵ „En se m[ê]m[e] temps arriva à Varsovie bien secrètement un ambassadeur avec pouvoir d'une partie de la Grèce, d'offrir au roi, s'il se voulait déclarer en leur faveur, la couronne de Bulgarie dans t[ou]t le pays de soulèvrant en sa faveur, et offrait de fournir présentement 40 000 hommes sous les armes, aussitôt qu'il se serait déclaré et qu'il donnerait commission à un lieutenant g[éné]r[a]l p[ou]r les commander en son nom” – *Ibidem*, p. 177.

³⁶ The involvement in secret plans of the Deputy Chancellor of the Crown A. Leszczyński, who actively opposed the war plans of the King during the autumn Sejm of 1646 seems at least strange – see: W. Czaplinski, *op. cit.*, pp. 304–305. P. des Noyers, however, clearly names the two Chancellors (see below).

³⁷ „La r[ei]ne et les 2 chanceliers de Pol[og]ne savaient seuls ce secret, de sorte que cet ambassadeur qui était un vieillard à g[ran]de barbe qui ne venait voir le roi qu'en cachette et ne parlait qu'italien, passa dans l'esprit de ceux de la chambre du roi p[ou]r un nigromantier dont le roi se voulait servir” – С. Станимиров, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

fictum et pictum quoadusque venero vivus et verus". The Queen, who was present at the farewell audience, promised to give her jewels for the liberation of Bulgaria, if amount needed could not be achieved. According to the suggestion of the King, the delegates did not travel to Venice, but returned to Wallachia, reported about the results of their mission and delivered the letter from the King. Matei Basarab was very delighted, and sent them to Bulgaria in order to prepare people for the coming uprising. The Bulgarian Catholics and Orthodox Christians lived from then on in hope and desire, the Turks became submissive and even started to repeat that they would be forced to change their faith if the Poles came. Unfortunately, the unexpected death of Władysław IV annihilated all these plans.³⁸

At first glance great differences between the two relations can be noticed. The account of Parchevich is seemingly richer in details, but also very general when the exact dating is concerned. It is not clear when the Bulgarians would appear in Poland. There is no mention of the crown of Bulgaria, proposed to Władysław IV – which is stressed by P. des Noyers; it is also contrary to the previous agreements between Bulgarians and the Wallachian Hospodar. For him there is reserved an important role as a commander under the King. Such an approach would correspond with the plans to give the Bulgarian throne to Władysław IV. The narration about the reception of the mission by the King and the support of the Queen, who had offered her own jewels, could mirror the real actions of the King, who used to borrow from his wife when preparing for war with Turkey.³⁹ There could be found information that in the 1650s portraits of Władysław IV as St. George were stored in Bulgaria, they probably could have been made during his preparation for war with Turkey.⁴⁰ It is not enough to assert the fact that the King had sent letters to Mathei Basarab; the stories about the fears of the Turks seem to be little exaggerated.⁴¹

In conclusion, the relation of Parchevich had the character of propaganda. It was uttered to engage Venice in supporting the Balkan uprising and therefore had to include true details – the Venetians in 1646 were interested in the start of the war between Poland and Turkey, as is also asserted by the mission of Giovanni Tiepolo – but its overall tone seems to be too optimistic. The character of Władysław IV implies that the King had accepted the Bulgarian proposition with joy, but the statement of Parchevich, that the death of the King had destroyed the realization of his promises, is a kind of hyperbole. But because the relation of Parchevich is more widely known than the diaries of P. des Noyers quoted,

³⁸ The memorial of Parchevich to the Venetian Senate, on July 9th, 1650, in: J. Pejacsevich, *op. cit.*, no. XII, pp. 498–499.

³⁹ A. S. Radziwiłł, *Pamiętnik o dziejach w Polsce*, ed. A. Przyboś, R. Żelewski, vol. 2, Warszawa 1980, p. 505. Also see: W. Czermak, *op. cit.*, pp. 190–191; H. Wisner, *Władysław IV Waza*, Wrocław 1995, p. 108; J. Widacki, *Kniaź Jarema*, Katowice 1984, p. 95.

⁴⁰ It was mentioned by Jan Sobieski in „Consilium bellicum”, sent to the Sejm on March 6th, 1673, as an attachment to his participation in the legation of Mikołaj Bieganowski to Turkey 1654 – see: T. Korzon, *Dola i niedola Jana Sobieskiego*, vol. 3, Kraków 1898, p. 325.

⁴¹ In 1646 they had felt real fear about war with Poland – W. Czermak, *op. cit.*, pp. 219–222.

the former became the basis for the interpretation of the results of the mission to Poland in 1647 for almost the whole Bulgarian bibliography.⁴² In Polish bibliography this relation was accepted by L. Kubala, who connected it with Polish sources and identified the old man with a beard, described by P. des Noyers, with Parchevich.⁴³

However, this statement seems doubtful. It is possible that Parchevich spoke with the King in Italian, but if we take into account the fact that in 1647 he was only 35 years old, it is difficult to accept him as an old man. This is noted by a Bulgarian historian, S. Stanimirov, who has published the account of P. des Noyers. According to him, three persons should be discussed in this context: two Bulgarian clerics, Parchevich and Francis Stoimirovich, as well as an Italian, the Augustinian brother Reginaldo Moari. Because both Bulgarians were of the same age at the time concerned – too young to be described as old men by P. des Noyers – Stanimirov deduces that the person described was R. Moari. Based on the archives of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, he has proved that both Parchevich and F. Stoimirovich had actively participated in the activities of liberation in the time in question. Therefore he concludes that at the beginning the leading role was taken by R. Moari, while Parchevich had only accompanied him and took over his duties after his sudden death.⁴⁴ The argument of S. Stanimirov is very persuasive. It joins up various sources and removes some doubts, which could arise if one takes into account that such a delicate and important diplomatic mission was trusted to so young and inexperienced a cleric as Parchevich in 1647. He undoubtedly took part in the legation to Poland, but was not its leading member – rather a unique spectator, who later described it in front of the Venetian Senate and gained useful experience.

To sum up, it can be stated that in 1647 a secret Bulgarian delegation was sent to Poland; its members were R. Moari and Parchevich. After crossing the lands of Vasile Lupu, who was hostile to such actions, the delegates – or rather Moari himself – proposed in December 1647 to Władysław IV, in the name of Matei Basarab and the Bulgarian conspirators, led by the Archbishop of Sofia, Petru Bogdan Bakshev, to join the war with Turkey, planned by the King, and to incite an uprising in the Balkans. The almost simultaneous offer of the Bulgarian crown to the King and Matei Basarab should be treated rather as an act, which was earlier discussed with the Hospodar – as he could have calculated that the bringing

⁴² The mission to Poland is described according the relation of Parchevich by: J. Pejacsevich, *op. cit.*, pp. 361–362; D. Dimitrow, *op. cit.*, p. 36; I. Duicev, *op. cit.*, pp. 156–158 (he states that the mission could be analyzed only by basing it on the relation of Parchevich, as any other documents or letters to the Wallachian Hospodar, mentioned by Parchevich, did not survive); И. Дуйчев, *op. cit.*, pp. 163–164; М. Йопов, *op. cit.*, p. 211; И. Милевъ, *Исторически ...*, pp. 10–11; idem, *Католишката ...*, p. 175 and Л. Милетичъ, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

⁴³ L. Kubala, *op. cit.*, p. 261–262.

⁴⁴ С. Станимиров, *op. cit.*, p. 176. On the political activities of F. Soimirovich and his mission in Poland also see: И. Милевъ, *Католишката ...*, p. 145 and more briefly: Т. Wasilewski, *Polska w walce ...*, p. 32. The participation of Parchevich in the legation to Władysław IV is stated in a letter of the Archbishop of Sofia, Petar Bogdan to the Venetian Republic, on December 18th, 1649, in: J. Pejacsevich, *op. cit.*, no. V, p. 491.

of Władysław IV into play was worth his resignation from the crown, which seemed to be unattainable without the help of the Polish King – or it could have been an initiative of the delegates, trying to find allies at all possible cost. The King's answer was positive, but the extent of his real promises is unknown. The King's order for the Hetman to prepare for a war could not be seen as a result of the Bulgarian mission, as Parchevich asserts. In autumn 1646 Władysław IV ordered Mikołaj Potocki, who only in that year had been nominated as Grand Hetman of the Crown, to collect an army at the border with Moldova. But a year before the arrival of the Bulgarians in Warsaw the Hetman, nominated by the King, ceased to oppose him and warned about the supposed Turkish threat.⁴⁵ It is also possible that the account of Parchevich – if the related order of facts is true – must have been connected with the expedition of Alexander Koniecpolski and Prince Jeremi Wiśniowiecki in 1647 to the steppes on the coast of the Black Sea in order to provoke the Tatars. Officially, however, this action was performed without the knowledge of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth before the arrival of the Bulgarian mission.⁴⁶ Supported by the promises of the King, the delegates returned to Bulgaria at the beginning of 1648.

Despite the truth of the promises of Władysław IV, his death on May 20th, 1648 and the beginning of the Bogdan Khmelnytsky revolt in the same year annihilated the possibility of the war between Poland and Turkey. The Bulgarians had to postpone their plans for an uprising, despite the revolutionary tendencies among the people, as the words of Parchevich assert. The Archbishop of Sofia Petar Bogdan had to cool his compatriots down, suggesting that they should wait for the development of the situation in Poland.⁴⁷ The Hospodar Matei Basarab was also forced to follow the example of Vasile Lupu and to seek Turkish sympathy. It was important at that time, because the Turks had already planned to put into his place Alexandru Iliăș, the Hospodar of Wallachia and Moldavia. The tribute, paid in an appropriate time, allowed the Hospodar to keep his throne. He did not delay renewing his relations with Transylvania in the following years, backing himself up in the case of conflict with Turkey.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ A. S. Radziwill, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 499 and 505. See: W. Czermak, *op. cit.*, pp. 186–188 and 239–240.

⁴⁶ A. S. Radziwill, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 55. Also see: W. Czaplinski, *op. cit.*, p. 308; J. Widacki, *op. cit.*, pp. 101–102.

⁴⁷ The memorial of Parchevich to the Venetian Senate, on July 9th, 1650, in: J. Pejacsevich, *op. cit.*, no. XII, p. 499; M. Йоюов, *op. cit.*, p. 212; И. Дуйчев, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

⁴⁸ Ch. Georgescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–31. Matei Basarab renewed his former treaty from April 1647 with Transylvania, directed against the Turks and Tatars – see: *Tratat de bună vecinătate între Matei Basarab, domn al Țării Românești, și Gheorghe Rákóczi I, principe al Transilvaniei, Târgoviște*, on April 22nd, 1647, in: *Tratele internaționale ale României 1354–1920. Texte rezumate, adnotări, bibliografie*, ed. I. Ionașcu, P. Bărbulescu, G. George, vol. 1, București 1975, no. 270, p. 107; Gheorghe Rákóczi al II-lea, principe al Transilvaniei, confirmă tratatul de alianță încheiat de Gheorghe Rákóczi I cu Matei Basarab, domn al Țării Românești, Brașov, February 18th, 1650, *Ibidem*, no. 275, p. 108; Convenția încheiată de Matei Basarab cu Gheorghe Rákóczi II, April 25th, 1651, *Ibidem*, no. 276, p. 108 and the obligation of Matei Basarab against George II Rákóczi, Târgoviște, May 10th, 1651, in: *Monumenta Hungariae Historia*, ed. S. Szilágyi, vol. 23, Budapeszt 1874, no. XXXVII, pp. 61–63. Also see: N. Stoicescu, *Matei Basarab*, București 1988, p. 183 and P. Zahariuc, *Țara Moldovei în vremea lui Gheorghe Ștefan voievod (1653–1658)*, Iași 2003, pp. 86–87.

While the Bulgarian conspirators were waiting for the development of events in Poland, here the plans of war with Turkey were unexpectedly renewed. The uprising of Bogdan Khmelnytsky started in 1648 because of the dissatisfaction of the Cossacks, caused by the cessation of the war plans of Władysław IV. Instead of robberies on the coast of the Black Sea, the Zaporozhians turned to Ukraine. Their alliance with the Tatars was very dangerous to the army of the Crown, which had already been proved by the campaigns of 1648 and 1649. In this situation, the court of the new King, John II Casimir, returned to the plans for war with Turkey. The Chancellor Jerzy Ossoliński, who was actually directing Polish policy at that time, intended to calm down Ukraine and give the Cossacks what they required before the uprising – the possibility to fight against Turkey. The Chancellor intended in this way to destroy the alliance between the Cossacks and Tatars and to direct the Cossacks' power abroad, ending the uprising.⁴⁹

Jerzy Ossoliński renewed the plans of war with Turkey as a remedy against the Cossack uprising in winter 1648/1649, right after the election of John Casimir.⁵⁰ He persuaded senators at the coronation Sejm in winter 1649 and renewed negotiations with Venice, trying to ease the Polish participation in this affair. The court started to mobilize an army – especially the Branderburgian regiment of Cristopher Houwaldt – while the nobles, satisfied by the retreat of Khmelnytsky to Ukraine, were rather inclined to dismiss the army. The court explained the threat of Transylvania, but, in fact, these diplomatic and military actions could be treated as the beginning of the realisation of the plans of war with Turkey.⁵¹ From this perspective the following events could be interpreted: the removal of Bulava from Prince Jeremi Wiśniowiecki, who was deputizing for the captured Hetmans of the Crown, whilst being really a supporter of war with the Cossacks, and the start of negotiations with Khmelnytsky, led by a great withdrawal (the Polish commission, headed by the Bratslav Voivode Adam Kisiel, started negotiations in Pereyaslav on February 19th, 1649).⁵²

The Polish initiative was, however, rejected by Khmelnytsky, who in summer 1648 was trying to negotiate with Turkey (there was even discussion whether to hire Cossacks to fight on the Turkish side against the Venetians).⁵³ The unsuccessful mission of Jakub Śmiarowski to the Cossacks only precipitated the renewal of fighting (the delegate intended to cause the fall of Khmelnytsky, but the plan failed – the King and the Chancellor assumed that another Cossack leader would be easier to manipulate). In May 1649 the first

⁴⁹ Z. Wójcik, *op. cit.*, p. 193. Also see: J. Teodorczyk, 'Dramat jazdy polskiej. Przyczyny porażek wojsk koronnych w walkach z Kozakami zaporoskimi w latach 1648–1652', in: *Epoka „Ogniem i mieczem” we współczesnych badaniach historycznych*, ed. M. Nagielski, Warsaw 2000, pp. 135–136.

⁵⁰ М. Грушевський, *Історія України-Руси*, vol. 9, Київ 1996, p. 33; T. Wasilewski, *Ostatni Waza ...*, p. 77.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 77.

⁵² Z. Wójcik, *Jan Kazimierz Waza*, Wrocław 1997, pp. 62–63.

⁵³ О. Прицак, 'Ще раз про союз Богдана Хмельницького з Туреччиною', *Український археографічний щорічник*, ed. 2, vol. 5, Київ 1993, pp. 183–184.

fighting took place, on July the 10th the Cossacks and Tatars besieged Zbarazh, on August 15th the Polish army was defeated in the campaign at Zboriv. The King and army were saved by the diplomatic efforts of J. Ossoliński, who negotiated an alliance with the Tatars on August 19th and concluded with the Cossacks the so-called Zboriv treaty. It allowed the expansion of the Cossacks' register to 40,000, which made them an important military power. The treaty was a real success for Khmelnytsky; however, he had to make the Tatars keep to it. In such a way both Poland and the Cossacks tied their own hands. Nobody – not least Khmelnytsky – believed in the permanence of this treaty.⁵⁴

The campaign of 1649 was for the King and the Chancellor new proof that the allied Cossack-Tatar forces were not to be defeated and that preparation for the war with Turkey should be intensified. Their opinion was shared by the Voivode A. Kisiel, who was supposed to be an expert in Cossack matters.⁵⁵ Possibly the agreement of Poland to enlarge the Cossacks' register from 6,000 to 40,000 was bound up with the hope of using these forces to attack Turkey. The Papal Nuncio Giovanni de Torres wrote in November 1649, that the King was planning a war with Turkey, counting on 30,000 of his own army and 40,000 Cossacks.⁵⁶

The position of Venice also favoured the royal plans. Despite the successes in Dalmatia, it was still a long way from conquering Turkey, while the continuing war harmed one of the pillars of the Venetian economy – trade in the Levant.⁵⁷ Because of this, in 1649 Venice proposed to Turkey that they should buy Crete back instead of the fortress of Parga (on the coast of the Ionian Sea). Turkey rejected the proposition. They also did not agree to accredit a well-known Venetian diplomat, Luigi Contarini, as ambassador extraordinary in Istanbul. On the other side, they renewed the peace treaty with the Empire for the next 22 years, from June 1st, 1649. They still could make progress in Candia, where in summer 1649 a revolt of Janissaries occurred. At the same time, in July, a rebellion started in Anatolia: both were suppressed, but they indicated the inner weakness of Turkey.⁵⁸ In this situation Venice, which did not negotiate with Turkey and could not count on the Empire, eagerly accepted the Polish initiative.

⁵⁴ On the campaign of 1649 and the Zboriv treaty see: Z. Wójcik, *Jan Kazimierz Waza ...*, pp. 66–75; J. Kaczmarczyk, *Bohdan Chmielnicki*, Wrocław 2007, pp. 107–123.

⁵⁵ L. Kubala, *op. cit.*, p. 376; F. Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine. The Dilemma of Adam Kysil 1600–1653*, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1985, p. 181.

⁵⁶ G. de Torres to Rome, Warsaw, on November 20th, 1649, in: *Ватиканські матеріали до історії України, vol. 1 – Донесення римських нуційів про Україну*, in: *Жерела до історії України, vol. 16*, ed. С. Томашівський, Львів 1924, No. 110, pp. 61–62; E. Latacz, 'Uгода Zborowska a plany tureckie Jana Kazimierza', *Historja*, 1933, part 3, no. 3, pp. 4–6.

⁵⁷ Because of it the Venetians never prolonged conflicts with Turkey, agreeing to great withdrawals just in order to keep on trading. In 1573, for example, although supported by the Pope and Spain, Venice left the Holy League and signed a treaty with Turkey, giving it Cyprus – see: F. Braudel, *Morze Śródziemne i świat śródziemnomorski w epoce Filipa II*, vol. 2, Warszawa 2004, pp. 482–484.

⁵⁸ J. Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. 10, Paris 1837, pp. 224–234; K. M. Setton, *Venice, Austria and the Turks in Seventeenth Century*, Philadelphia 1991, p. 157.

In June 1649 Contarini arrived to Poland with the news about the victory of the Venetian navy on May 12th at Foça.⁵⁹ He caught up with the King by the beginning of July in Lublin, on campaign against the Cossacks. Contarini got letters and a secret order, while Venice, which could not wait until his return, sent a new delegate, Boccalini. The latter, however, could not meet the King before Zboriv.⁶⁰ But the presence of Contarini should have strengthened the royal intentions, while even the Chancellor J. Ossoliński explored the opinions of Tatars and Cossacks at Zboriv about future war with Turkey.⁶¹

After the return from Zboriv the Polish court started energetic preparations in order to realize its plans. In October 1649 the Bishop of Kujawy, Mikołaj Gniewosz, was sent to Vienna and Venice with the mission of inclining the Emperor Ferdinand III to break the recently concluded peace with Turkey and to join the planned Polish-Cossack-Venetian alliance. Venice had to support Poland with financial help and not conclude a separate peace treaty with Turkey. In Vienna M. Gniewosz talked with the Polish resident to the Emperor, Giovanni Battista Visconti, who promised to achieve a Polish-Venetian alliance. He considered that Venice should send a delegate to the Sejm, while the conditions for the war with Turkey improved during the mission of G. Tiepolo. The Venetian delegate in Vienna, Nicolò Sagredo, noted that Venice itself had no spare money to support Poland at the agreed time.⁶²

On November 22nd, 1649 a Sejm, which ratified the Zboriv treaty, started in Warsaw. In the context of the Turkish plans it was a success for the King and the Chancellor. As early as in November J. Ossoliński discussed the Turkish war with a delegate of the Empire, Franc Paul von Lisola, who expressed his support for the creation of the anti-Turkish league.⁶³ Lisola as an experienced diplomat could possibly not have acted in any other way, even when facing the peaceful position of his senior, while for the Chancellor it was an additional argument to continue his efforts. In his letters to the Venetian delegate N. Sagredo and the Spaniard Lumières, accredited in Vienna, John Casimir declared his intention of going to war with Turkey, but only together with other countries and with the remark that the Polish nobles were still against it.⁶⁴ Khmelnytsky had declared to the King his wish to

⁵⁹ The Turkish armada was crushed there by Giacomo Riva – see: J. J. Norwich, *A History of Venice*, New York 1982, p. 551; K. M. Setton, *op. cit.*, p. 155; W. Szyszkowski, *Wenecja. Dzieje Republiki 726–1797*, Toruń 1994, p. 226. The arrival of the Venetian is noted by A.S. Radziwiłł in July 1649, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 205.

⁶⁰ L. Kubala, *op. cit.*, p. 376; T. Wasilewski, *Ostatni Waza ...*, p. 77.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 88. Later F. Lisola wrote about it to Ferdinand III, Kraków, on September 30th, 1650, in: *Жерела до історії України-Руси*, ed. M. Кордуба, vol. 12, Львів 1911, no. 126, pp. 136–137.

⁶² N. Sagredo to Signoria, Vienna, October 30th, 1649, *Ibidem*, no. 88, pp. 122–123; T. Wasilewski, *Ostatni Waza ...*, p. 88.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 88. Also see a later letter: F. Lisola to N. Sagredo, Warsaw, on March 13th, 1650, in: *Жерела...*, no. 105, p. 128.

⁶⁴ John Casimir to N. Sagredo, Warsaw, on November 20th, 1649, *Ibidem*, no. 92, pp. 123–124; idem to Lumières, Warsaw, on November 20th, 1649, *Ibidem*, no. 93, p. 124.

join the war and promised true victory, but he was suspected – as it became clear later, rightly – of playing to delay the whole affair⁶⁵.

The diplomatic animation in the affair of war with Turkey was at once noticed in Bulgaria. The Archbishop Petar Bogdan decided that it was a suitable moment to enter into play. There was still a danger of an isolated uprising, which would definitely be suppressed. In order to avoid that, the Archbishop gathered the Bulgarian conspirators in December 1649 in Târgoviște, once more using the hospitality of Matei Basarab. Because of this meeting the Archbishop resigned from his affairs in Rome, refusing in November to leave for Italy.⁶⁶ Apart from the Archbishop, Francis Markanich, seeking the title of Bulgarian Governor (in fact, he governed only Chiprovtsi) as well as other, unidentified „leaders” of the Bulgarian people, arrived to the Wallachian capital – among them could have been persons from Catholic settlements from northwest Bulgaria.⁶⁷ Their presence in Târgoviște could be easily justified in the eyes of the Turks as concerning purely trade affairs. Parchevich also arrived in Wallachia to begin another diplomatic mission.⁶⁸

A council was held under the supervision of Matei Basarab and a plan of action was outlined. The conspirators tried to persuade the Hospodar to support their plans, indicating the growing Turkish threat.⁶⁹ The result of this council was formulated in three letters, addressed to the Venetian Republic, dated on December 18th, 1649; they outline the plan of an uprising and ask Venice for support. The first letter was signed by F. Markanich. He declared that he was chosen as a delegate together with Parchevich, but his important position in Chiprovtsi did not allow him to leave without Turkish suspicions. It also tells about the Bulgarian readiness to revolt, and indicates the weakness of Turkish power, marking the

⁶⁵ N. Sagredo to Signoria, Vienna, on November 27th, 1649, *Ibidem*, no. 94, p. 124; John Casimir to G. Visconti, Warsaw, on December 12th, 1649, *Ibidem*, no. 96, pp. 124-125; G. Visconti to Ferdinand III, Vienna, on January 3rd, 1650, *Ibidem*, No. 101, pp. 126-127. Cf. J. Kaczmarczyk, 'Między Zborowem a Białą Cerkwią. Z dziejów sojuszu kozacko-tatarskiego', *Studia Historyczne*, 23 (1980), no. 1 (88), p. 24. Khmelnytsky was keeping to the principle that „Turks and Tatars will not use their swords”. Similarly M. Грушевський, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁶⁶ Petar Bogdan to the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, Chiprovtsi, on November 8th, 1649, in: *Acta Bulgariae ecclesiastica*, No. CX, pp. 197-198.

⁶⁷ They could be identified with the persons, who as „primares catholici Bulgariae” sent a letter from Chiprovtsi to the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith on August 30th, 1649, complaining about the Turkish oppression (*Ibidem*, No. CVII, p. 194). Here we find 10 surnames, mainly of Slavic origin in their Latinized version – among them F. Markanich.

⁶⁸ The merchants from Chiprovtsi had their own corporation in the capital of Wallachia, and trade between the two cities was very developed – see: E. Večeva, 'L'Eglise catholique et le peuple bulgare (XVII^e – XVIII^e siècle)', *Bulgarian Historical Review*, 1983, no. 3, p. 70. F. Markanich signed the letter as „governor” – see: F. Markanich to the Republic of Venice, Târgoviște, on December 18th, 1649, in: J. Pejacsevich, *op. cit.*, no. IV, p. 489. Also see: M. Йоюв, *op. cit.*, p. 212 and I. Duicev, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

⁶⁹ И. Дуйчев, *op. cit.*, p. 164. In winter 1649/1650 the Turks required both hospodars to come personally to Istanbul, which could not be taken as a good sign – S. Reniger to R. Schmidt, Istanbul, on January 29th, 1650, in: *Жерела ...*, no. 102, p. 127; N. Sagredo to the Doge (F. Da Molin), Vienna, February 15th, 1650, in: *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor*, ed. E. Hurmuzaki, vol. 8, Bucuresci 1894, no. DCCXLII, p. 522.

readiness of the Wallachian Hospodar to support the uprising with his army. In conclusion, F. Markanich was relying on the decision of Venice.⁷⁰ The second letter was signed by the Archbishop Petru Bogdan. In it he related the previous attempts to establish independence, the endeavours of Matei Basarab and Władysław IV. As the Metropolitan stressed, at that time the Bulgarians were again looking for Polish help; if anything was to be done, the right time had come. He also outlined the plan of action: the uprising in Bulgaria, supported by the Wallachians, should be secured from the counterattack of the Pasha of Buda by imperial troops. Meanwhile Venice had to intensify her naval action. While the weakness of Turkey, Petru Bogdan saw the real chance of success only in Venetian help.⁷¹ The last letter was signed by 'Bulgarian leaders.' The pathetic tone in it mainly repeated the arguments of Petru Bogdan. The authors were acting in the name of the Eastern people, especially the once rich Bulgarian tsardom, calling on Venice to wake the Bulgarian lion up into life.⁷²

Hospodar Matei Basarab this time gave only oral instructions, after which, in the turn of the years 1649 and 1650, Parchevich was sent with letters – to Poland, Vienna and Venice. He was accompanied on this mission by Georgi Tsirkovich.⁷³ There is not, however, any historical source to estimate the powers of the rebels, gathered in Târgoviște by the conspirators. Its quantity is calculated at ca. 20,000 people. The plan of revolt was to rise in northwest Bulgaria. Part of an army was to be moved to the South, in the direction of Thrace, in order to disable a quick Turkish counterattack. At the same time the rest of rebels were to act along the Danube, seizing its crossings, in order to help the Wallachian army to pass it. Although there were plans to give the command into the hands of Matei Basarab, it was also thought that the Bulgarians should be led by their own commander, initially by Francis Markanich.⁷⁴

Carrying these letters, Parchevich arrived in Warsaw in the middle of January 1650. The exact date of his arrival is not known – it must have been after the end of the Sejm.⁷⁵ This was

⁷⁰ F. Markanich to the Republic of Venice, Târgoviște, on December 18th, 1649, in: J. Pejacsevich, *op. cit.*, no. IV, p. 489.

⁷¹ Petru Bogdan to The Republic of Venice, Târgoviște, on December 18th, 1649, *Ibidem*, no. V, pp. 490–491.

⁷² „il leone di Bulgaria adormito eccitare, respirat enim adhuc quamvis totaliter non spiret” – Bulgarian leaders to the Republic of Venice, Târgoviște, on December 18th, 1649, *Ibidem*, no. VI, pp. 491–492. More about the letters see: I. Duicev, *op. cit.*, pp. 160–162.

⁷³ T. Wasilewski, *Ostatni Waza ...*, p. 91. The Wallachian Hospodar was afraid to become revealed in front of the Turks, and because of that did not give to the delegates any letter – N. Sagredo to Doge, Vienna, on June 18th, 1650, in: *Documente ...*, no. DCCXLVI, p. 525.

⁷⁴ Б. Димитров, 'Военнополитически въпроси на българските освободителни въстания през XVII век', in: *Чупровци 1688–1988 ...*, София 1989, pp. 92–93. As M. Йонов noted, *op. cit.*, p. 212, the conspirators did not give the number of future rebels on purpose, but they are counted, based on the opinion of the Venetian war historian A. Valiero, specializing in the affairs of the Cretan war.

⁷⁵ The Sejm had finished debates on January 12th, 1650 – see: S. Ochmann-Staniszevska, Z. Staniszevska, *Sejm Rzeczypospolitej za panowania Jana Kazimierza Wazy. Prawo-doktryna-praktyka*, vol. 1, Wrocław 2000, p. 56. The arrival of Parchevich in the middle of January is stated by L. Kubala, *op. cit.*, p. 377 and T. Wasilewski, *Ostatni Waza ...*, p. 90. W. A. Serczyk, *op. cit.*, p. 303 writes vaguely about 'the beginning of 1650.'

not a good moment. The fact of negotiations between Turkey and Spain was already known in Warsaw; the negotiations were to lead to a peace treaty between Turkey and Venice and the rejection, given to M. Gniewosz by Venice on December 4th, 1649, of the Polish entrance to the League because of its excessive financial claims⁷⁶. Nevertheless, the Bulgarian initiative was in accord with the desires of the Polish court. As Parchevich mentioned in his memorial to the Venetian Senate, he was greeted in a friendly way by the King and could hope for the sympathies of many nobles, which supposedly guaranteed that the Commonwealth would enter the war. Among others, he mentioned: the Chancellor J. Ossoliński, the Bishop of Chelmno and Deputy Chancellor of the Crown Andrzej Leszczyński, Field Crown Hetman Mikołaj Potocki, Grand Treasurer of the Crown⁷⁷, Grand Marshal of the Crown⁷⁸ and the Russian Voivod Jeremi Wiśniowiecki, not counting lesser figures⁷⁹. Analyzing this relation, we can postulate two doubts at the beginning. First of all, it is not possible to agree with the opinion of Parchevich that the persons mentioned were able to move the Commonwealth into war – with all objections, the opinion of the nobles was of great importance in those times. But it is doubtful that all of them were gathered at the audience of Parchevich by the King. For example, the Field Crown Hetman M. Potocki was still imprisoned by Tatars in January 1650 and came to Lviv only in March of the same year⁸⁰. Most probably Parchevich mentioned the whole war party that he knew, not indicating that J. Wiśniowiecki, A. Leszczyński and M. Potocki were personally against the King; they accepted the war plans as a campaign against the Cossacks, but not Turkey⁸¹. The royal plans presumed cooperation with the Cossacks. It has therefore to be accepted that the relation of Parchevich is in this point exaggerated and was to make the best possible impression on the Venetians⁸².

Undoubtedly the position of Venice concerning the Polish propositions in December disappointed the King, but it also taught him to be more cautious. In Warsaw the arrival

⁷⁶ N. Sagredo to Signoria, Vienna, on January 1st, 1650, in: *Жерела ...*, no. 100, p. 126. T. Wasilewski, *Ostatni Waza ...*, p. 90, undoubtedly estimates the Venetian rejection to ally with Poland as a result of hopes for a peace treaty with Turkey.

⁷⁷ It was possibly Bogusław Leszczyński, because Jan Mikołaj Danilowicz, performing this duty, died on January 7th, 1650. See: *Urzednicy centralni i nadworni Polski XIV–XVIII wieku*, ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Kórnik 1992, p. 125. Parchevich mentions only titles without full names.

⁷⁸ It is not clear whether this concerns Łukasz Opaliński or Jerzy Sebastian Lubomirski, who took over this duty on February 19th, 1650. See: *Urzednicy ...*, p. 80 and 88.

⁷⁹ The memorial of Parchevich to the Venetian Senate, on July 9th, 1650, in: J. Pejacsevich, *op.cit.*, no. XII, p. 500.

⁸⁰ D. Milewski, 'Hetman wielki koronny Mikołaj Potocki wobec powstania kozackiego w 1650 r.', in: *Studia historyczno-wojskowe*, ed. K. Bobiatyński, P. Gawron, M. Nagielski, vol. 2, Zabrze 2008, p. 115.

⁸¹ M. Potocki, however, suggested transferring the war outside the borders in the future as a method of solving the Cossack problem – see: M. Potocki to John Casimir, the camp at Kamieniec Podolski, on October 22nd, 1650, in: *Jakuba Michalowskiego, wojskiego lubelskiego, a później kasztelana bieckiego księga pamiętnicza, z dawnego rękopisma będącego własnością Ludwika hr. Morsztyna*, ed. A. Z. Helcel, Kraków 1864, no. 194, pp. 577–579; D. Milewski, *Hetman wielki ...*, pp. 126–127.

⁸² This is taken almost for granted in older Polish literature and among Bulgarian historians – see: L. Kubala, *op. cit.*, p. 377; И. Милевъ, *Исторически връзки...*, p. 12; J. Pejacsevich, *op. cit.*, p. 364.

of Parchevich was used to renew the plans of an anti-Turkish coalition – therefore there is no doubt of the friendly acceptance of the Bulgarian delegate – later he was sent to Vienna and Venice with letters of recommendation. This time it was stressed that Poland would start the war with Turkey only when other countries would participate – first of all, the Empire and Venice. The Chancellor J. Ossoliński proposed to Venice to send its own delegates to Poland at the same time in order to coordinate the terms of an alliance.⁸³ It is known that at this time Poland required financial help to keep an army of 10,000 – 6,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry.⁸⁴

The exact date of the departure of Parchevich to Vienna is not known – but it is certain that he arrived there at the end of May 1650.⁸⁵ He was received by the Emperor Ferdinand III and carried on several conversations, which, however, did not achieve the intended goal. The Habsburgs were exhausted by the recently ended Thirty Years' War, and did not intend to engage in a new conflict. The Emperor used as an excuse the peace treaty with Turkey renewed in 1649 and refused to help. His friendly attitude towards the Bulgarians and his understanding of their situation did not bring comfort in this case.⁸⁶ Parchevich interested two delegates – the Spaniard, de Lumières, and the Venetian, N. Sagredo in his mission; both of them promised to support his attempts with the Emperor.⁸⁷ He also received letters of recommendation to the Venetian Doge from N. Sagredo and the Polish resident in Vienna, G. B. Visconti, which were dated June 21st, 1650.⁸⁸

Right after having received the letters, Parchevich left for Venice, where he arrived at the beginning of July. The secretary of the Signoria, Girolamo Bon, received him on July 6th, while the next day Parchevich made an appearance in front of the Signoria.⁸⁹ After the presentation of his letters, he called upon Venice in the name of the oppressed Bulgarians, Poland and the Emperor to support the uprising. The answer of the Doge was mainly restricted to a few words of sympathy.⁹⁰ This happened because the foreign policy of the state was controlled by the Senate.

⁸³ L. Kubala, *op. cit.*, p. 378; M. Йонов, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

⁸⁴ P. Doni to G. B. Visconti, Warsaw, on March 19th, 1650, in: *Жерела ...*, no. 106, pp. 128–129.

⁸⁵ J. Pejacsevich, *op. cit.*, p. 364, dates his departure to February 1650, while M. Йонов, *op. cit.*, p. 212, supposes that Parchevich only arrived in Vienna at the end of May 1650.

⁸⁶ M. Йонов, *op. cit.*, pp. 212–214; И. Дуйчев, *op. cit.*, p. 164. Compare with: W. Czermak, *op. cit.*, pp. 201–202.

⁸⁷ Б. Цветкова, 'Петър Парчевич и българското освободително движение през XVII век', в: *Чупровци 1688–1988 ...*, pp. 22–23. After meeting Parchevich the Venetian delegate sent enthusiastic letters, supporting the revolt: N. Sagredo to Doge, Vienna, on June 11th, 1650, in: *Documente ...*, no. DC-CXLV, p. 524 and idem to Doge, Vienna, on June 18th, 1650, *Ibidem*, no. DCCXLVI, p. 525.

⁸⁸ G. B. Visconti to the Doge, Vienna, on June 21st, 1650, in: J. Pejacsevich, *op. cit.*, no. VII, pp. 493–494; N. Sagredo to the Doge, Vienna, on June 21st, 1650, *Ibidem*, no. VIII, p. 494.

⁸⁹ The relation of G. Bon of the audience of Parchevich, Venice, on July 6th, 1650, *Ibidem*, no. IX, pp. 494–495; the speech of Parchevich in front of the Signoria, Venice, on July 7th, 1650, *Ibidem*, no. X, pp. 495–496.

⁹⁰ The answer of the Doge to Parchevich, Venice, on July 7th, 1650 r., *Ibidem*, no. XI, p. 496.

Parchevich appeared in front of the Venetian Senate on July 9th and presented a long memorial, in which he outlined the story of Bulgarian struggles for independence and the creation of an anti-Turkish league from 1630. His memorial needed to encourage the Venetians to go to war and make an alliance with Poland, which was a necessary condition for the beginning and success of the uprising in Bulgaria. Because of it Parchevich presented very optimistic visions about the support of other countries; these were not realised, however, because of unfortunate circumstances – such as the attack of Gustav II Adolf on the Reich in 1630 or the death of Władysław IV in 1648. He also stressed the present weakness of Turkey and the readiness of the Bulgarians to revolt, depicting a unique occasion to strike the Ottomans a decisive blow and to make the Balkan Christians free.⁹¹

Three days after this speech, on July 12th, 1650, G. Bon prepared written answers in the name of the Republic of Venice to the Archbishop Petar Bogdan, F. Markanich and Parchevich. In them it was stated that Venice was following Bulgarian expectations when continuing the war over Crete. In this way the attention of Turks was distracted from the planned uprising, to which a successful outcome is wished. Venice also promised to start diplomatic action among other countries in order to support Bulgarian plans.⁹² At the farewell audience, on July 13th, 1650, Parchevich gave thanks for the answer and wished to leave for Rome.⁹³ It is not known whether he arrived there – in November 1650 he met Petru Bogdan in Ancona, where he possibly related the results of his mission.⁹⁴ After that he returned to M. Bandulovich in Moldova.

The mission of Parchevich to Vienna and Venice was widely discussed in Bulgarian literature and evaluated as having been rather unsuccessful. The unwillingness of Venice, Poland and the Empire to engage in war was stressed as far as an attempt to shift the weight of conflict onto the eventual ally was concerned.⁹⁵ In its turn, in Polish literature it was usually stressed, that the sudden death of the Chancellor J. Ossoliński on August 9th, 1650 broke down the plans for war with Turkey.⁹⁶ It has also to be noted, that these evaluations are rather extreme and not entirely correct.

⁹¹ The memorial of Parchevich to the Venetian Senate, on July 9th, 1650, *Ibidem*, no. XII, pp. 496–502.

⁹² The answer of the Venetian Republic to F. Markanich, on July 12th, 1650, *Ibidem*, no. XIII, pp. 502–503; the answer of the Venetian Republic to Petar Bogdan, on July 12th, 1650, *Ibidem*, no. XIV, p. 503; the answer of the Venetian Senate to Parchevich, on July 12th, 1650, *Ibidem*, no. XV, p. 504.

⁹³ The protocol of the farewell audience of Parchevich in the Venetian Senate, on July 13th, 1650, *Ibidem*, no. XVI, pp. 505–506.

⁹⁴ Parchevich to D. Massari, Ancona, on November 20th, 1650, in: *Acta Bulgariae ecclesiastica ...*, no. CXXI, p. 213.

⁹⁵ See: М. Йонков, *op. cit.*, pp. 212–215; И. Дуйчев, *op. cit.*, pp. 164–169; I. Duicev, *op. cit.*, pp. 159–166; П. Милевъ, *Исторически връзки ...*, pp. 12–13; *idem*, *Католишката ...*, pp. 176–177; J. Pejacsevich, *op. cit.*, pp. 363–372; Б. Цветкова, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–24.

⁹⁶ See: J. Kaczmarczyk, *Między Zborowem ...*, pp. 24–25; T. Wasilewski, *Ostatni Waza ...*, p. 93; Z. Wójcik, *Dyplomacja polska ...*, p. 194.

It is true that both Poland and Venice were suspicious of each other in the matter of a Turkish war; each of them wanted rather to defend their own interests. In 1650 these interests were so close and urgent to both countries that the projected coalition was real in outline. Despite the fact that the Venetians estimated the fighting possibilities of the Bulgarians rather sceptically, and did not want to engage in a Balkan conflict, it was still worth striving for a Polish – or even only Cossack – ally. They started to act in advance.

The Venetian delegate in Vienna, N. Sagredo, was especially active. He quickly understood that in order to succeed, Khmelnytsky had to be persuaded to cooperate. In April 1650 he wrote a letter to the Hetman of the Cossacks, proposing to attack the Turkish coast of the Black Sea in alliance with Venice (in his plans there was a joint Venetian-Cossack attack on Istanbul).⁹⁷ In the same month Alberto Vimina was sent to the Cossacks on a mission. First he arrived to Warsaw, and with the help of the Nuncio Giovanni de Torres achieved an audience with J. Ossoliński, and with his approval started out for Ukraine on May 7th. He reached Khmelnytsky at the beginning of June. The Cossack Hetman accepted him amicably, agreed to all possible help, but under the condition that Poland, Crimea and the Danubian principalities would join; at the same time he tried to avoid military action against Turkey. In his defence he used the argument of danger from the army of the Crown.⁹⁸ As a matter of fact, the Hetman M. Potocki, who held the command of the army of the Crown, was behaving quite unceremoniously with the Cossacks and gave in to Khmelnytsky's arguments unwillingly.⁹⁹

The Poles counted on the Cossacks and even on the Tatars – it was, however, very naïve to suppose that it would be possible to involve them in war with Turkey or, at least, to ensure their neutrality.¹⁰⁰ Khan Islam Giray III really wanted an alliance with Poland, but he also dreamed about a campaign against Moscow. Polish-Russian relations were in a strained state because of the result of the unceremonious legation of the brothers Pushkin, who arrived in Warsaw in March 1650. The Tatars had then offered an alliance against Moscow, but in Warsaw it was accepted that a war with Turkey would bring more benefits – the Tsar was threatened by the Tatars and in July 1650 a treaty was signed.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ G. de Torres to Rome, Warsaw, on April 23rd, 1650, in: *Ватиканські матеріали ...*, No. 143, pp. 79–80.

⁹⁸ Khmelnytsky to N. Sagredo, on June 3rd/13th, 1650, in: *Документи Богдана Хмельницького 1648–1657*, ed. І. Крип'якевич, Київ 1961, no. 102, pp. 171–172. About the mission of A. Vimina to Khmelnytsky see: М. Грушевський, *op. cit.*, pp. 46–53; W. A. Serczyk, *op. cit.*, pp. 304–305.

⁹⁹ In August 1650 M. Potocki even accused Khmelnytsky of accepting the Venetian delegate without the knowledge and agreement of Poland – M. Potocki to Khmelnytsky, Wielopol, on August 3rd, 1650, The Czartoryski library, manuscript 144, pp. 935–936. See: D. Milewski, *Hetman wielki ...*, pp. 119–120.

¹⁰⁰ See: reports of Nuncio G. de Torres to Rome: on March 12th, 1650, in: *Ватиканські матеріали ...*, no. 137, p. 75; on March 19th, 1650, *Ibidem*, no. 138, p. 75; on April 2nd, 1650, *Ibidem*, no. 141, p. 78 and on July 4th, 1650, *Ibidem*, no. 149, pp. 82–83. The illusions of Polish diplomacy were analyzed by М. Грушевський, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–36.

¹⁰¹ The legation of the Pushkins is traced in detail in specialist literature. Its importance for the plans of a Turkish war is discussed, among others, in: L. Kubala, *op. cit.*, pp. 378–379.

The Polish side showed great determination in their plans for war against Turkey. These were met with the Venetian response. Parchevich did not receive any concrete answer, but as a result of his legation an extraordinary delegate, the Secretary of the Signoria, Girolamo Cavazza, was immediately sent to Poland; to make a better impression he was granted the title of a count.¹⁰² Cavazza started out for Poland in July 1650.¹⁰³ At the beginning of September he still was in Vienna, where he enjoyed a friendly reception by the Emperor.¹⁰⁴

In the meantime the situation in Poland had changed. In July Janos Kemény, the Transylvanian delegate, was warmly received; he approved an alliance with the Cossacks in the name of George II Rákóczi and declared readiness for war with Turkey.¹⁰⁵ The Chancellor J. Ossoliński was already preparing to depart for Rome to an official ceremony of the Anniversary, but actually to look for allies and funds for the Turkish war – but he suddenly died from apoplexy on August 9th, 1650.¹⁰⁶ The death of such a competent politician postponed the realisation of military plans – the Chancellor was an arduous adherent of war with Turkey. John Casimir, who still did not give up his concept, had to look for other followers.

The military conception was not abandoned in Poland despite the negative position of Khmelnytsky. Playing for time, he kept asking for Turkish help until he got it. The Turkish chavush Osman Aga arrived at Chyhyryn on July 30th, offering to the Cossacks the protection of the Sultan, which was immediately accepted by Khmelnytsky. He not only resigned from the plans of war with Turkey, but also offered his help to the Sultan against any enemy.¹⁰⁷ Polish-Cossack relations were in tension from autumn 1650, when the Cossacks and Tatars acted against Moldova, which was in friendly relations with Poland. The Sejm, convened in autumn 1650, was debating in the atmosphere of a growing Ukrainian threat. Even in such unfavourable circumstances the King still did not give up the plans of war with Turkey. This is shown by debates with G. Cavazza, who in November promised financial help under the condition that Poland and the Cossacks would attack Turkey. During the official audience, the Sejm stated on December 18th, 1650 that his speech was appreciated.¹⁰⁸ John Casimir nominated a new Deputy Chancellor of the Crown in December 1650; this was Hieronim Radzie-

¹⁰² *Ibidem*, p. 380; W. A. Serczyk, *op. cit.*, p. 304. N. Sagredo had already applied for a delegate to Poland in order to make an alliance against Turkey in May – see: N. Sagredo to Signoria, Mödling, on May 28th, 1650, in: *Жерела ...*, no. 108, p. 130.

¹⁰³ This is asserted in *Gazette de France* on July 27th, 1650 – see: L. Kubala, *op. cit.*, p. 468.

¹⁰⁴ N. Sagredo to Signoria, Vienna, on September 3rd, 1650, in: *Жерела ...*, no. 118, p. 134.

¹⁰⁵ G. de Torres to Rome, Warsaw, on July 30th, 1650, in: *Ватиканські матеріали ...*, no. 158, p. 87; idem to N. Sagredo, Warsaw, on July 30th, 1650, in: *Жерела ...*, no. 113, p. 132. See also: T. Wasilewski, *Ostatni Waza ...*, p. 92.

¹⁰⁶ A. S. Radziwill, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, pp. 266–267. See: T. Wasilewski, *Ostatni Waza ...*, pp. 92–93.

¹⁰⁷ Khmelnytsky to Mehmed IV, Chyhyryn, in August 1650, in the relation of the mission of W. Unkowski to Khmelnytsky, *Акты относящиеся къ истории Южной и Западной Россіи*, vol. 8, Санкт-Петербург: 1875, no. 33, p. 354.

¹⁰⁸ The diary of the General Warsaw Sejm of six weeks (*Diariusz sejmu walnego warszawskiego sześciotygodniowego pro die 5 tobris złożonego*), The Library of Polish Academy of Science in Cracow, manuscript 367, k. 35–35v; A. S. Radziwill, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

jowski, who took part in the secret plans of Władysław IV in 1646. The new Deputy Chancellor had to continue the policies of J. Ossoliński – so in his first speech on December 10th, 1650 he marked the possibility of redirecting the Cossack threat (to Turkey). He also contacted Khmelnytsky, trying in winter 1651 to persuade him to return to the policies of J. Ossoliński.¹⁰⁹

The results of all these efforts were wasted. Khmelnytsky did not want any conflict with Turkey and used the matter to play for time and get new concessions from Poland. In winter 1651 a military confrontation occurred in Podolia, which became a prelude to the Berestechko campaign. Instead of the planned Polish-Cossack campaign to Turkey another operation in Ukraine started; this time the Cossacks were supported by the Tatars on the orders of the Sultan. Even in this situation the Poles tried to get any possible funding from Venice, arguing that they would fight against the Turkish allies. Venice was ready to pay for a real fight with Turkey, but not for actions in Ukraine.¹¹⁰

In conclusion of this discussion on the two missions of Parchevich to Poland in 1647 and 1650 and their international connotations in diplomacy, it has been stated that although the legations did not bring the intended results, they became an essential element of international politics of that time. Generally speaking, they are undervalued in Polish historiography. Attention is rightly drawn to internal relations between the royal court and the nobles as well as connections between the Poles and the Cossacks. During the times of Władysław IV and his successor they were decisive for the plans of war with Turkey – not the Bulgarian or Wallachian propositions or the treaty with Venice. Although the ruling powers were of different opinion, the conflict between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Ottoman Empire was not started, and this fact decided the future of both missions of Parchevich and, as emerges from the above, of the Bulgarian plans for an uprising. Venice, achieving partial success in Dalmatia, was too weak and did not show enough enthusiasm to engage in a Balkan conflict alone. It could agree with a Bulgarian diversion, but this kind of ‘cooperation’ was not approved by the Bulgarians. The Empire was weakened and did not intend to fight with the Turks. Poland could have started this war, but during the times of Władysław IV it did not wish to, and later was forced to retreat because of the hostile position of the Cossacks. In this way the Turks avoided the enlargement of the conflict, while the Bulgarians had to wait for their uprising to the times of the Habsburg victories in the 1680s (as time has shown, these were not permanent).

Petar Parchevich tried to organize the anti-Turkish league once more, but without any results. In his activity, in the course and results of the missions of 1647 and 1650, all the important elements of Middle-European and Balkan politics become visible.

¹⁰⁹ About the role of H. Radziejowski in the plans of the Turkish court in autumn and winter 1650/1651 see: A. Kersten, *Hieronim Radziejowski. Studium władzy i opozycji*, Warsaw 1988, pp. 240–246. Also M. Грушевський, *op. cit.*, p. 53, states that the death of J. Ossoliński did not interrupt the royal plans for a Turkish war, rather that they broke down because of the unwillingness of Khmelnytsky, who all the time was looking for Ottoman protection.

¹¹⁰ A. S. Radziwiłł, *op. cit.*, p. 275; L. Kubala, *op. cit.*, p. 459.

The cults of St. Rocco and St. Haralambos in the Eastern Mediterranean and in the Balkans

Vanya Sapundzhieva, Veliko Tarnovo

Diseases, in particular epidemics and pandemics, are some of the most terrifying ordeals mankind has faced in the course of its history. The saints who are the subject of the present study have a direct bearing on the plague, which forms part of the history of a great number of peoples from as far back as the period before the Christian Era until well into the 19th century, while some places still suffer occasional outbreaks.¹ Plague is a disease which spreads to a large number of people and territories. A characteristic example is the 'Plague of Justinian' (6th century), which broke out in Egypt, passed through Constantinople, the Balkan Peninsula, and the whole of Europe, and lasted for no less than fifty years, decimating about 10 million people.² In the Middle Ages (14th century) nearly a quarter of Europe's population died, Asia and Africa also being affected,³ while the London Plague of the 17th century killed nearly 100 000 people within half a century.⁴

The list of examples is endless, and it is an undeniable fact that the problem this epidemic disease causes affects very large groups of people and cannot be limited to a particular country or community. It is quite natural that in such a situation the survivors should seek help from on high in the person of saints – intercessors before God for men in their hardships and pains. In the history of the Christian religion we find a considerable number of saints in whose interceding and protecting functions the faithful have found consolation and protection. Of the greatest significance, of course, remains the religious feeling of repentance, and the confidence that healing is in the hands of God and is the result of repentance.

¹ Н. Манолова, *Чумавите времена (1700–1850)*, София 2004, p. 15.

² *Ibidem*, p. 10.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 11.

⁴ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, vol. 5, p. 447, coll. 1.

Among the most popular patron saints is, in the first place, the Most Holy Mother of God,⁵ who is an intercessor for the human race before Jesus Christ. Innumerable are her miraculous acts and manifestations. St. George,⁶ and St. Athanasius, and St. Athanasius succeeded in preserving whole islands untouched by epidemics⁷ etc. Turning towards the Catholic Church, we also find a considerable number of saints whose intercession has been sought in the face of a frightful pestilence. These are St. Adrian of Nicomedia, St. Casimir of Poland, St. Colman of Melk, St. Cuthbert, St. Edmund, St. Francis of Paola, St. Valentine etc.⁸

Two saints stand out against that background, their veneration as protectors against epidemics having developed into well-established cults and having lasted for centuries – St. Haralambos, venerated by Orthodox believers, and St. Rocco, venerated by Catholics.

St. Haralambos is an early Christian saint who was martyred in 198 AD, having lived to the advanced age of 113. The saint preached the Christian faith in Magnesia (Asia Minor) where he was a priest.⁹

St. Rocco lived much later – in the 13th–14th centuries. He was born in Montpellier, France, and died at the age of 35 after five years spent in prison.¹⁰

A closer look at the genesis and formation of the cults of the two saints reveals that the veneration for each of them has developed historically in almost contrasting terms.

After the death of St. Rocco, God announced to the faithful through the miraculous appearance of an inscription on a wall that the saint would be a patron of those who suffered from the plague, and this marked the beginning of the cult of the saint.¹¹ There is also a similar appearance in the extensive Life of St. Haralambos, the difference being that Jesus Christ descends from heaven before the saint passes away, and they have a dia-

⁵ И. Гергова, *Троянският манастир*, Sofia 1988, p. 6.

⁶ C. Jockle, *Encyclopedia of Saints*, Old Saybrook 2003, pp.181–183.

⁷ St. Spyridon has been declared a patron of the island of *Kerkyra* (Corfu) because the saint many times saved the town of the same name from epidemics and enemy attacks. Cf. Μ. Λικίσσας, *Ο άγιος Σπυρίδωνος Τριμυθούνητος και Θαυματουργός*, Κέρκυρα 2003. In the church of St. Anthony in Ano Korakiana on the same island, a wall painting is preserved representing St. Athanasius and St. Spyridon driving the plague away from the island of *Kerkyra*. *The miraculous cooperation between the two saints* is witnessed by the fact that on 2 May (when the Church celebrates the translation of the relics of St. Athanasius) a service is hold in praise of the two saints' *miraculous* driving the plague away from the island. Cf. Μ. Λικίσσας, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

⁸ C. Jockle, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 86, 113, 121, 181.

⁹ PG 117, coll. 305.

¹⁰ C. Jockle, *op. cit.*, pp. 374–376. After the publication of a document from the town of Voghera, (see: http://www.sanroccodimontpellier.it/inglese/archivio_documenti.htm#, the first documented evidence of its kind, of 25 February 1391, of a celebration of St. Rocco, which took place between 1382 and 1391 in the town) researchers investigating the cult of St. Rocco such as: A. Niero, *San Rocco. Storia – Leggenda – Culto*. I quaderni di San Rocco, Istituto per le Ricerche di Storia Sociale e di Storia Religiosa, Vicenza 1991, capitol 1 e 3 e appendice, pp. 9–14, 21–30, 51–52; F. Pitangue, *Nouvelle contribution a l'ütude de la vie authentique, de l'histoire et des lügendes de Mgr Saint Roch*, Montpellier 1984, pp. 29–34, redated the birth and death of the saint, and opportunities were created to introduce changes to the history of the veneration for St. Rocco.

¹¹ C. Jockle, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

logue in which the martyr asks that there be no famine or pestilence where his relics are venerated, and God grants his request.¹²

Another important detail in the Life of St. Rocco is that he himself suffers the plague and is miraculously cured of it, being fed with bread by a dog and his ulcers being anointed by an angel who thus save him from the frightful disease (Fig. 1).¹³

In 1911–1912 the Russian scholar Latishev published two manuscripts – one from the Moscow Synodal Library, containing lives of saints and homilies for February and March, and the other – a manuscript from the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, containing Menaia for June, July, and August.¹⁴ The scholar relates the Menaia to the work of John Xiphilinus (11th century) which makes the Life of St. Haralambos, published for 10 February, an extremely valuable source for tracing the veneration paid to him. Only here – in the poetically rendered dialogue between the Lord, who has descended to meet the saint's soul, and the dying St Haralambos – do we have a direct reference to the saint's having suffered from a 'deadly' disease during his lifetime.¹⁵

Extremely interesting and unusual is the history of the development of the cult of St. Haralambos, venerated by Orthodox believers as a patron saint of those who suffer from the plague. This early Christian martyr underwent a great number of ordeals in the name of his faith. According to the extensive Lives,¹⁶ he was tried several times and as a result was subjected to various tortures. A characteristic scene is the stripping off the skin from his whole body, when the torturers realize that, however cruel the torture is, they are not able to break the old man, but on the contrary, his strength and divine inspiration stand out still more clearly. This episode from the Life and the miraculous healing of St. Haralambos' body is reflected in his iconography in a group of monuments of the 17th–18th



Fig. 1. St. Roch. C. Jockle, *Encyclopedia of Saints*, p. 375

¹² This scene is found in the following early editions of the Life of the saint in Bulgaria: by Nikola Karastoyanov in Kragujevac in 1834, by Hristaki Pavlovich in Bucharest in 1841, by Neofit Rilski in Constantinople in 1843, as well as in the Life of Metropolitan Dimitry Rostovski.

¹³ In 1317 St. Rocco went on a pilgrimage to Rome, taking care of people on the road suffering from the plague. On the way back, he himself contracted the disease and was treated in the forest of Piacenza by an angel. The scene is fundamental for the saint's iconography and is found in many of his representations and sculptures. Cf. C. Jockle, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

¹⁴ V. Latishev. *Menologii anonimi Byzantini saeculi X quae supersunt*, fasc. 1–2, Petropoli 1911–1912; Э. Фролов, *Русская наука об античности*, Санкт-Петербург 1999, p. 247.

¹⁵ V. Latishev, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

¹⁶ In the Lives compiled by Agapios Landos, Neofit Rilski and Dimitry Rostovski.

centuries from Arbanassi near Tarnovo (Fig. 2).¹⁷ In these wall paintings and icons the saint is represented naked, his flayed skin slung over his shoulder. Most probably, their prototypes were images from the mural Menologia in which this particular moment from his Life was selected.¹⁸ They may also be linked to the saint's being declared a patron against the plague, insofar as painful ulcers are the disease's characteristic symptoms, and his skin was fully restored after having been stripped off, as well as after other tortures with iron nails and a poker that followed. While in the case of St. Rocco the disease was overcome, with St. Haralambos the brutal torture, which lasted for quite a long time, points to the weakness of the pagan world and its inability to oppose sanctity through other, non-physical, means. The hagiographer tells us of a great number of witnesses to the suffering of St. Haralambos who were subsequently baptized by the saint, also of the healing of a demon-possessed man, of the resurrection of a boy who was brought before him as a "test", and of course the culmination with Christ descending to take the saint's soul shortly before he passed away. The cult of St. Haralambos as a protector against the plague and epidemics became active many centuries after his martyrdom. His images are found in a variety of monuments – on a glazed ceramic-tile icon from Preslav (9th century),¹⁹ on the diskos of Emperor Romanos II (959–963), a miniature in the Menologion of Basil II²⁰ (Fig. 3), in a wall painting from the church of the Most Holy Mother of God in the Hosios Loukas Monastery (end of 12th century),²¹ in the church of St. Nicholas Kasnici (12th century),²² in Staro Nagoričino (1317) and Dečani (1335–1350), in the complex of churches in Peć (1561), in the Cozia Monastery, in the Menologia of the Pelinovo Monastery,²³ in Mateic (1356–1360),

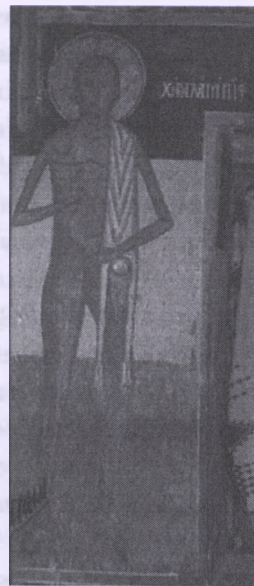


Fig. 2. Wall painting from the chapel of St. Charalambos in the church of St. Athanasius, Arbanassi, Tsoyo and Nedio (1724)

¹⁷ A scene from the Menologion in the church of the Nativity in Arbanassi, 1632–1649; St. Haralambos Chapel at the church of St. Athanasius, Arbanassi, 1724. Icons: "Panagia Galaktotrofousa with Saints" from the church of the Holy Archangels, 18th century; "Virgin of the Unfading Rose" from the Regional Museum of History (RIM) in Veliko Tarnovo, inventory ? 9; "St. Haralambos and St. Blaise" from RIM Veliko Tarnovo, inventory ? 41, unpublished.

¹⁸ M. Garidis, A. Paliouras, *Monasteries of the island of Ioannina, Painting*, Ioannina 1993, p. 13, Fig. 263.

¹⁹ Б. Николова, *Православните църкви през българското средновековие IX–XIV в.*, p. 91.

²⁰ Μ. Βασιλάκη, 'Εικόνα τού αγίου Χαράλάμπους', *ΔΧΑΕ*, περίοδος Δ', Π'' (1985–1986), p. 251.

²¹ Γ. Αντουράκη, *Θέματα Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης*, Γ' τόμος, τεύχος Τρίτο, *Ιεράρχης Αψίδος & Άλλοι Άγιοι*, Αθήνα 2002, p. 401.

²² Στ. Πελεκανίδης, Μ. Χατζιδάκης, *Καστοριά*, Αθήνα 1992, p. 52.

²³ Π. Μιјовић, *Μενολογ*, Βеоград 1973, pp. 333, 356, 385, 275, 369.



Fig. 3. Miniature of St. Charalambos. Menologion of Basil II, MS. Vat. gr. 1613 (985)

Ravanica (1385–1387),²⁴ in the Menologion in the nave of the main church of the Rozhen Monastery (end of 16th century),²⁵ in Arbanassi in the church of the Nativity (1632–1649),²⁶ in the church of St. George in Veliko Tarnovo (1616). All these examples show that St. Haralambos occupies a place among the saints venerated by Orthodox believers, although not among the most popular ones.

In the 17th century the Cretan monk Agapios Landos wrote an extensive Life of St. Haralambos which was published in his book “*Νέος Παράδεισος*” that came out in 1664. In it he included episodes which are missing from the earlier known Lives, such as the one by Maximos Margounios in his book “*Βίους Αγίων*” of 1656,²⁷ or the one from the Menologion of Basil II.²⁸ The books by Agapios Landos (*Παράδεισος, Νέος Παράδεισος, Αμαρτολών Σοτηρία, Καλοκαιρινή* etc) achieved great popularity due to the simple language used in them and immediately spread throughout the Balkan Peninsula. The collection of Lives “*Νέος Παράδεισος*” reached the Rila and Bachkovo Monasteries, Arbanassi and Svishtov,²⁹ and probably other regions of contemporary Bulgaria where there were compact masses of Greek speakers. Agapios Landos, or the Cretan as he was also known, himself spent a large part of

²⁴ Μ. Βασιλάκη, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

²⁵ Γ. Γερόν, Β. Πενκοβα, Ρ. Βοζινοβ, *Στενοписите на Роженския манастир*, Sofia 1993, pp. 29–30.

²⁶ Л. Прашков, *Църквата “Рождество Христово” в Арбанаси*, Sofia 1979, pp. 42, 62, 120, 136.

²⁷ Μ. Βασιλάκη, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

²⁸ PG 117, coll. 305.

²⁹ Μ. Стоянов, *Стари гръцки книги в България*, НБКМ, Sofia 1978.

his life on Mount Athos and in Venice where he died in 1656/57.³⁰ It is quite possible that he was aware of the cult of St. Rocco whose relics were translated in 1485 from Voghera³¹ to Venice, the saint being declared one of the town's patrons.³² His body is kept in a glass sarcophagus in the church of St. Rocco in Venice.³³ When the Venetians conquered many of the islands in the Mediterranean, they brought their cult to these places.³⁴

This is the time when St. Haralambos and St. Rocco – figuratively speaking – “met”. In the town of Koroni, Peloponnese, the Venetians built a church dedicated to St. Rocco, which is evident from an inscription on a stone tablet put up in 1688/98 containing a prayer to St. Rocco to protect the armed forces from the plague. Later on the church was re-dedicated to St. Haralambos.³⁵ To the present day, one of the central squares of Kerkyra on the island of Kerkyra (Corfu) bears the name *San Rocco*.³⁶ At the time of the Venetian occupation, special double churches began to be built to serve both Orthodox and Catholic believers under one roof, the two naves having different dedications. The Orthodox naves of part of them are in honour of St. Haralambos.³⁷

An example of such coexistence in Orthodox iconography is an icon of the 18th century (Fig. 4) originating from the church of Panagia Mirtidiotissa in Chora, in the island of Kythira, representing the local saint Theodoros and St. Rocco, while in the background is the island itself, both saints being its patrons.³⁸ The veneration for St. Theodoros dates from the 17th century and is associated with the threat of the spread of epidemics, in par-



Fig. 4. Icon of St. Theodoros and St. Roch. First half of the 18th century. Island of Cythera

³⁰ M. Βασιλάκη, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

³¹ In a document, currently in the “Scuola Grande di San Rocco” in Venice, there is a page from the *Processo verbale* (Verbal process) held to certify the authenticity of the Saint's relics which were brought there from Voghera; only some parts of the Process are actually genuine. http://www.sanroccodimontpellier.it/inglese/pop_up/archivio_doc2.htm

³² See Note 10 above. C. Jockle, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

³³ <http://www.strocco.org/stroccos4.html> Evidence of a particularly strong veneration for the saint is also found in documents from the archives of the famous Scuola Grande di st. Rocco in Venice. Cf. http://www.sanroccodimontpellier.it/inglese/pop_up/archivio_doc3.htm

³⁴ Churches dedicated to St. Rocco are found on the island of Crete – in Iiandaka and Chania, on Kerkyra, Chios – in Koroni, on the island of Syros etc. Cf. Κ-Φ. Καλαφάτη, ‘Αμφιπρόσωπη εικόνα του αγίου Ρόκου στο Βυζαντινό και Χριστιανικό μουσείο’, *ΔΧΑΕ, ΚΔ* (2003), p. 312, notes 11–15.

³⁵ M. Βασιλάκη, *op. cit.*, note 37.

³⁶ *The Greek islands, The rough guide*, London 1998, p. 376.

³⁷ Double churches dedicated to St. Haralambos are found on the islands of Aegina, Milos, Tinos, in Aegropolis (in the region of Mani).

³⁸ *Η Βενετία των Ελλήνων. Η Ελλάδα των Βενετών. Σημάδια στο χώρο και στον χρόνο. 15 Μαρτίου – 30 Απριλίου 1999*, pp. 166–168.; Κ-Φ. Καλαφάτη, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

ticular plague, the greatest threat to the islands and the coast. St. Rocco is depicted with his characteristic gesture showing the ulcer on his leg, a result of his disease.

Images of St. Rocco were often reproduced in the Catholic communities of the conquered territories, and show an established iconographic typology of the saint. A large number of Italo-Cretan works have been preserved in which the saint is represented on his own, or together with the Most Holy Mother of God and other highly popular saints, as in: a triptych in the Italo-Cretan style on the outer side of which St. Rocco is represented together with St. Onouphrios and St. Theodora, probably a commission from a Catholic believer; an icon of the end of the 16th century representing Panagia Vrefokratoussa and the saints George and Rocco; two icons of the beginning of the 17th century, one in the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens, and the other in the National Museum of Ravenna; an icon from the Tsakiroglou collection of the beginning of the 18th century.³⁹ An interesting example is also a double-sided icon from the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens,⁴⁰ on both sides of which is the image of St. Rocco (Fig. 5). The veneration for the saint reached Bulgaria through the colonies of the Western traders – a representation of St. Rocco adorns the altar dedicated to him in a Catholic church built by natives of Dubrovnik in Sofia.⁴¹

At the same time, the Venetians had to face the fact that the local population in the conquered territories upheld the veneration for St. Haralambos as their patron and saviour from the frightful plague epidemics. I will take as an example an interesting work by Yannakis Korais of 1756 which is mounted on the front of the balcony of the church of St. Haralambos on the island of Zakynthos (Fig. 6). The painting, 7.5 m in length, represents the λητη (procession) established in commemoration of the miraculous saving of the island from the plague in 1728, which was banned by the Venetians the following year. Under popular pressure, the procession was resumed after 1750. People from all walks of life, officials and clerics, Orthodox and



Fig. 5. Double-sided icon of St. Roch, Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens (K 692)

³⁹ К-Ф. Καλαφάτη, *op. cit.*, p. 313, notes 23–26.

⁴⁰ Dimensions 45.5 x 33.5 cm (inv. no. K 692), the year 1743 on one side of the icon. Cited in К-Ф. Καλαφάτη, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

⁴¹ И. Гергова, 'Dubrovnik i bugarska umjetnost', in: *Odnosi Hrvata i Bugara od X. do XIX stoljeca, s posebnim osvrtom na vrijeme Dubrovacke Republike*, Zagreb 2003, p. 81; Еадем, 'Църковното изкуство на католици и православни в Чипровския край до 1688 г.', in: *Католическата духовна култура и нейното присъствие и влияние в България*, Sofia 1992, p. 247.



Fig. 6. Litany with relics of St. Charalambos. Detail. Giannakis Korais, 1756. Church of St. Charalambos, Zakynthos

Catholic take part in this procession with the icon and the relics of St. Haralambos. Prototypes of the representation can be found in the Italian Renaissance of the 15th century, an example being Gentile Bellini's work "Procession of the True Cross in Piazza San Marco" (1496).⁴²

The gradual development of the cult of St. Haralambos and the spread of his popularity is witnessed by the fact that his images were included in the repertoire of the apse spaces.⁴³ The same applies to the icons of the saint, very often added to the Deesis tier of iconostases which during the national Revival in Bulgaria also extended onto

⁴² Ζ. Μυλωνά, *Μουσείο Ζακύνθου*, Αθήνα 1998, pp. 487–493. The painting of 1756 originated from the church of St Haralambos in Potamitissa, Zakynthos.

⁴³ Αθ. Παλιούρας, *Βυζαντινή Αιτολοακαρνανία*, Αγρίνιο 2004, pp. 331–332, 350–352, 383. Representations of St. Haralambos in church sanctuaries are also found in: Stavronikita monastery in the diakonikon of the katholikon (1545–1546, by Theophanes the Cretan); Troyan Monastery (1847–1848, by Zahari Zograf); the town of Chirpan in the church of the Holy Archangel Michael where the wall painting is of the 20th century – after the church was damaged in the Chirpan earthquake of 1928, the iconostasis was completely replaced and the church was painted; Kapinovo Monastery in the chapel of the Entry of the Theotokos (1864).

the south and north walls of the nave;⁴⁴ side altars were also dedicated to the saint.⁴⁵ St. Haralambos is among the saints regularly represented in the assembly icons in which saints who were particularly venerated during the period studied are arranged around the central representation of the Most Holy Mother of God, in triptychs, and in domestic icons. The historical situation also stimulated these processes – the plague spread widely during the 18th–19th centuries, and within the period from 1700 to 1850 there were 90 years dominated by the ‘black visitor’.⁴⁶

Despite the fact that the problem with the disease was overcome after the mid-19th century, the representation of and veneration for St. Haralambos and St. Rocco persisted until the end of the century. To my knowledge, the latest church dedicated to St. Haralambos in Bulgaria dates from 1922 – in the village of Bolyarovo, nowadays a district of the town of Haskovo. A miracle of the end of the 17th century was at the root of a tradition, maintained until the present day, of celebrating January 11 by the population of the town of Butera, Sicily, when, according to tradition, in 1693 it was the only town unaffected by the devastating earthquake, which is associated with the patronage of St. Rocco.⁴⁷

The two saints have been adopted as patrons of a number of professions – St. Haralambos is the patron of beekeepers,⁴⁸ and St. Rocco of pharmacists, doctors, surgeons, stockbreeders, gardeners, prisoners, hospitals etc; St. Haralambos has also been declared a patron of hospitals,⁴⁹ and his healing relics are carried from place to place. As mentioned above, St. Rocco’s relics were translated from Voghera to Venice, a fact which contributed to the spread of the saint’s cult. It is characteristic of relics in the Christian world that the saints and their relics can be both objects of veneration and can have functions as intercessors for the faithful before God. The belief in the miraculous power of relics also accounts for their virtually endless division and dismembering. The events related to the translation of relics were of great importance for the life in the medieval states.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ И. Гергова, ‘Иконографската програма на иконостаса в българските земи през XVIII–XIX век’, *Проблеми на Изкуството*, 3 (1991), p. 6.

⁴⁵ For example, in St. Nicholas church in Veliko Tarnovo, the Metropolitan church in Samokov, the church of the Holy Trinity in Gabrovo, St. Constantine and St. Helena in Plovdiv, Dormition of the Theotokos in Pazardzhik etc.

⁴⁶ И. Манолова, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

⁴⁷ E. Scichilone, *La commemorazione dell’ 11 gennaio a Butera*. http://www.sanroccodimontpellier.it/pdf_archivio/saggi/14_scichilone.pdf

⁴⁸ *Когато Господ ходеше по земята – 77 фолклорни легенди с тълкования*, ed. А. Георгиева, Sofia 1993, pp. 70–72; И. Георгиева, *Българска народна митология*, Sofia 1993, pp. 168–169.

⁴⁹ И. Манолова, *op. cit.*, p. 161. The hospital in Edirne is of 1856. In Istanbul in Balikli there is a hospital bearing the name of St. Haralambos, founded in 1836, where a chapel was built dedicated to the saint. See *Οικουμενικόν Πατριαρχεῖον, Εγκόλπιον Πνευματολόγιον*, Αθήνα 2003, pp. 70, 115.

⁵⁰ Е. Бакалова, ‘Реликви у истоков культа святых’, in: *Сб. Восточнохристиянские реликви*, ed. А. Лидов, Москва 2003, pp. 25, 27, 30. Cf. P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*, Chicago 1981, pp. 33–34.

Another interesting element of the saints' veneration which is often directly connected with the spread of their cults is found in folklore. It is believed that pilgrims visiting St. Rocco should leave coins, straw or straw brooms according to the number of sore spots on their body. According to folk beliefs, St. Haralambos drives the plague away, shuts it in a bottle, or ties it up with a rope. On the feast day of the saint, Christians bring round loaves and honey to the churches for the good health of their families, and the hallowed honey is considered curative.⁵¹

After the problem with the plague epidemics was overcome, the cult of the saints associated with intercession before God for all who suffer from the disease gradually waned. In contrast to human memory, the saints never stop taking care of us. This fact can be illustrated by a miracle which happened in 1943 in the town of Filiatra (Greece) during the Second World War, when through the prayers of the local population St. Haralambos, a patron of the town, repeatedly appeared to a German officer (a Protestant) and his commander, warning them not to set the town on fire and not to take into captivity 1,500 people as was ordered for the following day. The order was cancelled, and the officer, together with one battalion and two Orthodox priests, started searching the churches for the icon of the saint who appeared in the night. In one of the churches the officer recognized in the image of St. Haralambos the old man from his dream. The saint is a patron of Filiatra to the present day.⁵² In England, in the surrounding area of Chichester, where there is a hill bearing the name of St. Rocco (St. Roche's Hill) and the remains of a church, a tradition was still continuing at the end of the 20th century of celebrating an open-air Mass on the feast day of St Rocco, August 16, attended by Christians of different confessions united in their veneration for the saint, as a symbol of peace and tolerance.⁵³

In conclusion, the cult of St. Haralambos can be said to have blossomed among Orthodox Christians also in response to the widespread veneration for St. Rocco, which was brought by the Venetians to the Eastern Mediterranean during the 17th–18th centuries. Due to the great popularity of the works of the Cretan monk Agapios Landos, the Life of St. Haralambos quickly became popular, and his intercession was increasingly sought by Orthodox and Catholic believers alike. Regardless of confessional opposition, the veneration for the two saints not only influenced the spread of their cults, but is also found in art, the building of churches, and customs related to St. Rocco and St. Haralambos. A social problem such as the plague contributed to the coming together of

⁵¹ On the problem of Bulgarian folk beliefs related to the plague and St. Haralambos, see Д. Маринов, *Народна вяра и религиозни народни обичаи*, Sofia 1994, 280–283; *Етнография на България*, vol. 3, Sofia 1985, 56, 110; А. Георгиева, *Българска народна митология*; on the customs related to the cult of St. Rocco, see C. Jockle, *op.cit.*, pp. 374–376.

⁵² <http://filiatra.8m.com/history/history.html>

⁵³ J. Thomson, *Roch, Renaissance and railways. The history of saint Roch/Roque in Scotland*. http://www.sanrocodimontpellier.it/pdf_archivio/saggi/3_thomson_scotland.pdf

the faithful and to the spread of the cults of the two saints into territories affected by the disease, for "when the intercession of a saint is sought, differences between people, classes, and nations disappear."⁵⁴

The Icon of the Virgin Which Shed Tears at Bishop Petru Pavel Aron's Death (1764)

Coronel Tătăi-Balta, Alba Iulia

The town of Blaj, situated in the middle of Transylvania, achieved recognition in Romanian history as an important cultural and political centre when the residence of the Greek-Catholic Bishop was moved here in 1732 by Jean Jacobinus Mészáros. The cultural wishes of this fearless fighter for the cause of the Transylvanian Romanians, who died far away from his own country, were carried out by his distinguished successor Petru Pavel Aron (1709-1764). This generous bishop opened in Blaj in 1754 a system of national schools where numerous generations of students were trained over time as capable and determined leaders of the Romanian people in their struggle for freedom and national unity. In the same town, in 1767, he founded a printing-press, where many Romanian books were printed, providing spiritual food to all those who were eager to enter the mysteries of knowledge and wisdom.

"Fious, like the most distinguished holy fathers and bishops of the Christian Church", Bishop Petru Pavel Aron published various religious manuals which were needed at that time, and in cooperation with others he translated the *Vulgate* into Romanian, which was printed only in 1806, in five volumes. The bishop's holiness is also proved by the identification he cultivated in for many years, by wearing an iron waistband with sharp nails, and two iron girdles above the altar. "His fingers were constantly rubbed sore by rosaries".

In February 1769, a Romanian Calvinist tried to shoot him in the village of Galati, near Halyk. But the gun did not go off. At that moment he could see, in his mortal eye, the Virgin's icon from the Friskap monastery - situated in the same area - which was believed to be a weeping one, and he was convinced that it was that icon which saved him from death.

⁵⁴ B. Toepfer, 'The Cult of Relicts and Pilgrimage and Aquitaine at the Time of the Monastic Reform', in: *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, Ithaca and London, 1992, p. 43. Cited in A. Джурова, В. Велинова, И. Патеv, М. Полимирова, *Девическият манастир Пресветия Богородици в Самоков*, Sofia 2002, p. 7.

The Icon of the Virgin Which Shed Tears at Bishop Petru Pavel Aron's Death (1764)

Cornel Tatai-Baltă, Alba Iulia

The town of Blaj, situated in the middle of Transylvania, achieved recognition in Romanian history as an important cultural and political centre when the residence of the Greek-Catholic diocese was fixed here in 1737 by Ioan Inochentie Micu-Klein. The cultural wishes of this fearless fighter for the cause of the Transylvanian Romanians, who died far away from his own country, were carried out by his distinguished successor Petru Pavel Aron (1709–1764). This generous bishop opened in Blaj in 1754 a system of national schools where numerous generations of scholars were trained over time as capable and determined leaders of the Romanian people in their struggle for freedom and national unity. In the same town, in 1747, he founded a printing-house, where many Romanian books were printed, providing spiritual food to all those who were eager to enter the mysteries of knowledge and wisdom.

“Pious, like the most distinguished holy fathers and bishops of the Christian Church”, Bishop Petru Pavel Aron published various religious manuals which were needed at that time, and in cooperation with others he translated the *Vulgate* into Romanian, which was printed only in 2005, in five volumes². The bishop's holiness is also proved by the mortification he submitted to for many years, by wearing an iron waistband with sharp nails, and two iron girdles above the elbows. “His fingers were constantly rubbed sore by rosaries”³.

In February 1759, a Romanian Calvinist tried to shoot him in the village of Galați, near Hațeg. But the gun did not go off. At that moment he could see, in his mind's eye, the Virgin's Icon from the Prislop Monastery - situated in the same area - which was believed to be a weeping one, and he was convinced that it was that icon which saved him from death⁴.

¹ A. Bunea, *Episcopii Petru Paul Aron și Dionisiu Novacovici*, Blaj 1902, p. 35.

² I. Chindriș, N. Iacob, *Petru Pavel Aron*, Blaj 2007, pp. 108–431.

³ A. Lupeanu, *Călăuza Blajului*, Blaj 1922, pp. 36–37. Aron's waistband is reproduced here.

⁴ A. Bunea, *op. cit.*, pp. 154–155; A. Lupeanu, *Evocări din viața Blajului*, Blaj 1937, pp. 52–53.

Not long after this incident, the icon was brought to Blaj, being returned to the Prislop Monastery only in 1913, where it remains even to this day. That icon of *Virgin Mary with the Child*, of the Hodegetria type, is considered by some art historians to have been painted in Wallachia in the middle of the 16th century, being only repaired and partly repainted at the Prislop Monastery in 1752, by the painter Ioan de la Ocele Mari and by his apprentice Mihail, who added to its flanks the busts of the twelve prophets⁵.

I want to draw attention to the fact that in specialized literature the Virgin's icon from Prislop Monastery is often confused with the icon of the Virgin Mary that wept at the death of Bishop Petru Pavel Aron⁶.

This famous bishop died in February 25th / March 9th 1764 while he was paying a canonical visit in Maramureş. His body then taken to Blaj, and buried in the crypt of the little church in the yard of the Episcopal castle⁷. A new miracle occurred when the pious bishop died. The Virgin's icon from the iconostasis of the small Episcopal church shed tears, causing a great effect among the Romanians and the authorities of the time⁸.

The investigations that took place in Blaj in the summer of 1766, at the request of Empress Maria Theresa, revealed who the painter of the miraculous icon was and when it was made. 34 witnesses were listened to, who had to answer several questions. The first to be interrogated was the well-known painter Grigorie Ranite, aged 54 at the time, who admitted that he was the creator of the icon that was painted in 1736, between the 1st and the 20th of July⁹. The evidence given during the investigations proved that the same artist painted another three icons in 1736, which were placed at the sides of the miraculous icon, in the same little church¹⁰.

The archival documents also mention that the Virgin's icon which wept at the death of bishop Petru Pavel Aron was taken away in order to be examined, firstly in Sibiu in August 1764 and then in Vienna in October 1764. The icon was taken into the capital of the Habsburg Empire by representatives of the Greek-Catholic church: Filotei Láslo and Ambrosie Szádi:¹¹ but it was never brought back.

⁵ M. Păcurariu, *Istoria Mănăstirii Prislop*, Arad 1986, pp. 97–98; M. Porumb, *Dicţionar de pictură veche românească din Transilvania, sec. XIII–XVIII*, Bucureşti 1998, p. 230.

⁶ See the discussion on this topic in: C. Tatai-Baltă, 'Consideraţii cu privire la icoana Maicii Domnului care a lăcrimat la moartea episcopului Petru Pavel Aron (1764)', *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 6 (1996), pp. 57–63 and fig. 1–2; idem, *Din arta şi cultura Blajului*, Alba Iulia, 2000, pp. 15–27, 122–123 (fig.), 150–151.

⁷ A. Bunea, *op. cit.*, p. 427–429.

⁸ S. Clain, T. Cipariu, *Acte şi fragmente*, Blaj 1855, p. 111; A. Bunea, *op. cit.*, pp. 155, 326, 428; A. Lupeanu, *Evocări din viaţa Blajului ...*, pp. 44–68; S. Micu, *Istoria românilor*, vol. 2, Bucureşti, 1995, p. 341; Z. Păclişanu, 'Istoria Bisericii Române Unite (Partea II-a, 1752–1783)', *Perspective*, 14–16 (1991–1993), no. 53–60, pp. 45, 73; M. Ambrus, V. A. János, 'A balázsfalvi könnyező ikon irataiból', *Europa. Annales (Cultura-Historia-Philologia)*, 2B (1995), pp. 422–469; *Icon lacrymans Balasfalvensis MDCCLXIV/ Icoana plângătoare de la Blaj 1764*, ed. M. Ambrus, I. Chindriş, Cluj 1997.

⁹ M. Ambrus, V. A. János, *op. cit.*, p. 434; *Icon lacrymans ...*, pp. 52–53.

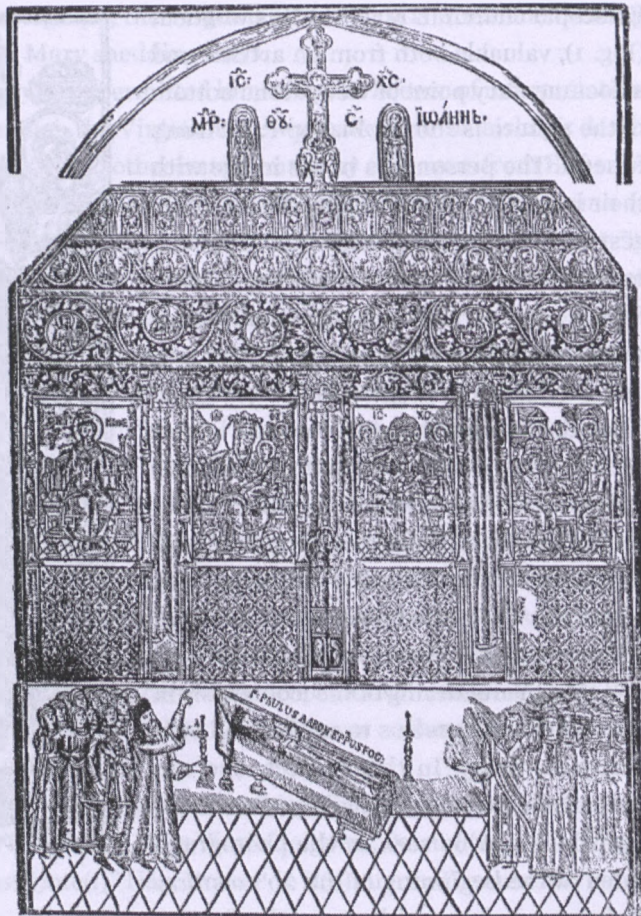
¹⁰ M. Ambrus, V. A. János, *op. cit.*, p. 430; *Icon lacrymans ...*, pp. 66, 69.

¹¹ M. Ambrus, V. A. János, *op. cit.*, pp. 431, 435–436, 438–440, 443, 464; *Icon lacrymans ...*, pp. 64–65, 67.

During the interrogation the painter Grigorie Ranite also stated that the bishop Atanasie Rednic gave "an order" to him to make a "duplicate" of the icon¹². At the time of the miracle that happened in Blaj in 1764, the illustrious scholar, abbot of the "Bunavestire" Monastery at that time, stated: "the icon of the Virgin from the little church in the Episcopal yard wept, and it was then taken to Vienna by the Empress's order and another one was made to replace it"¹³.

It was this duplicate that the great historian Nicolae Iorga referred to when he mentioned that in the iconostasis of the little church in Blaj, there was "an icon" painted "by Grigorie Ranite from Craiova, September, 20th, 1764"¹⁴. At present we do not know anything about its existence. If some of the icons from the museum of Blaj had not been sequestered during the first years of communism, our investigations would have had a different result¹⁵.

I consider that the Virgin's icon painted by Grigorie Ranite is the one reproduced by the gifted engraver Sandu Moldoveanul in the image of the iconostasis of the small



Tabulatur Sanctissimae Capella . seu Templi Episcopalis . in quo Icon B. V. Maria sub elita P. Pauli Aron Episcopi Pogoronicensis Cracii olim Uniostrum iudare & laetificari 1764 anno 1764. Balasfeli in Transylvania

Fig. 1. Sandu's woodcut, The iconostasis of the small church in the yard of the Episcopal castle in Blaj. Bishop P. P. Aron's funeral, 1764.

¹² M. Ambrus, V. A. János, *op. cit.*, p. 435; *Icon lacrymans* ..., pp. 54–55.

¹³ S. Micu, *Scurtă cunoștință a istorii românilor*, București, 1963, p. 119.

¹⁴ N. Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții ardeleni și maramureșene*, vol. 1, București, 1906, p. 58.

¹⁵ I should mention that the icons *Deesis* and *Holy Trinity* in the image of the iconostasis engraved by Sandu are very much alike, from the iconographic and stylistic point of view, to those kept at the History Museum in Blaj (no. 1198, 1200), which the art historian M. Porumb, *op. cit.*, p. 402, attributed to Ștefan Zugravul de la Ocele Mari.

Episcopal church in Blaj¹⁶. In this woodcut (Fig. 1), valuable both from an artistic and a documentary point of view, at the bottom of the picture is shown Bishop P. P. Aron's funeral. The personages in the image with their hands raised to the Virgin's icon suggest that Virgin Mary wept when the venerable bishop died. It seems illogical that Sandu, who worked as engraver and typographer in Blaj at that time, would have rendered a different image of *The Virgin's* icon from that which "is said" to have wept¹⁷. In fact, the manner of the „Brâncovenesc” artistic tradition in which the icon was executed points to its author, Grigorie Rantite, native of Craiova, who carried on his activity in Wallachia, Transylvania and the Banat¹⁸. On the other hand I should mention that the rendering of the iconostasis in Sandu's woodcut seems to correspond only partly to reality. In this respect, one can see the comparison I have made with the one which can be seen in the photograph dated at the beginning of the 20th century and preserved in an album at the Faculty of Greek-Catholic Theology in Blaj¹⁹. Both



Fig. 2. The Virgin Mary. Woodcut by Petru Papavici, Printer, Polustav, Blaj, 1773

¹⁶ Sandu's woodcut remained unknown to researchers. It was partly published by Dorina Părvulescu, in: *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 2 (1992), fig. p. 130. The engraving was entirely published and commented on by: C. Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj (1750–1830)*, Blaj, 1995, fig. p. 281; Idem, 'Une valeureuse gravure sur bois de Sandu (XVIII^es.), conservée au Musée du Banat de Timișoara', *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 5 (1995), pp. 75–83, M. Ambrus, V. A. János., *op. cit.*, fig. p. 469; C. Tatai-Baltă, *Considerații ...*, pp. 57–63; I. Chindriș, *Icon lacrymans ...*, p. 22, fig. p. 31 (here the explanatory text at the bottom of the woodcut is missing); C. Tatai-Baltă, *Din arta și cultura Blajului ...*, pp. 15–27, 122–123 (fig), 150–151. Up to the present, these copies of Sandu's woodcut are preserved in Timișoara, Budapest and Roma.

¹⁷ Sandu's woodcut is accompanied by the following explanatory text: "Tabulatum Sanctuarii Capellae, seu Templi Episcopalis, in quo Icon B(eatae) V(irginis) Mariae sub obitu Petri Pauli Aaron Episcopi Fogarasiensis Graeci ritus Unitorum sudare, et lachrymari visa est anno 1764. Balasfalvae in Transylvania. Bal(as)falvae sculp(sit) Szando". (The iconostasis of the sanctuary of the Chapel or Episcopal church where the icon of the Blessed Virgin Mary was seen sweating and shedding tears soon after the death of Petru Pavel Aaron, Bishop of Făgăraș of the Uniates of Greek rite, in 1764, in Blaj, in Transylvania. Sandu engraved it in Blaj).

¹⁸ M. Porumb, *op. cit.*, pp. 317–320.

¹⁹ C. Tatai-Baltă, *Une valeureuse gravure ...*, pp. 82–83.

in Sandu's woodcut and in the photograph, the Virgin is crowned. It is worth mentioning that the artist rendered the Virgin Mary shedding tears.

Even if Sandu, the engraver, may have permitted himself some licence of interpretation in rendering the iconostasis from Blaj, the Virgin's icon which wept at the bishop's death must have been portrayed objectively. Two other images made by engravers from Blaj support this idea: *The Monastery of Blaj (Ceaslov, Blaj, 1751)* by Vlaicu and *The Panorama of Blaj (Votiva apprecatio, Blaj, 1760)* by an anonymous artist which correspond to reality²⁰. A further proof that Sandu's woodcut corresponds to reality to a large extent is the fact that it was annexed to the investigation dossier, still existing in the State Archives in Budapest²¹. The figures of Bishop P. P. Aron (lying on the catafalque) and of his general vicar Atanasie Rednic (standing in front of the funeral) are also true to life²².

I have shown, at length, that the significance of the woodcut, signed by Sandu and dated 1764 (Fig. 2), consists also in revealing what the weeping icon of the Virgin painted by Grigorie Ranite looked like. It is worth mentioning that N. Iorga drew the attention to "a woodcut under which one can read: Icon of Holy Mother who wept in Ardeal, in the holy bishopric of Blaj, 1764, March, 18. Petru P. Typ(o)gr(apher)" (in the original: "o xilografie, supt care se cetește: Icoana Preasf(i)nte(i) Născătoarei de D(u)mnezeu carea au lăcrămat în Ardeal, în sf(ă)nta Mitropolie al Blajului; anul 1764. Martie 18. Petru P. Tip(o)gr(af)")²³. I must add that the illustrious printer and engraver Petru Papavici Râmniceanu was in Blaj in 1764 and he was investigated in 1766, as well²⁴. Today I know nothing about the existence of that woodcut, signed by P. Papavici.

The *Polustav* from Blaj, from 1773, contains a woodcut (Fig. 3) under which there is an explanatory inscription: „The Icon of the Holy Virgin”, signed „Petru P(apavici). Tip(o)gr(af)” (in original: “Icoana Preasf(i)nte(i) Născătoarei de D(u)mnezeu”), semnată “Petru P(apavici) Tip(o)gr(af)”²⁵.

The Virgin in this woodcut is very much like the one in the woodcut of the iconostasis from the little church of Blaj, signed by Sandu. The Virgin is crowned and is shedding tears in this icon as well, and she has the Archangels Michael and Gabriel by her side. The Virgin Mary's garment is richly decorated, similar to those in the icons of the “Brâncovenesc” artistic tradition. The bigger size of Petru Papavici's woodcut allows him to include decorative details as well. It is certain that Sandu could not have insisted on including the

²⁰ Idem, *Din arta și cultura Blajului ...*, p. 19; Idem, 'Les sources européennes de la gravure sur bois de Blaj', *Series Byzantina*, 6 (2008) pp. 85–86.

²¹ Cf. M. Ambrus, V. A. János, *op. cit.*; *Icon lacrymans ...*, pp. 54–55.

²² I. Chindriș, în *Icon lacrymans ...*, p. 22. I mention that in September 1764, Atanasie Rednic was appointed bishop.

²³ N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, 1906, p. 13.

²⁴ M. Ambrus, V. A. János, *op. cit.*, p. 449–450; *Icon lacrymans ...*, pp. 93–97.

²⁵ C. Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj ...*, fig. p. 232. The engraving is repeated in *Ceaslov*, 1778.

details in the Virgin's icon, as it made up but one element in the iconographic assembly of the iconostasis he intended to reproduce.

Therefore, this woodcut signed by Petru Papavici is likely to represent the weeping icon from Blaj as well, or this might at least have constituted the starting point. It is logical to assume that it is this woodcut, in the *Polustav* from Blaj, 1773, that might have appeared previously on a single sheet, having a more explicit text addressed to the miraculous icon, as Nicolae Iorga points out.

It can be seen that the explanatory inscription and signature in Petru Papavici's woodcut that decorates the *Polustav* from Blaj, from 1773, are identical to those from Papavici's woodcut noted by Iorga, but the latter has a longer text which mentioned that it referred to the weeping icon from Blaj. I suppose that cutting down the explanatory text in Petru Papavici's woodcut in the *Polustav* was due to some well-grounded reasons. The engraver's signature so far from the inscription and particularly from the image seems unnatural. We are tempted to believe that a section is missing from the text, an omission due to the fact that the authorities of the time did not want the miraculous icon to create a sensation among the Romanians.



Fig. 3. The Virgin Mary. Detail from Sandu's woodcut.

Translated by Ana Tatai

The synthesis of a new iconography under the stimulus of emerging Greek liberation

Iliana Zarra, Ioaninna

To Fanis

Modern Greek art, both as scientific field and artistic creation, constitutes singular part of the Greek culture. That is because since very early on, Greece was characterized by peculiar historical, political and cultural conditions. In 1453 Constantinople is conquered by the Ottomans. Crete, under the Venetian dominance since 1210, is taken over by the Ottomans in 1669. In 1715 the conquest of the Peloponnesus by the Turks is complete and the whole of the Greek mainland is under Ottoman occupancy. On the contrary, the Ionian Islands, never under Ottoman dominance, were held by the Venetians since the 14th century. The fact that the Greek territories were under foreign yet different occupancy, resulted in the formulation of accordingly different artistic realities.

Likewise, the singular historical condition led to variance of the specialists' viewpoints regarding the starting point of Modern Greek art. Its early beginning is located in the first half of the 16th century, when Cretan hagiography is being fundamentally influenced by Western Art.¹ It is when morphological elements of Western art (the perspective, the naturalistic representation of figures, the enhancement of the religious history with narrative elements) are being imported to Crete mainly through Italian copper engraving (i.e. works by Marcantonio Raimondi).² Contrarily, according to several art historians, the art production in the Ionian Islands at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century

¹ Στ. Λυδάκης, *Οι Έλληνες Ζωγράφοι, Η ιστορία της νεοελληνικής ζωγραφικής (16^{ος}-20ός αι.)*, Αθήνα 1976, vol. 3, p. 14.

² *Ibidem*, p. 14, 20; Α. Κωτίδης, 'Ελληνική τέχνη', *Εκπαιδευτική Ελληνική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια, Παγκόσμια Τέχνη*, 27 (1998), p. 123-146.

is considered to be the first chapter of Modern Greek art.³ In this case, the broadening of the subject by introducing secular themes, the employment of oil painting and the representation of the three dimensional space was associated with the rise of the bourgeoisie and its contribution to the shaping process of painting's modern characteristics.⁴ However, the Ionian School did not evolve in all of the Ionian Islands at the same pace and its morphological achievements were hardly reflected in other parts of Greece, due to their different historical conditions. Thus, this chapter was regarded as dead-end⁵ and third point was raised. According to it, Modern Greek art starts with the establishment of the Greek state in 1832, or later on in 1836, with the establishment of the Technical University, based on the assertion that, at that time "the historical conditions that dictated the sustenance of medieval tradition in it, began to radically change".⁶ According to more recent viewpoint, the Ionian art, the folk and the "Post-Byzantine art", are all placed within the discipline of Modern Greek history of Art, starting from the 18th century until nowadays.⁷ However, the term "Post-Byzantine art" has been established in the international literature to address the religious art produced in the Turk-dominated Balkan area after the fall of Constantinople, until the late 17th or the beginning of the 18th century, as, at that particular period break from tradition is spotted. The artistic production begins to adopt the principles of Renaissance painting, such as perspective and chiaroscuro, though it still cannot be considered artistic painting in the current sense.⁸ Nonetheless, the term "Post-Byzantine" in the Greek literature is still being used to de-

³ Cf. A. Χααραλαμπίδης, *Συμβολή στη μελέτη της Εφτανησιώτικης ζωγραφικής του 18^{ου} και 19^{ου} αιώνα*, Ιωάννινα 1978, p. 16, A. Χααραλαμπίδης 'Η τέχνη στα Επτάνησα. Δημιουργοί και μελετητές', in: *Η ιστορία της τέχνης στην Ελλάδα*, Πρακτικά Α' Συνεδρίου Ιστορίας της Τέχνης, Ηράκλειο 2003, p. 40; Δ. Ε. Ευαγγελίδης, *Η ελληνική τέχνη, Αρχαία- Βυζαντινή- Νεωτέρα*, Συμπλήρωμα Μ. Καλλιγά, ed. Α. Θεοδώρου, Αθήνα 1980, p. 102, 107, 189. Τ. Σπητέρης, *3 αιώνες νεοελληνικής τέχνης 1660-1960*, vol. Α, Αθήνα 1979, p. 15, 34, 62, 74, 87, 93. Ν. Μισιρλή, *Αφετηρίες και προσανατολισμοί της νεοελληνικής τέχνης 19^{ος} αι*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1987, p. 5.

⁴ Α. Προκοπίου, *Νεοελληνική τέχνη. Βιβλίο πρώτο: Εφτανησιώτικος νατουραλισμός*, Αθήνα 1936, p. 57-61.

⁵ Α. Χααραλαμπίδης, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁶ Μ. Χατζηδάκης, 'Έλληνες ζωγράφοι μετά την άλωση (1450-1830), Αβέρκιος-Ιωσήφ, Αθήνα 1987, vol. 1, p. 99; Μ. Καλλιγάς, 'Ζωγραφική-Γλυπτική-Χαρακτική', *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, 13 (1977), p. 534; Χρ. Χρήστου, *Η ελληνική ζωγραφική 1832-1922*, Αθήνα 1981, p. 14; Idem, *Η Εθνική Πινακοθήκη. Ελληνική Ζωγραφική 19^{ος}-20^{ος} αιώνας*, Αθήνα 1992, p. 12-13, Idem, 'Προβλήματα περιοδολόγησης στην ιστορία της νεοελληνικής τέχνης', in: *Η ιστορία της τέχνης στην Ελλάδα, Πρακτικά Α' Συνεδρίου Ιστορίας της Τέχνης*, Ηράκλειο 2003, p. 21-22; Ν. Χατζηνικολάου, *Εθνική τέχνη και πρωτοπορία*, Αθήνα 1982, p. 32. Α. Ξύδης, 'Μερικές σκέψεις γύρω από τη γένεση της νεοελληνικής τέχνης', in: *1^ο Συμπόσιο για την Τέχνη*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1984, p. 59.

⁷ Μ. Παπανικολάου, 'Πρόλογος στην ελληνική έκδοση', in: *Εισαγωγή στην Ιστορία της τέχνης*, Η. Belting, Η. Dilly, W. Kemp, W. Sauerländer, M. Warnke, ed. of the Greek edition Μ. Παπανικολάου, trans. Λ. Γιυόκα, Θεσσαλονίκη 1995, p. 6.

⁸ Μ. Παπανικολάου, 'Ο ευρωπαϊκός κλασικισμός και η νεοελληνική τέχνη (1800-1850)', in: *Το μπλε άλογο, Θέματα ιστορίας και κριτικής της τέχνης*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1994, p. 13. Α. Ξύδης, *op. cit.*, p. 59, Ν. Chatzidakis, 'Post-byzantine art', in: *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 25, Oxford University Press New York 1996, p.336.

fine the artistic production of period until 1910, given that Epirus, Thrace and Macedonia are set free not before 1912.⁹

In appraising the aforementioned premises, there are two points to be raised. Firstly, the major criterion in defining the starting point of Modern Greek art has been the degree of westernization, namely, the adoption and implementation of stylistic, morphological and iconographic elements and techniques imported from the West. This criterion was, in turn, perceived in two ways, according to the researchers' background field of theory. For the Modern Greek art historians, the assimilation and the potential prevalence of artistic elements drafted from Western painting, signify the start of novel Greek visual expression. For the byzantinologists, contrarily, as Post-Byzantine art was drifting away from the Byzantine tradition and was aligning with the Western morphology, it was considered as decadent art; as it was acquiring folk-like character it was evaluated as degenerated art.¹⁰

It is true that the history of Modern Greek art in Greece would develop along with the establishment of the Greek nation-state and would fatefully discipline to the dictation of the ideology that mainly informed its process of creation. However, even the principals of an ideology, always make use of that history of art that "provides them the appropriate arguments – paradigms, to support their principles or requests".¹¹ Hence, in the frame of the Greek state, the development of the visual arts would rotate around two basic necessities. The need to firmly keep pace with the contemporary European and cultural current, leading to the rejection of the cultural and artistic tradition molded during the Turkish domination, and the transplantation of Western artistic principles.¹² Art also ought to fulfill the need of direct relationship with the classical past. The view that ancient Greek art had been the cornerstone to Western great achievements would render the European cultural and artistic norms as universal and utter value. Thereupon, the more the aesthetic value systems (according to which, during the last centuries no re-

⁹ Ν. Νικονάνος, 'Η μεταβυζαντινή ζωγραφική της Μακεδονίας', in: *Η Νεότερη και Σύγχρονη Μακεδονία. Ιστορία- Οικονομία- Κοινωνία- Πολιτισμός*, vol. Α', *Η Μακεδονία κατά την Τουρκοκρατία*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1992, p. 164.

¹⁰ See Α. Ξυγγόπουλος, *Σχεδίασμα ιστορίας της θρησκευτικής ζωγραφικής μετά την άλωση*, Αθήνα 1957, p. 332, 350–352, 353, 356, 359, 363–364; Γ. Σωτηρίου, *Χριστιανική και Βυζαντινή αρχαιολογία*, vol. Α', *Χριστιανικά Κοιμητήρια, Εκκλησιαστική Αρχιτεκτονική*, Αθήνα 1942, p. 3–4, 16–17, 34. Ch. Delvoye, *Βυζαντινή τέχνη*, vol. Α', Αθήνα 1975, p. 10 and vol. Β, Αθήνα 1976, p. 447, 449; Π. Α. Ζαμβακέλλης, *Εισαγωγή στη βυζαντινή ζωγραφική*, Αθήνα 1985, p. 99, and D. Triantaphyllopoulos, 'Byzance après Byzance' Post-Byzantine Art (1453–1830) in the Greek Orthodox World', in *Post-Byzantium: The Greek renaissance, 15th–18th Century Treasures from the Byzantine & Christian Museum Athens*, Onassis Cultural Center, Athens 2003, p. 15.

¹¹ Ε. Ματθιόπουλος, 'Η ιστορία της τέχνης στα όρια του έθνους', in: *Η ιστορία της τέχνης στην Ελλάδα*, Πρακτικά Α' Συνεδρίου Ιστορίας της Τέχνης, Πράκλειο 2003, p. 422.

¹² Α. Kafetsi, "Instead of an introduction" p. 18 and N. Loizidi, "Modern Greek art and the myth of fatal options both", in: *Metamorphoses of the modern. The Greek experience*, exh. cat, Athens: National Gallery and Alexandros Soutzos Museum, Athens 1992, p. 376–377 [*Μεταμορφώσεις του Μοντέρνου Η ελληνική εμπειρία*, Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού, Εθνική Πινακοθήκη και Μουσείο Αλέξανδρου Σούτζου, 14 Μαΐου–13 Σεπτεμβρίου 1992, Αθήνα 1992].

markable artwork could be associated to the significant periods of European arts since the Renaissance and onwards) dominated, the more that kind of art was despised.¹³

Thus, it is evident that the Greek scientists, who followed the formation of Modern Greek art, were aligned to the traditional belief¹⁴ that art has its own inner value and therefore represents mankind's most refined side and visual creation's "best" aesthetic expression. As the study of history of Modern art itself was caught up in "ideologically biased concepts" and was eventually fit in with "predefined hermeneutic norms, methods and notions"¹⁵, the conviction that in the field of traditional art during the 18th, 19th and 20th century there were no visual works of high quality, either secular or religious, proved resistant and widespread.¹⁶

The second point, in consequence of the latter, regards the research activity on religious painting of that same period, which could hardly be characterized "post-Byzantine". This particular kind of painting has been attracting researchers over the last years. Having been perceived though, mainly as dogmatically predefined iconography, it was set on the margin of historical evolution. Thus, no profound approach or substantial examination of that subject is evident in recent studies.¹⁷

Accordingly, the question raised concerns the quality of the Greek scientists' research activity on painting, primarily religious, produced in regions under Turkish occupation until the beginning of the 20th century. The subject of art history has been expanded to an extent that any visual venture aimed at evoking opposition¹⁸ -let alone the outcome of an art genius- is now located within the boundaries of visual culture. On the other side, Greek art historians, still mostly employing the method of aesthetic and morphological approach have never been curious enough to incorporate the aforementioned material in the field of their scientific interpretation. Nowadays this lack of scientific interests seems even more paradoxical, in the age of post-modernity, when "all works and creators merit becoming object of 'aesthetic inquiry' and analytical study".¹⁹ This view is established by the fact that such paintings, mainly religious, are barely integrated into the whole of classes on history of Modern Greek art (18th – 20th century), in the frame of the academic program. Likewise, the review of the 1st Conference of Greek art historians – which took

¹³ Cf. E. Μαθιοπουλος, *op. cit.*, p. 428, 450.

¹⁴ D. Morgan, *Visual Piety. History and Theory of Popular Religious Images*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1998, p. xii.

¹⁵ E. Μαθιοπουλος, *op. cit.*, p. 421–422.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 450, 466.

¹⁷ E. Γεωργιάδου-Κούντουρα, 'Η κοσμική τέχνη στην ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα κατά την τουρκοκρατία. Θέματα ορολογίας και μεθόδου', in: *Η ιστορία της τέχνης στην Ελλάδα*, Πρακτικά Α' Συνεδρίου Ιστορίας της Τέχνης, Ηράκλειο 2003, p. 27.

¹⁸ M. Warnke, 'Έρευνητικά πεδία της Ιστορίας της τέχνης', in: *Εισαγωγή στην Ιστορία της τέχνης ...*, p. 27.

¹⁹ N. Loizidi, 'Modern Greek Art and the Myth of fatal Options', in: *Metamorphoses of the modern. The Greek experience ...*, p. 375.

place in 2000 and its proceedings were published in 2003 – not only did portray, as aforementioned, the narrowness of relevant scientific activity compared to the one regarding the “formal” art produced in Greece. It also revealed that most researchers limit their research in the presentation of several painters and diverse changes in style, with no systematic effort to correlate such changes with the respective historical ones. However, the work of art as the outcome of wider historical process, imposes us to approach it in the frame of diverse factors, social, political, economical, psychological, relating the religious image to the society, despite, or on account of, its supposed “lack of aesthetics”. The visual creations that indisputably portray their era and society are more than the masterpieces subservient to the mainstream ideology. There are also the ones that, as the majority of the artistic production, highlight the standards of acceptance, constitute “the average”.²⁰

A more recent effort to approach this field of art took place in the frame of an interesting yet futile conference in 1997, titled “From Byzantine art to nowadays, 18th–20th century”. As the title implies, the aim of the conference was to substantiate that art during the late period of the Turkish domination has been an important precondition for contemporary secular art.²¹ The engagement with modernism showed that beyond the need to trace precedent or retrogressive proposals, the quest for original and distinct forms of art in every century is of equal need.²²

Considering the above, would firstly suggest highlighting all possible aspects of religious painting in Greece during the Turkish domination from the late 18th and the 19th century, so that we can formulate more spherical view on its meaning, characteristics, aims and functions. Namely, to face it as it is, in its very dimensions. Another aim of the present paper is to attempt to tackle question that is constantly implied yet never articulated, but only through the researchers’ eloquent “speechlessness”. That is, in what way such predictable kind of art, with prescribed iconographic forms, specifically orientated towards isolating its dogmatic norms and being wary of outer influences, constituted the prevalent code of communication for such long time. In what ways it affects the public, is interwoven in history and takes part in its construction.

The material for this study is the outcome of research that lasted for more than ten years and was conducted in more than 270 churches of the Greek mainland, as well as public and private collections.

Around the mid 18th century turning point occurs, evident through several modifications and important reformations in culture, economy and society. The Enlightenment plays significant role in these radical changes. The adoption of its humanitarian values,

²⁰ F. Haskell, *History and his Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past*, New Haven, London 1993, p. 363.

²¹ Μ. Παπανικολάου, *Πρόλογος*, in *Από τη μεταβυζαντινή τέχνη στη σύγχρονη 18^{ης}-20^{ός} αι.*, Πανελλήνιο Συνέδριο (20–21 Νοε. 1997), Πρακτικά, Θεσσαλονίκη 1998, p. 7.

²² M. Warnke, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

proclaiming the emancipation of the mind, the faith in the individual and the democracy of the nations, will lead in phenomena similar to the Italian Renaissance. The Greek version of the Enlightenment is defined as “the whole of the mental and consciousness phenomena of Modern Greek history, everything that keeps pace with the overall advancement of the Greeks, before and especially after the treaty of Kioutsouk Kainarji, whose natural outcome should be considered to be the Greek Revolution”.²³ Rather than philosophical system, it is an intellectual movement that was virtually unfolded around two axes with specific objects: The advanced Europe and the ancient times. The Greeks had to be instructed and utilize Europe’s achievements in every sector, so that they could recover from slowdown due to the age-long slavery. They also had to turn their sight towards the ancient past to get in touch with their celebrated ancestors’ civilization. The elevation of the cultural standards and the enforcement of their national consciousness were essential so that they could claim reinstatement and prosperity. As an intellectual phenomenon with no boundaries, it influenced the whole of the Turkish dominated Greek land. This fact is evident in many ways.

One of the most characteristic ones is the depiction of two founders of the medical science, Hippocrates and Galinos, along with sage Sibyl, among the 12 Greek philosophers, next to the prophets announcing the arrival of Jesus, in the frame of the iconographic theme the *Tree of Jesse*²⁴, at the church of Staint Nikolas in Tsaritsani, Thessaly, in 1753. The theme is based on the prophecy of Isaiah (11:1), who foretold the incarnation and birth of Jesus. Thus, this particular section was interpreted by Clement of Alexandria as the announcement of the arrival of Savior Christ.

A standard type of composition is described in the painter’s manual written by monk and hagiographer Dionysius from Fournas, in 1728/33.²⁵ It is an iconographic guide comprising all the essential techniques and iconographic instructions for the professionals, free from stylistic constrains. The theme is described there as follows²⁶: three branches spring out of the back of aged and sleeping Jesse, big central one and two at the sides. The

²³ Κ. Θ. Δημαράς, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, Αθήνα 1977, p. 23.

²⁴ The depiction of the Greek sages in narthexes, exo-narthexes and the monastery refectories dates from the third decade of the 16th century until the end of the 18th, in the areas around the eastern Mediterranean, from central Europe to Minor Asia and Palestine. It is worth mentioning that the iconographic pattern was developed by the Cretan Theophanes, in the refectory of the Lavra monastery on Mount Athos, in 1535. Later on, it would be renewed by well known Cretan artist, Emmanuel Tzane Bounialis in the middle of the 17th century, under the influence of Western norms, through Italian copper engravings. Cf. V. Karcayanni-Karabelia, ‘Renaissance’ et ‘renaissances’: Hippocrate, Galien et Sibylle parmi les philosophes Grecs sur une fresque d’église de la fin du 18^e s. en Thessalie”, in *Χρυσάνθος Χρήστου*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2006, p. 147–148. Β. Α. Κύρκος, ‘Ο ιερομόναχος Διονύσιος ο εκ Φουρνά και η απεικόνιση Ελλήνων φιλοσόφων στους χριστιανικούς ναούς’, in: *Κάτοπτρον Νεοελληνικής Φιλοσοφίας*, Α’ (2007), p. 105–120.

²⁵ Cf. Κ. Θ. Δημαράς, ‘Θεοφάνης εξ Αγράφων βίος του Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά’, *Ελληνικά*, 19 (1938), no. 2, p. 235.

²⁶ Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά, *Ερμηνεία της ζωγραφικής τέχνης και αι κύριαι αυτής πηγαί*, εκδομένη μετά προλόγου νυν το πρώτον πλήρη κατά το πρώτυπον αυτής κείμενον υπό Α. Παπαδόπουλου-Κεραμέως, Πετρούπολη 1909, p. 84.

Jewish kings, from David to Jesus, are placed on the first one. The Judaist kings are surrounded by the prophets of Israel, and below them, at the sides of Jesse, the Greek sages are located. These are the following: Apollonius, Solon of Athens, Thucydides, Plutarch, Plato, Aristotle, philologist Philo, Sophocles, king of Egypt Thewlis, diviner Balaam and sage Sybil. The depicted hold written scrolls and by facing upwards they manifest the birth of Christ. Thus, the presence of the wise men is justified by the fact that they proclaimed the incarnate economy of Christ.²⁷

Then, it is noticed that the established iconographic norm of the *Tree of Jesse* in the mid 18th century comprises, among the Greek sages, "sage" Sybil as well as Hippocrates and Galinos. The latter, the most characteristic figures of rational science, are included, despite the fact that are not accounted in the most widespread manual of painting art. Indeed, this fact is evident not only in Thessaly, but also in religious monuments, churches and monasteries, from Macedonia to Yugoslavia, Romania and Bulgaria.²⁸ The emphasis on figures from medical sciences should be correlated to the wide spread and influence of the Enlightenment's experientialist ideas. It is no coincidence that the doctoral thesis (1782) on Hippocrates by Adamantios Korais, the most important representative of the Greek Enlightenment, is essentially an intersection of his medical studies and his literary knowledge. And of course it is no accident that at that time texts by Lucianos appear in schoolbooks for the first time, while long earlier Leibnitz, Wolt and Newton were part of the didactic material in numerous communal schools.²⁹ The intensity of the act of recalling the ancients is best rendered by an enlightened individual of the Greek Church. In 1784, Neophytes Kafsokalyvitis declares during his death delirium that he is going to meet the souls of Plato, Aristotle and other celebrated ancestors.³⁰ Also Eugene Boulgaris, one of the most important ecclesiastic officials, adopts the French philosophical principles, translates works of Voltaire and republishes works of classical literature. Such activity would climax during the years that anteceded and paved the way to the Revolution (1790–1821).

In any case, selecting an iconographic theme that raises old values, allows us to monitor the creative appropriation of dated ideology and also to explore the current intentions imposed by the anew use of dogmatically significant pictorial apprehension. The figure of Sybil is motif that is constantly repeated in all the rebirths almost everywhere in Europe, even in different forms and varied correlations. In this particular historic context her presence provides the connecting thread to the production of revelatory literature in the times of the Turkish domination, which would reach the climax in the second half of the 18th century and the first decades of the 19th century, short before the Greek revolution's outbreak.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 82.

²⁸ V. Karcayanni-Karabelia, 'Renaissance' et 'renaissances' ..., p. 149.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 149.

³⁰ K. Θ. Δημαράς, *Νεοελληνικός διαφωτισμός*, Αθήνα 1993, p. 234–235.

The fall of Constantinople, that signified the enslavement of almost all the orthodox eastern world, was universally perceived as an event of global importance which should by all means be explained. This need triggered the writing of corpus of texts, verse and prose, consisting of laments, demotic songs, consolatory talks, new martyrologies, as well as voluminous eschatological literature, whose central core is, either the end of the world, or the resurrection of Orthodoxy and Hellenism.³¹ These texts, whose content is based on the Holy Bible and mainly on "Apocalypse" by John, are written in modern Greek in folk style, feature that denotes they were targeted towards mass audience.

The time between 1750-1821, starting with the *Vision of Agathangelos* (1745-1751), is considered as the most interesting and productive, thanks to the historic and intellectual events that occur and presage the emergence of the modern period. Specifically, the French Revolution and its manifestations regarding liberty and human rights, the Eastern Question, namely, the discussions of the great powers on the abolition and breaking of the Ottoman Empire, the birth of national consciousnesses and, of course, the Greek Enlightenment.³² Interestingly, these very same events are evident in the eschatological texts of that period, especially the interpretations in Apocalypse. The eight volume study by tireless Cyril Lavriotis from Patra is characteristic example. By closely following reality, he had to reedit his work eleven times from 1792 to 1826. Indeed, Cyril followed with remarkable consistency the historic, political, religious and cultural events of his era and its prominent figures. Hence, the value of his interpretation lies in the fact that it constitutes an endless source of information, rather than in its theological depth of thought.³³ Eventually, the coexistence of the symbolic, metaphysical word of evangelist John and its rational processing and decryption by the Apocalypse's annotators based on the era's political events, rendered the historical perspective of matters as the paramount necessity; that is, the apprehension and the description of the historical past and present, aimed at speculating on the future, just as the role of "science" is described, traditionally serviced by Sybil.

The social and cultural fitting into an ideological template that promotes cosmic paradigm based on rationalism and empirical knowledge, is witnessed by the expressive means that are now employed in the field of religious art. The effort to depict the world in its material structure becomes gradually evident, though, as far as it is allowed by the context of religious painting and without violating its dogmatic norms. It becomes feasible by the renewal of the traditional techniques and methods, through the writing and pub-

³¹ Αστ. Αργυρίου, 'Οι ελληνικές ερμηνείες στην Αποκάλυψη κατά τους χρόνους της τουρκοκρατίας', *Επιστημονική Ελετηρίδα Θεολογικής Σχολής Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, 24 (1979), p. 359, 361.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 373.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 375.

lishing of contemporary manuals on the art of painting³⁴, which provide information on the new ways of representation. In the 19th century, for example, the practice on painting is proposed as the best method for an exemplary depiction of the human body, as several types of the human body *do not match the standards*³⁵. On the contrary, correct depiction is the result of experience and familiarity, while the use of oil is suggested for the figures' faces so that *they get nice and beautiful, otherwise they get harsh*.³⁶

Thus, large number of works are distinct for the gradual appearance of shadow and light, the naturalistic representation of forms, the realistic use of colors and the perspective articulation of depth. These novelties will ground distinct artistic style formulated in the late 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. Its principal representatives come from the monastic context of Mount Athos and produce portable icons for churches in cities, such as Thessaloniki. Among them, Deacon David produces 6 portable icons for the Temple of Virgin Laodigitria,³⁷ dating back in 1806 and 1809 and later on, in 1812, monk Nikiforos portrays saint Gregory Theologos for the church of Saint George, metochion of the Gregory monastery in Thessaloniki (Fig. 1).

The figures are depicted half-body length (Fig. 2–3) or enthroned (Fig. 4) against light blue background. They are posed either with slight twist of the body in sitting position, or



Fig. 1. Monk Nikiforos, Saint Gregory Theologos, 1812, tempera on wooden panel, church of Saint George, metochion of the Gregory monastery, Thessaloniki, detail

³⁴ A. Σιγάλας, *Από την πνευματική ζωή των ελληνικών κοινοτήτων της Μακεδονίας*, vol. A', *Αρχαία και βιβλιοθήκη και Δυτικής Μακεδονίας*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1939, p. 160, 162, 163; Α. Πολίτης, *Κατάλογος χειρογράφων του Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, ed. supplemented Π. Σωτηρούδης, Α. Σακελλαρίδου-Σωτηρούδη, Θεσσαλονίκη 1991, p. 15, 18–20; Ζ. Γοδόση, "Τα σημειώματα του ζωγράφου Ιωάννη για την αγιογράφηση εκκλησίας στο Λιμπινοβο (Διάκος Γρεβενών)", in *Γρεβενά Ιστορία – Τέχνη – Πολιτισμός*, Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου, ed. Μ. Παπανικολάου, Θεσσαλονίκη, Γρεβενά 2004, p. 355–365; See Α. Ζ. Βαρσαμίδης, *Συμβολή στη μελέτη της λαϊκής ζωγραφικής-λαϊκής αγιογραφίας (Δυτικής Μακεδονίας-Ηπείρου-Θεσσαλίας) 18^{ου}-19^{ου} αιώνα και «Η Ερμηνεία των αγίων εικόνων της ζωγραφικής τέχνης και ιστορίας απάσης της αγίας καθολικής και αποστολικής ημών εκκλησίας» του λαϊκού ζωγράφου Παγώνη*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1990, p. 5, 27, 28; Γ. Πετρίης, *Λαϊκή ζωγραφική. Πρώτη προσέγγιση*, Αθήνα 1988, p. 193; Κ. Α. Μακρής, *Η λαϊκή τέχνη του Πηλίου*, Αθήνα 1976, p. 163, 164, 166.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 164. Also, it is worth noting that in the new manuals the past is juxtaposed to nowadays and the words 'the olds' are frequently used.

³⁶ Κ. Α. Μακρής, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

³⁷ For detailed description of the icons, see Ι. Ζάρρα "Έξι φορητές εικόνες του ζωγράφου ιεροδιακόνου Δαβίδ", Θεσσαλονίκη, Κέντρο Ιστορίας Θεσσαλονίκης 5 (1999), p. 178–203, fig. 1–11. Also Ι. Ζάρρα, "Νεότερικά στοιχεία σε αγιογράφους φορητών εικόνων των ναών της Θεσσαλονίκης (19^{ος} αι.); in *Από τη μεταβυζαντινή τέχνη στη σύγχρονη 18^{ου}-20ός αι.*, Πανελλήνιο Συνέδριο (20–21 Νοε. 1997), Θεσσαλονίκη 1998, p. 45–57.

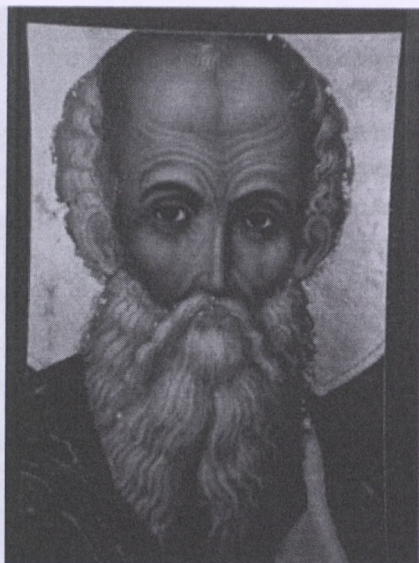


Fig. 2. Deacon David, Saint John Theologos, 1806, tempera on wooden panel, church of Virgin Laodigitria, Thessaloniki, detail



Fig. 3. Deacon David, Ossios Dionysios on Olympos, 1806, tempera on wooden panel, church of Virgin Laodigitria, Thessaloniki, detail

the posture of the hands, either in motion or bearing the person's own distinct attributes. The gaze, intense and piercing, always directed at the pilgrim. The formation of the Saints' faces is based on the quality of the brushwork, the naturalistic treatment of light and shade and the representation of the volumes. This naturalistic approach is achieved through mimicking the aesthetics of oil painting, using, however, the traditional egg tempera technique. It is technical innovation that dates back to 1730, when the sterility of the previous centuries began to be abandoned and the spirit of hagiography was being renewed.³⁸ The figures portrayed manage to combine the capture of spirituality and emotion with portraiture of high quality. The calmness and serenity of their expressions underline their spiritual dimension, never denoting other attributes or characteristics. The ascetic character of saint Dionysius or the incorporeal and suffering face of Saint John the Baptist are not revealed by any exterior means. This stems from the new role the saints have been cast in, evident not only in the meticulous care and detail of the elegance with which they are portrayed, but also in the sensitivity and gentleness that reflect their inner world.³⁹ The incorporation of ethereal forms into the earthy reality of the context results in more sympathetic

³⁸ See A. Ξυγγόπουλος, *Σχεδίασμα ιστορίας της θρησκευτικής ζωγραφικής ...*, p. 328–330. Θ. Παπαζώτος, 'Το έργο ενός ανώνυμου αγιογράφου στη Βέροια', *Μακεδονικά*, 19 (1979), p. 192.

³⁹ A. Boschkov, *La peinture bulgare des origines du XIXe siècle*, Recklinghausen 1974, p. 295–296; I. Ζάρρα, *Η θρησκευτική ζωγραφική στη Θεσσαλονίκη κατά τον 19^ο αιώνα. Ζωγράφοι – Εργαστήρια – Καλλιτεχνικές τάσεις*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2006, p. 281–282.



Fig. 4. Deacon David, Saint Nikolas, 1809, tempera on wooden panel, church of Virgin Laodigitria, Thessaloniki, detail

and accessible holy figures, thanks to the incorporation of atmospheric perspective, the naturalness of the facial characteristics, the choice and mixture of colors, as well as the way the artist maintains the secondary elements of the standardized iconography. This transforms the relationship between the pilgrim and the depiction itself. The themes are rendered in such way that encapsulates the spirit of the concern each individual feels for the others in manner that transcends religious principles; this is what gives this style its particular distinction. This departure from the standardized composition manifests the greater freedom of spirit that also characterizes the era itself.⁴⁰ Such works represent refined and sophisticated style developed by cultivated and committed artists.

Unfortunately, the only evidence that exists about the life and personality of David comes from research on his icons. However, more is extant for the widely acclaimed monk Nikiforos.⁴¹ He is regarded as one of the most remarkable painters of Mount Athos, whose art was kept alive by group of his students until shortly before the middle of the 19th century.⁴² The icon workshop he established in the late 18th century operated until 1860–1870 when Russian religious art came to the forefront, as commissions from Russia led the Mount Athos monks to produce icons based on the Nazarenian spirit already adopted in Russia by the middle of the 19th century.⁴³

Apart from that, copper engraving by Nikiforos portraying saint George and the Monastery of Xenophon, dated 1798, along with the ones by Parthenios of Ellassona, are among the few remaining representations engraved on Athos prior to the emergence of the flourishing engraving workshops there around the beginning of the 19th century.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ A. Boschkov, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

⁴¹ Nikiforos dies in 1812 in Zografos monastery, see K. A. Βλάχος, *Η χερσόνησος του Αγίου Όρους Άθω και οι εν αυτή μοναί και οι μοναχοί πάλαι τε και νυν*, Βόλος 1903, p. 256. Cf. A. Božkov, A. Vasiliev, *Hudožestvenoto nasledstvo na monastira Zograf*, Sofia 1981, p. 106, where 1816 is suggested as the year of death.

⁴² I. Α. Παπάγγελος, «Εργαστήρια ζωγραφικής της Χαλκιδικής κατά τον 19^ο αι.», 1^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Αθήνα 1981, p. 69, 70. Γ. Μυλωνά, 'Παραστάσεις του Αριστοτέλη', *Μακεδονικά*, 28 (1992), p. 357.

⁴³ K. Α. Βλάχος, *op. cit.*, p. 257. Γ. Συμυρνάκης, *Το Άγιον Όρος*, Καρυές Αγίου Όρους 1988 [photographic reprint from the 1903 edition], p. 469. Ε. Γεωργιάδου-Κούντουρα, *Θρησκευτικά θέματα στη νεοελληνική ζωγραφική 1900–1940*, (PhD diss., Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), Θεσσαλονίκη 1984, p. 24, 27. Α. Παπάς, *Ο αγιογραφικός οίκος των Ιωασσαφείων*, Ελβετία 1989, p. 146.

⁴⁴ Ν. Παλαστράτου, *Χάρτινες εικόνες. Ορθόδοξα θρησκευτικά χαρακτηριστικά 1669–1899*, vol. 2, Αθήνα 1986, p. 389, 478, fig. 508. Θ. Μ. Προβατάκης, *Χαρακτικά Ελλήνων λαϊκών δημιουργών 17^{ου}–19^{ου} αιώνας, Συλλογή Ιεράς Μονής Τοπλού*, Αθήνα 1993, p. 129, fig. 173.

Interestingly, Nikiforos talents were not restricted to religious painting he also worked as portraitist, painting prominent figures from ecclesiastical history, as well as an allegorical representation of *Winter*. There is also written account of him portraying "Aristotle in picture by referring to sculpture"⁴⁵. This information is of importance given that this painting represents the first reference to secular painter depicting an ancient philosopher around the turn of the 19th century. That period is characterized by growing distrust of philosophy by conservative elements in the church strong enough to take the form of an organized movement.⁴⁶ On the other hand, the only known depiction of Aristotle in the artistic milieu of the liberated Greek state appears in 1888, by foreign artist, the Pole, Eduard Lebiezki, student of Karl Rahl, with King Otto at the centre of the representation.⁴⁷

Thus, we could infer that when Nikiforos painted Aristotle in the early 19th century, probably referring to an ancient sculpture, without being commissioned to do so, he unwittingly acted as precursor of the neoclassical movement about to prevail in the liberated Greek areas and his depiction of Aristotle has been regarded as marking the introduction of this iconographic theme into the Modern Greek painting.⁴⁸

As painting workshops were established, these painters became the heralds of visual language whose adoption would become prevalent in both the Turkish dominated Greek areas and the adjacent northern areas with orthodox populations.⁴⁹

The coherence of religious painting during the 19th century stems from shared circumstances shaped by significant political decisions and historical processes operating in all the orthodox countries under Turkish occupation. In the course of the century the political breakthrough attempted by the Ottoman government regarding cross-national relationships on European scale,⁵⁰ as well as the efforts at modernization promulgated by series of

⁴⁵ K. A. Βλάχος, *op. cit.*, p. 256–257; Γ. Συμυρνάκης, *op. cit.*, p. 469; Γ. Μυλωνά, *ibid.*, p. 357.

⁴⁶ Θ. Δημαράς, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός ...*, p. 248, 254–255.

⁴⁷ Based on his mentor's drawings, the painter created the University's frieze, depicting the cultural history of Greece from the ancient times to the era of Apostle Paul. Othon, the founder of the University, according to the 14th of April 1837 royal enactment, is depicted enthroned wearing chlamys, q.v. Γ. Μυλωνά, *ibid.*, p. 358, 359; Α. Προκοπίου, *Ιστορία της τέχνης 1750–1950*, vol. Α', *Νεοκλασικισμός*, Αθήνα 1967, p. 367, 370, fig. 197 a–b.

⁴⁸ Γ. Μυλωνά, *ibid.* p. 366, 377.

⁴⁹ The same technique appears assimilated into number of Bulgarian art works, products of remarkable local painters. The latter played an important role in the shaping of national art characterized as the art of "Bulgarian Renaissance". Its main representative was Cristo Dimitrov (1745/50–1819), the founder of the painting school of Samokov. Regarding him, it is speculated that he resided on Athos, q.v. P. Toteva, *Ícônes de la region de Ploudiv*, Sofia 1975, p. 22, 30–31; K. Balabanov, *Postojana galerija na ikoni vo crkвата Uspenie na sv. Bogorodica vo Novo Selo – Štip: Permanent exhibition of Uspenian icons of Virgin Mary (Panagia) Temple, in Novo Selo*, Štip: Narodn Museum 1972, p. 21, pl. VI. Moreover, the art of frescoes created in chantries of the Bulgarian speaking Zografos monastery during the 2nd half of the 18th century and in 1817 by Mitrofanis, student of Nikoforos, plays critical role in the dissemination of this style. Cf. A. Boschkov, *op. cit.*, p. 14, 295, 297.

⁵⁰ With the consent of the Great Powers, the Ottoman state was exclusively authorized to deal with issues on the occupied population, thus deterring Russian interventions, and was held responsible to treat

reforms, resulted in the Hatt-Sharif of Gülhane statute and, later on, in 1856, to the Hatt-Hümayun edict.⁵¹ These edicts safeguard isonomy and religious tolerance for all ethnicities under Ottoman occupation, and affirmed their autonomy in internal issues; for Greeks this signified higher degree of organization and the progress towards status where the orthodox community became self-administering. This enabled ecclesiastical architecture to flourish with religious buildings being repaired and extended. New buildings were erected whose aesthetic qualities and the manifestation of religiosity mark the end of one era and the beginning of new one. Given the close identity between religion and nationalism, the new orthodox churches were meant as symbolic expressions of national spirit, mostly pertaining to Greek liberation from the Turkish yoke, the realization of the Megali Idea (Great Idea) and the supremacy of Orthodoxy over the other Christian dogmas.⁵²

The increased demand for icons occasioned by the spate of new and renovated churches, their interior decoration and the religious requirements led to the extensive use of copper engravings, since these facilitated the immediate reproduction of images in large numbers. As far as the style is concerned, hagiography is characterized by an eclectic blending of the traditional elements and neoclassical principles emanating from the liberated state. Marching in step with the spirit of modernization, it aimed at expressing the political and economic prosperity of the Christian communities.

In this period the painter Matthew Ioannou⁵³ (Corinth 1815–Veroia 1880), working in Thessaloniki, produced, in 1852, two 'despotic' icons, one of Christ Pantocrator (Christ in Glory) and another of the Virgin Vrefokratousa for the newly built church of Saint Minas in Thessaloniki. According to epigraphs, the icons were commissioned by the donor Ekaterini Livaditou. Their archaic style, the monumentality and austerity of the facial expres-

Muslims and non-Muslims equally on issues of justice, tax payments, public servant employment, military recruitment and university access. See A. Κωφός, 'Το ελληνοβουλγαρικό ζήτημα', *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, 13 (1977), p. 168, 169. Στ. Ι. Παπαδόπουλος, *Η εκπαιδευτική και κοινωνική δραστηριότητα του ελληνισμού της Μακεδονίας κατά τον τελευταίο αιώνα της Τουρκοκρατίας*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1970, p. 12, Π. Βακουφάρης, 'Ο αναθεωρημένος κανονισμός της ελληνικής κοινότητας Θεσσαλονίκης του 1874 και οι διενέξεις των κοινοτικών αρχόντων', *Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Ιστορίας Θεσσαλονίκης*, 3 (1992), p. 169–184. Χ. Κ. Παλαστάθης, 'Η κοινοτική οργάνωση', *Η Νεότερη και Σύγχρονη Μακεδονία. Ιστορία – Οικονομία – Πολιτισμός*, vol. Α', *Η Μακεδονία κατά την Τουρκοκρατία*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1992, p. 90.

⁵¹ For the content of the enactments Cf. U. Abadon, 'Tanzimat fermaninin tahili', *Tanzimat*, 1 (1940), p. 31–58; E. Ziya Karal, *Osmali Tarihi*, vol. 5, Ankara 1970, p. 248–252. Also, cf. A. Βερέμης, 'Οι Οθωμανικές μεταρρυθμίσεις (Τανζιμάτ)', *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, 13 (1977), p. 169–171.

⁵² Cf. Θ. Μαντοπούλου-Παναγιωτοπούλου, *Θρησκευτική αρχιτεκτονική στη Θεσσαλονίκη κατά την τελευταία φάση της τουρκοκρατίας (1839–1912)*, Επιστημονική επετηρίδα Πολυτεχνικής Σχολής Θεσσαλονίκης n. 31-Θεσσαλονίκη 1989, p. 441, 465, 471.

⁵³ Information about the painter are drawn from: Τ. Μπαΐτσης, 'Ο αγιογράφος Χριστ. Ματθαίου', *Νιόουστα*, 11 (1980), p. 48, Τ. Μπαΐτσης, 'Ο μεγάλος αγιογράφος Χριστόδουλος Ματθαίου. Ο ζωγράφος της Ναούσης', *Μακεδονία*, (1991), p. 141, Ι. Αθ. Παπάγγελος, 'Οι μεταβυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες', *Ιερά Μεγίστη Μονή Βατοπαιδίου. Παράδοση – Ιστορία – Τέχνη*, vol. Α', Άγιον Όρος 1996, p. 344 f.n. 71; Μ. Παρχαρίδου, 'Ματθαίος Ιωάννου: Οι μεταμορφώσεις μιας τεχνοτροπίας', in: *Από τη μεταβυζαντινή τέχνη στη σύγχρονη 18^η–20^η αι.*, Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου (Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης 1997), Θεσσαλονίκη 1998, p. 312–313.

sions, as well as the morphological clarity of Mary's face (Fig. 5) with classical characteristics and the idealistic beautification of the holy figure, reflect the adoption of neoclassical principles now becoming dominant throughout the Greek state.

The face of Christ (Fig. 6) is sharply rendered. The almond-shaped eyes are sunk into their sockets with an obvious "sarcoma" beneath, especially the left eye. The nose is long with flared nostrils. The upper lip is strongly curved and the chin is disproportionately small. This singular and distinctive style of painting Christ evokes the figure of the Serbian, Jovan Uglješa, patron of the Saint Anargiroi chapel in Vatopedi monastery, depicted there. Matthew overpainted these frescoes in 1847, which probably inspired him to come up with variant physiognomy of Christ.⁵⁴ The same characteristics are evident in the portable icon of the Christ Pantocrator by the Bulgarian hagiographer Stanislav Dospevski (1823–1878), the last representative of the so-called Bulgarian school of renaissance of Samocov, whose icons are linked to Philippopolis and its surrounding areas.⁵⁵

No information exists about Matthew's early years. He lived in the area of Moldavia for six years before 1834, where he was commissioned to paint frescoes for several athonite metochia. This period proved formative in the development of his visual language, since the eclectic style resulting from mixture of romantic and neoclassical elements prevailed in Moldavia.⁵⁶ In 1840 he returned to Greece, where he ended his days. His reputation and experience made him sought-after painter. The new commissions, mainly from the Mount Athos monasteries, concerned frescoes and the over painting of old works.⁵⁷ At the same time, according to archive resources, he produced number of icons for chapels of Vatopedi



Fig. 5. Matthew Ioannou, Virgin and child 1852, tempera on wooden panel, church of Saint Minas, Thessaloniki, detail

⁵⁴ V. J. Djurić, 'Les fresques de la chapelle du despote Jovan Uglješa à Vatopédi et leur valeur pour l'étude de l'origine thessaloniquienne de la peinture de Resaba', *Zbornik Radova*, 7 (1961), p. 137, pl. 1; G. Millet, J. Pargoire, L. Petit, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Mont Athos*, Paris 1904, p. 33.

⁵⁵ Stanislav Dospevski was apprenticed in Kiev and adopted the Russian academic painting style, Cf. K. Balabanov, *op. cit.*, p. 18–19, pl. 11; P. Toteva, *op. cit.*, p. 30–31.

⁵⁶ M. Παρχαρίδου, *op. cit.*, p. 316, f.n. 25.

⁵⁷ Cf. Αθ. Παπάγγελος, *op. cit.*, p. 287, 295, 303, 343; G. Millet, J. Pargoire, L. Petit, *op. cit.*, p. 35, 51–52; Ε. Τσιγαρίδας, 'Τοιχογραφίες και εικόνες της μονής Παντοκράτορος του Αγίου Όρους', *Μακεδονικά*, 18 (1978), p. 188. M. Παρχαρίδου, *op. cit.*, p. 313–314; Γ. Σμυρνάκης, *op. cit.*, p. 531.

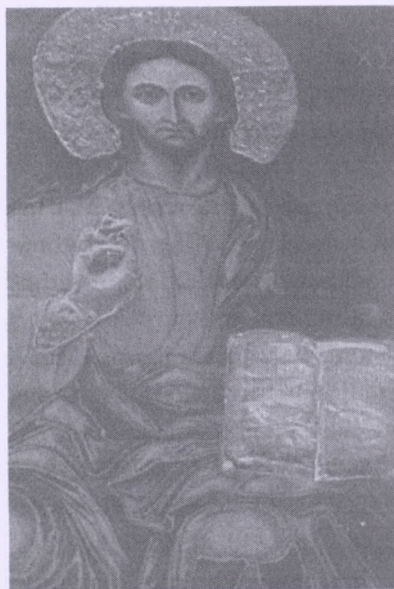


Fig. 6. Matthew Ioannou, Christ Pantocrator, (Christ in glory) 1852, tempera on wooden panel, church of Saint Minas, Thessaloniki, detail

monastery (1872, 1874) and also for churches in Naoussa and its surrounding regions, while many of his icons can be found in Romania.⁵⁸

Matthew would get reference letters⁵⁹ after the end of project; an attitude that underlines his professional awareness and realistic approach towards his metier. These letters testify to his clients' plaudits for his artistic skills and appreciation of his ethos. Rather than being merely kind of testament to the quality of his work, these letters ensured him continuity of projects. The lack of fixed quality standards regarding his so far known work, actually implies that these letters are rather characteristic, kind of favor by the clients to humor the painter.⁶⁰ His artistic legacy passed on to his students, among whom, his son Christodoulos was both prolific and distinguished as an artist. His style was continuation of his father's, embracing and adopting the visual trends prevailing at that time on Mount Athos and in liberated Greece.⁶¹

The neoclassic style proceeded to permeate occupied Greece as well, since it fulfilled both the need to move closer to Europe and to restore link with an illustrious past. simplified form of this style became popular for the decoration of mansions⁶², not only in urban centers but also

⁵⁸ G. Millet, J. Pargoire, L. Petit, *op. cit.*, p. 29; Αθ. Παπάγγελος, *op. cit.*, p. 303, 345; Μ. Παρχαρίδου, 'Ματθαίος Ιωάννου ...', p. 313–314.

⁵⁹ Based on these works we know that he painted 4 metochia of the Vatopedi monastery in total, the Evangelismos of Pretzista church in Galatsi (before September 1834), the katholikon of the Raketossa monastery (before October 1836) and the katholikon of the Myra monastery, close to Mylkovo (before 1837). In 1838–1839 he created frescoes at the Analipsi katholikon of the Golia monastery in Iasion. The church of Pretzista was in Galatsi, in the region of Tirkou- Ogni in Moldova. It was ceded to the Vatopedi monastery in 1777 from the region's rulers. The Raketossa monastery was located in the Tekoutz region and was ceded to the Vatopedi monastery in 1729. The Myra monastery was close to Mylkovo, in the region of Poutna and was ceded to the Vatopedi monastery in 1592. The Golia monastery was ceded to the Vatopedi monastery by the principal Anna Golia in 1606. Cf. Γ. Σμυρνάκης, *op. cit.*, p. 139, 199, Μ. Παρχαρίδου, *op. cit.*, p. 312, 314, 316 and p. 313, whence the former bibliography; Αθ. Παπάγγελος, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

⁶⁰ Μ. Παρχαρίδου, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

⁶¹ Γ. Μπάιτσης, 'Ο αγιογράφος Χριστ. Ματθαίου ...', p. 48; Idem, 'Ο μεγάλος αγιογράφος Χριστόδουλος Ματθαίου. Ο ζωγράφος της Ναούσης ...', p. 141. For the art of his son, Cf. A. Božkov, A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

⁶² Miltos Garidis defines these houses as such, as, from the first decades of the 18th century, their morphological and structural particularities constitute new type. It is characterized as urban, as it is primarily found in Istanbul, in other cities of the Ottoman Empire or in new urban and 'rurban' areas and settlements that played, at that time, role in the commercial activities, mainly in trading with Central and Eastern Europe. This new type of dwelling, besides the structural and construction elements that derive from Byzantine

in the thriving manufacturing and trading highland areas of Western Macedonia (villages around Florina), in the villages of Epirus (Zagorochoria) and Thessaly (Pelion).⁶³ Thus it was not only the liberated central part of Greece that was affected, communities still subject to Turkish rule also looked towards Europe which was becoming increasingly important in terms of trade.

Interestingly, compositions with secular themes first appear among frescoes in the narthexes of monasteries, mainly on Mount Athos, by the second half of the 18th century, and in churches, rather than in mansions. Despite the dominant view that Mount Athos has been the redoubt of tradition, it can be said that, to all intents and purposes, it has never been an artistic centre with specific stylistic character.⁶⁴ Rather, it has proved to be an open and hospitable house embracing various artistic trends, particularly attracting “new” and less “monastic” elements.⁶⁵

The fashion of decorating the interiors of chapels with imaginary landscapes, views of cities (Fig. 7) and other decorative themes, would last for the whole 19th century. The use of common decorative motifs in churches and houses, the adoption of identical techniques, and the artist’s hagiographic specialty, constitute an area common to both religious and secular painting.⁶⁶ As far as the church decoration is concerned, the common decorative motifs are braids, erotideas (putti), rosettes, elements of vegetation, canisters (Fig. 8), even the Horn of Amalthea, symbol of prosperity and affluence.

The striking fluidity of the boundaries between the religious and the secular stemmed from the dual role of the ecclesiastic institution, both religious and political; it was the place where community issues were resolved, justice dispensed, communal decisions

and Eastern tradition, was influenced by the mansion house type, like the ones fashioned in Central Europe after the Renaissance. In general, these houses were appropriated for residents that had an urban lifestyle and activities, even if they resided in the countryside or villages, Cf. M. Γαρίδης, *Διακοσμητική ζωγραφική. Βαλκάνια-Μικρά Ασία 18^{ος}-19^{ος} αιώνας. Μπαρόκ και Ροκοκό. Ανατολική και βυζαντινή κληρονομιά*, Αθήνα 1996, p. 14, 15, 35.

⁶³ Cf. K. A. Μακρής, *Επιδράσεις του νεοκλασικισμού στην ελληνική λαϊκή ζωγραφική*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1986.

⁶⁴ From an artistic perspective the stand of Mount Athos has been extremely important, as the quality of studies there was considered guaranteed. Thus, whole family groups of painters would go there to perfect their art. Cf. M. Χατζηδάκης, *op. cit.*, p. 74–75. The hagiographic works produced there were directly acknowledged and widely disseminated, even if the saints’ depictions followed the Western iconography type and the norms of naturalistic ecclesiastic painting. Cf. Γεωργιάδου-Κούντουρα, *Θρησκευτικά θέματα στη νεοελληνική ζωγραφική 1900–1940 ...*, p. 29.

⁶⁵ M. Chatzidakis, ‘*Considérations sur la peinture post byzantine en Grèce*’, in: *Actes du Premier Congres International des Etudes Balkaniques et Sud-Est Européennes*, vol. 2, Sofia 1969, p. 710.

⁶⁶ The physiognomies of the figures and the iconographic types in secular compositions decorating the mansions are drawn from hagiography. Also, means of expression that characterize religious painting, such as inverse perspective and the color palette, as well as decorative motifs such as the double headed eagle and the dragon-slayer Saint George, traditionally found in the realm of the Church, are applied to secular compositions. Cf. E. Γεωργιάδου-Κούντουρα, ‘*Λαϊκή τέχνη στη Μακεδονία*’, in: *Η Νεότερη και Σύγχρονη Μακεδονία. Ιστορία-Οικονομία-Κοινωνία-Πολιτισμός*, vol. A’ *Η Μακεδονία κατά την Τουρκοκρατία*, ed. I. Κολιοπουλος, I. Χασιώτης, Θεσσαλονίκη, undated, p. 310, 317–318; M. Γαρίδης, *Διακοσμητική ζωγραφική. Βαλκάνια-Μικρά Ασία 18^{ος}-19^{ος} αιώνας ...*, p. 36, 40, 42.

reached, and educational matters arranged.⁶⁷

Every part of the templon, the most important element of the chapel and the focal point for believers, is decorated with motifs expressing optimism and festivity, the need for beauty and rejection of metaphysical rules. These tendencies manifest radical conceptual shift that transcends the boundaries of worldly life and reaches out towards the realm of God.

Probably the most successful melding of intellectual and physical beauty appears in the exquisite depiction of the dying Christ (Fig. 9). The anatomical modeling of the male body is direct reference to the illusionist representation of sculptures decorating the mansions of the wealthy, cosmopolitan bourgeoisie at that time (Fig. 10). Both cases make use of the grisaille technique; the tonal shading of white and grey denotes luxurious material, marble, and expresses the prevailing tendency to simulate luxury and wealth using much cheaper materials.⁶⁸ Such initiatives transcend the boldest reconciliation of the secular and the spiritual inasmuch as the means replace the end. They are related to the central role assumed by powerful and increasingly affluent groups during that period, townsmen, merchants and craft guilds. As devout citizens and "gracious" Chris-



Fig. 7. Unknown, Landscape, tempera on wooden panel, templon, church of Ypapadi, Thessaloniki, detail



Fig. 8. Unknown, decorative motif, tempera on wooden panel, templon, church of Saint George, Petres village, Florina, Prefecture of Macedonia, detail

⁶⁷ M. Χατζηδάκης, *op. cit.*, p. 72–75.

⁶⁸ Κ. Α. Μακρής, *Επιδράσεις του νεοκλασικισμού στην ελληνική λαϊκή ζωγραφική ...*, p. 25.

tians possessed by the need to save their souls, they undertook the construction, expansion and beautification of churches. At the same time, they received prestige and publicity for their benevolence through epigraphs. For Greek merchants, combining wealth and charitable acts posed no contradiction; religion was matter of this world since it contributed to the effort to overcome the difficulties stemming from having been an occupied country. Likewise, business was matter for religion, since the profits were meant to finance the sacred war of independence. This phenomenon could hardly be elaborated better than in Traian Stoianovich's explanation: "At all levels, from the Patriarchate to the Parish, the Greek Orthodox Church was driven by an ethnocentric and secular mentality... Ethnocentrism renders the modern Greeks primordially religious yet materialistic worshippers". Hence, "the orthodox morality was grounded on religious-economic foundation, settled and substantial".⁶⁹ Besides, Greek was synonymous with merchant and the "Greek" religion identified with orthodoxy.

A revelatory example regarding creativity, the development of religious theme and the hagiographers' mode of working in general, is small scale icon (Fig. 11), dating back to the third decade of the 19th century. Nowadays, removed from its original location, it can be found in the chapel of the Twelve Apostles in Drama, on the upper part of the templon, on the architrave. Its creator identifies himself stylistically with the hagiographer Moschos from Stranza, town in northern Thrace, of whom little is known. It is certain though that he was active at the end of the 18th century and throughout the first half of the 19th, working for both Greeks and Slav speaking orthodox populations.⁷⁰

At the top of the depiction, partially preserved epigraph identifies the theme: *The Lord voluntarily submitting himself to the passion*. The religious narrative as whole is not unfolded according to premeditated iconographic norm. Rather, it is composition inspired by quotations found in the Gospel according to Luke (22:39-45) and the Gospel according



Fig. 9. Unknown, *Pietà*, after 1895, fresco, prothesis of church of Saint George, Petres village, Florina, Prefecture of Macedonia, detail

⁶⁹ T. Stoianovich, 'Ο κατακτητής ορθόδοξος Βαλκάνιος έμπορος', in *Η οικονομική δομή των Βαλκανικών χωρών στα χρόνια της Οθωμανικής κυριαρχίας 1ε' - 1θ' αι.*, introduction Σπ. Ι. Ασδραχάς, Αθήνα 1979, p. 318, 319.

⁷⁰ Cf. A. Vasiliev, *Balgarski vazrozdenski maistori*, Sofia 1965, p. 646-648; I. Ζάρρα, 'Παρατηρήσεις για την έννοια της αφήγησης στην τέχνη, με αφορμή μια φορητή θρησκευτική εικόνα του 19^{ου} αιώνα', in: *Χρύσανθος Χρήστου*, Αφιέρωμα, Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, Θεσσαλονίκη 2006, p. 63-67.

to Matthew (16:21), as well as ecclesiastic hymnography⁷¹, while parts of the whole comprise iconographic forms mainly drawn from the West.⁷²

The visual narrative is developed gradually: from bottom to top, Jesus and his disciples before walled city, the celestial Jerusalem according to quotations; just behind them, the awakening of the sleeping disciples by Jesus himself. At the top, Jesus praying and his resignation to his ordeal, as Judas approaches to identify him followed by *the band of retainers, arch-priests and Pharisees* (*Lenten Triodion*, 442).

The succession of the episodes is evident through variety of *transformations*⁷³ regarding postures, expressions, psychic conditions and the interactions between the central and secondary figures of the story. Christ, with one hand extended and written scroll in the other, announces the eternal state to the apostles and promises the redemption of mankind. This latter will come true inasmuch as events will show him alone on white field praying on his knees, or standing, stooping to reprove his sleeping disciples. Every new transposition is stressed by variety of gestures that breathe life into the voiceless image and evoke action. The array of emotions is just as multifaceted. Jesus' serene expression at the time of the apocalyptic proclamation will turn to anguish, grief, even momentary irresolution, while praying on the Mount of Olives; until he transcends the whole of human emotions by departing from the earthly realm and historical time and returning to eternity, according to the divine plan.

Within the frame of the narrative transformations, there is change in the role and functional necessity of Jerusalem. This change, through the close interweaving of image and



Fig. 10. Unknown, Amazon, 19th century, fresco, Nymfaio Museum, Nymfaio, Prefecture of Macedonia, detail

⁷¹ „Ο Ιησούς υπέρ του Κόσμου, επειγόμενος παθείν, θέλων συνανέρχεται, τοις Μαθηταίς αυτού επί την πόλιν Ιερουσαλήμ, προς το εκούσιον, Πάθος ο ήλθεν παθείν”, Cf. *Τριώδιον Κατανυκτικόν*, Αθήνα 1967, p. 390.

⁷² The variations in descriptions of the corresponding incidents from the New Testament (Mat. 26: 36–46; Mark. 14: 32–42; Luke. 22: 39–46), the diversity in their translation into iconographic norms from the known and widespread *Interpretations* (Cf. Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά, *Ερμηνεία της Ζωγραφικής τέχνης* ..., p. 104), and then, their rendering in engravings and Western paintings with religious themes, all militate against the prevalence of specific norm. In any case, the placement of the scene of Prayer in field defined by mountains, rather than field resembling the Garden of Gethemane must have been inspired by relevant scene of the renowned Proskynetaria of the Holy Land, q.v. M. Γεωργοπούλου-Βέρρα, ‘Τοπογραφία των Αγίων Τόπων σε εικόνα της Ζακύνθου’, *Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, 24 (2003), fig. 4, p. 317–332.

⁷³ Cf. W. Kemp, *Critical Terms for Art History*, Chicago 1996, p. 58–69.

word, directly refers to particular Bible quotations. From the bleakly rendered landscape usually used as background for the Crucifixion, or Jerusalem, *the killer of prophets*, and *lapidator of God's emissaries* (*Apocalypse* 23), it is transformed into the space for the Final Judgment, as, *there are set thrones for judgment* (*Lenten Triodion*, 32-33). The bright red and orange colours of its buildings, though, recall the light of Epiphany-Transfiguration on Mount Thavor⁷⁴ and also act as promise of future transformation, both narrative and spiritual. According to this transformation, the city reacquires its sacred nature and becomes the ultimate homeland of the fair-minded, the place of Eternal State (*Matthew* 5: 35, *Apocalypse* 21: 2-3, *Lenten Triodion*, 32-33).

The basic motive for these actions is the fact that father-God assigns to his god-man son, Jesus, the commission of accomplishing spiritual aim: the reinstatement and redemption of humanity can only be achieved through the action of the celestial emissary, which climaxes in the sacrifice of the Word incarnate. The latter, having human face, takes part in sequence of actions. The most characteristic ones, although only briefly rendered, recall to the viewer all the secondary incidents. It is the lack of this spiritual ideal and its revocation initiates sequence of actions and events that either lead to an intermediate state, which in turn engenders new series of events, or to terminal conclusion. The legacy of original sin that deprived humans of ultimate reality is negated through indulgence. The completion of the aim is configured in the representation of Jerusalem. Christ, on the point of resurrection, points to the sacred city, while he promises and proclaims the Eternal State. As the central figure in series of spiritually driven actions and narrator – “messenger” of new world order, he not only addresses his apostles, depicted as students, but also the pilgrim that worships and honors the icon, located in its natural environment. In this frame the instructive and paradigmatic aim of the religious icon is fulfilled. The icon though, beyond its function of inducing devotion and piety, acts as testimony and promise for the attainment of eternity through the rendering of historical events.



Fig. 11. Moschos, The Lord submitting to the passion, 19th century, tempera on wooden panel, architrave, upper part of templon, church of Saint Apostles, Drama (Prefecture of Macedonia, detail)

⁷⁴ The association is grounded on the notion of the shining celestial Jerusalem, just as described in the passage «η πόλις δεν έχει χρείαν του ηλίου, ουδέ της σελήνης... διότι η δόξα του Θεού εφώτισεν αυτή» (Αποκ. 21:21) [“the city needs neither the sun or the moon...for it is lit by the glory of God” (Revelations 21:21)], Cf. Y. Christe, *L'Apocalypse de Jean. Sens et développements de ses visions synthétiques*, Paris 1996, p. 151, 154.

As with the written document, the visual narrative is developed around the notion of time, the basis for the unfolding of series of scenes. Moschos adopts the continuous style by choosing to portray three different stages of the story in single scene⁷⁵. He deals with the past, present and future time simultaneously, in time unity, evoking "aesthetic experiences radically different from those of classical cosmic theory"⁷⁶. According to the medieval Christian perception of time, human consciousness experiences moment as point in time, through the sense of remembrance and expectation.⁷⁷ Augustine, in his *Confessions*, essentially referring to lasting present, claimed that, it would be more accurate to state that there are three periods of time: the present of past matters perceived as remembrance, the present of matters that are present and constitute direct vision, and the present of future matters related to the act of expectation or prophecy.⁷⁸ According to this classification, Moschos' portrayal belongs to the present of visible matters. In parallel, as we are provided with the possibility of looking forward to the future, we anticipate what the icon announces: eternal life. Thereby, in the frame of an integral analogy between the subject and the viewer of the narrative, the absence of spiritual ideal is sustained. Regardless of our knowledge concerning the end of the story, the time and means of its fulfillment are missing. It is this fact that keeps us bent on following the narrative and evokes state of continuous anticipation regarding its ending. As the subject of narration has risen from the level of visual narrator to Jesus himself, the interaction is then transferred to one between viewers of the icon and the divine entity⁷⁹, fundamental characteristic of every religious narration.⁸⁰

As far as the depiction of space is concerned, the painter employs practice common in Italian Quattrocento painting: the use of the human body as the basic measure of scale. The presence of figure common to all the stages of the narration suggests the surrounding scenery is scaled accordingly. The evident contrast between the background scenes and the foreground stems from the integral incorporation of Christ into the background landscape in the events before the Resurrection, something that stresses the episodic and ephemeral character of these incidents. Contrarily, the predominance of the foreground scene, spread

⁷⁵ Cf. M. L. Arouberg, *The Place of Narrative. Mural Decoration in Italian Churches 431-1600*, Chicago, London 1994, p. 1-2; J. P. Small, "Time in Space: Narrative in Classical Art", *The Art Bulletin*, 81, (1999), p. 568.

⁷⁶ Π. Μιχαήλ, *Αισθητική θεώρηση της βυζαντινής τέχνης*, Αθήνα 1972, p. 159.

⁷⁷ It could be argued that similar viewpoint "legitimized" the necessity for the existence of the religious representation itself. In his renowned *Ninth Epistle*, Gregorios the Great simply and squarely stated that the one to be worshiped is the one whose icon recalls him as "newborn or dead and eventually, in his celestial glory". In any case, both the Icon (representation) and the Writing recall what happened in the story of salvation, which transcends the mere historic fact, Cf. H. Belting, *Likeness and Presence. History of the Image before the Era of Art*, Chicago, London 1996, p. 10.

⁷⁸ Cf. C. J. Purtle, 'Van Eyck's Washington Annunciation: Narrative Time and Metaphoric Tradition', *The Art Bulletin*, 81 (1999), p. 120.

⁷⁹ M. Eliade, *Myths and Reality*, London 1964, p. 5-6.

⁸⁰ Cf. W. Kemp, *op. cit.*, p. 60, 61, 66.

to the left and the back right surface of the icon, is consistent with the importance of the meaning rendered. It becomes the icon's foundation, and at the same time, the inevitable ending of the New Testament. The spatio-temporal transcendences lie precisely in the transcendent character of its content. Jerusalem is notionally integrated into the first level and is visually related to it through the indicated pathway that the Master is about to walk. However, as it is placed in the background, the viewer's gaze is focused on the levels further back, giving rise to an immediate comparison. The city, as the figured target object, placed at the centre of the icon, contrasts with the ephemeral character of the opposing representations, and becomes the means for fixing the viewer's attention on the centre, the essence of the narrative. In this way, through symbolic utilization of perspective, the hagiographer shifts the objective centre of the painting and distinguishes it from historic events. Since Jerusalem draws its meaning from its historic context, it lacks the detailed representation of physical city. It is depicted as dense complex of buildings and is thereby transformed into an emblem that verifies the achievement of the aim. As humanity slowly prepares itself for the end of historical time, the city, likewise, gradually emerges from the centre of terrestrial mass. It thus recalls the symbolic quotation *middle of the world* (Ezek. 5:5) meaning sacred space, where the divine reveals itself, either directly or indirectly, through the presence of God himself.⁸¹

The identification of the theme⁸² in Moschos' icon has been far from easy. Once identified, the apprehension of its meaning becomes even more difficult, as the narrative comprises hierarchically articulated levels or layers.⁸³ Following the narrative involves more than going from one word to another, from one snapshot to the next, but rather oscillating between one level and another. Beyond the understanding of the unfolding of the story, its full comprehension lies in identifying number of layers. For, according to Roland Barthes⁸⁴, regardless of the thoroughness of research, an exploration on several levels is necessary, as the message rests on top of the narrative, not at its end. Hence, the importance of meticulous classification of the episodes and all the other elements of narrative, one way or another, this is more matter of structure, not art.⁸⁵ The minor intermediate narrative sections – the prayer, the awakening of the disciples, the throng of people approaching Christ accompanied by Judas the betrayer and soldiers – are predestined to either open the story, or lead to its ending. In this respect, their role is cardinal, both chronologically and functionally, and particular morphological approach

⁸¹ I. Ρηγόπουλος, *Ο αγιογράφος Θεόδωρος Πουλάκης και η φλαμανδική χαλκογραφία*, Αθήνα 1979, p. 83.

⁸² For this point, I would like to thank Mrs. Eftimhia Georgiadou – Koundoura, Associate Professor of History of art at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, for her guidance in properly identifying the subject.

⁸³ R. Barthes, 'An Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narrative', *New Literary History*, 6 (1975), p. 243.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 244–245.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 244–245.

is required. In the case of religious painting, style is of particular importance. And it is there that stylistic duality is found. The background scenes are organized according to the western logocentric perception and even the color range is more refined. However, in contrast, the first level is characterized by the traditional style with vivid colors, an element of folksiness. The notion of the crowd is expressed by the superimposition of partially painted disciples' heads, not by their organized placement in space. Thereupon, Moschos opts for rationalized representation of scenes that have resultant relationship with each other, namely, the reality of the one induces the reality of the other. In other words, it is the historical character of these particular sections, contrasted with the transcendent and metaphysical character of the foreground. On the one hand, historical facts are depicted, specifically located in time and place; on the other hand, the facts are anticipated, have been announced but have yet to take place. Nevertheless, it is essential for the first episodes, the "historical" ones, to take place. It is then of vital importance for the viewer to be convinced that these events have actually taken place at specific, existent place and time so as to be also convinced about the anticipated yet unverifiable future ones. In this frame, the rationalized development of the secondary scenes according to Western norms is precondition, and is thus employed.

The painter's innovative approach regarding artistic issues can also be highlighted in other ways. The narrative space is never mere reproduction of the physical world; meticulous detail and perception are always there. The story's episodes, though secondary, play major role. The action they refer to is fundamental and directly influences the continuation of the plot, insomuch as every episode constitutes the resolution of an "uncertainty".⁸⁶ As knowledge about the story is based on written narrations, their common rationale and chronological coherence is asserted: the arrest is followed by the Crucifixion and then by the Resurrection and the expectation for mankind to be redeemed on the Day of Judgment. From this perspective, there are other scenes that could perform this role. The Last Supper, and, of course, the Crucifixion are events that prefigure the conclusion of the passion and the Resurrection. Still, what makes the chosen scenes unique is that only there human impotence in the face of the unachievable is portrayed in the most convincing and dramatic way possible, while the victory over human frailty and impotence is announced. (*Luc.* 22: 42-46). The maximum psychological tension is produced by the conflict between the two natures. Nevertheless, the Crucifixion is an irreversible fact and as such, it is not suitable for any other psychological mutation of the principal figure. None of the other sections of the Gospel can offer psychologically charged scene equal to that of the Prayer on the Mount of Olives. Conversely, in none of the episodes following his arrest does Jesus assume the role of an active protagonist. He becomes the passive victim of brutality, mockery, deception and irony from his tormentors, leading to his total humiliation. This particular choice

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 248.

stimulates variety of transformations, starting from external elements, movements, shades of colors and postures and reaching an inner emotional climax. This latter is actuated in the utmost depths of Christ's soul with the inner ferment of the conflict between his divine and human natures resulting in the supreme transformation, from man to God.

However, beyond that, an experienced narrator and skillful illustrator have to create tension and maintain interest. Both narrator and audience need hint, an omen that something bad is about to happen. Suggestion is more effective than clear statement. In this case, we need the moment of anticipation, not the fateful resolution. Fear of the looming inevitable heightens the intensity, the threat of terrifying future events charges the scene with emotional content and the tragic character of the allusion becomes unbearable. Hence the artist wisely opts for episodes characterized by sense of danger. And danger in the climatic scene is imminent, approaching at the pace of the marching soldiers guided by the betrayer who will turn Jesus over to them.

As of now, I have never seen another icon depicting the same composition. On the contrary, the depiction of neo-martyrs during the 18th and the 19th centuries becomes dominant.⁸⁷ Their courageous resistance to the conquering infidel raised their public profiles, and, as result, their reputations transcended local boundaries and became of wider importance. In some cases they were depicted directly after their torture, before they were officially proclaimed saints.

Saint George of Ioannina was such a case. Viscount George from Tsourfli, Grevena, had been an actual person working for the Turks in Ioannina. He was martyred on 17th of January 1838 and officially proclaimed saint by the church two years later. However, his first icon appeared 13 days after his death. The painter Zikos placed golden halo around his head and instantly elevated the portrait to the level of worship icon. Here⁸⁸, the saint is depicted standing, wearing the Greek Orthodox apparel of the time, Greek kilt (fustanella) and red fez. He also bears pleated cloak, symbol of martyrs of faith, and holds palm branch, symbol of victory. An angel, at the top right, standing on clouds, offers him wreath of glory. The saint is placed in front of an architectural perspective, castle and other buildings, identified with the city of Ioannina. In the lower part of the icon, the first brief Synaxarium is recorded, where the reason for his execution is curtly explained: "... he who preaches the Christ as God incarnate is thus sentenced to death..." The visual and verbal explanation of the martyr's execution, as well as the painting of the icon, is an act

⁸⁷ Cf. Α. Συνδίκια-Λαούρδα 'Μια εικόνα του οσίου Νικάνορος', *Μακεδονικά*, 4 (1955-1960) p. 426-43; L. Syndika-Laourda 'Quatre saints loceaux de la Macédoine de l'ouest et de l'Épire et leur iconographie', in : *Actes du Premier Congrès International des Études Balkaniques et Sud-Est Européennes*, vol. 2, Sofia 1969, p. 883-898; K. A. Makris, 'Chalcographies grecques aux pays balkaniques pendant les XIXe siècle', *Balkan Studies*, 17 (1976), no. 1, pp. 47-48; Γ. Πετρήs, *op. cit.*, p. 75-88; Μ. Γαρίδης, Θ. Παλιούρας, 'Συμβολή στην εικονογραφία νεομαρτύρων', *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά*, 22 (1980), p. 169-205; Κ. Α. Μακρήs, *Χιονιάδites ζωγράφοι. 65 λαϊκοί ζωγράφοι από το χωριό Χιονιάδες της Ηπείρου*, Αθήνα 1981, pp. 45-46. Ε. Γεωργιάδου-Κουντουρα, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁸⁸ Μ. Γαρίδης, Θ. Παλιούρας, *op. cit.*, p. 177-179.

of political protest against the conqueror and is raised as an exemplar for the population under occupation.

This immediate depiction was painted on the initiative of the monk-priest Chrisanthos Lainas, who was linked intellectually with the martyr. However, his action implies that the standards ensuring the sacredness of representation were undergoing change. According to the dogmatic iconic rules, the basic criterion for the sacredness of an icon was authenticity.⁸⁹ The latter is judged by the age and diachronic character of an icon. Nevertheless, the theme depicted here was directly linked to contemporary history and it thus acquires clear character of present immediateness. This did little to hinder the dissemination and popularity of the work in the liberated Greek and northern Balkan areas, and it also inspired the invention of an array of iconographic types reproduced in icons, engravings and wall paintings.

Soon after the first representation of the figure of the neo-martyr, second type was coined combining the figure of the martyr and his execution by hanging (Fig. 12).⁹⁰ Saint George is depicted on the left, wearing the kilt-like Greek fustanella, holding cross and palm tree. On the right his half naked corpse is depicted hanged. Both figures are slightly twisted towards each other. In the Medieval context, the representation of the sacred theme had to be produced in such way that the pilgrim could recall what had happened in the past and see, at the same time, what God had promised for the future.⁹¹ Thus, the icon becomes representational symbol of what could be only indirectly experienced in the present. In other words, everything that the believer's memory recalls while worshipping the icon should have retrospective and at the same time prospective character. The space, visual and actual, lying between the imperishable saint and corruptible man, between the promise to be fulfilled and past history, is identified with the present. Thus, in the icon's present, time is expanded so that the past, the present and the future constitute continuum and the composition becomes diachronic.



Fig. 12. Petros Georgiou Protopsaltis, The martyrdom of Saint George foustanelas, 1842, tempera on panel, church of Saint George, Neraida village, Trikala (Prefecture of Thessaly), detail

⁸⁹ H. Belting, *op. cit.*, p. 4–11.

⁹⁰ This particular composition was painted by Petros Georgiou, Precentor of Ioannina Cathedral, on 4th of June 1842. The icon would become an exemplar for other reproductions of the very same composition. Cf. M. Γαρίδης, Θ. Παλιούρας, *op. cit.*, pp. 177–181.

⁹¹ H. Belting, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–11.

This simultaneous appearance of the imperishable together with the lifeless body is the source of the icon's power. The portrait of holy figure is traditionally considered to be symbol of presence and is placed higher than the narrative icon, symbol of history. However, in this particular work presence and history are in an open discourse. The equal representation of the two existential states signifies the body as the basic medium of comprehending the incomprehensible. In the orthodox East, in materialistic times, as Stoianovich⁹² acutely implies, the progressive perception of the world in sensate terms required for respective certainties regarding the bodily resurrection of the believer who chose martyrdom. Paradoxically, the depiction of the saint's body started to achieve the metaphysical aim of making the miraculous an experiential event.

In addition, it is no coincidence that the narrative character of representations depicting saints during the late Turkish occupation is emphasized. The dominant schema places the primary figure at the centre of the icon surrounded by secondary narratives reiterating incidents from the life of the saint, mainly the physical ordeals he suffered. The case of Saint George is unique in having the tortured and the restored body of equal weight and size on the surface of the icon. This emphasis on the body affirms new concept of the human self, indivisible from the body and the senses; both for the common believer, or the courageous martyr of faith. Besides, even the martyr is human, "one of us". Thus, the strength of the icon rests in the oneness⁹³ of feeling between the pilgrim and the figure depicted. The saint had lived in the very same conditions as the believers still did. The time point is six years after the founding of liberated Greece, something to inspire the inhabitants of areas still occupied with aspirations for their own revolution. Fearing spate of insurrectionary movements, the Turks responded with an increasing wave of islamization. This work was thus meant to cater for specific need; to become an exemplar of resistance and this required the beholder to be inspired to follow in the path of Saint George, utterly convinced of his own salvation. Thus, the role of the body lies in its perception as an element common to us all and the valiant believer that became saint.⁹⁴ This is the bond that keeps the community united. More than this, the body as the vehicle for this contact also serves as guarantor of the continuation of the present life in the after life. In the time continuum rendered on the surface of the icon by the painter, the body assures the believers that death does not cut off those who eschew this life for the afterlife.⁹⁵

Thereby, the authenticity of the sainted hero's icon stems from the different way the dogmatic iconic rules are apprehended by people who grasp the idea of the illustra-

⁹² T. Stoianovich, *op. cit.*, pp. 318-319.

⁹³ D. Morgan, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

⁹⁴ The depiction of the resurrection of Christ, appearing in the grave untouched by death and fully restored, appears for the first time in the 11th century. The Western type of resurrection would be imported to the East in the 17th century by the Cretan hagiographer Moschos, Cf. D. Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 71.

tion, by the painters, and general public experiencing the icons. Clearly, an icon worshipped amidst such political conditions is not exclusively an outcome of divine revelation. One way or another, icons have never been purely matter of religion. They have always been an integral part of society, part of the way society expresses itself through religion.⁹⁶ Furthermore, the production of icons embodies the community's concrete claims and as propaganda, serves politically driven purpose.

The political dimension was just one facet of these peoples' lives, and was matter of duty. The other side concerned the pleasurable and appealing aspects of everydayness that are worth stressing for other reasons. In icons depicting scenes of Evangelism and Births of sacred individuals, group of people is portrayed enjoying luxurious way of life. Regardless of the fact that these icons were of different provenance, common style prevails in the rendering of these themes.

The religious narrative is usually unfolded in private spaces defined by the way the floor was rendered in perspective. The secondary figures that gesture and move while taking part in the episode, are incorporated into spatial unity and locate the work within the human time scale. The architectural depth is characterized by eclectic elements, according to the conventions of the time, rendered in the familiar style of folk classicism. Similarly, the reuse of Roman and Byzantine architectural fragments in real life in the construction or restoration of religious buildings was common practice. In the icon of the painter Ioannis of Litochoro (Fig. 13), columns with Corinthian capitals are combined with contemporary rectangular windows protected by iron bars. The figures depicted use expensive utensils and incongruous furniture in baroque and rococo styles. These are the very same used by actual people of the rising bourgeoisie, living in spacious mansions (Fig. 14–15). This was social class made up of enterprising people engaged in trade and commerce, by the active members of organized professional associations, by owners of small factories, intellectuals and successful professionals in general, from Turkish-occupied Greece and the neighboring communities. These people ordered furniture and other items from abroad. According



Fig. 13. Ioannis Kafkos, The Birth of Saint John the Baptist, 1896, tempera on panel, church of the Holy Trinity, Thessaloniki, detail

⁹⁶ H. Belting, *op. cit.*, p. 3, 26.



Fig. 14. Dimitrios A. Zografos from Megarovo, The Birth of Virgin Mary, 1883, tempera on wooden panel, church of Saint Dimitrios, Parori village, Florina, (Prefecture of Macedonia), detail



Fig. 15. Dimitrios Lambou, The Birth of Saint John the Baptist, 1848, tempera on wooden panel, church of Saint Minas, Thessaloniki, detail

to records of the time, bronze candlesticks, glassware and beads were imported from Murano, writing paper from France and Genoa, as well as dye pigments for textiles (indigo, cochénille), wool from Holland and Venice, brocades and toys from Venice and ironware from Germany.⁹⁷ Along with these items, merchants and travelers introduced fashions regarding interior decoration.⁹⁸ Therefore, such household goods inlaid with gold, precious textiles interwoven with gold and laces, luxurious furniture, four poster beds with lavish curtaining, carved wooden seating, elegant lecterns and escritaires and spacious interiors that appear in the visual representation of Holy Births, reflect an ambience of grandeur that many Greeks had enjoyed since the 18th and during the whole 19th century; an ambience that the upper class must have been extremely proud of. Surviving records confirm the preference of wealthy members of the Christian community for woolsens from France. Whoever wore them, was “striking” in appearance, thanks to the characteristi-

⁹⁷ These items are included in the review conducted in 1751 by the Thessaloniki Consul Dimitris Choidas, q.v. K. Δ. Μέρτζιος, *Μνημεία μακεδονικής ιστορίας*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1947, pp. 345–347, 351, 363, 389, 393.

⁹⁸ I. Βασδραβέλης, *Ιστορικά αρχεία Μακεδονίας*, vol. Α', *Αρχείον Θεσσαλονίκης (1695–1912)*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1952, p. 530. Cf. K. Θ. Δημαράς, ‘Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός ...’, p. 36; Μ. Γαρίδης, *Διακοσμητική ζωγραφική. Βαλκάνια-Μικρασία 18^{ος}-19^{ος} αιώνας ...*, p. 9.

cally bright colors, even though people had got used to them.⁹⁹ Indeed, there is evidence that in some cases rich people were so ostentatious with their wealth that they offended public morality and brought down the strictures of the Church on themselves. In 1753 the Metropolitan of Thessaloniki threatened to prohibit entry to people wearing white furs (“ermellino”), “needlepoint belts, valuable silk garments and other decorative accessories”.¹⁰⁰

The love for these special items spurred efforts to portray them as precisely and naturalistically as possible. In essence, these artifacts manifest their owners' individual success and enhanced social status. Viewed from this perspective, the pilgrim has to be convinced of the golden embellishment of the sculptured setting, the velvet texture of the drawn curtain, the luxury of the textiles or the paper pages where the verses on Evangelism are written.

At times, the realistic visual approach regarding such still life subjects produces comic incongruities. For example, the Virgin Mary reads Gospel, printed book identical to the ones on the market, able to be bought by the icon's sponsors (Fig. 16). To expunge all doubt, the painter has taken pains to indicate the page numbering! The scenes referring to activities drawn from the pilgrim's actual life have to be equally convincing. The prudence of the maidservant bathing the newborn infant is characteristic; she covers her bosom with towel so as not to get wet. Such details eventually transform the revered icon into religious genre (Fig. 13).

By mixing aspects of his own reality with the religious narrative, the painter reveals his intention of rendering the sacred history familiar to the viewer. In these icons, concise execution is entailed, rather than dogmatic thoroughness. What dominates is the rendering of fine details, rather than the episode's religiousness, while the religious ceremony is overshadowed by festive colorfulness.

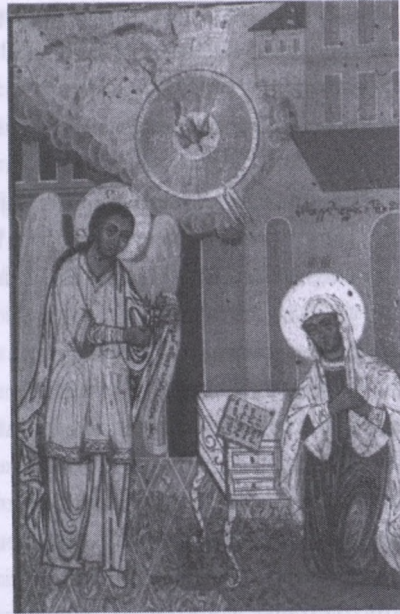


Fig. 16. Unknown, Annunciation, 1825, tempera on wooden panel, Cathedral of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki, detail

⁹⁹ K. Δ. Μέρτζιος, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

¹⁰⁰ In the rest of the document it appears that the very reason was the hatred of the dignitaries towards particular inhabitants of the city. The cause of the repulsion is that despite their wealth, these citizens did not contribute financially to decreasing the community's debt to the Turks and did not trade in the city they lived in, but rather operated in Germany. Of course, the envy was intensified by the fact that they were quite liked by the “inferior people”, as they were well educated and noblemen. K. Δ. Μέρτζιος, *op. cit.*, p. 363–364.

In contrast, there are paintings characterized by the simplicity of the depiction, the austerity and sobriety of the color range, and the rapidity of execution (Fig. 17). The works are reduced to the thematic essentials, and are devoid of any intention to thoroughly develop the motifs of the composition. The overall aesthetics of these works and the absence of signatures or inscriptions mark them as products of commercialized mass production. They seem to be tailored to the tastes of people from diverse social backgrounds, probably from peripheral regions, uninterested in any painterly elaboration. However, the icons manifesting quest for beauty and sophistication and need for os-



Fig. 17. Unknown, The Birth of Jesus, 19th century, tempera on wooden panel, church of Prophet Elias, Thessaloniki, detail

tentation, reflect the new, the secular inclinations of the cultural and aesthetic preferences of the bourgeoisie. As the bourgeoisie established themselves as permanent part of the social structure, they sought and established new kind of 'bourgeois' religious painting. The material items meticulously displayed on painted surface of the sacred icon reaffirm and support its owners' identity against the transcendent character of the theological work, and the political instability of actual life. In other words, the sumptuous luxurious icons of the newly sophisticated patrons provide tangible evidence of their status within the network of shifting social relationships.

Religious iconography never was, in any period, merely an expression of devotion aimed at superficially praising the divine.¹⁰¹ Especially since, in times marked by historical changes and intellectual controversy, like the late 18th century and onwards, compositions reviving older symbolic themes of dogmatic character keep appearing. Such compositions call for interpretation as purposeful and meaningful statements addressing their own era. The revival of the illustration of the *Tree of Jesse* over wide geographical area, theme exclusively comprised of the representative figures of wisdom, rationale and science, confirms the wide impact of classical times, known as ecclesiastic humanism. Its integration into the liturgical space of the church, which traditionally welcomes and promotes symbols, raises the compo-

¹⁰¹ A. Culter, 'Πας οίκος Ισραήλ: Ezekiel and the Politics of Resurrection in Tenth-Century Byzantium', *Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, 46 (1992), p. 47.

sition to the level of code of communication, whose content symbolizes other changes in that particular intellectual, cultural, social, political and historical field.

The phenomenon of re-appropriation of classical times during the whole 18th century was based on the idea in people's minds of being the inheritors of the classical heritage. While, on the other side, the religious theme primarily draws its meaning from its status as the genealogical tree of Jesus.¹⁰² Thanks to the emergence of this iconography period of searching came to an end, few centuries after the end of the iconoclasm, thus providing the most explicit pictorial documentation of the Christ's human origin. The frequent illustration of the *Tree of Jesse*, with its original meaning of the depiction of Jesus' forefathers, can be seen as substitute for an occupied peoples' desire to exhibit their own renowned origins dating back, uninterruptedly, to classical times. Indeed, through the epigraphs of the ancient wise men proclaiming the coming of the Saviour, we can "diagnose" the "annunciation" of the national redemption that would be realized through intellectual means. Shortly before the revolution, in 1819, Adamantios Korais published the 'Reflections by Kriton'. In the preface he writes about the "sacred despotism of the laws", which, "as rules agreed between all and for the rights of all", secure equality for all.¹⁰³ In other words, such texts are presented as tools for contrasting proper government and equality, with the persistence of the Ottomans' oppressive hegemony, supported by the Istanbul Patriarchate and their allies. Eventually, the plentiful reproduction of the theme with primarily prophetic content, the redeeming coming of Christ alongside representatives of remedial science promising physical restoration, signifies the believers' expectation and faith for dual restoration: national and spiritual.

According to the Christian world view, the world is perceived within historical perspective centered upon the birth of Christ. Hence, Byzantine iconography, driven by narrative impulse, turned towards painting.¹⁰⁴ In this view, the narrative, reflecting the very structure of Christian religion, constitutes vital part of religious iconography.¹⁰⁵ During politically charged historical periods, this narrative element becomes intensified. In the years before the revolution, painting was characterized by tendency to enrich the iconographic agenda with new topics inspired by the Psalms, Revelations and the liturgical chants, so that every scene comprised more narrative elements.¹⁰⁶ During that time, the hermeneutic literature was so important and voluminous that it became established and formed

¹⁰² Α. Καρτώνη, 'Μερικές αναφορές της μεσοβυζαντινής τέχνης στην Δαυϊδική καταγωγή του Χριστού', in: 1^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Αθήνα 1981, p. 38.

¹⁰³ Karkayanni-Karabela, 'Renaissance' et 'renaissances ...', *ibid.*, p. 149 Δημαράς, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός ...*, p. 12.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. H. Belting, 'The new role of narrative in public painting of the trecento: Historia and Allegory' *Studies in the History of Art*, 16 (1985), p. 151; Μιχαήλς, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

¹⁰⁵ Μιχαήλς, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

¹⁰⁶ Μ. Χατζηδάκης, *Έλληνες ζωγράφοι μετά την άλωση (1450-1830)*, *ibid.*, p.102, 107.

“hermeneutic movement” which was associated with corresponding movements of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation.¹⁰⁷

The fall of the Byzantine Empire caused general shock to the believers. It had been the most inconceivable and catastrophic event, whose interpretation was of vital importance; the only way to make the ensuing chaos bearable was by providing way of rationalizing the factual ambiguities and sustaining people’s emotional morale.¹⁰⁸ The vast majority of Greeks perceived the historic event as initiating the reign of the Antichrist and further, as kind of divine punishment of pedagogical character. Inevitably, the primary aim of the interpreters was to provide solace for the Church and its Orthodox flock during the harsh years of subjection and papal propaganda. Secondly, to provide the necessary moral, mental and theological tools for the Church and the people to stand fast and remain focused on Orthodox religion. On top of these, the aim of such interpretations was to help the believers grasp the meaning of their woe.¹⁰⁹ The interpretative narratives mediate between life as it is, and as we would like it to be, and would therefore gradually acquire an existential dimension and become the centre of thought and action of people and leaders.¹¹⁰ Organized around key concepts such as sin, punishment, repentance, redemption, they provided coherence and closure for the dark historical events that accumulate in our fragmentary actual world. Alongside this, as they acquired moral meaning, they allowed people to regain hope that things would soon radically change.

Religious art is traditionally considered to be the creative field that, for ideological reasons, is constrained by sacred and inviolable rules regarding the observance of dogma and therefore, the visual expression of its content. However, the changes that occurred in all aspects of life in the 18th century and after overturned these metaphysical restraints. The shift in the economic interest of Western Europe towards the Mediterranean, the Greeks’ need for direct information and modernization resulting from the Ottoman state’s orientation towards the West, the awakening of the Greeks and the sheer volume and intensity of their interactions with the West combined to create new intellectual ambience. In this frame, there was pressure on art to adopt new means of expression reflecting the progressive views of its patrons. Still, the significance of these innovations should not be equated with the mere import of Western means of expression, or their integration into traditional forms. Rather, these innovations should be perceived as part of an exploration of the role of the icon and, thereby, the exploration of the boundaries of creative freedom by the painter.

In the case of Moschos, the use of rational perspective combined with traditional counter-realism can be viewed as the coexistence of two realms: one defined by super-rational - supernatural forces coexisting with universe that sets its own laws regarding the construc-

¹⁰⁷ Αστ. Αργυρίου, *op. cit.*, p. 364.

¹⁰⁸ P. Fortini-Brown, *Venetian narrative painting in the age of Carpaccio*, London 1989, p. 3.

¹⁰⁹ Αστ. Αργυρίου, *op. cit.*, p. 377.

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 360–361.

tion of reality. These laws defined the conception of forms, their integration into the story's episodes and their artistic importance. Moschos creates his own pictorial scheme, rather than employing an existing one. Hence, his overall viewpoint, based on the unification of objective or rational views with non rational or transcendental ones, is no coincidence. It stems from the painter's insights and, as such, expresses his particular creativity in the artistic quest. Artistic values had traditionally reflected subjective faith in revelatory truth; this value system then became the subject of review. Art set the individual's imagination free, reliant only on its own power. Therefore, in the framework of the rivalry between tangible reality and supernatural truth within religious art, the personality of the individual artist became of new significance. Its importance lay in the appreciation of the artistic necessity to link rational or objective reality to the transcendental or counter-realistic one. Eventually, even the transcendental perspective became subservient to the mind of the individual and creative expedience.

Throughout the Turkish occupation painters never stopped depicting the Byzantine military saints, George and Demetrius. The equestrian saints killing the infernal dragon or an ancient foe threatening the holy city is common theme, thanks to its heroic, militant and revolutionary character. People were visually familiar with these figures, who also fulfilled certain emotional and psychological needs during the years of subjection, such as solidarity and sympathy. Thus, these themes were firmly established during the Turkish occupation and remained so after the Revolution.

The great majority of artistic production in liberated Greece comprised historical themes inspired by the recent history of the war of independence. In 1844 the Greek painter George Margaritis was honored by visit to his workshop by the then prime minister himself, John Kolettis, who commissioned from the painter and his brother Filippos "megalography reproduction", large scale portrait of the revolutionary George Karaiskakis. The importance of the event is evidenced by the politician's words to the painters: "Our heroes die and their children are vainly seeking for their images... Keep working because Greece needs its historical picture gallery".

Indeed, George Margaritis produced the tableaux¹¹¹ (Fig. 18) the same year, with the figure of Karaiskakis, sword in hand, dominating the scene and completely overshadowing the other fighters. He rides towards the left, mounted on rampant stallion rearing up on its

¹¹¹ The bibliography relevant to the table is: Στ. Λυδάκης, *op. cit.*, p. 81, fig. 119; Η. Μυκονιάτης, *Το Εικόσινα στη ζωγραφική. Συμβολή στη μελέτη της ζωγραφικής στον Αγώνα* (PhD dissertation), Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, Θεσσαλονίκη 1979, p. 58; Κ. Μπαρούτας, *Η εικαστική ζωή και η αισθητική παιδεία στην Αθήνα του 19^{ου} αιώνα. Οι εκθέσεις, η τεχνοκριτική, οι διαγωνισμοί, τα έντυπα της τέχνης, οι έριδες των καλλιτεχνών και άλλα γεγονότα*, Αθήνα 1990, p. 15.; Χρ. Χρήστου, *Η ελληνική ζωγραφική 1832-1922*, p. 25, 126, ; Χρ. Χρήστου, *Η Επανάσταση του 1821 και η ελληνική τέχνη, Πρακτικά της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών*, vol. Β', 69 (1994), pp. 180-181; Ν. Μισιρλή, *Ελληνική Ζωγραφική. 18^{ος}-19^{ος} αιώνας*, Αθήνα 1994, p. 208; Μ. Στεφανίδης, *Λεξικό Ελλήνων Καλλιτεχνών. Ζωγράφοι - Χαράκτε - Γλύπτες. 16^{ος}-20ός αιώνας*, vol. 3, Αθήνα 1999, p. 55; Α. Μερτύρη, *Η καλλιτεχνική εκπαίδευση των νέων στην Ελλάδα (1836-1945)*, Ιστορικό Αρχείο Ελληνικής Νεολαίας Γενικής Γραμματείας Νέας Γενιάς-Κέντρο Ελληνικών Ερευνών vol. 36, Αθήνα 2000, p. 150; Μ. Λαμπράκη-Πλάκα «Ιστορική Ζωγραφική» στον κατάλογο *Εθνική Πινακοθήκη, 100 χρόνια*.



Fig. 18. Georges Margaritis, *Georges Karaiskakis gallops on his horse towards the Acropolis*, 1844, oil on canvas, E. Koutlidis Foundation Collection, Athens

back legs, ready to trample the defeated enemy. Despite the furious action of the moment, the Greek fighter never loses contact with the viewer. Twisted to three quarters view, he stares out beyond the picture. The horizon comes down and touches the smooth curves of the terrain. Faintly apparent in the background, the Parthenon epitomizes the aims of the action and is thus raised to an emblem of the liberated centre and symbol of the war.

The representation of the hero is, unarguably, reference to the iconographic type of saint Demetrius (Fig. 19), who had become one of the most popular saints of the church. His military status and implacable resistance to the Bulgarian enemy threatening Thessalonica transformed him into timeless symbol of the military ideals of bravery, valiance and chivalry.¹¹² The historical painting comprises all the elements that actuate the religious representation. The rendering of the primary figure as singular element, either as revered icon honoring the saint, or promoting and eternalizing his personal achievement; the prancing horse, the fighter's posture, the gaze directed towards the viewer and the urban symbol of the city, protected by both fighters against the same enemy. Saint Demetrius

Έξοτεροι αιώνες Ελληνικής Ζωγραφικής, Αθήνα 2001, p. 214, fig. 29; Μ. Παπανικολάου, *Ιστορία της τέχνης στην Ελλάδα, 18^{ος} και 19^{ος} αιώνες*, Αθήνα 2002, p. 91, fig. 77.

¹¹² Τ. Παπαμαστοράκης, 'Ιστορίες και ιστορήσεις βυζαντινών παληκαριών', *Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, 24 (1999), pp. 222–223. For Saint Dimitrios, Cf. Ν. Θεοδοκά, 'Ο εικονογραφικός τύπος του αγίου Δημητρίου στρατιωτικού και εφιππου και οι σχετικές παραδόσεις των θαυμάτων', *Πεπραγμένα του Θ' Βυζαντινολογικού Συνεδρίου*, 1, (1953), pp. 477–488; Α. Ξυγγόπουλος, *Ο εικονογραφικός κύκλος της ζωής του Αγίου Δημητρίου*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1970.



Fig. 19. Nikolaos K. Papayiannis, Saint Demetrius, c.1893, tempera on wooden panel, church of the Archangel Michael, Aetos village, Florina (Prefecture of Macedonia), detail

was assigned single mission by the occupied people in Turkish dominated Greece, to protect his city forever. In the same way, by being eternalized, Karaïskakis plays similar role. In both cases the figures depicted become exemplars of war and national resistance.

Margaritis was prominent figure, and his selection by the prime minister was of particular importance. He studied in Paris and was one of the very first teachers at the newly instituted School of Fine Arts. In the early stages of fine art education, art was supposed to play prominent and defining role in the new society, in addition to its primary function: that of portraying recent history and undertaking political propaganda.¹¹³ In this new genre, the great fighters had to be dignified according to their contribution. In occupied Greece, due to the peoples' need for emotional succor at many levels the military saints were the most powerful exemplars. In the liberated central part, the goal of liberation had been fulfilled, and the most deserving place for its heroes was the one held by the holy figure in the most popular and familiar compositions. While this composition acted as code of bravery

and an exemplar in the occupied areas, in the liberated parts it was the most appropriate schema for celebrating the achievement and unequivocally recognizing it leading lights as popular heroes.

Interestingly, this is not case of resolving compositional problem through the appropriation of certain iconographic model. It is literally about the transition in the content, from the saint's icon to the fighter's portrait. The unrivaled and universal establishment of this model stems from the popular character of this kind of art. On the other hand, the influence of religious imagery in fostering people's faith and consciousness is so strong and the stereotypes formed so powerful, that they are re-appropriated, unchanged, in the context of new historical conditions.

Eventually, the juxtaposition of the two representations reveals that both the moving principal figures and the two versions of artistry tend to converge; convergence that lessens their temporal and visual difference. The historical figure becomes martyr of the nation. Contrarily, the saint sheds the morphology and spirituality of his Byzantine fore-runners, as his figure comes to resemble his contemporary believers-viewers. Both works

¹¹³ Μ. Λαμπράκη-Πλάκα, 'Εισαγωγή. Η γένεση της νεοελληνικής τέχνης. Κοινωνία – Θεσμοί – Ιδεολογία', in Α. Κωτίδης, *Ζωγραφική 19^{ου} αιώνα*, Αθήνα 1995, p. 15.

are distanced by about 20 from the year of the liberation, the icon predating it and the tableaux posting. Nevertheless, it is the work depicting the saint that bridges the distance regarding content and brings together the revered figure and the secular individual. In other words, the more that freedom was exercised, the more the military saints acquired the mien of everyday people. The further away from the historic day of independence we move, the more the protagonists in the struggle approach the realm of the sacred.

The religious icons were unconditionally accepted by the occupied population and constituted their main aesthetic stimulus. As "topos" of collective memory they also acted as "topoi" where the events of their era could be contemplated. The mechanism of perception in which these works were viewed was grounded on wide consensus, itself rooted in the psychological needs they met. Thus, this kind of art acquired crucial and contemporary meaning, contributing to the formulation of the inner being, as well as the construction of contemporary reality.

Approximating life was also carried out in other ways. The dogmatically standardized characteristics of the holy figures were either remodeled, by being drawn from secular individuals, or the images of the saints are treated visually more as portraits (Fig. 20). The female and male figures depicted in icons from the central parts of the Ottoman Empire (Asia Minor, Thrace and Pontus) follow particular norm; particularly the figures of young males, with short hair, wide forehead and receding hair at the temples, fashioning certain morphology that features the facial characteristics of the ethnic group (image of equestrian refugees). Accordingly, the old enemies of religious history are identified with the current ones, while executioners and torturers in the martyrdoms of saints are portrayed with contemporary ethnic characteristics alluding to the Ottoman conqueror.

As already mentioned, elements from contemporary rural and urban life, such as garments of that time and household items, are incorporated into religious representations. The saints hold delicate staffs, carry decorated golden encolpia and wear embroidered vestments, detailed depictions aimed at expressing wealth, stressing the solemnity of the theme and displaying the skills of the artist. Made of precious damascene, and decorated with floral motifs instead crucifixes, the vestments of the prelates copy the original forms of contemporary needlework and weaving. These particular types of artistic work show influences from both East and West, embodying Asia Minor and baroque motifs and were, more than any other, distinguished as works free from the dominating presence of tradition.¹¹⁴

The prevalence of supplementary elements, such as encolpia, staffs, utensils and household items, requires, in practice, the same level of skill as the rest of the themes. However, these themes are part of the painters' everyday experience and are thus treated in free and unhindered style. Besides, "it is easier for one to paint objects seen every day,

¹¹⁴ Δ. Σταμέλος, *Νεοελληνική λαϊκή τέχνη. Πηγές, προσανατολισμοί και κατακτήσεις από τον 16^ο αιώνα ως την εποχή μας*, Αθήνα undated, pp. 79, 86, 87, 88, 89, 100.

rather than objects that cannot be seen but with the eyes of the mind."¹¹⁵

The formation of the themes is directly related to contemporary needs. Furthermore, new kind of 'bourgeois' religious painting is created, encompassing elements drawn from the patrons' material reality. As result, the religious narration increasingly draws its "meaning only from the milieu that enjoys it..."¹¹⁶, that is, from the social, economic and ideological systems of the outer world. In addition, the presence of historical elements in the timeless frame of religious history, not only tends to reduce the distance between the icon and the reflection of their own reality, but also, even more, to imbue the latter with sense of importance.

Contemporary urban civilization was based on the exemplar of the optimistic and rational individual, orientated towards continuous development and evolution of wealth and culture; the individual that perceives the course of history as the unfolding of rational process aimed at actualizing the good. The man that, through this aforementioned change, expressed in religious works achieves reconciliation between the duality of matter and spirit.

Given this, it is worth noting that the very same people introducing secular compositions into monasteries¹¹⁷ and churches, and then to private dwellings free from constraints, still preserved and emphasized religious themes as the primary means of expression during the Turkish occupation. Why did these people, with their love of progress and their striving to modernization all the aspects of life – practical, economic, social and intellectual –, and who had the material resources required, the paradigms, the curiosity and preference for things new and prestigious, fail to establish prevailing new thematic category with purely secular content? Maybe it was because the existing iconographic form became re-conceptualized,



Fig. 20. Unknown, Saint Demetrius, 1840, tempera on wooden panel, church of Saint George, Thessaloniki

¹¹⁵ I cite Nicos Hadjinicolaou's expression, Ν. Χατζηνικολάου, "Το πρόβλημα της 'αυλικής τέχνης' και η ζωγραφική στην Emilia κατά τον 16^ο αιώνα", *Μνήμων*, 17 (1995), p. 11.

¹¹⁶ Cf. R. Barthes, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

¹¹⁷ In letter of agreement from the Xiropotamos monastery, dated in 1782, the Macedonia painters Konstadinos and Athanasios are invited from Koritsa to produce hagiographies, provided they are committed to show artfulness and diligence and foremost, promise that their story would be original enough to differ from any other hagiography in Mount Athos, Cf. Π. Γουναριδής, *Α[γία] Ι[ερά] Μ[ονή] Ξηροποτάμου. Επιτομές μεταβυζαντινών εγγράφων*, [Αθωνικά Σύμμεικτα, vol. 3], Αθήνα 1993, p. 128–130.

rather than new type of icon. Now, in the late period of the Turkish occupation this new conception did not merely combine the traditional belief in the icon as an artistic expression of the sacred. Rather, it literally transformed the icon into work of art.

As aforementioned, "artistic" and "non artistic" icons are produced at the same time, but directed towards people of different cultures and social classes. Despite their coexistence, it is apparent that the "artistic" icons are the ones that have preserved their prestige and importance. More than in any other form, the patron decided on the theme of the work and the norm to be followed. But the creator¹¹⁸ is the one responsible for the creative mode and thus claims artistic freedom. As long as the religious event could not have been experienced, the mode of expressing religious truth is matter for the artist's inventiveness. On the other hand, the expressive means and the predefined iconographic norms available to the painter are subservient to, rather than free from, dogmatic ideology.

However, in order to fulfill his desire to create an artistic illusion in parts of the composition, the painter, regardless of his capabilities, employed perspective. Even painting in oils, which was "adverse" to dogma, was not adopted, there was no hesitation in inventing techniques resulting in similar visual outcome. These initiatives were also of ideological significance and therefore eventually verge on an interpretation of religious truth.

Consequently, art became the driving force in all aspects of the work, replacing the dogmatically established dominance of the spiritual. Parallel to this, the painter's compositional and morphological initiatives show his control over his work, while the icon itself evidences his artistry. The aesthetic evaluation of the icon rests upon the elements where the painter displays his creativity, imagination and inventiveness. It is this aesthetic experience that allows for different view of the icons. The faithful and reverential votary becomes viewer and as such, he establishes new relationship with the artist. This relationship is built upon the consensus on the icon as an aesthetically attractive artifact, beyond its role as means to spiritual devotion. Given this, the viewer is not prompted to grasp the theme in its literal sense, but seek its aesthetic value and relish it. At this very moment the revered icon is turned into piece of art.

To conclude, either as an evidence of faith, or means for political propaganda, or even as work of art, these particular visual products embody all the aspects that portray the shift of the economic and ideological frame, the emergence of new centers of authority and the emergence of new social classification; that is, the aspects determining the contemporary conditions and the specific way of life. By playing this role, the icons encapsulate the community and its world. Safeguarding the substance of this world under regime of occupation, while it lasted, was the first and primary objective.

¹¹⁸ K. A. Μακρής, *Χιονιαδίτες ζωγράφοι ...*, p. 36.

Sacred Art in Ukrainian Art Studies of Lviv in the 1920s–1930s: Personalities, works, tendencies

Taras Stefanyshyn, Lviv

As science, Ukrainian art studies take form in the second half of the 19th cent, within the framework of such humanitarian disciplines as, archeology, history and ethnography. At that time Ukraine was divided between two empires: Russia and Austro-Hungary, and art research was viewed in the context of the so called antiquities and ethnography. The concept of antiquities was viewed as short chronological historic period, usually in the context of group of sacred monuments. In Central and Eastern Ukraine, they studied icon painting and architecture of the Kozak period (17–18th cent.), while in the Western regions, church art and church construction of the 15–17 cent was the focus. Folk arts and crafts were regarded in the context of ethnological studies.

In the second part of the 19th century, Lviv, which was the capital of the principality of Galicia and Lodomeria (part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire), became the center of scholarly development. The intellectual environment of Lviv came under the influence of West-European science and maintained constant contact with scientific institutions of Vienna. The growth of interest in ancient art became prevalent. First art studies of such Ukrainian authors as, D. Zubrycky, A. Petrushevych, I. Vahylevych, Y. Holovatsky, P. Skobelsky, and I. Sharanevych, had been published at the end of the 19th century. Monuments of ancient Ukrainian art that existed on the territory of Halychyna were also studied by Polish researchers, among them W. Dzieduszycki, W. Łoziński, M. Sokołowski. This period was known for intense art gathering, formation of collections, cataloguing, and documentation. Works of art, particularly sacral art, and especially icon painting, were regarded not only as antiquities or documents of the epoch. They were given scholarly interpretation in an overall-European context.

These tendencies were characteristic for science at the beginning of the 20th century, but they really gained momentum in the 1920–1930's. It was at this time that Lviv started playing an important role in the scientific life not only of Halychyna, but of Austro-Hungary at large, and later the Second Polish Republic.

Under West-European academic influences, (mostly German and Austrian), the Faculty of Art History was established at the Lviv University. It involved leading Polish scholars, such as: J. Bołoz-Antoniewicz, W. Podlacha, W. Kozicki, M. Gębarowicz and K. Lanckorońska. The teaching of historic and theoretical disciplines were conducted on high professional level, and this positively influenced the formation of the Lviv school, not only in Polish but also in Ukrainian art studies.

In the Art History Faculty of the university, many Ukrainian researchers received high professional education during the 1920–1930's. Among them: (M. Drahan, Y. Konstantynowych, M. Rudnycka, Y. Nanovsky, V. Svientsitska, and in later years they played an important role in the academic life of Lviv.¹

Given the socio-political realities of the day, Ukrainian scholars didn't have any opportunity to organize an Art History Faculty on their own. For this reason, academic institutions of Lviv consisted of the National Museum, and the Art History Commission, and the Cultural-Historical museum of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (SSS), whose members had started studying the art and cultural legacy back at the beginning of the 20th century. In 1928 Faculty of Art History and Museum were established at the Greek Catholic Theological Academy in Lviv.

Some of the noteworthy art researchers that worked in Lviv at that time, were: I. Svientsitsky, V. Peshchansky, J. Pelensky, V. Sichynsky, M. Holubets, V. Zalozecky, M. Drahan, Y. Konstantynowych, as well as archaeologists and historians, Y. Pasternak, I. Krypiakevych, and B. Yanush. The apogee of their academic activity, and their most important works were published in the 1920–30's. During this period Ukrainian scholars attempted to synthesize and generalize the collected factual material in Lviv as well as abroad (in Prague). The first comprehensive outlines of history of Ukrainian art, by M. Holubets, were published in 1918, 1922 & 1936/37, and by D. Antonovych in 1923.

In 1905 church museum was founded, which in 1911 became the Lviv National Museum. The founder and the museum's benefactor, Metropolitan Andriy Sheptytsky, whose goal was not only to collect and care for works of art, mostly icons, but also to conduct scientific and cultural-educational work. One can learn about the museum's active publishing and educational activity from the published reports of that time.²

¹ Свенціцька В., 'Михайло Драган- дослідник монументального мистецтва Західної України', *Записки ІІІІ*, 227 (1994), p. 187.

² At first these reports were published in Lviv periodicals, especially in the newspaper "Dilo" (Work). Later in the 1930's in the "Litopys NML" (Chronicles of the LNM), periodical which was started by Society of Friends of the National Museum.

Witness to the substantial historic research contributions by the museum collaborators of the 1920's and 30's are their publications.³ Among the cohorts of Lviv art historians, whose names have been associated with the National Museum, one should focus on the works of at least some of them. Specifically, I. Svencitsky, the co-organizer and long-term director of the museum, as well as his collaborators V. Peshchansky and M. Drahan.

Illarion Svencicky (1876–1956) was one of the first professional museologists⁴ and under his leadership the national Museum became the center of academic studies. In researching art, Svencicky focused on the study of manuscript ornamentation, engravings, and icon painting.⁵ As an art historian, Svencicky belonged to the so-called “old school”, whose main focus was the descriptive attributes of art objects. He collected and organized large museum collection.

Another representative of the older generation of Lviv art scholars that worked in the National Museum, was Volodymyr Peshchansky (1873–1926). He was an architect, art restorer and scholar, who was born and worked in Eastern Ukraine. In 1920 he moved to Lviv, and starting 1922, he worked as an art restorer in the museum. In 1922 he organized an exhibition of icons, kilims, embroidery, and paintings, which he later gifted to the National museum.

Mychailo Drahan (1899–1952), talented historian and art critic, started working at the National Museum in 1921, and in 1929 went on to work at the museum of the Theological Academy. In 1932 he defended his PhD in Art studies at the John Casimir University, and in 1939, returned to the museum. Drahan's research interest focused on ancient Ukrainian art, particularly sacral wooden architecture. He was the author of the graphic reconstruction of the Bohorodchany iconostasis⁶. The scholar's most important and fundamental monograph is dedicated to west Ukrainian wooden churches⁷.

The Shevchenko Scientific Society re-generated its activity in the 1920–1930's, and this facilitated art history research. The fact that leading Ukrainian art scholars (I. Svencicky, J. Pelensky, V. Sichynsky, V. Zalozecky) were admitted as full members to the SSS, attests to the serious regard the Society had for the study of ancient historical and cultural heritage. Very important was also the fact that the SSS periodical and serial publications always included articles, reviews and bibliographical data dedicated to art scholarship. It's worth noting, that the scientific journal of history and culture, “Stara Ukraina” (Old Ukraine),

³ I. Свенціцький, ‘Про видавничу діяльність НМ’, *Українська думка*, 128 (1920).

⁴ Idem, *У справах музейних збірок Ставропігії і народного Дому*, Львів 1929.

⁵ Idem, *Іконопис Галицької України XV–XVI віків*, Львів 1928; Idem, *Die Ikonenmalerei der Galizischen Ukraine Des XV–XVI Jhd.*, Lwów 1928; Idem, *Ікони Галицької України 15–16 вв.*, Львів 1928; Idem, *Ikonenbilder der Galizischen Ukraine XV–XVI Jhd.*, Lwów 1929.

⁶ М. Драган, В. Пещанський, І. Свенціцький, *Скит Манявський і Богородчанський іконостас. Збірки Національного музею у Львові*, Львів 1926.

⁷ Idem, ‘Українські дерев'яні церкви: Генеза і розвій форм’, *Збірки Національного музею у Львові*, 1–2 (1937).

which was published in 1924–1925, included research on the history of plastic art and architecture, whose authors were M. Holubets, I. Krypiakevych, V. Zalozetsky, J. Pelensky, V. Sichynsky and B. Yanush.

Josif Pelensky, (1879–1957), historian, archeologist, and an art scholar, was member of the older generation of Lviv researchers. During Austrian rule he was custodian of historic monuments. He was co-founder of the Commission on Art History, and was elected vice-chair of the Commission. In 1918–1920, he was Professor at the Ukrainian national Kamianec Podilsky University. Pelensky researched the art of Byzantium and monuments of Ukrainian wooden architecture. His main focus of interest was the art of the town of Halych, for which he dedicated separate publication. In 1920–1930's he published his research findings in Lviv newspapers and scholarly journals.

Volodymyr Sichynsky (1894–1962), an architect, graphic artist and art scholar, had profound influence on the art scholarship of Lviv in the 1920–1930's. Although he lived in Lviv for short time only, (1920–1923), moving to Prague (1923–1943), he taught in Ukrainian institutions of higher learning: the Ukrainian Free University, the Ukrainian Studio of Plastic Arts, and in the M. Drahomaniv, Ukrainian Pedagogical Institute. He defended his PhD in the Ukrainian Free University. During his "Prague period", Sichynsky never severed his contacts with the art and scholarly milieu of Lviv.

In the 1920–30's Sichynsky came to Halychyna quite often. He published his scholarly art works and articles, dedicated to both ancient as well as modern Ukrainian art. These would be published in Lviv newspapers and art journals as well as scholarly collections like "Ukrainske mystetstvo" (Ukrainian Art) (1926), "Stara Ukraina" (Old Ukraine) (1924–1925), "Mystetstvo" (Art), 1930's.

Both in Lviv and abroad he published series of monographs - works dealing with the history of Ukrainian architecture: "Wooden Bell Towers and Churches of Halychyna Ukraine, 16–19th century"⁸; "Architecture of Ancient Princely period, 10–13th cent"⁹; "Architecture in Ancient Publications"¹⁰; "The Architecture of St Yura Cathedral in Lviv"¹¹; he also researched engraving, "History of Ukrainian Engravings, in the 16–17th century"¹². As result of V. Sichynsky's pedagogical work, his "The Synopsis of World Art History", and collection of lectures, "Ukrainian Architecture" (1935), were published in Ukrainian institutes of higher learning in Czechoslovakia.

It's worth mentioning two more Lviv scholars, whose names have been almost totally forgotten: Yaroslav Konstantynovych and Bohdan Yanush.

⁸ В. Січинський. *Дерев'яні дзвіниці і церкви Галицької України XVI–XIX ст.*, Львів 1925.

⁹ Idem. *Архітектура Старокнязівської доби X–XIII ст.* – Прага, 1926.

¹⁰ Idem, *Архітектура в стародруках*, Львів 1925.

¹¹ Idem, *Архітектура катедр св. Юра у Львові*, Львів 1935.

¹² Idem, *Історія української гравюри XVI–XVII ст.* Львів 1937.

Researcher of ancient, and particularly sacred art, theoretician and art critic, Yaroslav-Bohdan Konstantynovych, (1893–1973), worked in Lviv in the 1920/30's. His critical art studies and reviews were published in Lviv periodicals. In 1936 he authored theoretical work: "Wychowanie estetyczne nowoczesnej szkole", (Aesthetic education in today's school). Of particular importance is his research of icons and the history and development of the iconostasis, especially those that survived on West Ukrainian territory. In the 1920's, while still student at the Lviv University, Y. Konstantynovych started collecting materials (documents, descriptions and photographs of iconostases). In 1932 he defended his PhD dissertation dealing with 17th century iconostases in Halychyna. He published his findings in German, thus starting series of monographs, "Iconostasis", however, by 1939 he managed to publish only the first volume in Lviv¹³. Unfortunately, large number of collected valuable materials have not been published, including photos and calculations. Eventually these materials were scattered and are now housed in museums, archives and libraries in Lviv and Sanok.

An archeologist, archivist and art historian, during 1922–1927, Bohdan Yanush (1889?–1930), worked as custodian of ancient art objects. B. Yanush was quite instrumental in fostering Ukrainian art studies in Halychyna. He not only researched and studied architecture and art, but helped many scholars attribute ancient art objects. He had particularly close and fruitful scholarly collaboration with M. Holubets.

Yanush was active in the Commission on Art History. He was one of the initiators and co-organizers of Lviv appreciation club, which was active in 1921–1925, whose members included M. Holubets and I. Krypiakevych. Yanush was author of collection of materials dealing with an archeological map of East Halychyna: "Pradzieje ziemi Lwowskiej" (Pre-history of Lviv Lands), (1913), "Kultura przedhistoryczna Podola galicyjskiego" (Pre-historic Culture of Halychyna's Podillia), (1914), "Zabytki przedhistoryczne Galicji wschodniej" (Pre-historic monuments of East Halychyna), (1918). He studied church architecture of Lviv's ancient princely period of Halych-Rus: St. Mykolai, St. Onufriy, and Holy Friday, and St. Theodore's church, which was destroyed in 1776. He was actually the first to start professional research of the architectural complex of the Armenian Cathedral in Lviv. The scholar focused lot of attention on art research of other ethnic groups living in Halychyna, as well as inter-ethnic cultural and artistic cooperation between Armenia, the Balkans, and Moldavia. Additionally, he studied wooden sacral construction ("Dereviani cerkvy v Halychyni" (Wooden Churches in Halychyna), "Dereviani cerkvy v okolyciach Lvova" (Wooden Churches in Lviv Region); as well as Armenian and Moldavian monuments in Lviv and Ternopil region. In 1926 he published "Przeszłość zabytki województwa Tarnopolskiego" (History and Monuments of Ternopil Region). This research the scholar published in Ukrainian in the journal "Zhyttia Mystectvo", (Life and Art) and

¹³ J. Konstantynowicz, *Ikonoostasys. Studien und Forschungen*, vol. 1, Lwów 1939.

“Stara Ukraina”, (Old Ukraine), under the pen name, “V. Karpovych”. During 1924–1925, B. Yanush edited journal “Wiadomości Konserwatorskie”, (Conservation News), to which his colleague, Mykola Holubets, renowned Ukrainian historian and art critic contributed as well¹⁴.

Mykola Holubets, (1891–1942), was renowned figure in the academic and art circles of Lviv. He initiated and organized numerous art and scholarly societies and associations, and was co-organizer of Commission on Art History at the SSS. He was editor and publisher of several cultural, scholarly-popular and art publications such as “Svit” (The World), (1917-1918), “Zhyttia mystectvo” (Life and Art), (1920), “Masky”, (Masks), (1923), “Nedillia” (Sunday), (1928-1931), and “Ukrainske mystectvo” (Ukrainian Art), (1926). He continuously published his art studies in the above journals, as well as in the newspapers “Dilo”, (Work), “Novyi chas”, (New Times), as well as in scholarly periodicals, “Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk”, (Literary-scholarly News), “Stara Ukraina”, (Old Ukraine), “Zapysky Chynu Sv. Vasyliya Velykoho”, (Notations of the St. Vasyliy the Great (monastic) Order).

Holubets effectively researched all chronological periods in the history and development of Ukrainian art, especially sacral art starting with the Halychyna-Volhyn period up to the West Ukrainian painters of the 19th – beginning of 20th century. He deserves kudos for being the first one to discover many of his findings. We can consider him the author of the first popular scholarly textbooks dealing with general history of Ukrainian art. Four editions of his sketches were published in his lifetime. The last one, chapter, “Mystetstvo”, (Art), was written by M. Holubets for collective work: “Istoria Ukrainskoyi Kultury”, (The History of Ukrainian Culture), in the 1930’s, and was edited by I. Krypiakievych¹⁵.

Holubets dedicated series of scholarly publications about art of the Halytsko-Volhynian period. Here one should mention the Mykolayiv church in Lviv, and particularly an article “Osmomyslova katedra v Krylosi”, (Osmomysl’s Cathedral in Krylos), published in 1937, and directly connected to Y. Pasternak’s archeological discoveries¹⁶. In it M. Holubets shared some important thoughts about sacral construction in Halych.

Holubets was one of the first to research ancient paintings of the Armenian Cathedral in Lviv. After they were unveiled in 1925, the art scholar published an article, “Vidkryttia serednovichnykh freskiv Virmenskomu sobori L’vovi”, (The Discovery of Medieval Frescos

¹⁴ B. Janusz. ‘Zabytki moldawskie we Lwowie’. *Wiadomości konserwatorskie. Miesięcznik poświęcony zabytkom sztuki kultury*, 2 (1924), pp. 52–64. Articles dedicated to church architecture of Lviv or icon painting, M. Holubets published under his own name, but more often under pen name – M. Eljaszewski. See: M. Holubec, ‘Cerkiew św. Mikołaja we Lwowie’, *Wiadomości konserwatorskie*, 2 (1924) pp. 46–52; M. Eljaszewski [M. Holubec], ‘Cerkiew św. Piotra Pawła we Lwowie’, *Wiadomości konserwatorskie*, 4 (1925), pp. 121–124; Idem, ‘Dział ruski Muzeum Narodowego im. Jana III’, *Wiadomości konserwatorskie*, 5–6 (1925), pp. 158–165.

¹⁵ Idem, ‘Мистецтво’, in: *Історія української культури: В 15 зшитках*, vol. 10–14, Львів 1937, p.p. 455–660.

¹⁶ Idem, ‘Осьмомислова катедра в Крилосі’ in: *Альманах “Нового часу”. Календар для всіх на рік 1938*, Львів, 1937, pp. 86–94.

in the Armenian Cathedral in Lviv), which appeared in the journal "Stara Ukraina", (Old Ukraine).¹⁷ This article, together with two other scholarly discoveries, became part of collection, "Halycke maliarstvo: Try statti", (Halychyna's Paintings: Three Articles), published in 1926.¹⁸ Second discovery in this collection deals with wall polychromes of the 15th cent. church of St. Onufri in Lavrov, (Lviv region). M. Holubets researched sacred architecture of Lavriv¹⁹, and indeed was first to discover and research the wall paintings of St. Onufri church. He discovered and cleared small fragment of fresco, which depicted the "Sobor Presviatoyi Bohorodytsi" (Sobor of the Holy Mother).²⁰

The research of the following period of Ukrainian art, M. Holubets presented in his first professional monograph.²¹ It analyzed the history of the Ukrainian icon workshop center in Lviv. It lists key materials as well as indexes of Ukrainian craftsmen – painters and woodcarvers. The scholar expressed some original and relevant thoughts about the specific qualities of the Ukrainian painting school of Halychyna, in the context of the Orthodox and Greek-Slavic world of the 16/17th century, and talked about the complexities coordinating local icon workshops of East, Central, and Southern Europe with that of Halychyna.

M. Holubets dedicated several monographic publications dealing with the sacred art and architecture of the 18th cent. Some of them, the book, "Dolynsky"²², and key article, "Maliari-Vasyliany na tli zakhidno-ukrainskoho tserkovnoho maliarstva XVIIv.", (The Vasyliany (religious order) Painters of the 18th cent, in the context of West-Ukrainian church art of the 18th century)²³.

M. Holubets' interest in the works of West-Ukrainian artists of the 19th – beginning of 20th cent. seems totally logical and reasonable. While researching "Sto lit halytskoho maliarstva" (Hundred Years of Halychyna Art)²⁴ the author gave retrospective view of Halychyna's painting. In this as well as in other publications, the scholar deals with the work of Korniylo Ustianovych and Modest Sosenko. Indeed major part of their legacy constitutes easel and monumental works of religious character.

¹⁷ Idem, 'Відкриття середньовічних фресків у Вірменському соборі у Львові'. *Стара Україна. Часопис історії та культури*, 7–10 (1925), pp. 119–126.

¹⁸ Idem, *Галицьке малярство: (Три статті)*, Львів 1926.

¹⁹ Idem, 'Лаврів: (Історично-археологічна студія)'. *Записки ЧСВВ*, 2 (1926), no. 1–2, pp. 30–69; no. 3–4, pp. 317–335.

²⁰ Idem, Лаврівська поліхромія, in: *Галицьке малярство: (Три статті)*, Львів 1926, pp. 84, 85–86.

²¹ Idem, *Українське малярство XVI–XVII ст. під покровом Ставропігії*, Львів 1920.

²² Idem, *Долинський, Українське мистецтво*, Львів 1924.

²³ Idem, 'Малярі-Василіяни на тлі західно-українського церковного малярства XVIII в.', *Записки ЧСВВ*, 3 (1930) no. 3/4, pp. 447–466.

²⁴ Idem, 'Сто літ галицького малярства 1804–1904' *Стара Україна*, 1925, no. 7/10, pp. 140–153; Idem, 'Сто літ галицького малярства 1804–1904', in: *Галицьке малярство: (Три статті)*, Львів 1926.

M. Holubets' familiarity with some of the best examples of ancient art, made it possible for him to analyze the religious art of his contemporaries, particularly such renowned artists as P. Kholodny Sr., P. Kovshun, M. Osinchuk, etc. In the 1920–1930's these artists were contracted and produced good number of works for Lviv as well as other churches of Halychyna. In evaluating contemporary religious art, the art expert placed significant importance on tradition. In his opinion, throughout centuries, tradition provided genetic connection, giving it national characteristics, and confirming its solid placement in the all-European cultural and historic progress. In addition to M. Holubets, V. Zalozecky, V. Sichynsky and M. Drahan also were involved in analyzing and evaluating contemporary sacred art.

Art historian, Volodymyr Sas-Zalozetsky, (1896–1959), was held in high regard and esteem in the intellectual circles of Lviv. He was graduate of the Vienna University, defending his Ph dissertation in 1922. In 1924 he submitted his thesis on Art History, thus becoming docent at the UFU in Prague. He taught at institutions of higher learning in Prague and Berlin. In 1928–1939 he was professor at the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Theological Academy in Lviv, and starting 1947, professor at the Vienna University.

At the Theological Academy, the scholar taught number of courses dealing with world and Ukrainian art history. As result of his scholarly and pedagogical activity, in 1934 V. Zalozecky's work, "Ohliad istoriyi starokhrystianskoho mystetstva" (Review of the history of ancient Christian Art), was published as separate issue in the series, "Praci Hreko-Katolytskoyi Bohoslovskoyi Akademiyi Lvovi" (Works of the Greek Catholic Theological Academy in Lviv)²⁵.

V. Sas-Zalozecky, renowned Byzantologist in the Ukrainian art circles, was considered representative of the Vienna school. As graduate of the Vienna University, he was under the ideological and methodological influence of esteemed Austrian historians and theoreticians of art, such as, Alois Riegl, Max Dvořák, and Josef Strzygowski. Zalozecky diligently introduced to our science the leading, for those days, European methodology, utilizing it in his own research of Ukrainian and world art culture.

The main focus of his interests were: Byzantium studies, wooden and stone sacral architecture, and the methodology of art studies, which were represented by such monographic works and scientific articles as: "Horyanska zamkova kaplycia", (Horyan Castle Chapel), (1924)²⁶, "Maliarstvo Zakarpatskoyi Ukrainy, XIV–XVIII st.", (Painting of the Zakarpatian (Trans-Carpathian) Ukraine, 14–18th cent.), (1925)²⁷, "Gotische und barocke Holzkirchen in den Karpathenländern", (Gothic and Baroque Wooden Churches of the

²⁵ Idem, 'Церковне мистецтво. Огляд історії старохристиянського мистецтва', *Праці Греко-Католицької Богословської Академії у Львові*, 13 (1934).

²⁶ Idem, 'Горнянська замкова каплиця'. *Науковий збірник товариства "Просвіта" в Ужгороді за рік 1924, 1924*, pp. 136–154.

²⁷ В. Zalozecky, 'Малярство Закарпатської України XIV–XVIII ст.', *Стара Україна*, 7–10 (1925), pp. 131–163.

Carpathian Region), (1926)²⁸, "Sofiysky sobor Kyevi yoho vidnoshennia do vizantiyskoyi arhitektury" (St. Sofia Cathedral in Kyiv and its relationship to the Byzantine architecture), (1929)²⁹, "Mizh Okcydentom Vizantiyeyu v istoriyi ukrainskoho mystetstva" (Between the Occident and Byzantium in the History of Ukrainian Art) (1939)³⁰ etc. V. Zalozetsky is an author of numerous art research, particularly dealing with Byzantium, which were published in prestigious European scholarly journals and encyclopedic publications. Thanks to him, good number of materials about Ukrainian art monuments were published in west-European journals.³¹ This in turn gave impetus to the formulation of comprehensive view of the spiritual and cultural legacy of Ukraine.

The first publications of Zalozetsky's art studies appeared in Lviv at the beginning of the 1920's. However, his articles published in 1925, received the most resonance because of the appearance of M. Holubets, and D. Antonovych's reviews of Ukrainian art. In these publications, V. Zalozetsky not only expresses very relevant and important critical comments, but offers his own concept and scholarly-methodological views regarding research of individual monuments as well as writing comprehensive history of Ukrainian art³².

From the very beginning, (end of the 19th cent.), Ukrainian art studies in Halychyna, traditionally had the main interest of the researchers focused on sacral art; particularly icon painting and wooden sacral architecture (churches & bell towers), as the most representative in spiritual culture. Therefore they were researched because of their high artistic value as well as for their ideological focus on national self-identity. In the 1920–1930's these tendencies and priorities although maintained, were however, significantly expanded in terms of their chronological boundaries and the scope of their diversities in art as well as architecture. Scholars began to study more actively the art of the Early Middle Ages – The Halych-Volhynian kingdom, as well as the Renaissance, Baroque, and the 19th century. The object of their studies became the stone sacral architecture as well as wall paintings and Lviv and Halychyna churches and monasteries, as well as those of Near-Carpathian and Trans-Carpathian regions. This period marked an increase in the study of ancient graphic arts, which was mostly of religious designation (the art of handwritten

²⁸ W. R. Zaloziecky, *Gotische und barocke Holzkirchen in den Karpathenländern*, Wien 1926.

²⁹ Залозецький В. 'Софійський собор у Києві і його відношення до візантійської архітектури'. *Записки ЧСВВ*, 3 (1929), р. 305–319; Idem, 'Zur Frage des byzantinischen Ursprungs der fünfschiffigen Kreuzkuppelkirche', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 18 (1929), р. 372–391.

³⁰ Idem, 'Між Окцидентом і Візантією в історії українського мистецтва', in: *Мистецтво і культура. Видання мистецько-історичного семінара при філософському факультеті Богословської Академії у Львові*, Львов 1939.

³¹ Idem, *Byzantinische Provenienz der Sophienkirche in Kiew und der Erlöserkathedrale in Tschernihow*, Wien 1926; Idem, 'Ikonensammlung an der Griechisch-katholischen Theologischen Akademie in Lemberg', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 35 (1935), pp. 70–77.

³² Idem, 'Значіння історії українського мистецтва ...', pp. 117–119; Idem, 'Дві історії українського мистецтва', *Стара Україна*, 7–10 (1925), pp. 163–166; Idem, 'Про задачі історика українського мистецтва (з приводу "Начерка історії українського мистецтва" М. Голубця)', *Літературно-Науковий Вістник*, 87 (1925), pp. 284–293, 88 (1925), pp. 34–43.

books, engraving, and old printing). There was an increase in researching the sphere of decorative and applied art, which was mostly associated with church-ritual functions such as wood carving – hand-held crosses, iconostasis decorations, goldsmith craft, embroidery of church vestments, etc.

In terms of methodological aspects, the history of Ukrainian art in 1920–1930's Lviv represented various scholarly orientations and tendencies – starting with antiquities and positivism to formal, stylistic analysis and innovative methodologies. A piece of art was no longer viewed solely as a document of given epoch, but was submitted to an iconographic, stylistic, comparative and formal analysis. The conservative approach dominated. Actually art studies were conducted according to formula, the basis of which was national ideology and positive methodology. A piece of art or architecture, artistic processes and phenomena, generally were considered in the context of positive cultural and historic methods from the position of determinism, in an unbroken unity with socio-political history. However, expressing national character in art, or considering Halychyna's icon painting as a separate, original phenomenon, as it was with research at the end of 19th and start of the 20th century, was no longer sufficient. Scholars started to analyze Ukrainian, especially Halychyna's art in wider context of European cultural, historic and stylistic tendencies. They attempted to trace the sources of inspiration and influence upon the character of the development of sacral architecture, icon and wall paintings. They were searching for explanations not only how art was evolving, but also why it acquired certain characteristics. Why it had remained relatively conservative, (for example Halychyna's icons up to the 16th century), while in other cases it was open to external influences (graphic art, secular painting, icon painting, sacral architecture, sculpture and decorative carving of the 17/18th century).

Generally, majority of the researchers, such as I. Svientsitsky, M. Holubets, V. Sichynsky, and M. Drahan, saw the uniqueness in the development of national art as creative reconsideration of Byzantine art, and later west-European stylistic tendencies, under the influence of local traditions. At the same time they were emphasizing the permanent pro-western orientation of Ukrainian art, as well as artistic influence, or the inter-ethnic cultural dialog of Byzantium, Greece, the Balkans, Armenia, Moldova, and Rumania. Therefore for V. Zalozetsky descriptive documentation, attribution, and classifications according to given style, was no longer sufficient. As diligent representative of the "Vienna School" he asks "why" Ukrainian art monument is so, and not different. At the same time he focuses attention on its formal as well as immanent, or its absolutely artistic qualities. V. Zalozetsky attempted to follow in A. Rigel's footsteps and establish the idea of "Kunstwollen". Using this principle he juxtaposed it with the cultural-historic method, but in reality to the descriptive determinism. He regarded the development of Ukrainian, particularly sacral art in the context of cultural dialogue between East and West. In his programmed article, "Between the Occident and

Byzantium in the History of Ukrainian Art”, he conceptualized his own idea of the genesis of national art. In the title alone, the scholar announced its basic principle, thus discarding Euro-centrism and basic pro-Western concept of development.

The discourse among scholars regarding the methodological aspects of research played an important role in the dynamics of the scientific process of the day. As positive result of this, there emerged change in the very paradigm of Ukrainian art studies, which in the first half of the 20th century had evolved from an amateur-educational to professional level as an independent humanistic branch.

Lviv historians of the 1920/30's outlined research difficulties encountered in Halychyna and Ukraine in general, with particular focus on sacral art. Their works identified the direction of scholarly research for future years, validating and safeguarding the urgency for researchers of generations to come.

Né en Roumanie, George Bala (1883-1934) fait ses études en Suisse. Il obtient le diplôme d'ingénieur de génie en il après avoir suivi les cours de l'Ecole Polytechnique de Zurich. Revenu en Roumanie, il travaille depuis 1897 en son service de vérification des Chemins de Fer Roumains (CFR); puis, de 1908 à 1911, à la Direction générale du Ministère de l'Intérieur, où il s'occupe de la construction des chemins et hôpitaux. Dès 1896, il participe aussi à l'activité de la société Polytechnique, ainsi qu'à l'Association des ingénieurs de Roumanie, dont il sera élu président plusieurs années à partir 1914. En 1911 il renonce à ses fonctions au service de l'état et consacre son temps à l'étude de l'architecture roumaine du XIV^e au XVIII^e siècles. Il est le premier à signaler la nécessité d'étudier l'architecture des pays voisins, qu'il analyse et compare avec l'architecture de Valachie et de Moldavie, les deux régions historiques roumaines. Il publie les résultats de ses recherches dans différents articles. Il prépare et publie en même temps une synthèse sur la Moldavie. En 1923 il est élu membre de l'Académie roumaine, section d'histoire, où il est le seul à représenter le domaine de l'histoire de l'art.

Pour ceux qui étudient l'architecture de Moldavie des XIV^e-XVIII^e siècles - qu'ils soient archéologues, architectes, restaurateurs, étudiants - l'œuvre de George Bala sur les édifices religieux de la province roumaine située à l'est des Carpates est la première à être consultée. Même si les trois volumes qui la composent ont été conçus et publiés pendant la première moitié du siècle passé - comme, d'ailleurs, son entière œuvre - même si, après lui, d'autres auteurs se sont occupés du domaine, *Les églises d'Irtyne le Grand, Les églises et les monastères moldaves du XVI^e siècle*, ainsi que *Les églises et les monastères moldaves des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* font partie de la bibliographie de référence. Ils sont indis-

1. Bala, *Monastère de Săpânța în Muntenia*, Bucarest, 1926; *Idem*, *Monastère de mănăstirea de moldavescă din cercul al XVI^e în Bucarest*, 1926; *Idem*, *Monastère de mănăstirea de moldavescă din cercul al XVII^e în Bucarest*, 1927.

Quelques notes sur la modernité de la recherche architecturale de George Balș

Anca Brătuleanu

Né en Roumanie, George Balș (1868–1934) fait ses études en Suisse. Il obtient le diplôme d'ingénieur de génie civil après avoir suivi les cours de l'Ecole Polytechnique de Zurich. Revenu en Roumanie, il travaille depuis 1891 au Service de vérification des Chemins de Fer Roumains (CFR) ; puis, de 1908 au 1911, à la Direction sanitaire du Ministère de l'Intérieur, où il s'occupe de la construction des cliniques et hôpitaux. Dès 1892, il participe aussi à l'activité de la société Polytechnique, ainsi qu'à l'Association des ingénieurs de Roumanie, dont il sera élu président plusieurs années depuis 1918. En 1911 il renonce à ses fonctions au service de l'état et consacre son temps à l'étude de l'architecture roumaine du XIVE au XVIIIe siècles. Il est le premier à signaler la nécessité d'étudier l'architecture des pays voisins, qu'il analyse et compare avec l'architecture de Valachie et de Moldavie, les deux régions historiques roumaines. Il publie les résultats de ses recherches dans différents articles. Il prépare et public en même temps une synthèse sur la Moldavie. En 1923 il est élu membre de l'Académie roumaine, section d'histoire, où il est le seul à représenter le domaine de l'histoire de l'art.

Pour ceux qui étudient l'architecture de Moldavie des XIVE–XVIIIe siècles – qu'ils soient archéologues, architectes, restaurateurs, étudiants – l'œuvre de George Balș sur les édifices religieux de la province roumaine située à l'est des Carpates est la première à être consultée. Même si les trois volumes qui la composent ont été conçus et publiés pendant la première moitié du siècle passé – comme, d'ailleurs, son entière œuvre – même si, après lui, d'autres auteurs se sont occupé du domaine, *Les églises d'Etienne le Grand*, *Les églises et les monastères moldaves du XVIe siècle*, ainsi que *Les églises et les monastères moldaves des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*¹ font partie de la bibliographie de référence. Ils sont indis-

¹ G. Balș, *Bisericile lui Stefan cel Mare*, București 1926; Idem, *Bisericile și mănăstirile moldovenești din veacul al XVI-lea*, București 1928; Idem, *Bisericile și mănăstirile moldovenești din veacurile al XVII-lea și al XVIII-lea*, București 1933.



Fig. 1. George Balș (1868–1934)

pensables aux chercheurs. Il s'agit en fait du premier, et seul, « inventaire » – comme son auteur le nomme plusieurs fois – des églises et ensembles monastiques du XIV^e jusqu'au XIX^e siècle, époque de l'apparition, de la consolidation, du florissement et de la « fin » de l'art de bâtir particulier pour la Moldavie.

Les mérites d'un tel exploit sont évidents. L'inventaire de Balș est composé selon un schéma général qui ne laisse de côté le moindre détail, la moindre information pouvant aider à une meilleure compréhension de l'architecture présentée. De ce point de vue, l'inventaire peut être considéré comme une « œuvre ouverte » : ouverte pour des futures recherches et nouvelles interprétations, ouverte aussi pour être utilisée par d'autres disciplines, même celles apparemment éloignées du domaine de la recherche architecturale.

De plus, si on peut affirmer qu'il n'ait rien perdu des qualités remarquées par les spécialistes à l'époque de son parution, il faut d'autant observer que – de nos jours – « l'inventaire » ait gagné en valeur. Plus le temps passe, plus on peut constater que les trois volumes sont devenus des « documents d'archive », ayant le rôle de radiographie de l'état des monuments pendant la première moitié du XX^e siècle. De plus, si on ajoute à l'inventaire le texte de ce qu'on peut considérer comme son introduction: *L'architecture religieuse moldave*, publié en 1922² – on s'aperçoit que l'œuvre de Balș est d'une frappante modernité. En effet, on peut affirmer – surtout par rapport aux orientations actuelles de l'histoire de l'art – que sa manière de « penser l'histoire » devançait son époque.

De là l'idée de cet essai, destiné à mettre en évidence quelques-unes des principales idées qui ont dirigé l'approche de George Balș, ainsi que la portée de cette dernière sur l'évolution de l'historiographie roumaine d'architecture. Si George Balș ne définit pas ce qu'il entend par « l'architecture roumaine », il explique néanmoins son attitude: « cette architecture roumaine ... se sépare en deux branches distinctes, l'architecture moldave et l'architecture valaque ... Cette séparation est surtout nette en ce qui concerne l'architecture religieuse. »³; et il insiste sur le sujet: « ces deux arts se différencient nettement, l'architecture religieuse valaque étant peut-être plus distante de l'architecture moldave que de celles de la péninsule balkanique » ; tandis que pour l'art moldave cela s'explique « par la plus grande proximité de la Moldavie des régions qui n'appartiennent plus au domaine

² N. Iorga, G. Balș, *L'Art Roumain du XIV^e au XIX^e siècle*, Paris 1922.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 309.

byzantin »⁴. De ce fait, il avance l'idée selon laquelle l'église moldave est « de plan byzantin, exécuté par des mains gothiques et d'après des principes en partie gothiques ».⁵

Sa conclusion est ferme. « Il n'est donc pas correct ... de parler, en matière d'architecture, d'un style roumain: si des éléments communs existent dans tout le pays, les différences sont plus nombreuses et profondes ... Il faudra donc parler de deux styles roumains, celui de la Valachie et celui de la Moldavie ».⁶

Or, une analyse du sujet lui donne raison. Même si elle est souvent utilisée, la syntagme « architecture roumaine » est plutôt un terme générique, couvrant une réalité géographique, une entité territoriale délimitée par l'évolution politique et non pas une réalité culturelle. C'est sûrement le motif ayant déterminé l'absence de définitions du domaine; on peut même avancer l'idée d'une certaine « méfiance » manifestée par les historiens de l'architecture envers ce sujet; une réserve explicable si on tient compte de la puissante immixtion du politique dans la littérature, même scientifique, de la deuxième moitié du XXe siècle.

Il est évident que la position de George Balș sur ce sujet se rapproche des notions aujourd'hui très considérées qui traitent d'identités culturelles régionales et de leurs frontières, souvent différentes des confins politiques. Les « deux styles roumains » identifiés comme différents par l'auteur roumain d'il y a presque un siècle trouvent facilement leur place dans le cadre de l'historiographie moderne d'architecture, si sensible aux nuances.

Ce constat nous conduit à un autre thème abordé par Balș, celui des foyers culturels ayant participé ou influencé la création des synthèses locales particulières, spécifiques pour ce qu'on va nommer « l'architecture valaque » et « l'architecture moldave ». L'évaluation contextuelle de ces architectures est une des directions de la recherche entreprise par George Balș et ses écrits nous le démontrent. Ainsi, dans le texte introductif de son volume sur *Les églises d'Etienne le Grand*, il consacre un entier chapitre à ce sujet. Et il s'explique: « Pour mieux comprendre la portée des influences, il faut d'abord analyser l'art de bâtir des pays voisins, mais parfois aussi de ceux plus lointains. En vérité, par rapport au pays de l'occident où les arts ont évolué dans un milieu plus homogène et en directe relation avec des régions, des tendances et des principes qui leurs étaient communs, nos pays se trouvaient à la confluence, au point même de conflit des civilisations très différentes. C'est pour cette raison qu'ils ont reçu des modèles des régions très éloignées et on synthétisé dans leurs édifices des éléments très divers et différents, ayant pourtant réussi à former ... un type et un style nouveau, notre style moldave. »⁷

Si ce regard au-delà des frontières est destiné à faire comprendre l'architecture de la Moldavie, il n'est pas moins utilisé par son auteur pour refaire le chemin parcouru par l'art de bâtir de Valachie jusqu'à l'établissement des traits d'une architecture spécifique. Les étu-

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 312.

⁵ G. Balș, *Bisericile lui Stefan cel Mare*, București 1926, p. 292.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 399.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 11-12; *Ibidem*, p. 292-293.

des qu'il publie avant et pendant son travail au volumes « moldaves » montrent un constant intérêt pour les zones ayant appartenu au monde byzantin qui auraient pu être des foyers culturels pour les pays roumains⁸. Et il faut constater que ses recherches ont été des points de départ pour d'autres générations d'historiens de la culture qui ont abouti à développer et approfondir les directions parfois juste suggérés par leur prédécesseur.

C'est dans ce contexte que George Balș essaye d'échafauder une structure de perception et d'analyse pour l'architecture des pays roumains. Et il énonce, utilise et approfondit l'idée d'identités culturelles propres aux certains « territoires de frontière », parmi lesquels il place la Valachie et la Moldavie, avec un accent particulier sur la dernière. Car, dit-il, c'est l'originalité unitaire des manifestations de l'art de bâtir qui explique le « grand intérêt que présente l'art moldave, comme celui, du reste, de tous les confins artistiques où plusieurs civilisations se rencontrent et où leurs pénétration réciproque plus ou moins accentuée soulève une série de problèmes des plus intéressants et dont la solution passionne le chercheur. Dans cet ordre d'idées, la Moldavie est une des régions qui mérite le plus d'être étudiée, parce qu'elle est une des celles où se rencontrent peut-être le plus de contacts étrangers. A la grande vague byzantine, déjà modifiée par des apports secondaires, vient se mêler le flot gothique, qui atteint ici, sur le continent, son extrême limite orientale. Par des voies encore non déterminées, ... viennent s'y mêler des influences arméniennes, caucasiennes, et puis, plutôt dans les détails, des influences turques, russes et occidentales, qui, dans la période de décadence surtout, arrivent à se superposer sans s'amalgamer. »⁹

Il nous faut reconnaître que l'idée a beaucoup de poids dans l'approche actuelle de l'art européen. Le temps des traités qui s'occupaient des « grands styles » et plutôt de l'architecture occidentale est passé et le « nouveau regard » embrasse de plus en plus la totalité des formes culturelles, artistiques, architecturales, même celles issues de « la province » ainsi que des « territoires de frontière »¹⁰. Le tableau devient plus grand et plus riche en valeurs et nuances, étant beaucoup plus fidèle à une réalité complexe qui dépasse toujours les schémas dont on s'en sert pour la présenter.

Une telle complexité doit être analysée, expliquée et présentée par des moyens appropriés. Et c'est dans ce sens-là que George Balș utilise le mot « influence ». Parfois synonyme de « apport culturel » ou de « emprunt », ce mot désigne aussi des situations différentes. Car l'auteur sépare les influences en deux catégories: celles qui ont été déterminantes par

⁸ G. Balș, *Une visite à quelques églises de Serbie*, Bucarest 1911; Idem, *Arhitectura Sf. Munte*, București 1913; Idem, *Mănăstirea din Nicopoli*, București 1915; Idem, 'Influence de l'art gothique sur l'architecture roumaine', *Bulletin de la section historique de l'Académie Roumaine*, 15 (1929), p. 9–13; Idem, *Influence du plan serbe sur le plan des églises roumaines*, București 1930; G. Balș, *Influences géorgiennes et arméniennes sur l'architecture roumaine*, București 1931.

⁹ N. Iorga, G. Balș, *L'Art Roumain du XIVe au XIXe siècle*, Paris 1922, p. 312.

¹⁰ Cf. T. DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister & City, The Art and Culture of Central Europe 1450–1800*, Chicago 1995; J. Howard, *East European Art 1650–1950*, Oxford 2006.

leurs apport à la genèse de l'art de bâtir en Moldavie et celles qui – en intervenant plus tard – ont affecté plutôt la surface d'une architecture déjà mûre et bien ancrée dans l'horizon esthétique et les aspirations locales. C'est cette finesse du jugement - une des plus grandes qualités de l'œuvre de George Balș - qui conduit l'auteur à des conclusions valables encore, constituant des points de départ pour des recherches actuelles.

Si j'ai dédié ces lignes à George Balș c'est parce que, comme aucun des historiens roumains de l'architecture ne l'a fait, il a ouvert la voie aux approches régionales, au « regards » obligatoires aude-là des confins, à la permanente remise en question de certains clichés érigés au statut de vérités indiscutables. De plus, il est le premier à démontrer le rôle des rapprochements culturels des différentes régions et époques, ainsi que leur portée sur la genèse et l'orientation de l'art, y compris de l'art de bâtir. D'une certaine manière, *Series Byzantina* est un hommage à George Balș et je m'y rallie.

Yaroslav Dashkevych was born on December 15th 1926 in a well-known Ukrainian family: his mother - Olga Stepaniv - an officer of the Austrian army (in the Legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen), and well-known scientist-geographer, his father - Roman Dashkevych - political figure, lawyer, organizer and a head of the army corps of Sich Riflemen. Dashkevych's love of the Orient and his interest in Oriental studies was of the familial grain: his mother during her studies in the faculty of philosophy of the Viennese university took, at the same time, courses in Arabic and Sanskrit; the famous Viennese Orientalists - the specialist on Arabian and African studies Wilhelm Christak and the specialist on Iranian and Caucasian studies Robert Bleichsteiner were good friends of the family.

During his studies into Ukrainian philology at Lviv State University Yaroslav Dashkevych attended lectures on Turkish and Chinese languages, and in his last two years of study took tests in these languages. In 1949 the young scientist was arrested and without being given access to a court and a proper sentence - according to the decision of so called 'Special Staff' - was condemned to 10 years of corrective labour camps. There, in his camp in Spaskey he became involved in the history and culture of the Armenians: in this camp there were many Armenians - from the Soviet Union, and the repatriates who believed in the Soviet propagation were allowed to return home.

On June 2nd, 1956, according to the decision of the Commission of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Yaroslav Dashkevych was discharged early, his criminal record was cancelled and the rights that he had been deprived of were restored.

After returning to Lviv, Armenian themes became the predominant research interest of Dashkevych. In 1960 he published his monograph «The Armenian colonies of the Ukraine in the sources and literature of the XV - XIXth centuries (an historiographic sketch)» which was his dissertation, defended in 1961 in Yerevan in the department of historical sciences. Following this, he continued fruitful work in this direction: producing hundreds of publi-

Yaroslav Dashkevych

Iryna Hayuk, Lviv

Yaroslav Dashkevych was born on December 13th 1926 into a well-known Ukrainian family: his mother – Olena Stepaniv – an officer of the Austrian army (in the Legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen), and well-known scientist-geographer, his father – Roman Dashkevych – political figure, lawyer, organizer and a head of the army corps of Sich Riflemen. Dashkevych's love of the Orient and his interest in Oriental studies was of the familial grain: his mother during her studies in the faculty of philosophy of the Viennese university took, at the same time, courses in Arabic and Sanskrit; the famous Viennese Orientalists – the specialist on Arabian and African studies Wilhelm Chermak and the specialist on Iranian and Caucasian studies Robert Bleichstainer were good friends of the family.

During his studies into Ukrainian philology at Lviv State University Yaroslav Dashkevych attended lectures on Turkish and Chinese languages, and in his last two years of study took tests in these languages. In 1949 the young scientist was arrested and without being given access to a court and a proper sentence – according to the decision of so called 'Special Staff' – was condemned to 10 years of corrective labour camps. There, in his camp in Spassky he became involved in the history and culture of the Armenian: in this camp there were many Armenians from the Soviet Union, and the repatriates who believed in the Soviet propagation were allowed to return home.

On June 2nd, 1956, according to the decision of the Commission of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Yaroslav Dashkevych was discharged early, his criminal record was cancelled and the rights that he had been deprived of were restored.

After returning to Lviv, Armenian themes became the predominant research interest of Dashkevych. In 1962 he published his monograph «The Armenian colonies of the Ukraine in the sources and literature of the XV–XIXth centuries (an historiographic sketch)» which was his dissertation, defended in 1963 in Yerevan in the department of historical sciences. Following this, he continued fruitful work in this direction: producing hundreds of publi-

cations until the middle of the 1980s, mainly in foreign (French, German and English) scientific editions because in the former USSR Dashkevych was a disgraced scientist included in the black list of scientists whose works were forbidden for publishing.

After the declaration of independence of the Ukraine on 01.09.1992, Y. Dashkevych was appointed as the chief of the Lviv department for the study (and publication) of early texts of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and in 1998 he became also the chief of the department of Oriental Studies in the Lviv National University, named after I. Franko.

In 1998 due to the initiative of the head of the Ukrainian diocese of the Armenian Apostolic Church, archimandrite Natan Ohanessian, Y. Dashkevych was awarded the order of St. Sahak and St. Mesrop for his assistance in encouraging friendship between Armenian and Ukrainian peoples.

The amount of armenological works of this outstanding scientist totals more than 200 titles: first of all there are works concerned with studying and analysis of sources, then works on sigillography, diplomatics, and linguistic works written in co-authorship with the well-known Polish Orientalist E. Tryjarski, for instance. In 2001 there was published a collection of all of the armenological works of Yaroslav Romanovych, which were published abroad (in French, English, German and Armenian languages). Approaching the final stages of its preparation for publication is the collection of all his armenological works which were published (and non-published) in the USSR and the CIS.

On February 25th 2010, in the 84th year of his life, died the outstanding Ukrainian scientist - the historian, specialist in the study (and publication) of early texts, the Armenologist Yaroslav Romanovych Dashkevych. It is difficult to overestimate his contribution to Ukrainian Armenology. He not only has kept alive a line of the well-known pre-war Lviv Armenological School, but also has created the Ukrainian school of Armenology.

Bibliography of Yaroslav Dashkevych

1. 'Иван Гануш как исследователь языка западноукраинских армян', *Patma-banasirakan handes*, 1960, nr 2, p. 142-149.
2. 'Джерела і література про вірменські колонії на Україні в XVI ст', *Науково-інформаційний бюлетень Архівного управління УРСР*, (1961), no. 6, pp. 70-79.
3. *Армянские колонии на Украине в источниках и литературе XV-XIX веков: (Историографический очерк)*, Ереван, 1962.
4. 'Армянская книга на Украине в XVII столетии', *Збірник*, 6 (1962), pp. 146-168.
5. 'Вклад украинской историографии в исследование армянских колоний на Украине,' *Тезисы докладов второй научной сессии, посвященной историческим связям и братской дружбе украинского и армянского народов*, 23-27.11. 1962, Киев, 1962, pp. 11-13.

6. 'Грамота Федора Дмитровича 1062 року: (Нарис з укр. Дипломатики)', *Науково-інформаційний бюлетень Архівного управління УРСР*, 1962, по. 4, pp. 9-20.
7. 'Ян Ласицкий и его очерк об армянах на Украине в 70-х гг. XVI ст.', *Banber Matenadarani*, 1962, по. 6, pp. 487-496.
8. 'Публикация документов из истории армянской колонии во Львове в XVI-XVIII веках на сборник документов Соціальна боротьба в місті Львові в XVI-XVIII ст. під ред. Я. П. Кіся', *Patma-banasirakan handes*, 1962, по. 2, pp. 215-216.
9. 'Публікація джерел до історії української школи у XVIII ст.' на книгу Труджарски Е. *Ze studiów nad rękopisami i dialektem kipczackim Ormian polskich*', *Науково-інформаційний бюлетень Архівного управління УРСР*, 1962, по. 1, pp. 73-74.
10. 'Schütz E. On the Transcription of Armeno-Kipchak', *Науково-інформаційний бюлетень Архівного управління УРСР*, 1962, по. 3, pp. 93-94.
11. 'Армянское книгопечатание на Украине в XVII веке', *Patma-banasirakan handes*, 1963, по. 4, pp. 115-130.
12. 'Друга наукова сесія істориків України і Вірменії', *Український історичний журнал*, 1963, по. 1, pp. 158-159 (with В. Р. Григорян).
13. 'Друга наукова сесія, присвячена історичним зв'язкам і братерській дружбі українського і вірменського народів', *Науково-інформаційний бюлетень Архівного управління УРСР*, 1963, по. 2, pp. 97-98.
14. 'Акіян Н., Цуцак гаєрен дзераграц Льові гамалсарані матенадарані архієпископосарані єв Стаїславові', *Науково-інформаційний бюлетень Архівного управління УРСР*, 1963, по. 5, pp. 78.
15. 'Вірменський історик С. Баронч як дослідник минулого України: До 150-річчя з дня народження', *Український історичний журнал*, 1964, по. 2, pp. 121-122.
16. 'Deuxième congrès scientifique consacré aux relations historiques entre les peuples ukrainien et arménien', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 1 (1964), pp. 471-475.
17. 'Les études arméniennes en Ukraine aux XIX-e et XX-e siècles', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 1 (1964), pp. 389-411.
18. 'Le 450-e anniversaire de l'imprimerie arménienne', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 1 (1964), pp. 469-470.
19. 'Ukrainakan patmagrut'yan nerdrume hay-ukrainakan p'oxharberut'yunneri usumnasirut'yan gorcum', *Telekagir. Hasarakakan gitut'yunner*, 1964, по. 6, pp. 27-40.
20. 'Акти вірменського суду Кам'янця-Подільського (XVI ст.)', *Український історичний журнал*, 1964, по. 5, pp. 143-144.
21. 'Рецензія Біля джерел стародавньої дружби' на книгу 'Акти вірменського суду Кам'янця-Подільського (XVI ст.)', *Літературна Україна*, 11 серпня 1964.
22. 'Парсамян В. А. Лугагаєри маснакцутюне Давіт-бекі апстамбутянне', *Науково-інформаційний бюлетень Архівного управління УРСР*, 1964, по. 2, pp. 89-90.

23. 'У истоков многовековой дружбы на книгу 'Акти вірменського суду Кам'янця-Подільського (XVI ст.)', *Коммунист*, 4 июня 1964 (with Я. Ісаєвич).
24. 'Akinean Nersēs 'C'u'ak hayerēn jeragrac' i Lvov ev i Stanislavov', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 1 (1964), pp. 436–438.
25. 'Katalog rękopisów ormiańskich i gruzińskich', Dział ormiański oprac. K. Roszko pod red. E. Słuszkiewiczza; Dział gruziński oprac. J. Braun', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 1 (1964), pp. 440–443.
26. 'Parsamian V. A. Lehahayeri masnack'ut'yunə Davit'-Beki apstambut'yunə', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 1 (Paris, 1964), pp. 459–461.
27. 'Petrowicz G. L'Unione degli Armeni di Polonia con la Santa Sede (1626–1686)', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 1 (1964), pp. 462–466.
28. 'Садок Баронч как собиратель украинского фольклора', *Patma-banasirakan handes*, 1 (1965), pp. 296–300.
29. 'Висвітлення українсько-вірменських зв'язків у літературі 1960–1964 рр.', *Український історичний журнал*, 1965, no. 10, pp. 130–137.
30. 'Вірмено-половецькі джерела з історії України', *Науково-інформаційний бюлетень Архівного управління УРСР*, 1965, no. 2, pp. 66–73.
31. 'Вклад украинской историографии в исследование армянских поселений на Украине', in: *Исторические связи и дружба украинского и армянского народов*, Киев 1965, pp. 57–63.
32. 'A. Lubelczyk et ses livres sur les Arméniens ukrainiens', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 2 (1965), pp. 375–381, fig. 41–52.
33. 'J. Lasicki et son essai De religione Armeniorum', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, Paris, 2 (1965), pp. 383–384.
34. 'Kipchak Acts of the Armenian Law Court at Kamenetz Podolsk (1559–1567) as a Cultural and Historical Monument', *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher*, 36 (1965), no. 3-4, pp. 292–310.
35. 'Grigoryan V. R. Kamenec'-Podolsk k'alak'i haykakan datarani arjanagrut'yunnerə žz dd', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 2 (1965), pp. 449–452.
36. 'Kamenac'i, Yovhannēs ' Patmut'iwn paterazin Xot'inu', *Ašlatasirut'jamb H. S. Anasyani*, *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 2 (1965), pp. 452–456.
37. 'Anasyan H. S. Štap grvac' mi graxosut'yan masin', *Lraber hasarakakan gitut'yunneri*, 7 (1968), pp. 81–83.
38. 'Mańkowski T. 'Orient w polskiej kulturze artystycznej', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 2 (1965), pp. 434–444.
39. 'Obertyński Z. Die polonischen Armenier und ihr Erzbischof Andreas in Jazłowiec', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 2 (1965), pp. 444–449.
40. 'Вірменське друкарство на Україні: (До 350-річчя виходу в світ першої вірмен. друк. книги на Україні)', *Український історичний журнал*, Київ 1966, no. 12, pp. 132–134.
41. 'Рецензія на книгу Рошкай Степаносі 'Жаманакагрутюн кам тареканк екецецаканк', *Архіви України*, 1966, no. 3, pp. 95–96.

42. 'Ціше видання про Хотинську війну' на книгу Каменаці Йовганнеса 'Патмутюн патеразмін Хотину', *Архіви України*, 1966, no. 3, pp. 93–94.
43. 'Roškay Step'anosi 'Žamanakagrut'iwn kam tarekank' ekelec'akank', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 3 (1966), pp. 470–477.
44. 'Zakrzewska-Dubasowa M. 'Ormianie zamojscy i ich rola w wymianie handlowej i kulturalnej między Polską a Wschodem', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 3 (1966), pp. 478–488.
45. 'Армянская колония в Каменец-Подольске в 50–60-х годах XVI в. Половецкие акты армянского суда 1559–1567 гг. как исторический и юридический источник', in: *Документи на половецком языке XVI в.*, Москва 1967, pp. 65–96.
46. 'Sur la question des relations arméno-ukrainiennes au XVII-e siècle', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 4 (1967), pp. 261–296.
47. 'L'établissement des Arméniens en Ukraine pendant les XI-e – XVIII-e siècles', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S., Paris*, 6 (1968), pp. 355–371.
48. 'Schütz E. 'An Armeno-Kipchak Chronicle on the Polish-Turkish Wars in 1620–1621', *Український історичний журнал*, 1968, no. 9, pp. 146–149.
49. 'Schütz E. 'An Armeno-Kipchak Chronicle on the Polish-Turkish Wars in 1620–1621', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 5 (1968), pp. 455–460.
50. *Українсько-армянські зв'язки в XVII столітті: Збірник документів Львівського обласного державного архіву*, ed. Я. Р. Дашкевич, Київ, 1969.
51. 'Армянское самоуправление во Львове в 60–80-х гг. XVII в.: (Протоколы армянского совета старейшин как исторический источник)', *Banber Matenadarani*, 9 (1969), pp. 213–240.
52. 'Вірменські колонії на Україні', in: *Радянська енциклопедія історії України*, vol. 1, Київ, 1969, pp. 313.
53. 'Договор Н. Торосовича с львовскими и каменецкими армянами 1627 г. как памятник армяно-кыпчакского языка', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 33 (1969) no. 1, pp. 77–96 (with E. Трыярський).
54. *Українсько-армянські зв'язки в XVII столітті: Збірник документів Львівського обласного державного архіву*, ed. Я. Р. Дашкевич, Київ, 1969, pp. 3–32.
55. 'L'imprimerie arménienne à Lvov (Ukraine) au XVIIe siècle', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 6 (1969), pp. 355–371.
56. 'Армяно-кыпчакские предбрачные договоры со Львова (1598–1638 гг.)', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 33 (1970), no. 2, pp. 67–107 (with E. Трыярський).
57. 'Армяно-кыпчакский документ из Константинополя 1618 г.', *Folia Orientalia*, 11 (1969), pp. 123–137 (with E. Трыярський).
58. 'Карматапенц Йовганнес (Муратович Іван) — вірменський книгодрукар', in: *Радянська енциклопедія історії України*, vol. 2, Київ, 1970, pp. 73, 314.
59. 'Кам'янець-Подільський у вірменських джерелах XIV–XV ст.', *Архіви України*, 5 (1970), pp. 57–66.
60. 'Матеріали по історії армянських колоній на Україні в бібліотеках Кракова і Вроцлава', *Banber Hayastani arxivneri*, 3 (1970), pp. 175–186.

61. 'Matériaux pour l'histoire des colonies arméniennes en Ukraine, se trouvant dans les bibliothèques de Cracovie et de Wrocław', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 7 (1970), pp. 451–465.
62. 'Le quartier arménien de Kamenetz-Podolsk sur les gravures du XVIIe siècle', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 7 (1970), pp. 465–472, fig. 1-8.
63. Schütz E., An Armeno-Kipchak Chronicle on the Polish-Turkish Wars in 1620–1621', *Народы Азії и Африки*, 1 (1970), pp. 182–185.
64. 'Два армянских документа XVII в. из львовских коллекций', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 35 (1971), no. 1, pp. 77–110 (with E Слушкевич).
65. 'Проф. Эугениуш Слушкевич: (К 70-летию пол. арменоведа)', *Patma-banasirakan hands*, 3 (1971), pp. 300–301.
66. 'Розселення вірменів на Україні в XI–XVIII ст.', *Український історико-географічний збірник*, 1 (1971), pp. 150–181.
67. 'Сходознавець Тимофій Іванович Грунін', *Архіви України*, (1971), no. 1, p. 16.
68. 'Tryjarski E. 'Dictionnaire arméno-kiptchak d'après trois manuscrits des collections viennoises', *Архіви України*, 1971, no. 3, pp. 98–99.
69. 'Les historiens arméniens en Ukraine au XVIIIe siècle', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 9 (1972), pp. 385–424.
70. 'Tryjarski E. 'Dictionnaire arméno-kiptchak d'après trois manuscrits des collections viennoises', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 9 (1972), pp. 466–470.
71. 'Армяно-кыпчакская надпись из Львова (1609 г.) и вопросы изучения средневековых памятников армянской эпиграфики', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 35 (1973), no. 2, pp. 123–135 (with E. Трыярський).
72. 'La plus ancienne étape dans les contacts ethno-culturels entre l'Arménie et la Ruthénie pendant les IXe et Xlle siècles', *Résumés des communications: XXIX Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Paris, 1973, pp. 39–40.
73. 'Армяно-кыпчакские долговые обязательства из Эдирне (1609г.) и Львова (1615 г.)', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 37 (1974), no. 1, pp. 49–60 (with E. Трыярський).
74. 'Армяно-кыпчакское завещание из Львова 1617 г. и современный ему польский перевод', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 36 (1974), pp. 119–131 (with E. Трыярський).
75. 'Армянские общественные печати на Украине (XVI–XVII вв.)', *Banber Matenadarani*, 11 (1973), pp. 233–251.
76. 'Симеон дпир Легаци – кто он?', *Anantapāram kila śabdaśāstram*, in: *Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Eugeniusza Śluszkiewicza*, Warszawa, 1974, pp. 65–77.
77. 'Les Arméniens à Kiev (jusqu'à 1240): Première partie', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 10 (1973–1974), pp. 305–358.
78. 'Амирян С. Г., Армяно-українські літературні зв'язи', *Patma-banasirakan hands*, 1974, no. 1, pp. 239–241.
79. 'Istoričeskíe svyazi i družba ukraïnskogo i armyanskogo narodov', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 10 (1973–1974), pp. 385–392.

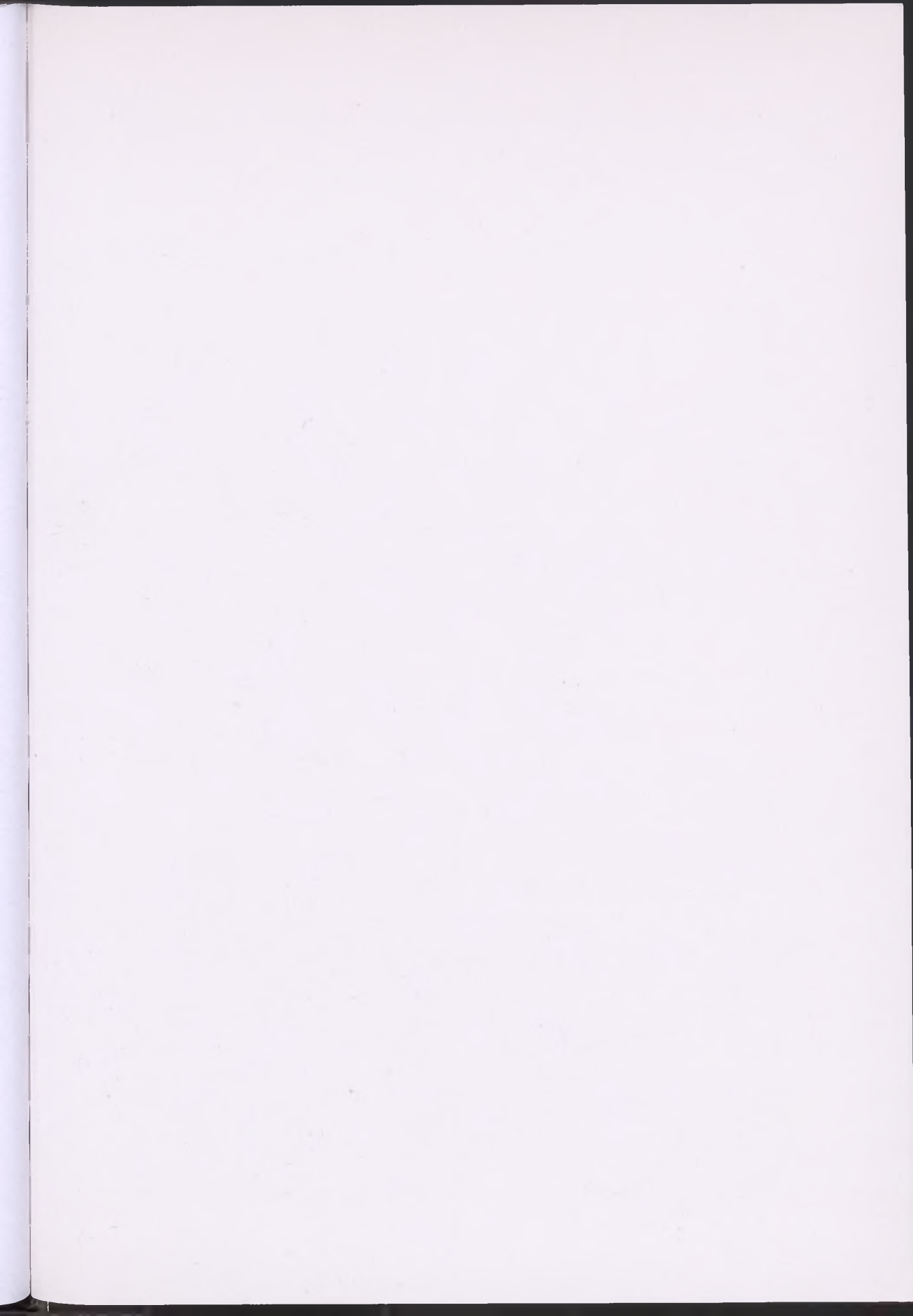
80. 'Oleś M. 'The Armenian Law in the Polish Kingdom (1356–1519): A juridical and historical study, Foreword by Ch. De Clercq', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S., Paris*, 10 (1973–1974), pp. 392–399.
81. 'Tryjarski E. 'Dictionnaire arméno-kiptchak d'après trois manuscrits des collections viennoises', *Советская тюркология*, 1 (1974), pp. 103–105 (with В. Й. Филопенко).
82. 'Древнейший армяно-кыпчакский документ из львовских коллекций (1583 г.) и изучение билингв предбрачных договоров львовских армян', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 37 (1975), no. 2, pp. 33–47 (with Е. Трыярський).
83. 'Первый армянский книгопечатник на Украине Ованнес Карматанянц', *Patma-banasirakan handes*, 1976, no. 1, pp. 221–233.
84. 'Устав армянской общины в Каменце-Подольском 1616 г.', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 38 (1976), pp. 101–109.
85. 'Les Arméniens à Kiev (jusqu'à 1240): Deuxième partie', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 11 (1975–1976), pp. 323–375.
86. 'Balç'er O. M.; Bembus M.; Berežani; Bišof F.; Brodi', *Haykakan sovetakan hanragitaran*, 1976, no. 2, pp. 237, 387, 421, 441, 571–572.
87. 'Amirian S. G., Armiano-ukrainiskie litěraturnyě svyazi', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 11 (1975–1976), pp. 400–403.
88. 'До історії українського г. (Графема г у вірменській передачі першої половини XIII ст.)', *Slavia*, 1977, no. 3, pp. 227–235.
89. 'Историко-демографическое изучение армянской миграции на Украине (XI–XVIII вв.)', *Тезисы докладов Второго Всесоюзного семинара по исторической демографии*, Рига 1977, pp. 107–109.
90. 'Львовские армяно-кыпчакские документы XVI–XVII вв. как исторический источник', *Patma-banasirakan handes*, 1977, no. 2, pp. 151–176.
91. 'Simeon dpir Leahç'i. Qui est-il?', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 12 (1977), pp. 347–364.
92. 'Армяне Украины: Итоги и задачи этнографического изучения', in: *Тезисы докладов Всесоюзной сессии, посвященной итогам полевых этнографических и антропологических исследований 1976–1977 гг.*, 1978, pp. 29–31.
93. Я. Дашкевич, 'Армяно-кыпчакские денежные документы из Львова (конец XVII в. – 1675 г.)', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 40 (1978), no. 1, pp. 49–69 (with Е. Трыярський).
94. 'Здзислав Обертыньский (1894–1978)', *Patma-banasirakan handes*, Erevan, 1978, no. 2, pp. 283–284.
95. 'Пять армяно-кыпчакских документов из львовских коллекций (1599–1669 гг.)', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 39 (1978), no. 1, pp. 85–132.
96. 'Армяно-кыпчакский язык: Библиография литературы. 1802–1977', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 40 (1979), no. 2, pp. 79–86.
97. 'Три армяно-кыпчакских записи Львовского армянского духовного суда 1625 г.', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 41 (1979), no. 1, pp. 57–80.

98. 'Lvovi ev Kamenec' - Podolski 14-17rd d.d. хаџ'k'arere', in: *Hayastani mšakuyt'i ev arvesti problemnerin nvirvac hanrapetakan č'orrord gitakan konferans. Jekuc'umneri*, Erevan 1979, pp. 29-30, pp. 190-191.
99. 'Le second voyage de Simeon de Pologne en Orient et les questions relatives a l'étude ulterieure de son héritage littéraire', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 13 (1978-1979), pp. 354-360.
100. 'Армяно-кыпчакский язык XV-XVII вв. в освещении современников', in: *Тезисы докладов и сообщений III Всесоюзной тюркологической конференции, Ташкент, 10-12 сентября 1980 г.*, Ташкент 1980, pp. 61-62.
101. 'Армянские рельефные кресты Львова и Каменца-Подольского XIV-XVII вв.', *Patmbanasirakan handes*, 1980, no. 3, pp. 125-145.
102. 'Армянские частные печати на Украине (XIV-XVIII вв.)', *Banber Matenadarani*, 13 (1980), pp. 139-191.
103. 'Armenians in the Ukraine at the Time of Hetman Bohdan Xmel'nyč'kyj (1648-1657)', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 3/4 (1979-1980), no. 1, pp. 166-188.
104. 'Армяно-кыпчакский язык XV-XVII вв. в освещении современников: (Об использовании экстралингвистических данных для истории тюркских языков)', *Вопросы языкознания*, 5 (1981), pp. 79-92.
105. 'La Chronique de Pologne' - un monument arméno-kiptehak de la première moitié du XVIe siècle', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 42 (1981), no. 1, pp. 5-26 (with E. Tryjarski).
106. 'Les marchandises arméniennes en Ukraine, Pologne et Lituanie au XVIIe siècle', *Revue Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 15 (1981), pp. 341-354.
107. 'Hay cartapetut'yan anhaya hušarcanner Ukrainayum (13-17rd g.g.)', in: *Hayastani mšakuyt'i ev arvesti problemnerin nvirvac hanrapetakan hingerd gitakan konferans. Jekuc'umneri t'ezer*, Erevan, 12-16 hoktemberi 1982 t., Erevan 1982, pp. 66-67, 305-306.
108. 'Who Are Armeno-Kipchaks?: (On the Ethnical Substrate of Armenian Colonies in the Ukraine)', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 16 (1982), pp. 357-416.
109. 'Армяно-кыпчакский язык: этапы истории', *Вопросы языкознания*, 1983, no. 1, pp. 91-107.
110. 'Une nouvelle histoire des Arméniens en Pologne', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 17 (1983), pp. 643-653.
111. 'Древняя Русь и Армения в общественно-политических связях XI-XIII вв.: (Источники исследования темы)', in: *Древнейшие государства на территории СССР: Материалы и след. (1982 год)*, Москва 1984, pp. 177-195.
112. 'Каменец - еще раз', *Russia Mediaevalis*, 5 (1984), no. 1, pp. 7-19.
113. 'Ukrainayi mijnadaryan k'alak'neri haykakan t'alamasere', in: *Haykakan čararatut'yan problemner. Toros Toramanyani 120-a myakin nvirvac hanrapetakan gitakan nstaš'rjan. Jekuc'umneri t'ezer*, Erevan - Leninakan, 22-25 hoktemberi 1984 t., Erevan 1984, pp. 9-10, pp. 78-80.
114. 'Вислобоцький Юліан-Антін Васильович; Карматапянц Ованнес; Павенцький Антін Якович', *Матеріали до біобібліографічного словника діячів української книги*, Київ 1985, pp. 1-2, 3-4, 7.

115. Л. Дашкевич, Я. Дашкевич, 'Искусство армян Украины XIII - XVII веков: (Проблемы и перспективы изучения)', *Тезисы докладов Четвертого Международного симпозиума по армянскому искусству*, Ереван, 11-17 сентября 1985 г., Ереван 1985, pp. 102-104.
116. Y. Dushkevych, 'L'art des Arméniens d'Ukraine du XIII-XVII-e siècle: (Problèmes et perspectives d'études)', *Theses of reports of the Fourth International Symposium on Armenian Art, Yerevan, September 11-17, 1985*, Yerevan 1985, pp. 81-83.
117. 'Codex Cumanicus - вопросы возникновения', *Вопросы языкознания*, Москва, 1985, no. 4, pp. 72-83.
118. 'Армяне в Исландии XI в.', *Тезисы докладов X Всесоюзной конференции по изучению истории, экономики, литературы и языка скандинавских стран и Финляндии*, Москва 1986, vol. 1, pp. 139-140.
119. 'К средневековой сфрагистике армян Украины', *Banber Matenadarani*, 15 (1986), pp. 191-240.
120. 'Armenians in the Ukraine at the Time of the Cossak Uprising of 1648', *Journal of Armenian Studies*, 2 (1986), no. 2, pp. 43-61.
121. 'Les Arméniens à Kiev (de la deuxième moitié du XIIIe au XVIIe siècle)', in: *Armenian studies/ Etudes arméniennes: In memoriam Haig Berbérian*, Lisboa 1986, pp. 185-214.
122. 'Codex Cumanicus - вопросы декодирования', *Вопросы языкознания*, 1986, no. 5, pp. 79-86.
123. 'Zakrzewska-Dubasowa M., Ormianie w dawnej Polsce', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, Warszawa, 45 (1986), no. 1, pp. 127-137.
124. 'Армянские кварталы средневековых городов Украины (XIV-XVIII вв.)', *Patma-banasirakan handes*, 1987, no. 2, pp. 63-85; no. 3, pp. 48-60.
125. 'Символика и эмблематика армян Украины (XIV-XVIII вв.)', in: *Hayastani mšakuyt'i ev arvesti problemnerin nvirvac hanrapetakan hingerd gitakan VI konferans. jekuc'umneri t'ezisner, Erevan, 2-4 hunisi 1987*, Erevan 1987, pp. 119-21.
126. 'Les Arméniens en Islande (XI-e siècle)', *Revue des Études Arméniennes. N. S.*, 20 (1986-1987), pp. 321-336.
127. 'Русь і Вірменія. Конфесійні та культурні контакти IX - першої половини XIII ст.', *Євшан-зілля*, 1988, no. 2, pp. 1-19.
128. 'Codex Cumanicus - действительно ли Cumanicus?', *Вопросы языкознания*, 1988, no. 2, pp. 62-74.
129. 'Армяно-шведские контакты в XVII в.', in: *Тезисы докладов XI Всесоюзной конференции по изучению истории экономики, литературы и языка скандинавских стран и Финляндии*, Москва, 1989, vol. 1, pp. 49-50.
130. 'Три етюди з національної політики: I. Карабах чи Арцах; II. Про українсько-кримськотатарські взаємовідносини; III. Про опрацювання концепції розвитку духовної культури українського народу', *Кафедра*, 1989, no. 10, pp. 3-28.
131. 'La Chronique de Venise', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 46 (1989), no. 1, pp. 5-62 (with E. Tryjarski).
132. 'Армяне в Исландии (XI век)', *Скандинавский сборник*, 33 (1990), pp. 87-97.

133. 'Емблематика та символіка вірменів України (XIV–XVIII ст.)', in: *Клейноди: Записки Українського геральдичного товариства, Київ; Львів 1991, vol. 1, pp. 12–14.*
134. 'Мовсес Хоренаци и классики истории Армении в историографии Украины-Руси', in: *Тезисы докладов Международной научной конференции, посвященной 1500-летию создания „Истории Армении“ Мовсеса Хоренаци, Ереван, 1–4 окт. 1991 г., Ереван 1991.*
135. 'Русы и армяне: Контактные связи в византийском ареале (X–XIII вв.)', in: *Резюме сообщений XVIII Международного конгресса византинистов, Москва 1991, vol. 1, pp. 273–274.*
136. 'Вислобоцький Юліан-Аптін Васильович; Карматаянц Ованнес; Павенцький Антін Якович', Білокінь С. 'Матеріали до бібліографічного словника діячів української книги', *Бібліографія українознавства, Львів, 1992, no. 1, pp. 22–23, 25, 28.*
137. 'Давній Львів у вірменських та вірменсько-кипчацьких джерелах', *Україна в минулому, 1992, no. 1, pp. 7–13.*
138. 'Позасфрагістичні пам'ятки вірменської емблематики в Україні (XIV–XVIII ст.)', in: *Тези повідомлень та доповідей Другої Наукової геральдичної конференції, Львів, 19–21 листопада 1992 р., Львів 1992, pp. 28–29.*
139. 'Русь і Вірменія. Конфесійні та культурні контакти IX — першої половини XIII століть', *Записки НТШ, 225 (1993), pp. 167–184.*
140. 'Проблеми вивчення генеалогії вірменів України', in: *Тези повідомлень та доповідей Четвертої Наукової геральдичної конференції, Львів, 10–12 листопада 1994 р., Львів 1994, pp. 30–32.*
141. 'Карматаянц Йовганнес (Муратович Іван) — вірменський книгодрукар 17 ст., що працював в Україні', *Довідник з історії України, 2 (1995), pp. 16.*
142. 'Садок Баронч як історик-краєзнавець', *Галицька брама, 1995, no. 5, p. 6.*
142. 'Емблематика та символіка вірменів України XIV–XVIII століть', *Записки Наукового товариства ім. Шевченка, 231 (1996), pp. 258–277.*
143. 'Унія українців та унія вірменів: порівняльні аспекти', in: *Статті й матеріали „Берестейська унія (1596–1996)”, Львів 1996, pp. 74–86.*
144. 'Богдан Януш як вірменознавець', *Галицька брама, 1996, no. 21/22, p. 18.*
145. 'Вірменське друкарство у Львові 1616–1618 рр.', *Галицька брама, 1996, no. 21/22, p. 17.*
146. 'Ліквідація вірмено-католицької церкви в Галичині 1945 р.', in: *Матеріали VIII Міжнародного круглого столу „Історія релігій в Україні”, Львів, 11–13 травня 1998 р., Львів 1998, pp. 84–86.*
147. 'Документи з внутрішнього життя вірменської громади Львова кінця XVI – початку XVII ст.', *Матеріали засідань Історичної та Археографічної комісії НТШ в Україні, vol. 2, Львів 1999, pp. 151–154.*
148. 'Конфесійні та культурні контакти Київської Русі у IX – першій половині XIII століть', *Київська церква, 1999, no. 4, pp. 24–29.*
149. 'Типологія актів з історії щоденного життя Львова. (Вірменська колонія кінця XVI – початку XVII ст.)', *Український археографічний щорічник. Нова серія, 3/4 (1999), pp. 169–199.*

150. 'Вірменське самоврядування Києва в межах магдебурзького права XV–XVII ст.', in: *Матеріали Міжнародної конференції, присвяченої 500-річчю надання Києву магдебурзького права 'Самоврядування в Києві: історія та сучасність'*, Київ, 26–27 листопада 1999 р., Київ 2000, pp. 133–137.
151. *Привілеї національних громад міста Львова (XIV–XVIII ст.)*, ed. М. Капраль, Львів 2000, pp. 128, 151–152, 185, 252–253, 255, 267–268, 294, 297, 302–303.
152. 'Вірменська церковна адміністрація в Україні: початковий розвиток', *Східний світ*, 1/2 (1999), pp. 131–139.
153. 'Карматаняниц Йовганнес; Тетеря Павло Іванович', in: *Довідник з історії України*, ed. І. Підков, Р. Шуст, Київ 2001, pp. 288, 852–853.
154. 'Кам'янець-Подільський XVI–XVIII ст.: місто трьох гербів', in: *Міста та містечка в гербах, прапорах і печатках*, Львів 2003, pp. 75–94.
155. 'Початки вірменської церковної адміністрації у Львові (друга половина XIII–XIV ст.)', in: *Збірник 'Давній Львів'*, Львів 2003, pp. 43–46.
156. 'Вірменські метричні книги в Україні XVII–XVIII ст.', in: *Генеалогічні записки Українського геральдичного товариства*, 4 (2004), pp. 33–40.
157. 'Вірменський сакральний комплекс із часів княжого Львова', *Історія релігій в Україні*, 1 (2005). 202–210.
158. 'Геноцид як метод імперської політики: (До 90-ліття різни вірменів у Османській імперії)', *Розбудова держави*, 2005, no. 5/8, pp. 2–5.
159. '24 квітня 1915 року був даний наказ винищити вірмен...', *Поступ*, 2005, no. 90, p. 4.
160. 'Захарій Гамоцький – вірменин з України, дворянин у Швеції та його зустрічі з Богданом Хмельницьким (1655 р.)', *Збірник з історії українсько-шведських зв'язків 'Gardariki/Gardariki'*, Львів 2006, pp. 10–21.



*The Copies of the Series Byzantina will be available to order
from the oficial distributor:*

*The Boleslaw Prus Scientific Bookstore
(Księgarnia Naukowa im. B. Prusa),
Krakowskie Przedmieście 7, Warszawa*

<http://prus24.pl>

Jolanta Konicka: jola@prus24.pl



ISSN 1733-5787