

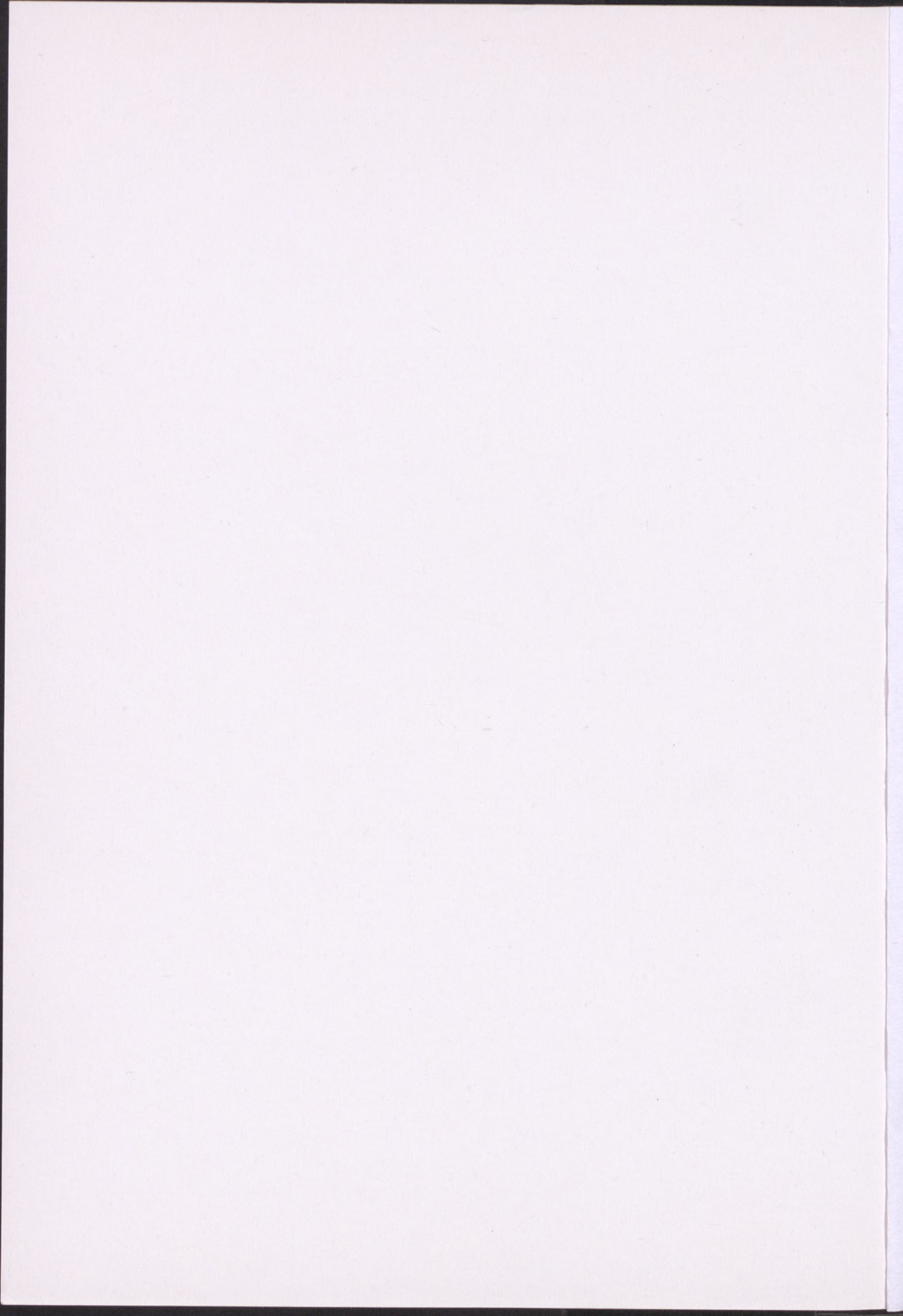
SERIES BYZANTINA

Studies on Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art



VOLUME XI

Warsaw 2013



SERIES BYZANTINA
SERIES BYZANTINA

Studies on Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art

VOLUME XI



Yves-Marie Hahn, Université de Caen
POLISH INSTITUTE OF WORLD LITERATURE STUDIES
CARDINAL STEAN WYSZYNSKI UNIVERSITY

Warsaw 2013

SERIES BYZANTINA



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

Contents

SERIES BYZANTINA

Studies on Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art

Articles

Agnes Białas, *„The Monastery of Saint Demetrius in Posada Rybczyńska, in which Saint Demetrius' monastery operated in Posada Rybczyńska, Poland”*..... 21

Severina Svetlana, *„The Model ‘Spinning discs’ – an Indication for Spiritual Connectedness and Artistic Influences”*..... 22

Jouana Tomalska, *„Supraclerical Problem of the Altar”*..... 23

Katarzyna Boyacka, *„Insignia of Roman Catholic Bishops Influenced by Byzantine Art. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century examples”*..... 24

Exhibitions and Discoveries VOLUME XI

Michał Wójcik, *„The Iconography of the Holy Trinity in the Church of the Holy Trinity in Kraków”*..... 25

Mirosława Piotr Trak, *„The Iconography of the Holy Trinity in the Church of the Holy Trinity in Kraków”*..... 26

5th April- 1st Sept, 2013 – remarks on the Old Rus' art..... 28

Ana Dumitran, *„Icons from Transylvania: Romania 2013 – European heritage”*..... 29

Maydalena L., *„The Iconography of the Holy Trinity in the Church of the Holy Trinity in Kraków”*..... 30

POLISH INSTITUTE OF WORLD ART STUDIES
CARDINAL STEFAN WYSZYŃSKI UNIVERSITY

Warsaw 2013

EDITOR:

Waldemar Deluga

EDITORIAL BOARD:

Anca Bratuleanu, Bucharest

Viktoria Bulgakova, Berlin

Ana Dumitran, Alba Iulia

Mat Immerzeel, Leiden

Michał Janocha (chairman), Warsaw

Catherine Jolivet-Levy, Paris

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, Anette and Denis Morin

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

Contents

Introduction (*Waldemar Deluga*).....7

Articles

Agnieszka Gronek, Difficulties in determining the period
in which Saint Onuphrius' monastery operated in Posada Rybotycka.....15

Svetozara Ratseva, The Mural "Spinning discs" –
an Indication for Spiritual Connections and Artistic Influences.....25

Joanna Tomalska, Supraśl iconostasis. Problem of the Attribution.....41

Katarzyna Bogacka, Insignia of Roman Catholic Bishops
influenced by Byzantine Art. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century examples.....57

Exhibitions and Discoveries

Michał Janocha, Commentaire du catalogue de l'exposition
« Sainte Russie. L'art russe des origines à Pierre le Grand ».....75

Mirosław Piotr Kruk, Exhibition "Czerwień – the Stronghold between
the East and the West", The National Museum in Krakow,
5th April– 1st Sept, 2013 – remarks on the Old Rus' art.....83

Ana Dumitran, "Icons from Transylvania: Romanian art – European heritage",
temporary exhibition opened in the exhibiting area of "1st December 1918"
University of Alba Iulia (Romania), during 25th April–15th June 2013.....105

Magdalena Łaptaś, The heritage of the Christian art and architecture
in Medieval Lebanon. Report.....109

EDITOR:

Waldemar Dalgaard

EDITORIAL BOARD:

- Anna Brandrup, Copenhagen
- Viktorija Bulgakova, Berlin
- Ann Dumbarton, Alba Julia
- Max Henning, Uppsala
- Rudolf Knapik, Bratislava
- Catherine Jullien-Lory, Paris
- Alina Kozłowska, Kiev
- Margherita Lapini, Warsaw
- Jörg Matzinger, Vienna
- Maria Nagy, Debrecen
- Anna Ostrowska, Warszawa
- Anna Ostrowska, Warszawa
- Anna Ostrowska, Warszawa

ADMINISTRATOR:

Waldemar Dalgaard

EDITORIAL ADDRESS:

Journal of Medieval Studies
 Department of Art History
 University of Copenhagen
 Niels Juelsgade 1
 DK-1454 Copenhagen N, Denmark
 Tel: +45 33 44 33 33
 Fax: +45 33 44 33 33
 E-mail: jms@hum.ku.dk

Contents

Articles

Agneska Grosse, *Differences in determining the period of the 'Mural Spinning Bees' in which Saint Catherine's monastery operated in 17th-century Rykyevka, 17th-century Russia*..... 27

Stefan Rössler, *The Mural 'Spinning Bees' - an indication for spiritual exercises and artistic influences*..... 37

Kateryna Bogacka, *Insignia of Roman Catholic bishops influenced by Byzantine Art. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century examples*..... 57

Exhibitions and Discoveries

Michael J. Brown, *Constantinople in Constantinople: A new exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*..... 67

Stefan Rössler, *St. Catherine's in Rome: A new exhibition at the Vatican Museums*..... 75

Miroslava Fricová, *Exhibition 'The Slavonic World between the East and the West', The National Museum in Prague, 26 April - 17 Sept. 2012 - remarks on the Old Slav art*..... 83

Ann Dumbarton, *Icons from Transylvania: Romanian art - European heritage, temporary exhibition opened in the exhibition room of 17 December 2012, University of Alba Iulia (Romania), during 25 April - 15 June 2012*..... 89

Margherita Lapini, *The heritage of the Christian art and architecture in Medieval Luban, Kępczyce*..... 109

Journal of Medieval Studies

Introduction

We present to you this new volume of *Series Byzantina*, in which we have introduced articles covering exhibitions and important scholarly events. This way, we wish to broaden the scope of the periodical. The present volume contains articles on post-Byzantine art, which enjoys great interest within the region.

Research carried out in northern Poland by scholars associated with the Academy in Supraśl and the Warmia and Mazury University in Olsztyn contribute to a better knowledge of the Orthodox art of the borderland between Poland, Lithuania and Belarus. Not worthy example are the exhibitions and conferences organized by Grażyna Kobrzeniecka Sikorska, where one of her recent initiatives was the conference held in 2012 and devoted to the presence of icons in the modern world. As such researchers into modern Christian art frequently revert to the Byzantine tradition and iconography.

Increasingly, scientific research in Poland revisits unearthed relics, discovered decades ago and which are either discarded or unexplored by scholars from other countries. The example is the exhibition of objects and relics from Czerwień, organized in Tomaszów Lubelski and Cracow and presented by Mirosław Piotr Kruk in the present volume. Repeated excavations carried out on the same sites where relics were found in the 19th and 20th century contribute to supplementation of our knowledge. This applies to the broad scale repeated excavations going on in Chełm, the town of Duke Daniel Romanovich, aimed at reconstruction of his residence. Archaeological works carried out since 2010 made it possible to study the Duke's residence once again; a small structure was discovered, probably a residential tower, that had been in use until the 14th century. At present, the excavations are ongoing at the basilica, a site that was last researched almost 100

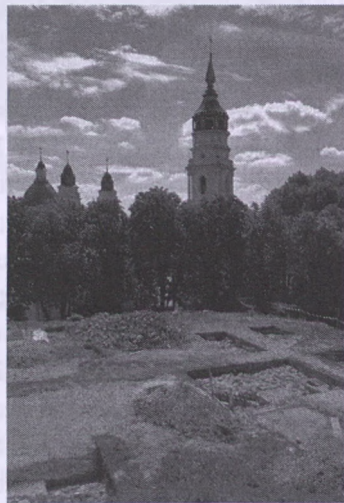


Fig. 1. The archaeological excavation in Chełm

years ago. Looking forward, Future work is likely to bring many interesting discoveries.

This year, renovation of the Faras Gallery at the National Museum in Warsaw started. The planned new exhibition will include, amongst other objects, relics from other regions related to the Byzantine tradition.

In 1908–1912, British archaeologists carried out excavations in Faras, Sudan, and discovered numerous relics, in addition to those from the Christian period, and are now kept at the British Museum. A broad report of the results was presented by Francis Llwylyn Griffith, who had been in charge of the excavation campaign. The documentation related to archeological works is in the archive at Griffith Institute (University of Oxford).

Some years later, Kazimierz Michałowski commenced excavations on the same site that had once been researched by British archaeologists. Dug up was the hill on which an Arabic citadel once stood that included a Coptic monastery. The Polish researchers had no idea what was hidden inside the artificial hill. Their discoveries – the first painting showing Saint Michael the Archangel and Madonna with Child, as well as the funerary steles of the bishops of Paforas – stirred a great sensation in the world of science. The first excavation campaigns, initiated in 1961, involved the question regarding the method of rescuing the frescos before the planned flooding of the site upon completion of the Nile dam construction. Polish conservators developed



Fig. 2 The Faras exhibition, National Museum, Warsaw (ca. 2008)



Fig. 3. Saint Michael the Archangel, mural painting from Faras, National Museum, Warsaw



Fig. 4. Sandstone frieze-block, National Museum, Warsaw



Fig. 5. Sandstone frieze-block, 7th century, The British Museum



Fig. 6. The sandstone capital, National Museum, Warsaw



Fig. 7. Red sandstone capital, 7th century, The British Museum

the technology of removing the paintings from the walls of the debunked Nubian cathedral and transporting them to a safe place. Half was taken to Warsaw, the rest – to Khartoum. After their arrival in Europe, the frescos were shown at several exhibitions in Paris, Essen (1969), the Hague (1969–1970) and Zurich (1971), and were ultimately exhibited at a specially established Warsaw gallery in 1972. They took yet another trip to Vienna in 2002. For many years now, renovation of the National Museum in the Polish capital city has been under way, and its aim is the modernization of the permanent exhibitions. The decision to renovate the Faras Gallery, taken in 2013, offered the opportunity to rearrange the exhibition, and therefore the planned opening will likely be accompanied by an international conference.

Archaeological research, combined with description and interpretation by historians of art, contributed to a more comprehensive knowledge of the past artistic phenomena. This is why today's researchers should revert to distant past, the early searches and the

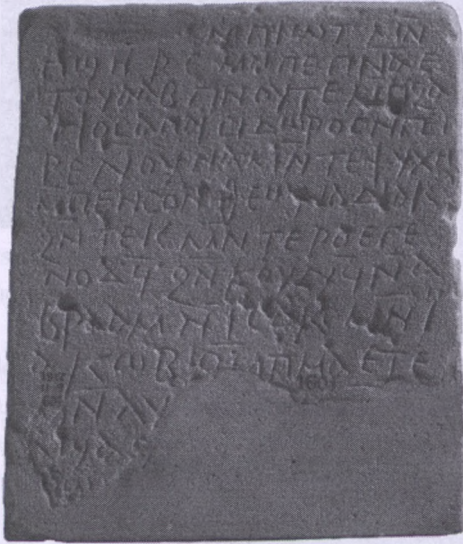


Fig. 8. Part of a limestone stela from Faras, The British Museum

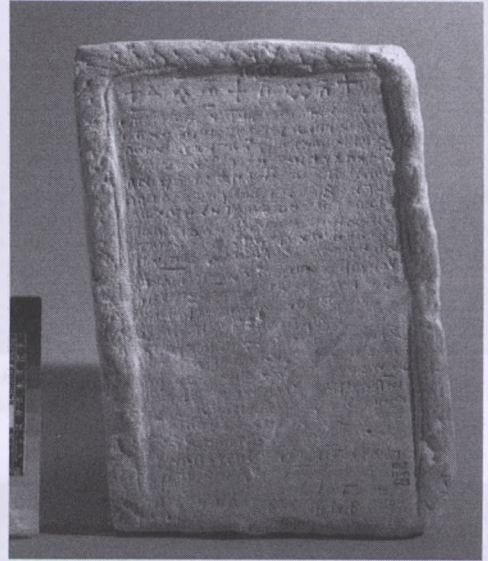


Fig. 9. Limestone stela inscribed with Greek text, The British Museum

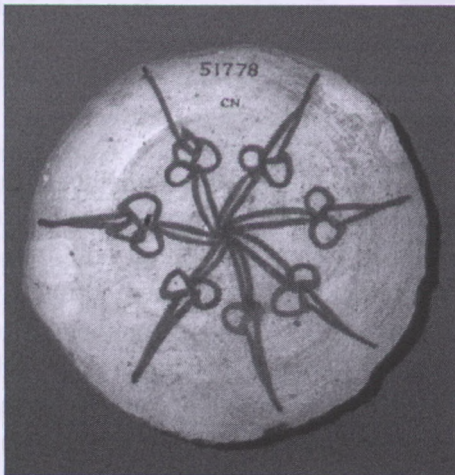


Fig. 10. Base fragment of pottery bowl, 9thC-11th century, The British Museum



Fig. 11. Base fragment of pottery bowl, 9thC-11th century, The British Museum

discoveries forgotten by subsequent generations. The museum collections of archaeological relics, excavated as far back as the 19th and the early 20th century, still wait to be scientifically described in detail; many a time, their provenance has become obliterated as a result of collection displacements and superficial cataloguing. This happened particularly in Eastern Europe, where the displacement of relics due to wars, conflicts, and totalitarian policy contributed to the termination of the ancestors of many sets of collections. It is thereby imperative that we should revert to the history of research carried out during preceding decades.

Articles

Waldemar Deluga



discoveries forgotten by subsequent generations. The museum collections of archaeo-logical relics, excavated at the palace of Knossos, and the early 20th century still wait to be examined, as they are now, by the archaeologists of the future. The archaeological and historical records of the past are not only the most valuable source of information for the study of the history of the world, but also the most valuable source of information for the study of the history of the world.



Fig. 10. Part of a limestone slab from Knossos, The British Museum.



Fig. 11. Knossos limestone fragment with Greek text, The British Museum.

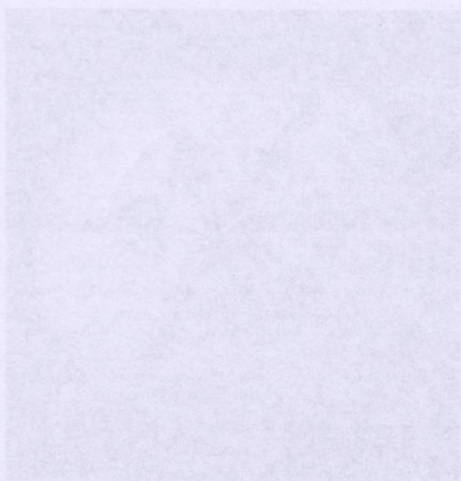


Fig. 12. Base fragment of pottery bowl, 9th-11th century, The British Museum.



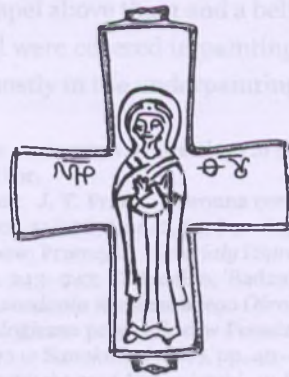
Fig. 13. Base fragment of pottery bowl, 9th-11th century, The British Museum.

Difficulties in determining the period in which Saint Onuphrius' monastery operated in Posada Rybotycka*

Articles

Agnieszka Groniek, Jagiellońska University, Cracow

In Posada Rybotycka (near Rybotyce in the Przemysł District, on a small elevation, next to a stream flowing into the nearby Wiar river, there remains a picturesque medieval orthodox church made of stone, with whitewashed walls, covered with shingle roofs. Originally, it must have consisted only of a rectangular low sanctuary and a relatively tall nave on a square-like plan; both of these were covered with a stone barrel vault. Then a three-nave lower was built to the west of the church, containing a porch and a vestibule on the ground level, a two-part chapel above and a belfry[†] at the top. The walls of the presbytery, nave and upper chapel were covered with paintings, currently well preserved in the presbytery and the nave but mostly in the masonry of the masonry layer only[‡].



* This article is part of an exhibition dedicated to the church in Posada Rybotycka currently being drawn up by its author.
 † J. T. Kucharski, *Województwo przemyskie*, Warszawa 1926, s. 108; *Kościół w Posadzie Rybotyckiej*, *Archiwum pomiarowe nr 196*, 1968, ss. 243–244; *Przemyski Muzeum i Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich*, *Przemysł*, *Muzeum i Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich*, *Przemysł*, *Muzeum i Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich*, *Przemysł*, *Muzeum i Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich*, 1968 (1960), s. 228–243; A. Groniek, *Zwiedzanie architektoniczne i sztuki sakralnej w Posadzie Rybotyckiej*, *Przemysł*, *Muzeum i Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich*, 1998, s. 39–42; J. Brindorf, *Chrástka obce v Posadze Rybotyckej*, *Konstanijské architektúry* 1998, s. 102; *Kościół św. Onufrego w Posadzie Rybotyckiej*, <http://www.posada-rybotycka.pl/en/part.html>
 ‡ J. Brindorf, *Chrástka obce v Posadze Rybotyckej*, *Przemysł*, *Muzeum i Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich*, 1998, s. 40–42; A. Groniek, *Zwiedzanie architektoniczne i sztuki sakralnej w Posadzie Rybotyckiej*, *Przemysł*, *Muzeum i Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich*, 1998, s. 41.

† Cf. A. Holcowa-Bruska, *Wspomnienie świętej męczennicy w Posadzie Rybotyckiej*, *Archiwum pomiarowe nr 196*, 1968, s. 108; *Kościół w Posadzie Rybotyckiej*, *Archiwum pomiarowe nr 196*, 1968, s. 243–244; *Przemysł*, *Muzeum i Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich*, 1968 (1960), s. 228–243; A. Groniek, *Zwiedzanie architektoniczne i sztuki sakralnej w Posadzie Rybotyckiej*, *Przemysł*, *Muzeum i Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich*, 1998, s. 39–42; J. Brindorf, *Chrástka obce v Posadze Rybotyckej*, *Konstanijské architektúry* 1998, s. 102; *Kościół św. Onufrego w Posadzie Rybotyckiej*, <http://www.posada-rybotycka.pl/en/part.html>
 ‡ Cf. A. Holcowa-Bruska, *Wspomnienie świętej męczennicy w Posadzie Rybotyckiej*, *Archiwum pomiarowe nr 196*, 1968, s. 108; *Kościół w Posadzie Rybotyckiej*, *Archiwum pomiarowe nr 196*, 1968, s. 243–244; *Przemysł*, *Muzeum i Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich*, 1968 (1960), s. 228–243; A. Groniek, *Zwiedzanie architektoniczne i sztuki sakralnej w Posadzie Rybotyckiej*, *Przemysł*, *Muzeum i Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich*, 1998, s. 41.

Articles



*Difficulties in determining the period in which Saint Onuphrius' monastery operated in Posada Rybotycka**

Agnieszka Gronek, Jagiellonian University, Cracow

In Posada Rybotycka near Rybotycze in the Przemyśl District, on a small elevation, next to a stream flowing into the nearby Wiar river, there remains a picturesque medieval orthodox church made of stone, with whitewashed walls, covered with shingle roofs. Originally, it must have consisted only of a rectangular low sanctuary and a relatively tall nave on a square-like plan; both of these were covered with a stone barrel vault. Then a three-storey tower was built to the west of the church, containing a porch and a vestibule on the ground floor, a two-part chapel above them and a belfry¹ at the top. The walls of the presbytery, nave and upper chapel were covered in paintings, currently well preserved in the presbytery and the nave but mostly in the underpainting layer only².

* This article is part of an exhaustive monograph on paintings in the orthodox church in Posada Rybotycka currently being drawn up by its author.

¹ About researches of architecture see: J. T. Frazik, 'Obronna cerkiew w Posadzie Rybotyckiej', *Sprawozdania z Posiedzeń Komisji Naukowych*, 11 (1967), no. 2, pp. 841–843; Idem, 'Wstępne badania architektoniczne cerkwi w Posadzie Rybotyckiej pow. Przemyśl', *Materiały i Sprawozdania Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego za rok 1966*, 1968, pp. 243–247; E. Pudełko, 'Badania wykopaliskowe w Posadzie Rybotyckiej pow. Przemyśl', *Materiały i Sprawozdania Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego*, 1966 (1968), p. 238–243; A. Kunysz, 'Badania archeologiczne przy cerkwi w Posadzie Rybotyckiej pow. Przemyśl', *Materiały Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego w Sanoku*, 5 (1967), pp. 40–42; Z. Beiersdorf, 'Cerkiew obronna w Posadzie Rybotyckiej', *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, 13 (1968), pp. 5–13; *Cerkiew św. Onufrego. Posada Rybotycka*, <http://www.posada-rybotycka.pl/Site/Start.html>

² Cf. A. Różycka-Bryzek, 'Program ikonograficzny malowideł 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 иконграфическая программа', *Пятишки культуры. Новые открытия* 1993 [1994], s. 108–120, П. Л. Гротовський, 'Стінопис наві церкві св. Онуфрія в Посаді Риботицькій (вступні зауваги)', *Студії мистецтвознавчі*, 3 (2009), pp. 40–69. J. Gienza, *O sztuce sakralnej przemyskiej eparchii. Słowem i obrazem*. Łańcut 2006, s. 96; Idem,

Unfortunately no documents survive containing detailed information regarding the date of construction of the church, its builders or founders, or the circumstances in which its walls were covered with paintings. From the end of the 19th century, when M. Kowalczyk first mentioned the church in academic literature³, a plethora of information, unverifiable and unreliable, has come to light about it. It was apparently built in the middle of the 15th century by Waszko Rybotycki⁴ or in the first half of the 16th century by Stanisław Herburt⁵, destroyed during the Tartar invasion in 1524⁶, and rebuilt in the mid 16th century on the initiative of its subsequent owner, the aforementioned, Stanisław Herburt⁷ or one of the Kormanicki family⁸. It was also at first apparently an Arian church⁹, later taken over by orthodox monks, and in modern times – a popular pilgrimage centre, which can be corroborated by sgraffito inscriptions on the walls of the porch¹⁰. At the beginning of the 18th century¹¹, in 1705¹², the monks moved to Dobromil¹³ and the church became a parish church. It is here that Michał Kopystyński, the last Orthodox bishop of Przemyśl¹⁴, was reportedly buried. Finally, the medieval monastery was to house a painter's workshop, where a very popular and prolific group of icon painters originated, and became well known from

'Malowidła ściennie i gmerki we wnętrzu cerkwi św. Onufrego w Posadzie Rybotyckiej', www.posada-rybotycka.pl; Idem, 'Malowidła ściennie w cerkwi p.w. Świętego Onufrego w Posadzie Rybotyckiej w świetle badań i dygitalizacji przeprowadzonych w listopadzie 2011 roku', in: *Збереження й дослідження історико-культурної спадщини в музейних зібраннях історичні, мистецтвознавчі та музеологічні аспекти діяльності*, ed. O. Біла, Львів 2013, pp. 509–518.

³ M. Kowalczyk, 'Cerkiew p.w. Św. Onufrego w Posadzie Rybotyckiej', *Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce*, 5 (1896), pp. LXXVIII–LXXX.

⁴ That hypothesis exists in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 33, Warszawa 1992, p. 361; Z. Beiersdorf, *op. cit.*, p. 9, note. 6.

⁵ M. Kowalczyk, *op. cit.*, p. LXXVIII–LXXX; M. Orłowicz, *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Przemyślu i okolicy*, Lwów 1917, p. 142; M. Kornecki, 'Cerkiew obronna w Posadzie Rybotyckiej (w woj. Przemyskim)', *Ziemia*, 1 (1956), p. 21; J. T. Frazik, 'Obronna cerkiew w Posadzie Rybotyckiej ...', p. 842; Idem, 'Wstępne badania architektoniczne ...', p. 243.

⁶ Z. Beiersdorf, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 10.

⁸ E. Naumow, 'Jaonn z Posady Rybotyckiej i jego mineje', in: *Polska-Ukraina 1000 lat sąsiedztwa*, ed. P. Stępień, Przemyśl 1994, p. 338.

⁹ L. Dzieduszycki, 'Posada', in: *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego*, vol. 8, Warszawa 1887, p. 840; M. Orłowicz, *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Przemyślu i okolicy*, Lwów 1917, p. 142; M. Kornecki, *op. cit.*, p. 21; A. Kunysz, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹⁰ Wider about inscriptions on the walls of the porch see in: W. Kurpik, 'Konserwacja napisów cerkwi w Posadzie Rybotyckiej, 1967 (typescript with a set of photographs in the author's possession, handed over by Prof. Anna Różycka Bryzek); Idem, 'Dalsze prace nad odkryciem malowideł ściennych i napisów w cerkwi w Posadzie Rybotyckiej', *Materiały Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego w Sanoku*, 7 (1968), pp. 53–56.

¹¹ E. Naumow, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

¹² J.T. Frazik, 'Obronna cerkiew w Posadzie Rybotyckiej ...', p. 842.

¹³ L. Dzieduszycki, *op. cit.*, p. 840.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 840; M. Orłowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 142; E. Naumow, *op. cit.*, p. 336.



Fig. 1. The Onuphrius Orthodox Church in Posada Rybotycka, southern view, photo: Piotr Krawiec

the end of the 17th century. The characteristic, primitive style of this group was known as “Rybotycze work”¹⁵.

Unfortunately, none of this information can be corroborated by surviving documents, so it is necessary to examine and analyse anew the historical sources, both written and non-written, and to sketch the history of the church on their basis.

¹⁵ About the painters of Rybotycze there is quite a lot, though still not enough literature, see J. Nowicka, ‘Malarski warsztat ikonowy w Rybotyczach’, *Polska Sztuka Ludowa*, 1 (1962), pp. 27–43; M. Przeździecka, *O małopolskim malarstwie ikonowym w XIX wieku. Studia nad epilogiem sztuki cerkiewnej w diecezji przemyskiej i na terenach sąsiednich*, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków 1973, pp. 28–31; В. П. Откович, ‘Твори риботицької народної школи малярства на Україні, у Словаччині та Румуні’, in: *Українське мистецтво у міжнародних зв’язках*, Київ 1983, pp. 90–96; Idem, ‘Коллекция икон рыботыцких мастеров из Львовского музея Украинского искусства’, *Памятники Культуры, Новые Открытия*, 1985, pp. 323–333; Idem, *Народна течія в українському живопису XVII–XVIII ст.*, Київ 1990, od p. 48; Idem, ‘Народне малярство Бойківщини’, w: *Сакральне мистецтво Бойківщини. Наукові читання пам’яті М. Драгана, доповіді та повідомлення*, Дрогобич 1997, pp. 67–70; Idem, ‘Риботицький осередок ікономалювання’, in: *Zachodnioukraińska sztuka cerkiewna, cz. II, Materiały z międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej Łańcut–Kotań 17–18 kwietnia 2004 roku*, Łańcut 2004, pp. 295–313; R. Biskupski, ‘Malarstwo ikonowe od XV do pierwszej połowy XVIII wieku na Łemkowszczyźnie’, *Polska Sztuka Ludowa*, 39 (1985), no. 3–4, p. 162; W. Aleksandrowycz, ‘Rybotycki ośrodek malarski w drugiej połowie XVII wieku’, in: *Polska – Ukraina. 1000 lat sąsiedztwa. Studia z dziejów chrześcijaństwa na pograniczu kulturowym i etnicznym*, vol. 2, Przemysł 1994, pp. 341–350; J. Nowicka is the autor of the hypothesis about the connection between Saint Onuphrius’ monastery and painters from Rybotycze Cf. also W. Otkowycz, *Твори ...*, pp. 90–96, E. Pudelko, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

The few written sources are the documents confirming the earliest history of the church, its *ktitors*, i.e. the owners of Rybotycze and Posada, court records, bishop's visitations and church inventories, as well as private archives and liturgical books, in the margins of which important information was sometimes recorded. In terms of non-written sources, the church construction itself is obviously of vital importance, and it has been thoroughly researched, both in terms of technical and artistic-historical aspects. Archaeological research of defence walls and buildings surrounding the church has also provided an abundance of interesting information, in addition to the archaeological and anthropological research of the church cemetery¹⁶.



Fig. 2. The Onuphrius Orthodox Church in Posada Rybotycka, north-western view, photo: Piotr Krawiec

Due to a multitude of problematic issues, only sources which help explain the existence of an orthodox monastery in Posada Rybotycka will be mentioned below.

The earliest written sources were collected and analysed by Zbigniew Beiersdorf¹⁷. Thus, the first mention of the monastery in Posada Rybotycka comes from the charter issued in Stary Sącz, which Casimir the Great awarded to Stefan Węgrzyn in 1367, awarding him villages situated on the Wiar river: Rybotycze, Huwnik and Sierakościów,

¹⁶ A. Malinowski, *Badania antropologiczne cmentarzyska w Posadzie Rybotyckiej, pow. Przemyśl*, typescript, Archive of the Regional Center the Documentation of the Monuments (Archiwum Regionalnego Ośrodka Badań i Dokumentacji Zabytków w Krakowie), Cracow; Idem, *Sprawozdania z badań archeologicznych i antropologicznych w Posadzie Rybotyckiej, pow. Przemyśl*, r. 1966, typescript, Archive of the Regional Center the Documentation of the Monuments (Archiwum Regionalnego Ośrodka Badań i Dokumentacji Zabytków w Krakowie), Cracow, no. inw. AR-206; [E. Pudelko?], *Sprawozdania z badań wykopaliskowych w Posadzie Rybotyckiej, pow. Przemyśl w roku 1966*, typescript; Archive of the Regional Center the Documentation of the Monuments (Archiwum Regionalnego Ośrodka Badań i Dokumentacji Zabytków w Krakowie), Cracow. Cf. A. Malinowski, 'Badania antropologiczne cmentarzyska w Posadzie Rybotyckiej pow. Przemyśl', *Materiały i Sprawozdania Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego*, 1966 (1968), pp. 247–248; E. Pudelko, 'Badania wykopaliskowe w Posadzie Rybotyckiej ...', pp. 238–243; A. Kunysz, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–42.

¹⁷ Z. Beiersdorf, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–13.

in addition to three monasteries; in one of them, Honuffry, Krzysztof Wolski must have recognised the monastery of the future Posada Rybotycka¹⁸. The text of the charter is vitally important, not only because of the earliest mention of Posada and its owner, but also because it was the only mention in an official document which confirms that there was indeed a monastery in this village¹⁹. Yet, some researchers indicate that from 1407 it was part of the property of the Ruthenian bishopric in Przemyśl, but they base their findings on an erroneous reading of the document, which mentions St Onuphrius' monastery in Lavriv²⁰.

On the 4th November 1425 in Medyka a document was issued in which, at the request of Ivan, Jerzy, Waško and Aleksander Rybotycki, Vladislav Jagiello ratified the award by Casimir the Great to their grandfather, Stefan²¹. Although the document only mentions Rybotycze, Hawniki and Sierakowce, this quotation of the text of the charter by Casimir the Great and the indication of the lawfulness of the ownership of all the *villarim et monasteriorum* mentioned therein, allows us to think that in Posada the St. Onufrius monastery still belonged to the Rybotycki family.

Further documents produced by the royal office and state administration including court records and tax registers, mention either the settlement itself, or the orthodox church within it, most frequently referring to its owner, but not providing any detailed information on its character or function. For example, the orthodox church in Posada Rybotycka is listed in a tax register from 1510²², which does not however include any additional information on it. Unfortunately, it is not clear how long the monastery in Posada mentioned in the document from 1367 continued to exist.

In the 18th century there were first attempts at closing down the smallest Basilian monasteries. The papal bull of 1744, *Inter plures*, referred to this issue, advocating monasteries with at least eight monks, as well as the 1774 decree by Maria Theresa, which made it ob-

¹⁸ *Monumenta Medii Aevii Historica Res Gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, vol. 10 [Codicis Diplomatici Poloniae Minoris, vol. III (1333–1386)], ed. F. Piekosiński, Kraków 1887, p. 212, no. 807; K. Wolski, 'Osadnictwo dorzecza górnego Wiaru w XV w.', *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie Skłodowska*, 11 (1956), no. 1, p. 12.; Z. Beiersdorf, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹⁹ It is worth noting that this monastery doesn't mentioned even by J. Кривякевич; I. Крипякевич, 'Середьвічні монастирі в Галичині', *Записки Чина св. Василія Великого*, 2 (1926), no. 1–2, p. 71.

²⁰ Z. Beiersdorf, *op. cit.*, p. 8; A. Różycka-Bryzek, 'Program ikonograficzny...', pp. 349–365; compare also: [M. Rither von Malinowski], *Die Kirchen Und Staats-Satzungen bezüglich des griechisch-katholischen Ritus der Ruthenen in Galizien, Lemberg 1861*, pp. 443–446; *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z archiwum tak zwanego bernardyńskiego we Lwowie w skutek fundacyi śp. Alexandra hr. Stadnickiego*, vol. 7, no. 26, pp. 50–51; M. Bendza, *Prawosławna diecezja przemyska w latach 1596–1681. Studium historyczno-kanonicze*, Warszawa 1982, p. 56, note 156.

²¹ T. Wierzbowski, *Marticularum Regni Poloniae summaria ...*, vol. 4. no. 3, p. 381, no. 601; *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, ed. I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, vol. 7, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, Gdańsk 1975, p. 197, No 1993.

²² Z. Budzyński, 'Sieć parafialna prawosławnej diecezji przemyskiej na przelomie XV i XVI wieku. Próba rekonstrukcji na podstawie rejestrów podatkowych ziemi przemyskiej i sanockiej', in: *Polska – Ukraina. 1000 lat sąsiedztwa*, vol. 1, Przemyśl 1990, p. 148.



Fig. 3. The Onuphrius Orthodox Church in Posada Rybotycka, sanctuary, eastern wall, photo: Piotr Krawiec

ligatory to combine small monasteries into larger ones, consisting of at least ten monks²³. It was probably these actions that resulted in the formulation of a hypothesis, repeated in some studies, that the monastery in Posada Rybotycka was closed down at that time and its monks moved to Dobromil. However, the official documents indicate that from at least 1765 it was an orthodox parish church, whose parish priest at the time of the earliest registered bishop's visitation in 1771 was Jerzy Wareniecki²⁴, and then probably Jan Kopysteński²⁵. In the years 1789–1801 – Mikołaj Ładożyński²⁶, and earlier, from 1783 it was administered by Jan Borysławski, the parish priest of the orthodox church of the Nativity of the Mother of God in Rybotyche²⁷. Posada Rybotycka was not included on the 1787 inventory of Galician monasteries destined for closure, as there were definitely no monks left there at that time²⁸. It is not known, however, since when.

²³ W. Chotkowski, 'Redukcje monasterów bazylikańskich w Galicji', *Rozprawy Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filologiczny. Seria M*, vol. 38, Kraków 1922, no. 6, p. 7–8.

²⁴ State Archive, Przemyśl, ABGK 44, f.35; National Museum, Lviv, LMN, Pk 286, f.1v.

²⁵ National Library, Warsaw, BN Akc 2811, f.48v, 56 r.

²⁶ National Museum, Lviv, LMN, Pk 222, f.8r, 19r, 121v; Pk 286, f.1v, 16r; ABGK 6787, pp. 2–10.

²⁷ State Archive, Przemyśl, ABGK 6512, p. 29.

²⁸ W. Chotkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 313; compare also: Журнал облику майна ліквідованих монастирів 1780–1791, Central State Historical Archive, Lviv, Fond, 453, description no. 1, doc. no. 4.



Fig. 4. Jeriej Jakow.... 1685, carved inscription, sanctuary, southern wall, church in Posada Rybotycka, photo: Piotr Krawiec

On the last, considerably damaged, page (297v) of the handwritten 16th century *Flower Triodion* there was a note saying “муж Яндри из благородною шгафю из благородными чады купил сию книгу триада цветною за р грш И пердал сию Книгу села Посады выше Рыботич Въ шбител сгого преподовнагш отца нашего шнофря”²⁹. And since *obytel* in the Old Church Slavonic language means, among others, a monastery³⁰, this record indicates that it was still in use in the 16th century. Unfortunately, there is no record of when this book was presented to the orthodox church in Posada; the only available information is that it was at the time of *jerej Stefan*³¹.

In 1555 “*hudyj diak*” Jan, as he referred to himself, copied twelve volumes of *Menaion*, indicating that he did it at St Onuphrius’ orthodox church, and not monastery³². Could this omission of the word *obytel* be an indication of the fact that at that time it was already an orthodox parish church in which this *diak* was working? *Diak* was a worker in civic, not

²⁹ National Museum, Lviv, MNL, PK-290, f.297v.

³⁰ *Словник староукраїнської мови XIV–XV ст.*, Київ 1977, vol. 2, p. 68; *Словарь русского языка XI–XVII веков*, vol. 12, Москва 1983, p. 57; Г. Дьяченко, *Полный церковно-славянский словарь*, Москва 1993, p. 363; P. Stepień, ‘Słownik ukraińskich terminów kościelnych. Struktura i organizacja Kościoła wschodniego’, *Biuletyn Informatyczny Południowo-Wschodniego Instytutu Naukowego w Poznaniu*, 2 (1996), p. 112.

³¹ National Museum, Lviv, PK-290, f.297v.

³² National Library, Warsaw, BN Akc 2627, f.209v.

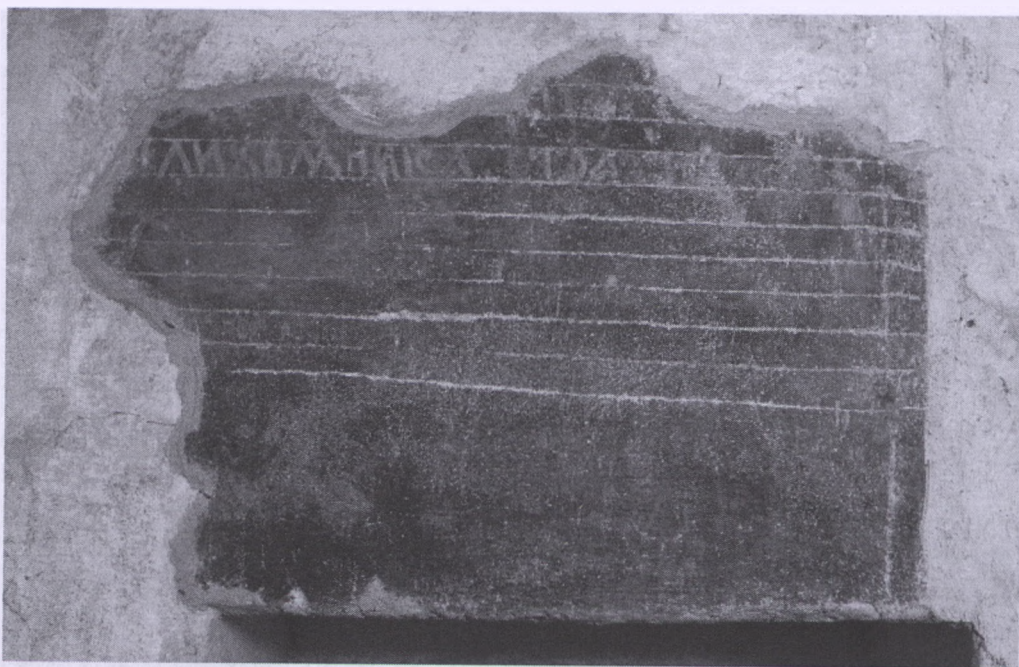


Fig.5. Remains of foundation inscription, sanctuary, western wall, church in Posada Rybotycka, photo: Piotr Krawiec

monastical orthodox churches, who worked as a cantor, and usually also as a sacristan and a bell ringer. His duties also included conducting religious instruction lessons. He would help the parish priest with farm work, which was often his means of support³³. Almost identical notes by the copier included at the bottom of the frontispieces of subsequent volumes, and also in the form of a colophon, differ only in one instance. In the volume listing workers during the summer months on card 287r the words describing the copier as "Joan thin diak", were crossed out, and above them the following words were added: *ЦРЕНО ЕРМОНАХА ІВНА*³⁴, which could indicate that later, after he had copied the books, he became monk Jonah³⁵. However, is it enough proof that he was a monk in Posada? And if he indeed became a monk, why would his supposed son, Michał, refer to himself as the son of the scribe, the late Ivan from Rybotycze?³⁶ Of course, it cannot be ruled out that Jan was a *diak* at the orthodox church in Rybotycze, and only copied the Menaion for Posada, which would be consistent with the fact that he was called 'Ivan from Rybotycze' and not

³³ J. Półwiartek, *Z badań nad rolą gospodarczo-społeczną plebanii na wsi pańszczyźnianej ziemi przemyskiej i sanockiej w XVI–XIX wiek*, Rzeszów 1974, p. 88.

³⁴ National Library, Warsaw, BN Akc 2859, mf. 2859, f.287r.

³⁵ About such hypotheses see: E. Naumow, *op. cit.*, p. 338 and A. Naumow, A. Kaszlej, *Rękopisy cerkiewnosłowińskie w Polsce. Katalog*, Kraków 2004, p. 298.

³⁶ Aleksander Naumow supposes that writer Michael is the son of the copier Menaion from Posada Rybotycka; A. Naumow, A. Kaszlej, *op. cit.*, p. 387.

from Posada; however, this does not prove the fact that the monastery continued to exist there. On the other hand, Jan used to put a request for a prayer at the end of his notes: а за шо пршу и молю шых настаапеліи которіи будути при тої єїи цркви мешкаши а шому дому вжіему служини ... [во] снхх млішвах неراحیе мене грѣшнаго іванна запоминаши³⁷. *Nastojatelj* is a term referring to the head of a monastery but also of an orthodox parish church³⁸. Andrzej also asks the *nastojatelj* for a prayer in his note in the *Flower Triodion* presented to him, but it is only in conjunction with the word *obytel*, that an assumption can be made that he meant monks. But it is also not certain in the case of *diak* Jan's request.

Numerous notes survived in the margins of pages of liturgical books from Posada Rybotycka, made primarily by *diaks* or priests, for example on weather anomalies or the births or deaths of various people. For instance, on 18th February 1735 a grandson was born to the priest from Posada, the reverend Semion Paślawski, named after him, and the information was duly recorded by the priest's son, Jan Paślawski (54 r)³⁹. The notes on subsequent pages inform us that the happy father, Jan Paślawski was born in April 1701⁴⁰ and was probably a teacher as he "uczyl chłopców posadzkich" (taught peasants from Posada)⁴¹. On page 56v of *Ustav* there was information that on 31st December 1737, so before his third birthday, Jan Paślawski's son and Semion's grandson died⁴². A different volume of *Menaion* includes the information about the death of the grandfather, *jerej* Semion on 21st October 1743, who was the son of Wasyl Paślawski, also the priest in Posada⁴³. These short notes, found all over various codices, prove that in the first half of the 18th century there was no longer a monastery in Posada, but only an orthodox parish church. The priests came from the Paślawski family, sometimes also spelled Paślawski. But other notes also indicate that the situation was similar in the second half of the 17th century. A note in *Menaion* with the date 1698 informs us of the death of *jerej* Ioan, the priest of Posada.

Some ІЄРЕИ ІВАНОВЪ in 1685 carved his name and surname on the frescoes in the presbytery of the church in Posada. Unfortunately some letters have been obliterated and it is not certain why this priest was present in Posada. A very poor *diak* (as can be deduced from some notes), Mikołaj Żyrawski was in Posada in 1680 and he left a draft of a letter on a page of the 16th century *Oktoich* beginning with the words: *Mój łaskawy Panie popie posadzki. Dziękuję WM że mi WM pożyczyl...* [To His Reverend Priest of Posada. I would

³⁷ National Museum, Lviv, LMN, Pk 287, f.5r; National Library, Warsaw, BN Akc2811, No mf. BN 69565, f.10r.

³⁸ *Словник староукраїнської мови ...* vol. II, p. 27; *Словарь русского языка ...*, vol. 10, p. 272; Г. Дьяченко, *op. cit.*, p. 336; P. Stepień, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

³⁹ National Library, Warsaw, BN Akc 2811, mf. BN 69565, f.54 r.

⁴⁰ National Library, Warsaw, BN Akc 2811, mf. BN 69565, f.177v.

⁴¹ National Library, Warsaw, BN Akc 2859, mf. 15466, f.281v.

⁴² National Museum, Lviv, Pk 222, f.56v.

⁴³ National Library, Warsaw, BN Akc 2804, mf. BN 15414, f.60 v; National Library, Warsaw, BN Akc 2859 mf. 15466, f.124v.

like to thank your reverence for lending me ...]⁴⁴. It is worth noting that *diak* Mikołaj mostly wrote in Polish using the Latin alphabet, but there were also sometimes his notes where in Ruthenian, for example in the *Flower Triodion*⁴⁵. Could this indicate that the parish in Posada was already unitary at that time or simply that the teacher had a Latin education? It seems certain though that these small notes going back to 1680 prove the existence of an orthodox parish church in Posada. The question of whether the notes of the copier of the twelve volumes of *Menaion*, *diak* Jan, allow us to extend this conclusion to the mid 16th century must remain unanswered at this stage of source discovery.

In view of all these sources, a note from 1801 in *Pomiannik* in one of the liturgical books from the orthodox church in Posada is absolutely exceptional and puzzling⁴⁶. In there, the then priest Mikołaj Ładyżyński included *jeromonach* Gerwazy, *jeromonach* Mitrofan and *jerej* Symeon at the beginning of a list of living persons remembered during prayers. It is impossible to establish on the basis of the documents identified so far what monks they were and why they were remembered in the orthodox church in Posada. But it is not irrefutable proof of the existence of a monastery in Posada at that time, or its continuous work since the 14th century. It is more likely to indicate a new phenomenon, unrelated to medieval tradition. It is worth noting that no monk was mentioned in the same *Pamiannik* among the dead to be prayed for apart from *jerej Ivan*⁴⁷, which would confirm a short presence of monks in the orthodox church in Posada. Perhaps it was the arrival of these priests in the parish in Posada which contributed to the belief among the local community at the end of the 19th century that it was a post-Basilian orthodox church, and which has been reflected in literature from the end of the 19th century onwards⁴⁸.

⁴⁴ National Museum, Lviv, LMN, Pk 289, f.br. No.

⁴⁵ National Museum, Lviv LMN, Pk 290, f.64v.

⁴⁶ National Library, Lviv, LMN, Pk 286, f.16r.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁸ The first information about this subject in: L. Dzieduszycki, 'Posada ...', p. 840; M. Kowalczyk, 'Cerkiew p.w. Św. Onufrego ...', p. LXXX.

The Mural “Spinning discs” – an Indication for Spiritual Connections and Artistic Influences

Avetozara Ratseva, Velike Tarnovo

The recently exposed conservation and restoration of multiple church ensembles again brings up the topic about the “mural spinning discs”, introduced more than three decades ago by E. Schwartz¹ (fig. 1). We will shortly remind that these symbols entered church decoration after the Latins conquered the Byzantine capital. With the means of fresco and tempera painting (manner of drawing, color, distribution of light and shade) they imitate the effect of the movement of light achieved in the circular polishing of some segments from the gilt in a group of icons from the collection of St. Catherine’s Monastery. Though with most icons from the Sinai collection, the technique in question is used to underline the radiance around the holy persons (halos and mandorlas) or in the decoration of frames and background, the programmes of some represent the prototypes of the free mural discs which we come across in church decoration. The spherical nature of the heavenly segments in the icons *Heavenly Ladder* (12th century) and *Annunciation* (end of the 12th century) present an abstract vision about the light-bearing nature of God. Likewise, the festal scenes in one of the Sinai tetrptychs, as well as two of the eight epistills preserved at the monastery at the end of the 12th century, purport to this interpretation of God. The specific geographic profile of the distribution of the icon discs monumental replicas and their primary presence in representative patriarchal and monastical churches gives us reason to link their introduction into the church programmes with the initiative of the high clergy from the respective Balkan and East-Mediterranean centres. Representatives of these area

¹ E. Schwartz, ‘The Whirling Disc. A Possible Connection Between Medieval Balkan Frescoes and Byzantine Icons’, *Зораф*, 8 (1977), pp. 24–29.



Fig. 1. Disc from the Church of the Holy Savior in Dečani (1346–1347), narthex, middle sub-dome arch

where often mentioned in historical sources as commissioners or donors of the respective mural ensembles. Localised within the areas of the altar apses, the domes and the patron niches, the abstract vision of the mural “Spinning discs” finds correspondence in the mystic concepts from Old Testament, New Testament, liturgical and hymnographic texts.²

Although usually discussed as symbols of the descending Logos, in some cases they drastically widen their semantic and functional aspects, standing not only for angelic powers but also for earthly personae. Such an example exists in the 15th century patron depiction of St. Nicolas from the Agios Nikolaos tis Archontisas Theologias Church in Kastoria. There, the images of Christ and Holy Mary, who usually flank the archbishop of Myra in Lycia handing him a codex and an omophor, are replaced by two „Spinning discs” with hands coming out of them, holding the respective attributes.

Taking into account the undeniable contribution of E. Schwartz, S. Radojčić and other scholars, who have either studied or paid special attention to these symbols, the present study will not only broaden the range of the presently known monuments with unpublished or undiscussed monuments from Serbia, Kosovo, Bosnia, Thessaly, Aegean Macedonia, Bulgaria, the former territories of Georgia and Cyprus, but it will also lay forth an alternative theory about the origin and the distribution of these symbols in mural decorations. Their presence in the church interior is not just the result of a transfer of symbols between cavaletto and monumental depictive forms within the usual “influence

² Cf. A. M. Лидов, ‘Иеротопия Огня и Свет’, in: *Огонь и Свет в сакральном пространстве*. Материалы международного симпозиума, Москва 2011, pp. 11–16. http://hierotopy.ru/contents/FireAndLight_CompleteBook_2011_RusEng.pdf; Idem, ‘Вращающийся храм. Иконоическое как перформативное в пространственных иконах Византии’ in: *Пространственные иконы. Перформативное в Византии и Древней Руси*, Москва 2011, pp. 27–39. http://hierotopy.ru/contents/SpatialCons_01_Lidov_Whirling%20Church_2011_RusEng.pdf

of the Capital" as E. Schwartz believes³, but an aspect of the processes within the spiritual culture of the 13th century.

The specific area of distribution and the chronological positioning of presently known mural discs, makes somewhat problematic the commonly accepted theory about their Constantinople origin in is believed to be signalled by their cavalletto prototypes – the icons with circularly polished gilt from the Sinai collection.

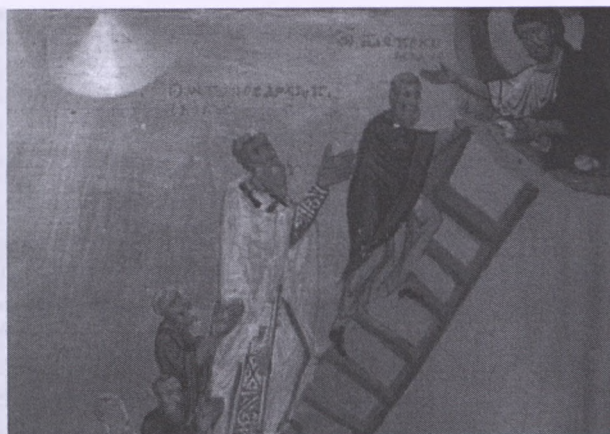


Fig. 2. A circularly polished heavenly segment from the icon "Heavenly Ladder" (41.1 x 29.5 cm) – 12th c., Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai

If, however, we accept that the circular polishing of the gilt was the "trade mark" of the studios in the capital before 1204, then under the influence of Constantinople, centrifugally and centripetally these symbols would have enjoyed much wider distribution. The plundering of the Byzantine capital by the Latins does not explain the later lack of icons with circularly polished gilt either, nor the lack of mural imitations of this technique in countries spiritually bound to the capital and its artistic influence (both in the Eastern Orthodox world and in the West). The theory about the Constantinople origin of the „Spinning discs" is also refuted by their chronological graphics (fig. 3). Including at present 19 mural decorations, it shows that 10 of those date from periods when the Byzantine capital had undergone foreign occupation 7 under Latin (1204–1261) and 3 under Ottoman (after 1453). 9 discs (8 from which in Serbia) date from the period when Constantinople was the capital of Byzantium (1261–1453).

Bearing in mind the relations among the regions, within which the „Spinning discs" can be localized, and the Sinai Monastery of St. Catherine, we will try to prove that it is exactly this spiritual and artistic centre which is the most probable source for this tradition.

The group of monuments preserved on the territory of medieval Serbia, presented in the studies of S. Radojčić, E. Schwartz, O. Tomić and others, includes „Spinning discs" from the Church of the Ascension in Mileševa – 1228–1235⁴, the Church of St. Nicholas in Studenica – 1240–1250⁵, the three churches in Peć: The Holy Apostles Church – 1250–1260,

³ *Ibidem*, p. 29.

⁴ C. Radojčić, *Mileševa*, Beograd 1986, p. 81.

⁵ O. Томић, 'Особености фреска XIII века у Студеничкој Никольчачи', *Зборник Радова*, 2005, pp. 261–279.

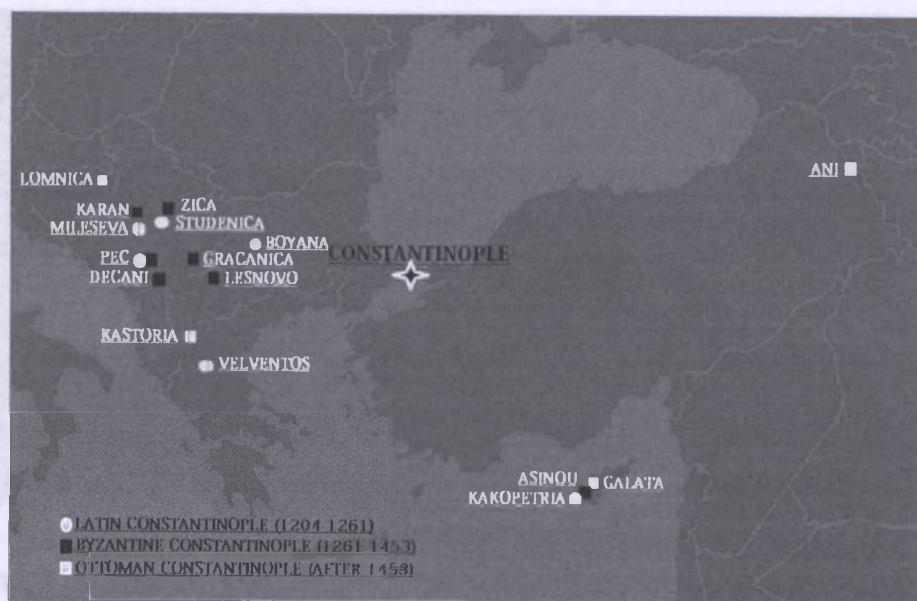


Fig. 3. A chronological graphic of the mural „Spinning discs”

The Holy Virgin Odigitria Church – 1324–1337 and St. Demetrios Church – 1338–1346⁶, the archbishop cathedral of the Holy Savior in Zica (in the later decoration from the beginning of the 14th century according to the schema by Branislav Živković)⁷, the Church of the Holy Archangel Michael in Lesnovo – 1347–1348⁸ and the Church of St. George in Lomnica (eastern Bosnia) 1578–1608⁹. To these we can at this stage add: the “silver” and “golden” discs between the pendentives of two from the four small domes, dedicated to the holy evangelists from the Church of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin in Gračanica – 1321 (the northwestern – St. Evangelist Mathew and the southwestern – St. Evangelist Mark) (fig. 4a); the two discs from the bifora niche on the western wall of the naos in the Church of St. Demetrios in Peč – 1338–1346 (fig. 4b); the disc in the southern sub-vault arch in the narthex in Peč (second half of the 14th c.) (fig. 4c); the disc from the apse in the Church of the Holy Virgin in Karan – 1340–1342 (fig. 4d); the discs in the hands of the archangels from the apse in the Church of the Holy Savior in Dečani – 1346–1347 and finally the disc on the face of the middle arch from the three sub-dome arches in the narthex of the same church (fig. 4e).

⁶ R. Ljubinkovic, *The Church of the Apostles in the Patriarchate of Peč*, Beograd 1964, V. Duric, *Vizantijske freske u Jugoslaviji*, Beograd 1974, pp.37–39, fig. 35, I M. vanovic, *The Virgins' Church in the Patriarchate of Peč*, Beograd 1972, G. Subotic, *The Church of St. Demetrius in the Patriarchate of Peč*, Beograd 1964, 1, pp. 10–11.

⁷ M. Kasanin, D., Boskovic, P. Mijovic, *Zica*, Beograd 1969, p. 140, Живковић, Б, 'Жича. Цртежи фресака', *Споменици Српског сликарства средњег века*, 4 (1985), p. 23.

⁸ V. Duric, *Vizantijske freske u Jugoslavij*, Beograd, 1974, p. 61, fig.76.

⁹ A. Skovran, 'Longinove ikone i freske u manastiru Lomnici', *Nise starine*, 9 (1964), p. 41.

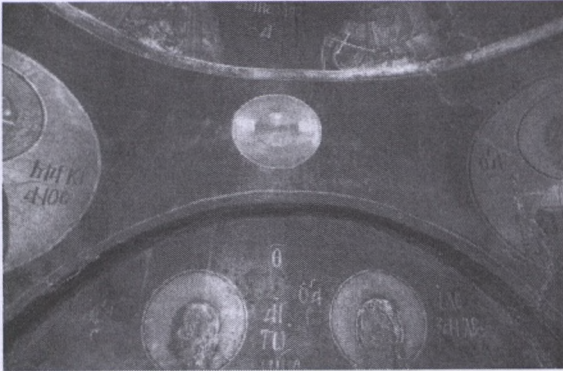


Fig. 4a. A disc from the Church of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin, Gračanica (1321), northwestern dome (above)



Fig. 4b. Discs from the Church of St. Demetrius, Peč (1338-1346), naos, western wall

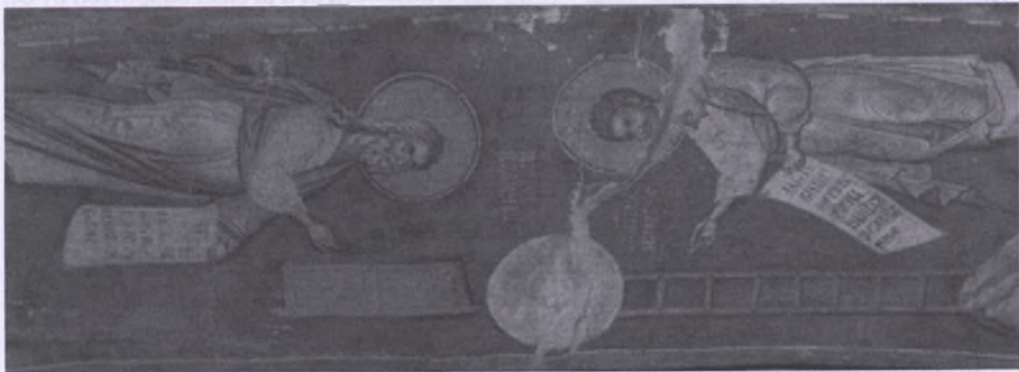


Fig. 4c. Disc from the Peč Patriarch Cathedral (second half of the 14th c.), narthex, southern sub-vault arch

Among these, the disc in the southern sub-vault arch in the narthex in Peč (fig. 4c) deserves special attention. Depicted between the ladder from the dream of the biblical patriarch Jacob and the locked doors from the vision of Ezekiel, its meaning as a symbol of God is beyond doubt. With the direct textual references to Genesis (28:12-13) and Ezekiel (44:2), this visual configuration takes us back to the major meaning of the type of symbols under study.

The relations between Serbia and Sinai are attested in many hagiographic sources especially in the southern-Slavic manuscripts in the collection of the Sinai Monastery, the



Fig. 4d. A disc from the Church of the Holy Virgin, Karan (1340–1342), altar apse (above)

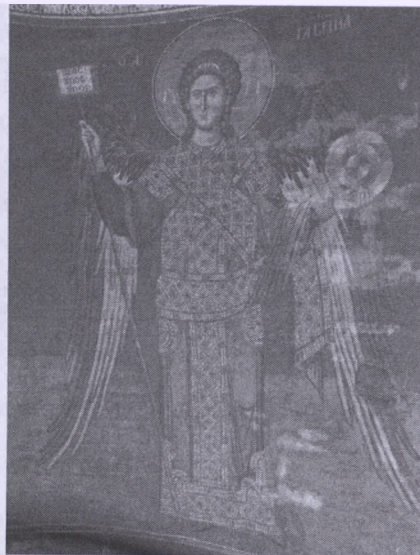


Fig. 4e. A disc from the Church of the Holy Savior, Decani (1346–1347), altar apse

greatest number of which are Serbian versions¹⁰. (At present the whole collection undergoing study, cataloguing and digitalizing within the framework of a project supported by St. Catherine's Foundation.) The early dating of some of these monuments indicates the presence of Serbian and Bulgarian monks on Sinai long before St. Sava visited the Monastery in 1234–1235¹¹. The officially established relations of the Serbian clergy with the Sinai brotherhood by the first Serbian archbishop became stronger and stronger not only during the Nemanichi's dynasty rule but also after them. The trodden path was followed not only by the Serbian clergy and monkhood in the person of the Sinaites¹², but also by the aristocratic elite¹³. In the Archbishop Danilo II's (1324–1338) passional of Queen Helena - the wife of King Stephen Uroš I (1243–1276) - we find an interesting evidence that some of her spiritual confessors were fathers from Jerusalem, Sinai and Raithu¹⁴.

In the fourteenth century when the art of the whole eastern-orthodox world was saturated with the mature Paleologue aesthetics within the Serbian decorations, some of which

¹⁰ Др. Сперанский, 'Славянская письменность XI–XIV вв. на Синае и Палестине', *Известия отделения русского языка и словесности Академии наук СССР*, 32 (1927), p. 64.

¹¹ Доментијан, *Живот Светога Саве и Живот Светога Симеона*, trans. Ј. Мирковић, ed. Р. Маринковић, Београд 1988, pp. 170–180; D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits*, Oxford 1988, p. 115–172; Теодосий Хилендарец, *Житие Святого Саввы*, Белград 1973, p. 190–192; С. Димитриевич, *Паломничества*, Белград 1933, p. 144.

¹² В. Розов, 'Святой Савва и сербы в Святой земле и на Синае', *Мысль*, 1928, p. 340; М. Пуркович, *Князь и деспот Стефан Лазаревич*, Белград 1979, p. 84; Митрополит Черногорский и Приморский Амфилохий Радович, *Синаиты и их значение для духовной жизни Сербии XIV и XV веков*, 1981, www.mitropolija.

¹³ Т. Джорджевич, *Сербские святые в Палестине*, Скопле 1925, p. 9.

¹⁴ Ј. Мирковић, 'Животи Краљева и Архиепископа Српских- Архиепископа Данила II', *Српска књижевна задруга*, 1935, p. 51, Д. Глумац, 'Сербские задушбины в Палестине', *Вестник СПЦ*, 1946, no. 10–12, pp. 244–245.

befittingly compete with the best Constantinople monuments, the presence of the „Spinning discs” continued. This is further evidence of the uniqueness of the Serbian model of state and church organisation, assimilating close ideological formulas and connections as part of its own church and cultural identity. Another fact deserving attention is that in the 14th century when the artistic influences among the Balkan centres were strongest and during the rule of King Stephen Dušan (1331–1356) when the medieval Serbian state had reached the limits of its territorial expansion, the „Spinning discs” did not spread radially outside the old boundaries of Raška. This fact shows that both for church donors and for the icon-painters from the neighbouring lands these symbols were graphic signs obviously strange and hard to translate, which fitted into neither the local tradition, nor the Constantinople one, which was generally followed.

In the churches on the territory of present-day Bulgaria there are preserved „Spinning discs” only in the eastern tympanum of the narthex of the St. Nicholas and St. Pantheleimon Boyana Church (1259)¹⁵ (fig. 5). Located in its upper part, the three discs – central silver, flanked by two golden ones – are included in the program of a fresco-icon (indicated as *MP Θ(Y) / ΠΑΝ.../ Κ (.Ι)ΝΗ*) presenting Holy Virgin Dexikratusa with St. Joachim and St. Anna. The central disc depicts the blessing God’s hand around which in golden letters runs the text *ΡΩΜΗ/ ΚΡΑΤΕΑ/ ΔΕ[.] ΗΑ’ / ΤΟΥ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΟΥ* (“Mighty power – the right hand of the Lord”)¹⁶. The replacement of the image of the Heavenly Lord and the angels accompanying Him with „Spinning discs” creates an abstract vision about the image of Christ (in Glory or as Pantocrator) in the surroundings of heavenly ranks (seraphims, cherubims or archangels), typical of the programme in the upper frames of some icons from the Monastery of St. Catherine. The Holy Virgin epithet *MP Θ(Y) / ΠΑΝ.../ Κ (.Ι)ΝΗ*, read as early as the 1940s by N. Mavrodinov as “Panagia of the Burning Bush”, is an additional argument in support of a possible Sinai origin of the icon which has inspired the program in the Boyana tympanum¹⁷. In support of this thesis we will mention the famous Sinai diptych with St. Prokopios and the Holy Virgin from the 13th century, where in the upper frame above the saint Christ Pantocrator is presented with two angels venerably bowing before Him, while above the Holy Virgin it is her Old Testament proto-image the Burning Bush, flanked by St. Joachim and St. Anna¹⁸. Though the historical evidence about the connections between Bulgaria and Sinai in the 13th and the 14th centuries are

¹⁵ Е. Бакалова, ‘За константинополските модели в Боянската църква’, *Проблеми на изкуството*, 1995, no. 1, p. 19; Пенкова Б. ‘Изображението на Божията десница в Боянската църква’, *Проблеми на изкуството*, 1998, pp. 11–16; Пенкова Б., ‘Богородица с Младенеца от Боянската църква (една хипотеза)’, *Зборник радова Осам векова Хиландара. Историја, духовни живот, книжевност, уметност и архитектура Наућни скупови Српске академије наука и уметности*, 95 (2000), no. 27, pp. 667–673; С. Ръцева, ‘Въртящите се дискове от Боянската църква’, *Проблеми на изкуството*, 2008, no. 2, pp. 16–22.

¹⁶ Б. Пенкова, *op. cit.*, pp. 16–22.

¹⁷ Н. Мавродинев, *Боянската църква и нейните стенописи*, София 1943, p. 12.

¹⁸ К. W. Weitzmann, *Studies in the Arts at Sinai*, Princeton 1980, Fig. 33. 34. 35.

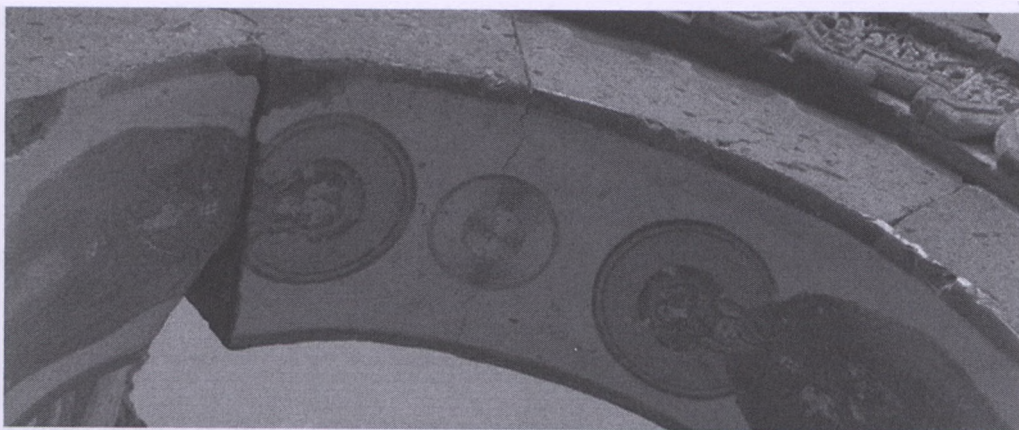


Fig. 7. A disc from the Church of St. Gregory the Illuminator, Ani (13th c.), narthex, sub-vault arch

contacts between Sinai and Georgia are well studied²². The presence of Georgian monks in the Monastery brotherhood is known since the end of the 9th century and between the 11th and the 13th centuries together with Iveron Monastery on Mount Athos, the Monastery of the Holy Virgin of Petrich in Bachkovo and the Holy Cross Monastery in Jerusalem, the Monastery of St. Catherine on Sinai is one of the greatest centres of Georgia Christianity outside of the Caucasian country. The artistic aspects of these spiritual relations are represented by icons with bilingual inscriptions (Greek and Georgian) in the collection of St. Catherine's Monastery, part of which are with circularly polished halos and bearing the specific Sinai stylistics. This thesis is supported by earlier examples of icons with circularly polished gilt, which were undoubtedly painted on Sinai. Among these we will mention icons examined in the studies of Georgios Galavaris, Zaza Skhirtladze and Maria Lidova – icons by the Sinai hieromonk of Georgian origin John Tsohabi, dated between the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century²³, the big hagiography (vita) icon of St. George from the beginning of the 13th century²⁴, commissioned by the Georgian monk and priest John and in the programme of which we find iconographic details,

²² Григорий (Перадзе), архим., *Сведения иностранных пилигримов о груз. монахах и груз. монахах Палестины*. Тбилиси 1995. pp. 119–120; Z. Skhirtladze, 'Four Images of M. Sinai in Georgian Psalter, State Art Museum of Georgia, Cod. 1–182', *Le Muséon*, 119 (2006), no. 3/4. pp. 429–461; Д. Клдиашвили, 'Икона св. Георгия с портретным образом Давида Агмашенебели', *Мравалтави: Историко-филологических разыскания*, 15 (1989), pp. 117–135.

²³ З. Схиртладзе, 'Иоане Тобаби - грузинский монах-иконописец, творивший на Синае', *Литература и искусство*, 1998, no. pp. 61–72; G. Galavaris, *An Eleventh Century Hexptych of the Saint Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai*, Venice-Athens 2009; M. Lidova, 'The artist's signature in Byzantium. Six icons by Ioannes Tohabi in Sinai monastery (11th–12th century)', *Opera. Nomina. Historiae. Giornale di cultura artistica, Repertorio Opere firmate nell'arte italiana*, 1 (2009), pp. 77–98.

²⁴ N. P. Shevchenko, 'The Vita Icon and the Painter as Hagiographer', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 53 (1999), p. 151, Fig. 2; *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, ed. H. C. Evans, New York 2004, pp. 372–373, fig. 228.

relating it to earlier monuments from Georgia²⁵; the hagiography (vita) icon of St. John the Baptist dated from the same period²⁶, which some authors also relate to Georgian donorship, and others²⁷. The dedications and the iconographers' signatures, preserved with most of them, present a rich donor spectrum²⁸. For the big stream of Georgian monks and pilgrims to the Monastery of St. Catherine we can judge by the fact that Thietmar, the most often cited German pilgrim from the beginning of the 13th century, visited Sinai in 1217 disguised as a Georgian monk to avoid the attacks of the Saracens²⁹. In this context we are rather surprised that the spinning disc from Ani is so far the only known to us Georgian monument of this type.

Without claiming exhaustiveness, from Cyprus we will mention the discs in the apse and the dome of Agios Nicolaos tis Stegis Church in Kakopetria – 13th century (fig. 8a), the discs from the dome in the narthex of Panagia Forviotissa Church in Asinou – 1332–1333 (fig. 8b) and the discs from the donor niche in the narthex of Panagia Podithou Church in Galata – 1502 (fig. 8c). Though only a few in number, just like the discs in Serbia, these monuments are positioned within the wide chronological frame of the period 13th–14th centuries.

The relations between Cyprus and Sinai have been the object of various studies and commentaries. The movement of monks between the two centers dates back to the times when the island was under Byzantine jurisdiction. After it was conquered by the crusaders at the end of the 12th century the monks of Cypriot origin formed a compact group within the Sinai brotherhood³⁰. This comes as no surprise since in Pope Inocentius III's bull from 1203, with which the Monastery of St. Catherine was given lands, churches and convents on the territories of the Latin Empire and the Crusader kingdoms, the Sinai properties on the island of Cyprus were also mentioned³¹. The next Pope – Honorius III – with his bulls from 1217 and 1226 additionally expanded the properties of the Monastery placing all of these under his protection³². Later, these privileges were re-confirmed both by his successor Pope Gregory IX and the popes to follow on the Roman chair. At those same times with the advance of the Latin clergy on the island the rights of ownership of the orthodox Cyprus archbishopric gradually became more restricted. In 1260 with a bull by

²⁵ K. Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

²⁶ Soteriou, G. et M. Soteriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, vol. I, Athenes 1956, pp. 152–154, Fig. 168. II.

²⁷ Cf. R. Janin, 'Les Georgiens a Jerusalem', *Echos d'Orient*, 16 (1913), pp. 211–212; D. Mouriki, 'Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century', in: *Sinai: Treasures of the Monastery of Saint Catherine*, ed. K. A Manafis, Athens 2006.

²⁸ D. Mouriki, *op. cit.*, pp. 115–116, fig. 52; A. Лидов, *Византийские иконы Синая*, Москва, Атина 1999, p. 27.

²⁹ *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quatuor*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent, Leipzig 1873, p. 20.

³⁰ K. W. Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 250–258.

³¹ L. Eckensteinp, *A History of Sinai*, London 1921, p. 150 (reprinted New York 1980); *Acta Innocentii III*, ed. T. Haluskynskyj, M. Wojnar, Rome 1963, pp. 462–465.

³² *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, Rome 1950, pp. 35, 36.



Fig. 8a. A disc from the Church of Agios Nicolaos tis Stegis Church in Kakopetria – 13th century, altar apse

Pope Alexander IV it was lowered in rank to a bishopric officially subordinate to the Latin Archbishop on the island. Institutionally crushed, its seats were reduced from 14 to 4 and moved to the peripheries of their respective dioceses³³.

Parallel to this the churches and convents on Cyprus donated to the Monastery of St. Catherine not only kept their status but they were also exempt from the tithe officially introduced after the Fourth Lateran Council, the tithe which was otherwise obligatory without exception for all Latin and Greek churches on the territory of the Crusader Kingdoms³⁴. No doubt the Sinai monks were also assured the freedom to export the produce from their agricultural and town estates on Cyprus and Crete to Sinai³⁵. Although the first data about Sinai monks on Cyprus residing at a precise location are from the 14th century, we have reasons enough to believe that the Monastery of St. Catherine had its churches on the island as early as the 13th century³⁶. From everything said above it becomes clear

³³ J. Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus from the Coming of the Apostles Paul and Barnabas to the Commencement of the British Occupation*, New York 1901 (reprinted 1972), p. 114.

³⁴ N. Coureas, 'The Orthodox Monastery of Mt. Sinai and Papal Protection of its Cretan and Cypriot Properties', in: *Autour de la Première Croisade. Actes du Colloque de la Société for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East. Conférence (Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 juin 1995)*, M. Balard, Paris 1996, pp. 478–479.

³⁵ N. Coureas, *op. cit.*, p. 477.

³⁶ References in support of this argument present two letters by Pope John XXII – from May 1328 and from September 1334 cited in N. Coureas, *op. cit.*, pp. 483–484.



Fig. 8b. Discs from the Church of Panagia Forviotissa, Asinou (1332–1333), narthex, dome

that the Cyprus properties of St. Catherine Monastery brought regular income to the Sinai monks and also presupposed their constant two-way travel³⁷.

Repeatedly commented upon the artistic relations between Sinai and Cyprus have never been placed objectively within the context of these historical sources and the existing influences between the two centres have always been examined in the direction from Cyprus to Sinai. In his encyclopedic study on Sinai Kurt Weitzman expresses his position that "at the time when Byzantine art flourished on the island, icons were imported from there, probably at the request of the Sinai Monastery."³⁸ Within the context of this presupposition the author attributes all 12th and 13th century Sinai and Cypriot icons examined in his study either as originating from Cyprus or as the works of Cyprus monks who had resided temporarily or permanently at the Sinai Monastery of St. Catherine. At the same time he does not deny that all of them have either Sinai iconography or are interpretations of it³⁹. Similarly the

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 477.

³⁸ K. W. Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 250–258.



Fig. 8c. Discs from the Church of Panagia Podithou, Galata (1502), narthex, donor niche

opinion of D. Mouriki⁴⁰ and T. Velmans examines without reserve the best Sinai monuments as produce of Constantinople⁴¹. In this context we will refer to the two large icons of Christ Pantokrator and Panagia Arakiotisa from Lagudera⁴² the circularly polished halos on which, preserved due to the covering, are clear enough indications of their tradition.

A particularly interesting view on the connections between Cyprus and Sinai is offered in one of the recent studies of Annemarie Weyl Carr in *Approaching the Holy Mountain* (2010)⁴³. The article looks at the spreading of the worship for the Holy Sinai topos among the two confessions on the island. According to the author for the Cyprus-dwelling Latins this worship is evidenced by 12 Catholic churches with St. Catherine as a patron⁴⁴; for the local orthodox communities a reference for the existing intimacy with the Sinai Monastery is the depiction of the Holy Burning Bush⁴⁵. In this aspect we will pay special attention to the fact that all Cyprus churches where we have so far marked the presence of „Spinning discs” are located within about 10 km from a small village bearing the name of Sina Horos at the foot of a hill bearing the same name⁴⁶. Two of these – Panagia Phorbiotissa in Asinou and Panagia Poditou in Galata are an object of study by Annemarie Weyl Carr in the con-

⁴⁰ D. Mouriki, *op. cit.*, pp. 104–120.

⁴¹ T. Velmans, 'Lo stile dell'icona e la regola Costantinopolitana I Balcani e la Russia (VI–XV secolo)', in: E. Bakalova, G. Passarelli, S. Petkovic, A. Vasiliu, T. Velmans, P. L. Vocotopoulos, *Il viaggio dell'icona*, (Corpus Bizantino slavo), Milano 2002, pp. 41–151.

⁴² S. Sophocleous, *Icons of Cyprus 7th–20th century*, Nicosia 1994, pp. 83–84, fig. 15–16.

⁴³ A. Weyl Carr, 'Sinai and Cyprus: Holy Mountain, Holy Isle', in: *Approaching the Holy Mountain: Art and Liturgy at St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai*, ed. Sh. Gerstel, R. Nelson, Turnhout 2011, pp. 449–478.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 457–458.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 470.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 476.

text of the topic of the Holy Virgin Burning Bush, developed in their programs. According to the author, "...the bond to the setting, to the very site of Sinai, was initiated in the image of the Burning Bush. Its recurrence shows that the pilgrims of the Orthodox world, though barely visible in texts, did disseminate a distinctive image for Sinai. Capable of bearing the bond to the site with it into distant places, this pilgrimage image plays a role in the evolution of that most distinctive of Sinai's inventions: the icon of itself as a place."⁴⁷

In his study "Mural and Icon Paintings at Sinai" (published in the same collection) G. Parpulov identifies the works of three Sinai iconographers, who had worked at the Monastery in the mid-13th century⁴⁸. Although some of the icons presented in his study as well as the murals from the apse of St. Jacob's Chapel are unjustifiably dated to the 13th century⁴⁹, the colleague makes the right conclusion that their stylistic similarities distinguish them from the general characteristics of the period style⁵⁰. The fact that among the icons from a later date there are ones with circularly polished halos gives us further reason to believe that an artistic school functioned at the Monastery, not only during the 13th century, but also throughout the mid-Byzantine period and its distinctive traditions have obviously remained live for the iconographers who worked there later. Our opinion, which has for now quite a few opponents and just a few supporters in scholarly circles, is based not only on the discussed donor inscriptions, the iconographers' autographs and the iconographic specifics (topics, subjects and holy personages) in close relation to the "Sinai topos", but also on an important technical characteristic which until now has not become the focus of special study – the circular polishing of the gilt in the halos, on the background and in the frames of a big part from the icons in the Monastery collection. Contemporary experiments with this technique of polishing show that once as well as today the acquisition of the skills needed to achieve its unique effect requires a long period for purposeful instruction and experimentation. This precludes its execution on the basis of an observation of a model outside a centre where the technique was practiced.

Several facts give us objective grounds to connect the tradition of this technique of polishing with the Monastery of St. Catherine: the possibility to follow the development of the circular polishing among the icons and the codices from the collection of St. Catherine's Monastery over the wide chronological span from the end of the 10th to the end of the 15th century; the fact that the limited number of monuments with such a characteristic preserved outside the boundaries of the Sinai peninsular are from the end of the 12th and the 13th century and come mostly from regions with which the Sinai bishopric kept in close contact during

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 478.

⁴⁸ G. Parpulov, 'Mural and Icon Painting at Sinai', in: *Approaching the Holy Mountain ...*, pp. 345–414.

⁴⁹ Some of the monuments Parpulov refers to fall into the big group of icons from the second half of the 15th c. That Mouriki comments on and which present a systematic attempt to copy the 13th c. images at the Monastery. Cf. D. Mouriki, *op. cit.* p. 122.

⁵⁰ G. Parpulov, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

this period or where it possessed lands, churches and convents. The distinctly local character of this technique and the still unclarified structure of the artistic process on Sinai leave open the question: Which of the two terms “school” or “studio” would it be better to refer to it with? The permanently continuing arguments related with the dating of many Sinai icons confirm our thesis about the uninterrupted activity at the Monastery attesting to a tradition of its own and a long-term continuity.



Fig. 9. Discs from the Notre-Dame-de-l'Annonciation du Puy-en-Velay Cathedral, France, narthex, northern wall, tympanum

The limited spreading of icons with circularly polished gilt presents us with indications that the studio was a comparatively small one. Its iconographic production was obviously intended for the needs of the Monastery itself and on rare occasions for some of its churches and convents outside the peninsula. For this reason as well as due to the remoteness of the Monastery the unique effect of the “Sinai gilding” which developed even on a local basis from a purely depictive to an expressive device carrying specific messages, has managed to gain the reputation of an “original emblem” of this spiritual centre only among the circles familiar with its tradition. It is not accidental then that we find „Spinning discs” in regions from which there was a continuous presence of monks and hierarchs at the Monastery of St. Catherine.

The spreading of the symbols under study to Venetian Crete and to the West – to Italy, France and other centres – is a subject of future research. The five 13th century „Spinning discs” painted above the tympanum on the northern narthex wall in the Notre-Dame-de-l'Annonciation du Puy-en-Velay Cathedral in France (fig. 9) whose transept has preserved a large scale depiction of the martyrdom of the Alexandrian saint from the same period, are an additional argument in support of our thesis that such symbols can be found in regions with references for contacts with the Sinai brotherhood and a well-developed cult to the Monastery patron – St. Catherine.

Going back to Annemarie Weyl Carr’s phrase about the “Sinai’s inventions”, we will add to these the “Sinai gilding” and its derivative „Spinning discs”. Unlike the images of the Burning Bush, of the Prophet Moses or of the Prophet Elijah, which due to their biblical basis and intelligible narrativity have acquired the capacity to carry over the connection to Sinai, the abstract vision and the arduous readability of the circularly polished gold radiance and the „Spinning discs” have limited their ability to legitimize this connection outside the circles familiar with the messages that saturate them.

Supraśl Iconostasis. Problem of the Attribution

Joanna Tomalska, Podlaskie Museum in Białystok

Iconostasis belongs to one of the most important ornamental elements in Eastern Orthodox churches. According to Eusebius of Caesarea: *Constantine the Great surrounded the altar with boards so that only few could enter [...] The altar, as the Holiest Place, is available only to priests. [...] Similarly, in the Holy Sepulchre temple, there were copper bars that no one could get behind, even if such a need arose.*¹

The development of the altar partition forms has not yet been well recognized. The majority of the early altar partitions, which are preserved until this day in their initial structure or are reconstructed on the basis of sources and research, repeated the structure which the Greeks named “kosmitis” or “templon”, comprised of an architrave resting on four columns, three intercolumns and two low stone slabs symmetrically placed on both sides of the central door.²

It is unknown what the original iconostasis of the Saint Mary of the Annunciation church in Supraśl looked like, unknown are also its whereabouts after the construction of a new altar partition.³

The history of the monasterial founding in Supraśl, once one of the most prominent and wealthiest monasteries on the border of the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in many aspects remains in the sphere of hypotheses until this day; the time of the monastery and church foundation has not been finally established, it is unknown what

¹ *Nowe tablice czyli o cerkwi, liturgii, nabożeństwach i utensyliach cerkiewnych, Objasnienia Beniamina, arcybiskupa Niżnego Nowogrodu i Arzamasu*, Kraków 2007, p. 33.

² И. А. Шалина, ‘Вход „Святых Святых” и византийская алтарная преграда’, in: *Иконостас, Происхождение – Развитие – Символика*, ed. А. М. Лидов, Москва 2000, p. 52.

³ This problem was presented by the author in the article ‘Ikony cerkwi Zwiastowania w Supraślu w świetle archiwalnych opisów w XVI–XVII w.’, *Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne*, 39 (2013), pp. 99–117.



Fig. 1. View of the monastery in Supraśl, from *Историческое обозрение района большого маневра в 1897 г. под Белостоком*, Санкт Петербург 1897, p. 62

happened to the 16th c. iconostasis and who was the author of the altar partition placed in the Annunciation church before the mid 17th century.⁴

As shown by the sources analysis of the furnishings of the Supraśl Catholicon before the creation of frescos there was an iconostasis comprised of five Sovereign icons: Ho-degetria, Pantokrator, Christ Emmanuel, Annunciation, icons depicting scenes from the life of Saint Mary, and the tiers of Deisis and Prophets.⁵ Sergiusz Kimbar changed the iconostasis structure by commissioning to paint the icons up to the Feasts tier, because the icon painter employed in the monastery gilded the partition comprised of four tiers: Sovereign icons, Deisis, the Feasts and the Apostles: *иконнику, што Деисус церковный золотом покладал и пророки и праздники и кивот и двери царски и икону жития Богородици.*⁶

⁴ Monastery monographer, archimandrite Mikołaj Dalmatow, admitted that with the existing source data it is not possible to establish the time of the church construction; Архимандрит Николай (Далматов), *Супрасльскій Благовещенскій монастырь, историко-статистическое описание*, Санктпетербург 1892, p. 37. More on this subject see J. Tomalska, 'Uwagi o wyposażeniu cerkwi w Supraślu w XVI i XV w.', *Studia Podlaskie*, 20 (2012), pp. 231–258; Eadem, 'Wyposażenie cerkwi Zwiastowania w Supraślu - stan badań i potrzeby badawcze', *Acta Collegii Suprasliense* [in print].

⁵ 'Опись вещам Супрасльскаго монастыря составленная настоятелем его архимандритомъ Сергеемъ Кимбаремъ', in: *Археографический сборник документов относящихся к истории Северо-Западной Руси*, vol. 9, Вильна 1870, p. 49.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 52.

The first iconostasis with a simple structure must have been created soon after the church construction, and in the times of archimandrite Kimbar and his large scale works it was extended by a tier of the Feasts icons and gilded.

While visiting Supraśl in 1635, the archbishop Józef Welamin Rutski⁷, recommended that apart from the revenue and expense ledger, a third one should be written down, comprising all church possessions, apparatuses, equipment, clothing and other objects, to facilitate the inspector's work. Such visits were to be performed every four years, or, if possible, even more frequently.⁸ Perhaps these recommendations were connected with large-scale renovations and changes in the furnishings of the church in Supraśl.⁹ Without a doubt, the most important realization of that time (before mid 17th c.) was the construction of a new altar partition with a rich icon programme and an opulence of ornaments. The works of Nikodem Szybiński were highly praised by Mikołaj Dałmatow, who included the iconostasis in the most valuable treasures of the Supraśl church: *Самым ценным памятником ревности, заботливости архимандрита Никодима о благоустроении Супрасльської обители служит устроенный им иконостас Благовещенской церкви, который сохранился в том самом виде и доныне. Действительно приснопамятный архимандрит Никодим на устройство иконостаса не пожалел средств.*¹⁰

Michał Janocha thinks that the 17th c. iconostases were not only altar partitions but also the apogee of Eastern Church sacral art, a particular expression of cultural and artistic

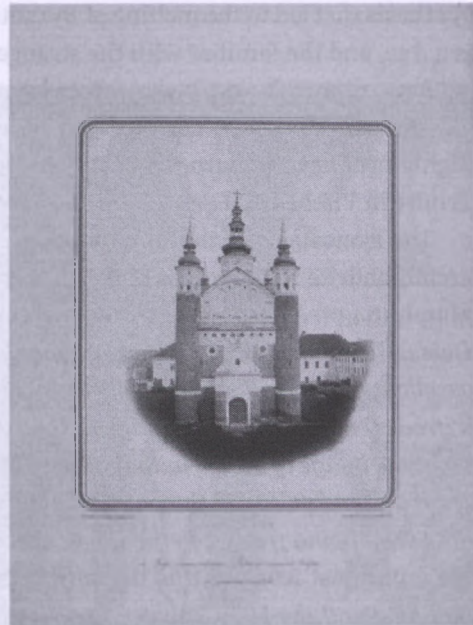


Fig. 2. Saint Mary of the Annunciation church in Supraśl, picture from 1864, University Library, Vilnius

⁷ Józef Jan Welamin Rutski (1574–1637), born in Ruta near Nowogródek in Korsak family, changed his surname to one originating from his birth place; from 1603 studied in Greek College in Rome, in 1607 received holy orders; in 1613, after Hipacy Pocij's death, became Kiev archbishop, the last one residing in Kiev; *Podręczna encyklopedia kościelna*, vol. 41/42, Poznań 1914, pp. 195–198; *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 33, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków 1991, pp. 256–260.

⁸ *Археографический сборник документов ...*, p. 152.

⁹ The archbishop recommended not to destroy "the old building style" while raising the monastery gate, therein.

¹⁰ Архимандрит Николай (Далматов), *op. cit.*, p. 140.

synthesis that led to the melting of Byzantine and Roman influences, the Middle and Modern Age, and the familiar with the strange into a homogenous body.¹¹

According to Maria Barbara Topolska, the altar partitions of that time are an expression of the borderland culture. Artists, either local or coming from the Crown, created highly ornamented baroque partitions such as the ones in Supraśl, the church of Holy Trinity in Vitebsk and Saint Nicholas in Mohylev.¹²

The iconostasis in the Annunciation church in Supraśl was created on request of the archimandrite Nikodem Szybiński, who received his title on 8th July 1636 and died on 13th March 1643¹³. After the abbot's death, among his other merits was also this one: *He built Deisus [iconostasis] at high cost, embellished with wood-carving or old-fashioned but excellent work, and lavishly gilded. In this Deisus, he created extraordinary paintings at a great cost – next to the image of the Holy Father are the twelve apostles, and on their right the image of Moses with the Izraelites, presenting to them a snake hung on the Cross Tree, on the left Jacob the patriarch with a figure of a ladder touching the Heaven and angels stepping from it to the Earth and from the Earth to Heaven [the author discusses the outermost icons of this tier of the iconostasis]. On the second, lower lever, next to Salvator and the Holy Spirit – twelve apostles, on their right side three kings worshipping the newborn Lord the Saviour and the Holy Virgin in the Bethlehem stable, and on the left – the image of circumcision of the Lord the Saviour. On the last, third [the lowest] level doors made with exquisite wood-carving work, ad sanctuarium, and gilded richly; over these double doors, called Holy in the Slavic language, a little statue of angel holding a bezel in his hand, written in Slavic “Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty”. On the right side of Salvator an image well painted on a copper sheet, and next to it the second image of annunciation of Blessed Virgin, most artistically painted, on a similar copper sheet, right after them the side door to the sacristy; on them a beautiful painting of the Archangel Michael with Lucifer at his feet. On the left of the door ad sanctuarium – a painting on a similar sheet of the Blessed Mother holding the Infant Saviour in Her arms, of the same author, miraculously beautiful, and right next to it the painting of Saint John the Evangelist in revelation, painted on the same sheet by the same author's hand, later the side door to the offertorium in accordance with the East Orthodox Church rite, on which the painting of Melchisedec priest in archpriest judaistic clothing, presenting a bloodless sacrifice of bread and wine. On top of the Deisus Saint Veronica is presented in the hands*

¹¹ M. Janocha, 'Barokowy ikonostas. Kryzys kanonu i okcydentalizacja sztuki cerkiewnej w XVII w. cz. II', *Bunt młodych duchem*, 3 (2006), pp. 29–31.

¹² M. B. Topolska, 'Znaczenie polskiego wschodniego pogranicza kulturowego dla poszerzenia zasięgu zachodniej cywilizacji w XVI–XIX w.', *Rocznik Lubuski*, 35 (2009), p. 42; M. Janocha, 'Ikonostasy w cerkwiach Rzeczypospolitej XVII–XVIII w.', *Przegląd Wschodni*, 8 (2003), no. 4, pp. 897–921.

¹³ *Археологический сборник документов ...*, p. 159, 175, 178; Архимандрит Николай (Далматов), *op. cit.*, p. 140.

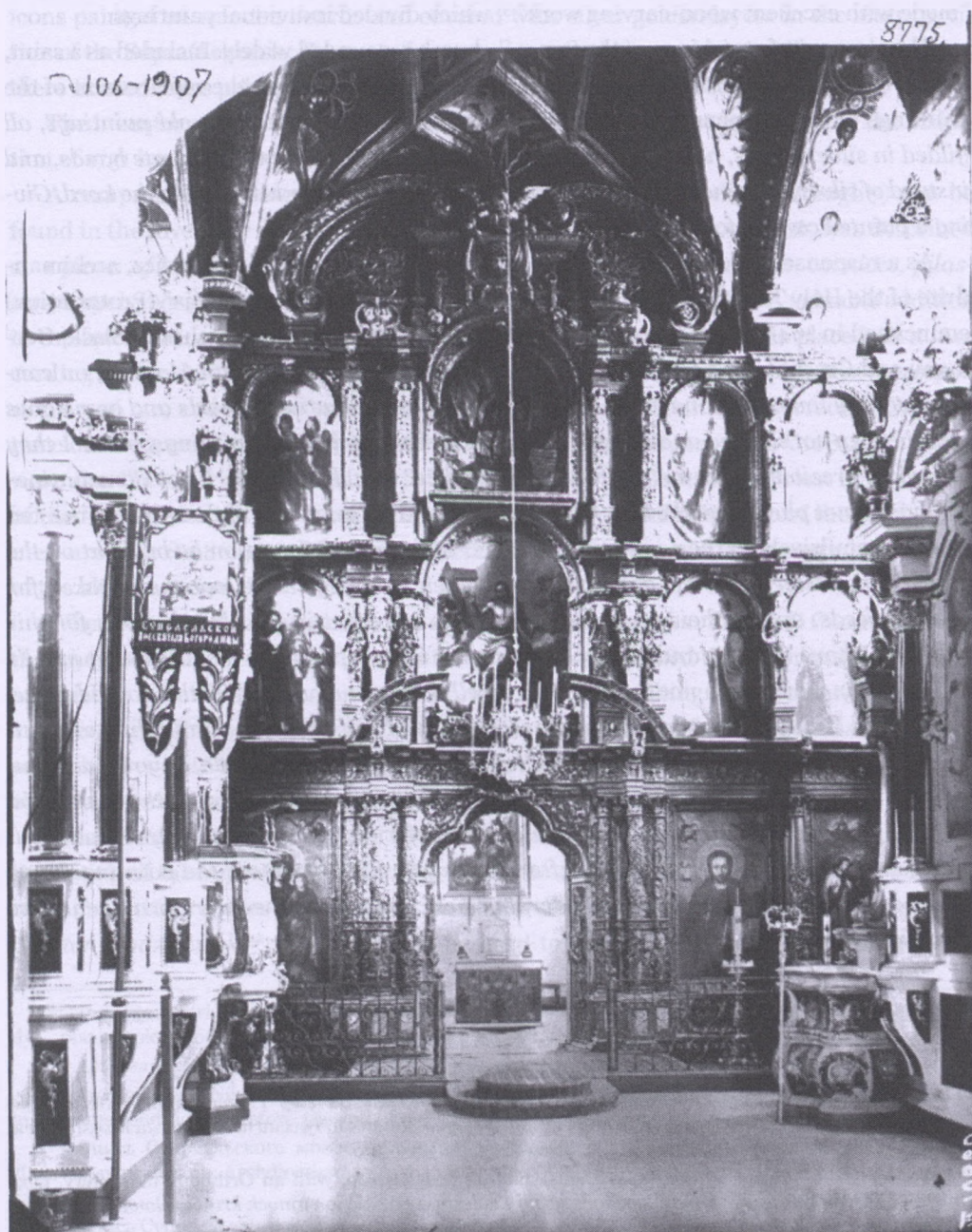


Fig. 3. Iconostasis from the Annunciation church in Supraśl, picture from 1907

of a carved angel¹⁴. It is written further that the iconostasis was decorated with columns "made with excellent wood-carving work"¹⁵, which divided individual paintings.

The change in furnishings of the Supraśl church resounded widely. Included as a saint, Peter Mohyla¹⁶ - Kiev Orthodox metropolit, in 1644 commented on the replacement of the paintings in Supraśl church, stating: *Ask in this monastery where the old paintings, all gilded in silver plates, have gone, and you will see that it all went to private hands, and instead of silver, they put Italian canvas in the church: they trade well with the Lord. Giving a painted canvas for the silver, golden ones.*¹⁷

As a response to these allegations, a polemic text by father Jan Dubowicz, archimandrite of the Holy Trinity Church in Dermań was written.¹⁸ In "Protestacja" (Protestation) enunciated in 1645, he wrote of the destruction of many wealthy churches in Śląsk, Germany and Czech during the wars: *... have Kossacks been lenient with Moscow, on conquering any town or monastery, have they not looted paintings, pearls and gemstones or have they not slashed and broken crosses and silver or golden paintings, or have they not taken precious parchments from the churches? Or when the Turk got Constantino-ple, has he not plundered the Saint Sophie church ...?*¹⁹ The author of these words reacted equally impulsively to the accusations of Peter Mohyla: *a defamation he brought on the Supraśl monastery that the old silver and golden paintings were looted and taken for private needs, and in their place Italian canvas were put in the church. Thus for this calumny I have to react and sine ceremonia say that impudenter mentiles, that you lie shamelessly, which I am not the only one to tell but anyone who visits this sacred place. You should know, slanderer, that in the whole country of ours you cannot find as valuable and ornamental paintings as in the Supraśl church, not on canvas, as you claim, but painted on copper. How dared you defame the elders of that place, just as the Nowogród church, where the painting may not be as monasterial, nec in tanta magnetitude, but still beautiful and golden. What if, after the church burned down, the paintings were made on canvas and paper, no wonder, but now, for some time, more ornaments are brought to the church.*²⁰

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 173–175.

¹⁵ J. Maroszek, 'Ikonostas supraski z 1643 r.', *Białostoczczyzna*, 3 (1996), pp. 4–5.

¹⁶ *Енциклопедія українознавства*, ed. В. Кубійович, vol. 5, Львів 1993, p. 1632.

¹⁷ P. Mohyla, *Lithos Abo kamień z procy prawdy Cerkwie Świętej Prawosławnej Ruskiej Na skruszenie...*, Roku 1644 w Kijowie', reprinted in: *Архив юго-западной России издаваемый Коммиссиею для разбора древних актов*, part 1, vol. 9, Киев 1893, pp. 365–366.

¹⁸ Dermań – a village in the old Dubiensk district near Ostroh, with an Orthodox monastery, later Uniate and Orthodox again; *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1881, p. 8.

¹⁹ *Киевский Митрополит Петр Могила и его сподвижники, Опыт церковно – исторического исследования*, ed. С. Голубев, vol. 2, Киев 1898, p. 342. From this words it can be inferred that the reason for the refurbishing of the Supraśl church interior were the damages during the wars of those times.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 346–347.

What arises from the pamphlet of Piotr Mohyła is that already in 1644 there were no icons painted on wooden boards and covered with silver golden layers in the altar partition of the Supraśl church. However, from response to the pamphlet, it follows that in 1645 there existed icons painted on copper intended for the new iconostasis.

The inventory made in 1668 does not include iconostasis description²¹, and the visitation of 1731 has not been preserved till the present day.²²

A comprehensive description of the partition (the last one that thorough²³) can be found in the inventory made by Lew Jaworowski in 1829.²⁴ The iconostasis was described as a piece: *of beautiful, wood-carving work, ornamented with capitals, cornices, pilasters, angels, vases and numerous stylish stuccos, all lavishly gilded.*²⁵ A valuable addition to the information are the dimensions in cubits and inches of the icons placed on it. According to this information, the icons painted on copper of the Sovereign tier measured 184.8 x 96 cm, and the central image of the second tier presenting Resurrected Christ in the clouds – 4 cubits 7 inches high and 3 cubits 5 inches wide, i.e. 247.2 x 168.4 cm. These were also the exact measures of the painting of Christ the Great High Priest in the centre of the highest tier. All the other paintings in the second and third tier of the iconostasis measured 172.8 x 86.4 cm. These measurements allow us to estimate the approximate size of the altar partition.²⁶

When were the construction works of the new altar partition finished? Can we assume that they were finished at the time when Petr Mohyła described them? Or maybe the Kiev archbishop estimated the temple's furnishings during furnishing replacement? One way or another, the author was surely aware of the new icons ordered for the new altar partition, which he proved in the cited excerpt. Why then the date "1664" appeared in the monograph by Nicolai Dalmatov, and was repeated later by other authors?²⁷

Presumably, one should agree with the opinion of Józef Maroszek, who claims that the dating of the Supraśl wood-carving masterpiece should be narrowed to years 1640–1643: from 1643 comes the information about the gilding works on the iconostasis *by painter Modzelewski*²⁸; thus, it would be hard to assume that an unfinished partition

²¹ 'Inwentarz cerkwie monastyrza supraslskiego za iaśnie wielmożnego i-mci księdza Gabryela Kolen-
dy ... pisanu roku 1668', in: *Археографический сборник документов ...*, pp. 229–243.

²² Архимандрит Николай (Далматов), *op. cit.*, p. 233.

²³ Archimandrite Nikolai Dalmatov wrote that the iconostasis, built in the first half of the 17th c., remained in the same condition, therefore, the author did not see it fit to include its description; *Ibidem*, p. 471.

²⁴ Опись Супрасльскаго монастыря составленная 1829 г. за настоятельства Преосвященнаго Льва Яворовскаго, in: Archdiocesan Archive in Białystok (Archiwum Archidiecezjalne w Białymstoku), [no number]

²⁵ Опись Супрасльскаго монастыря ..., column 5.

²⁶ Опись Супрасльскаго монастыря ..., column 5–6.

²⁷ W. Kochanowski, 'Pobazyliński zespół architektoniczny w Supraślu pow. Białystok', *Rocznik Białostocki*, 4 (1963), pp. 376–377.

²⁸ J. Maroszek, *Ikonostas supraslski ...*, p. 8.

could be gilded. It has to be reminded that Nikolai Dalmatov, when writing about the icon of the St. John the Evangelist from the new iconostasis, situated the time of its creation to the years 1636–1643, i.e. the time of archimandrite Nikodem Szybiński²⁹; in a different part, he enclosed information that the iconostasis was created in the first half of the century.³⁰ Therefore, the date “1664” must be a misprint and the iconostasis must have been built around 1643.

One of the most important problems with the Supraśl iconostasis is the place of its creation. In nearly all publications concerning the monastery there occurs the information of its origin in Gdańsk. However, there is no evidence to support this thesis. This attribution has derived solely on the basis of the excerpt from *Kronika Ławry Supraslskiej*, the author of which was supposed to be Supraśl vice-vicar Mikołaj Ratkiewicz, who wrote down the history of the monastery before 1747.³¹ Many years after placing the new iconostasis, the chronicler wrote that abbot Nikodem Szybiński, who ordered the work, established business connections with Gdańsk.³² The excerpt concerning the attribution of the new iconostasis can be found right after its description: *Through old monks I managed to hear that this whole structure was ordered by the mentioned abbot to be made in Gdańsk and brought by ships to Tykocin, from where it was transported by land.*³³

Therefore, the authorship of the iconostasis was attributed to Gdańsk workshops on very unsound basis: oral tradition and suppositions related to Nikodem Szybiński entering business contacts with Gdańsk. How accurately did the events that had happened over half a century before inscribe in the monks' memories and how precise is the cited record? Can the analysis of the ornaments visible on the archival photographs confirm this attribution?

Three-tier, five-axis iconostasis was raised on a pedestal with a grand crowning and an isolated central axis. The first tier was visibly higher from the rest, the rest had similar height. Horizontal divisions were created by the pedestal ornamented with panels and offset cornices. The most developed cornice, dividing the Sovereign icons from the Apostles tier, were composed of three horizontal bands (*fasciae*), and a frieze with a relief floral vine. The remaining cornices of the iconostasis were much more modest. The cornice above the Apostles tier was broken by deep, semicircularly closed icon frames. A magnifi-

²⁹ Архимандрит Николай (Далматов), *op. cit.*, p. 46.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 471.

³¹ The handwritten version of *Kronika Ławry Supraslskiej* is available in the collection of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences' Library in Vilnius, inv. no. 134. B2. Cf. J. Maroszek, *Pogranicze Litwy i Korony ...*, p. 115. Mikołaj Ratkiewicz died at a very old age on 16th November 1779. Cf. Архимандрит Николай (Далматов), *op. cit.*, p. 364.

³² The apologist of Nikodem Szybiński's doings wrote: „I cannot find any notes concerning any ships with grain going from Supraśl to Gdańsk; however, always or very often transport was sent to Vilnius with grain, and after selling it, necessities were bought that were needed by the monastery, which can be noticed in the archive documents. When Nikodem Szybiński became archimandrite, he contrived a port for Supraśl in Tykocin, at this time Supraśl successfully started to navigate to Gdańsk with grain”. *Археографический сборник документов ...*, pp. 172–173.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 175.



Fig. 4. Virgin Mary icon from the Annunciation church in Supraśl, picture from 1864, University Library, Vilnius

cent broken semicircular pediment was placed over the openwork Holy Doors. In addition, the vertical divisions of the alter partition, depending on the place, comprised columns, spiral columns and herm pilasters. The Holy Doors were flanked with triple columns in a ledge configuration, while the central ones were in a spiral configuration. The shafts of all of them were separated with double rings at $\frac{1}{3}$ of the height, below were the winged heads of puttos, higher was a relief floral vine in a spiral layout.

Lavishly ornamented and diversified herm pilasters dividing the paintings in the second tier were placed on pedestals decorated with stately oval cabochons in rectangular panels. In the central part, on both sides of the painting of Christ in the clouds, triple pilasters with half figures of angels surrounded by an unclear floral ornament were found. Further on the left herm pilasters with half figures of women holding escutcheons with both hands can be seen: on the left, with three horizontal bars and letters NS (Nikodem Szybiński), on the right, with Kościesza coat of arms of the Chodkiewicz clan. The cornice separating the Apostles tier from the Prophets tier was broken in the centre by deep, semi-circularly closed frames of the paintings.

Yet another form of horizontal divisions can be found in the third tier; the paintings here were separated by diverse forms: in the central part with openwork columns (if it can be stated from the archival photo) placed on pedestals ornamented with relief four-leaf rosettes. Similarly to the lowest row, the shafts of the columns were divided with a semi-plastic ring at a third of the height, under which puttos' heads were placed surrounded by floral ornaments, and entwined with floral ornaments on the upper part. Further on the left and right were herm pilasters with half figures of angels whose curly heads formed pilasters' capitals. Above the heads emerged volutes of composite capitals.

The Holy Doors were placed in a deep embrasure, richly ornamented with semi-plastic winged puttos' heads, half figures of worshipping angels, lion heads on scrolling cartouches³⁴; bunches of grapes, floral twigs, and on the bottom decorated with fruit and flowers. The most sophisticated elements of the whole structure were the openwork double doors³⁵. Among their decorations of multiple symbolic meanings there were grapevine and grape bunches, astragals, winged angels heads, eagle figures. All the elements created a symmetrical openwork net filling both wings of the doors with dense layout.

The crowning of the structure was created by a half figure of an angel holding Veronica's veil. The sculpture, placed on a rectangular pedestal crowned with a grand cornice, was framed with volutes with acanthus leaves motif.

³⁴ Cf. M. Deri, *Das Rollwerk in der deutschen Ornamentik des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1906, passim.

³⁵ The most details of the Holy Doors of the Supraśl iconostasis are depicted on a documentary drawing "Supraśl, Kościół pobazyliński, Wrota ikonostasu" signed in the right bottom corner „Wykonali: Maria i Jan Zachwatowicze R. 1939”, kept in the collection of the Architecture Department of the Warsaw University of Technology.

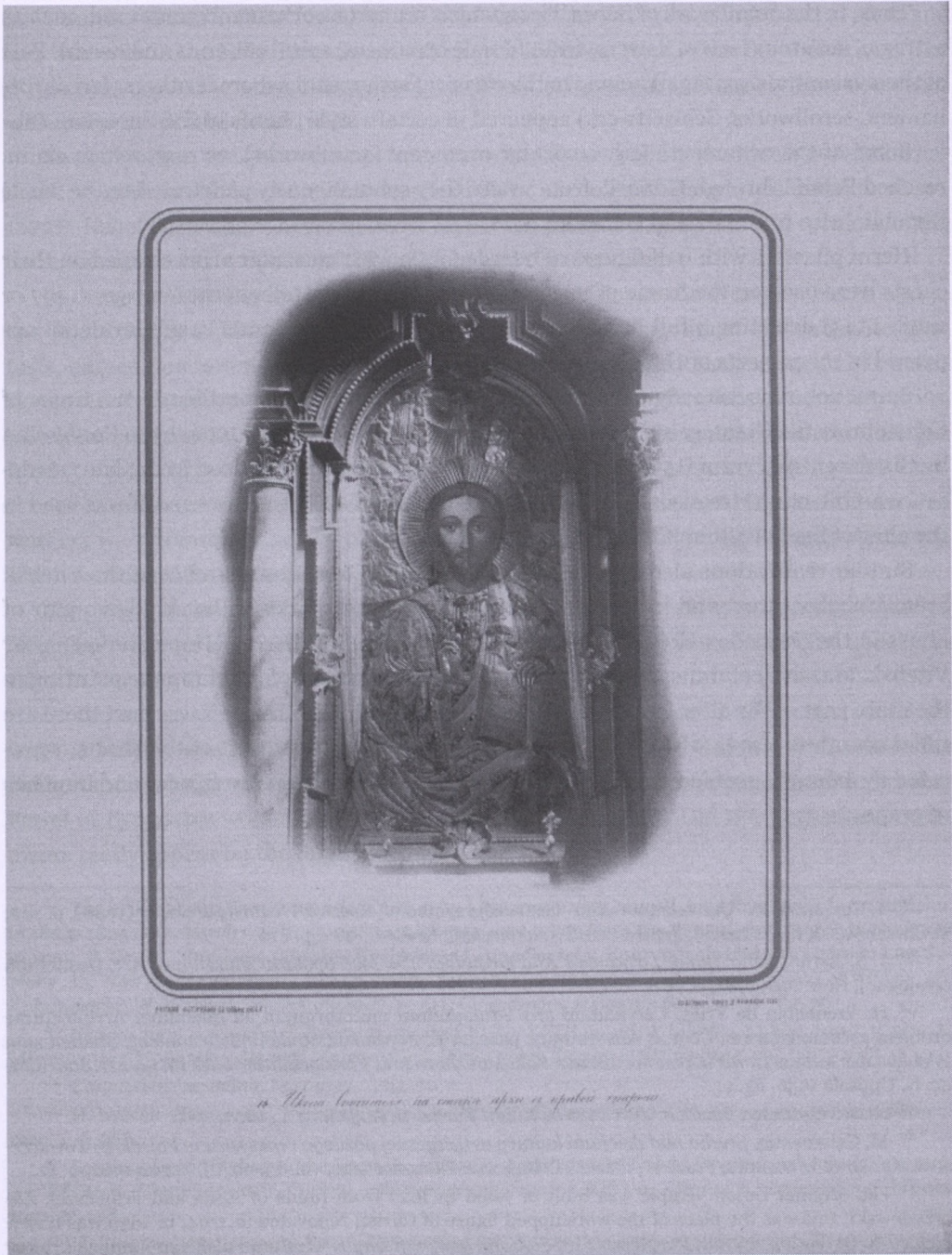


Fig 5. Christ Pantocrator from the Annunciation church in Supraśl, picture from 1864, University Library, Vilnius

Thus, in the detail work of Supraśl iconostasis numerous ornaments were used, such as astragal, acanthus leaves, flowers, fruit, ferrule ornament, spiral columns and herms. Part of them (acanthus, astragal) belong to the classical art arsenal, whereas others (ferrule ornament, scrollworks, Schweifwerk) appeared in certain style phases of the European art.

Some of the ornaments (e.g. auricular ornament, scrollworks), as researchers claim, reached Poland through Gdańsk, from where they spontaneously penetrated to the whole Republic, also to Uniate and Orthodox art³⁶.

Herm pilasters with half figures of bearded men with muscular arms clasped on their chests were used on the frame of the graphic work by Hans Holbein the Younger (1497 or 1498–1543) depicting a full body image of Erasmus of Rotterdam³⁷. A similar detail appeared in the projects of Hans Vredeman de Vries³⁸.

Spiral columns, already existing in the Roman Saint Peter's basilica in the times of Constantine the Great, gained great popularity after raising in that temple the Confession by Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598–1680). Nevertheless, the motif appeared in the late renaissance architectural treatises of, among others, Lucas Kilian³⁹. The same motif was used in the altar of the Lviv Boim Chapel, consecrated in 1615⁴⁰.

Similar realizations also appeared in Catholic and Orthodox churches of the Vitebsk area, Mohylev, Brest and in Moscow. One of the earliest works of that kind is a pair of altars in the Orthodox Holy Transfiguration church in Porpliszczce (Порплішча)⁴¹ near Vitebsk. Massive columns, gilded and decorated with bas-relief, flanking the painting in the main part of the altar, are divided into two unequal parts. In the lower part there are relief acanthus leaves with semi-plastic spiral ribs. The upper part of the shafts, separated by a double profiled ring, is entwined by grapevine with putto figures and bunches of grapes.

³⁶ T. Chrzanowski, 'Uniwersum maski- destrukcja symbolu', *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, 17 (1988), p. 182; T. Chrzanowski, M. Kornecki, *Sztuka Ziemi Krakowskiej*, Kraków 1982, p. 412.

³⁷ J. S. Byrne, *Renaissance Ornament And Drawing, The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, [exhibition catalogue], New York 1981, p. 78.

³⁸ H. Vredeman de Vries, *Caryatidum sive Athlantidum multiforium ad quemlibet Architecturae ordinem accomodatorum*, Cent. I, Anvers 1597, passim; E. Forssman, *Säule und Ornament, Studien zum Problem des Manierismus in den nordischen Säulenbüchern und Vorlageblättern des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Uppsala 1956, fig. 25.

³⁹ *Newes Gradesca Büchlein durch Lucas Kilian Burger in Augsburg ...*, 1607.

⁴⁰ M. Gębarowicz, *Studia nad dziejami kultury artystycznej późnego renesansu w Polsce*, (= Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, Prace Wydziału Filologiczno-Filozoficznego, vol. 13, no. 2), Toruń 1962, p. 12.

⁴¹ The original Uniate temple was built of wood in 1627 from funds of Anna and Franciszek Zebrzydowski; this was the place of the worshipped figure of Christ; renovated in 1794, in 1836 was transformed to Orthodox church; Porpliszczce in: *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, vol. 8, Warszawa 1887, p. 827; J. Fibek, *Wskrzeszenia na pograniczu dwóch światów, Dzieje Kościoła rzymsko-katolickiego w dorzeczu Berezyny i Wilii w granicach dekanatu dokszyckiego w diecezji witebskiej na Białorusi 1395–2009*, Nowe Miasto nad Pilicą 2011, p. 240, 250; *Сакральны жываніс Беларусі XV–XVIII ст.*, Мінск 2007, fig. 27, 28.

A similar detail can be found in the columns of the first row of the central altar and two side ones in the Holy Transfiguration church in Nowa Mysz in the Brest district⁴². The differences come down to a different treatment of the lower part of the columns, decorated with putto heads and floral twig.

The latter than the given examples, extraordinarily embellished with a bas-relief ornament, iconostasis of the Orthodox church of Saint Nicholas in Mohylev, is dated to 1669–1672⁴³. Relief decorations cover in dense layout the pedestals, pilasters and cornices of the three-tier iconostasis, openwork Holy Doors and the crowning⁴⁴.

In the second half of the 17th c. in Russia, in many cities in the West and North and in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, appeared a new type of altar partition – “Flemish” iconostasis, named due to the used ornaments called *флемский*⁴⁵ in Russian. Such altar partitions were created by masters from Vilnius, Polock, Vitebsk, Smolensk and other cities, which remained within the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth for decades. In 1650–1660 carpenters, wood-carvers, turners and other craftsmen helping with creation of iconostases were repeatedly called from Moscow to Belarus⁴⁶. Some of the arrived workers were commissioned by patriarch Nikon, others worked in the Kremlin Armoury. The newcomers’ duty was also to educate local apprentices.

The most characteristic detail of Supraśl iconostasis, and wider – iconostases called “Flemish”, was the ornament. Russian researchers found the source of that kind of decorations in German Baroque adopted through Poland⁴⁷.

In the 17th c. the elements of Netherlandian sculptures gained advantage over Italian; the process was particularly visible in Pomorze district and Gdańsk, from where the Netherlandian influences spread to the whole Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: brother Paweł of Bydgoszcz worked for the Lviv Bernardine church⁴⁸. Did the Netherland ornaments really appear on the Supraśl iconostasis?

⁴² The original temple was founded in 1641 by Lithuanian sub-cancellarius Kazimierz Leon Sapieha, in 1824–1825 new church was built, rich furnishings were taken from the Benedictine church in Nieśwież in 1905; B. Gryko, ‘Fundacje sakralne Kazimierza Leona Sapiehy, Kontynuacja budowy prestiżu Lwa Sapiehy’, in: *Nad społeczeństwem staropolskim, Kultura – instytucje – gospodarka w XVI–XVIII w.*, ed. K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, Białystok 2007, p. 411; *Сакральны жываніс Беларусі ...*, fig. 30.

⁴³ *Sztuka ziem wschodnich Rzeczypospolitej XVI – XVIII w.*, ed. J. Lileyko, Lublin 2000, p. 201; A. Mironowicz, ‘Monastery diecezji białoruskiej’, *Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne*, vol. 29 (2008), p. 12.

⁴⁴ *Сакральны жываніс Беларусі ...*, fig. 70.

⁴⁵ И. Бусева-Давыдова, ‘Русский иконостас XVII в., Генезис типа и итоги эволюции’, in: *Иконостас ...*, p. 626.

⁴⁶ In 1660, from Vitebsk to the Kremlin Armoury came turners Dawid Pawłow and Jakub Pogorzelski. Cf. А. В. Абцедаарский, *Русско – белорусские связи в XVII в., Сборник материалов*, Минск 1961, p. 428.

⁴⁷ И. Бусева-Давыдова, *op. cit.*, p. 627. Author emphasizes the lesser significance of Ukrainian artists, in 1655 two turners from Kiev-Pechersk lavra came to Moscow: elder Sewerian Zinkiejew and his assistant Prokop Ostapow; as the author claims, renaissance traditions endured for a long time in the Ukrainian art.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 628. Brother Paweł, bernardine, carpenter (and turner?), was the author of works of great artistic value, worked, among others, on the decoration of the monastery church in Leżajsk (main altar,

The analysis of the ornament visible on archive photographs brings very interesting conclusions. The detail used for decoration of the altar partition is a compilation of classical ornament, including, among others, acanthus leaves, volute, astragal and bull's eyes, with that of late Renaissance: *Schweifwerk* and auricular, popular particularly in the Baroque period⁴⁹. *Schweifwerk* is a type of ornamental motif comprised of forms in the shape of elongated letters C and S with widened endings, filled with a row of pearls put next to each other, used in the transitional phase between Mannerism and the early Baroque, around 1570–1620⁵⁰. This type of decoration was used for congesting forms or joining different types of ornaments. *Schweifwerk* was no longer used⁵¹ in Gdańsk workshops around 1640, when the Supraśl altar partition was created⁵². The use of this motif was possible in more provincial centres, such as Vilnius.

The auricular ornament, in which biological forms with emphasized row of knobs were used, appeared at the end of the 16th c. and gained popularity especially in the 17th c. wood-carving and goldsmithery⁵³.

Thus, could the iconostasis have been created in Vilnius? Confirmation of this thesis requires further research, however, the fact supporting this thesis is calling Wincenty, one of the painters working on the icons, малярем велнским, which means he must have come from Vilnius. Since, at least one of the painters originated from this city (with which Supraśl monks stayed in everyday vivid contacts, for which evidence can be found in numerous sources), was the equally large as valuable partition ordered in the far away Gdańsk, where luxurious and very expensive works were created? Could it be created in Vilnius?

In Vilnius in the 17th and 18th c., as stated by Marian Morelowski, on the basis of archival excerpts concerning Vilnius art kept in the central Jesuit Archive in Valkenborch in Holland, worked – apart from the Italians – a small group of talented Nehterlandian and French artists⁵⁴. Their influence on the development of Vilnius art of that time remains unknown.

stalls), and in the Lviv Bernardine church. Cf. *Słownik artystów polskich i w Polsce działających (zmarłych przed 1966 r.)*, ed. K. Mikocka-Rachubowa, M. Biernacka, vol. 6, Warszawa 1998, p. 456.

⁴⁹ The motif appeared in the project of Geerts and Collaert in 1580, Theodor Bry in 1589, Mignot in 1593, Bruyn in 1594, Brickenhultz in 1600, Christoph Jamnitzer in 1610, and also in later years, e.g. in the projects of Janssen (1631), Lucas Kilian (1632). Cf. *Katalog der Ornamentisch-Sammlung der Kunstgewerbe-Museums zu Berlin*, Leipzig 1894, no. 389, 581, 412, 428, 585, 437, 448.

⁵⁰ *Lexikon der Kunst*, ed. H. Olbrich, G. Strauss, vol. 6, Leipzig 2004, 559–560.

⁵¹ Cf. R. Berliner. *Ornamentale Vorlage Blätter*, Leipzig 1924; G. Irmscher, *Kleine Kunstgeschichte des europäischen Ornaments seit der frühen Neuzeit (1400–1900)*, Darmstadt 1984.

⁵² The discussed ornament was at that time in the form of a dry auricle changing into acanthus. I'm very grateful to prof. Jacek Tylicki for valuable comments.

⁵³ *Słownik terminologiczny sztuk pięknych*, ed. S. Kozakiewicz, Warszawa 1976, p. 85.

⁵⁴ M. Morelowski, *Znaczenie baroku wileńskiego XVIII stulecia, Studia nad dawną sztuką wileńską*, Wilno 1940, p. 6.



Fig. 6. Saint Mary of the Annunciation church in Supraśl today

Furthermore, it needs to be emphasized that the forms of the Supraśl work conformed to a whole group of 17th c. iconostases, known for the use of ornamental forms as “Flemish”⁵⁵.

Also in the view of Irina Busiewa-Dawydowa, although the author repeated the message of its alleged origin in Gdańsk⁵⁶, Supraśl iconostasis did not resemble the “Flemish” type. As the researcher notices, the motif of cherub heads was used in herm pilasters, similarly to architecture of Kazimierz, Lublin and other Polish cities, as well as double columns entwined with floral ornament⁵⁷. The author regards other details, such as columns entwined with grapevine and grape leaves, as the favourite motif of Belarus-Russian wood carvers.

⁵⁵ О. В. Бабак, ‘Символика резьбы в царских вратах русского севера’, in: *Молода мистецька наука України, VIII електронна наукова конференція*, Харків 2005, p. 5.

⁵⁶ И. Бусева-Давыдова, *op. cit.*, p. 628.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 644. The author noticed connections with motifs taken from Flemish art, which can be found in many churches: the main altar in the parish church in Szydłowiec, St. Nicholas in Gdańsk, the town church in Małogoszcz, Opalenica, Sieraków and Przedborze; therein.

Andrzej Modzelewski and the aforementioned painter Wincenty, named in the source materials „малярем велнским”⁵⁸, assuredly worked on the construction of Supraśl iconostasis. Andrzej Modzelewski was not a Gdańsk painter, his name does not appear in the archive materials⁵⁹. It is mentioned in the receipt issued by Krzysztof Chodkiewicz in 1650: “Note taking gold from painter Modzelewski from the treasury. Now 12 June I, the deputy, from this treasury have taken painting gold Fangolt 15 books Cwingolt 1 book which I am going to spend according to painting need”⁶⁰. Thus, in 1650, Andrzej Modzelewski was hired to do goldsmithing work, he could have gilded the already placed iconostasis or the icon frames.

If Wincenty had come from Vilnius, it does not seem probable that the wood-carving work had been done in Gdańsk.

The non-existing Supraśl iconostasis, following the comment of the monastery chronicler, Mikołaj Ratkiewicz, regarded as a work of Gdańsk masters for more than 200 years, assuredly was created in a city situated much closer. The most probable seems to be Vilnius, from where the painter Wincenty was to come. It was there where in a Jesuit circle worked Bartłomiej Pens (who, escaping from Elbląg, was supposed to land in Vilnius), the alleged author of the Hodegetria and Christ Pantocrator⁶¹ and perhaps also other icons in the great church. Without a doubt, the answer to the question of the authorship of the Supraśl iconostasis belongs to one of the most prominent research problems in regard to the history of culture of this part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Its solution would allow for a better evaluation of the artistic value of the work of arts once kept in the Supraśl church.

⁵⁸ Архимандрит Николай (Далматов), *op. cit.*, p. 142. According to N. Wysocka, the painter was one of the 19 artists working on the Ruthenian grounds of the Crown in the first half of the 17th c.; Н. Высоцкая, ‘Роль белорусской иконописи в развитии христианского искусства’, in: *История, культурология, мастацтвазнаўства, Матэрыялы III Міжнароднага кангрэса Беларускага „Беларуская культура у дыялогу цывілізацый”*, Мінск 2001, p. 286.

⁵⁹ Cf. J. Pałubicki, *Malarze gdańscy, Środowisko artystyczne w gdańskich materiałach archiwalnych. Słownik malarzy, szklarzy i rysowników*, vol. 1-2, Gdańsk 2009. It needs to be emphasised that there were almost no Polish speaking craftsmen in the Baltic metropolis: the guilds employed almost exclusively Germans and Lutherans. I’m very grateful to prof. Jacek Tylicki for drawing my attention to it.

⁶⁰ *Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, Archiwum Młynowskie Chodkiewiczów*, F. 630, Regestr Kochaniewicza, k. 204; Архимандрит Николай (Далматов), *op. cit.*, p. 142; W. Kochanowski, *op. cit.*, p. 377.

⁶¹ Cf. J. Tomalska, ‘Uwagi na temat wyposażenia cerkwi Zwiastowania w Supraślu w XVI i XVII wieku’, *Studia Podlaskie*, 20 (2012), pp. 27–55.

Insignia of Roman Catholic Bishops influenced by Byzantine Art. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century examples

Katarzyna Bogacka, Department of Social Sciences, Warsaw University of
Life Sciences – SGGW

Introductory remarks

The nature of the insignia of ecclesiastical authority is in every regard determined by their function, as well as the liturgy and tradition of the Roman Catholic Church. In the formal sense, they are not the exact equivalents of the insignia of bishops of the Eastern Churches. The difference in the form of objects of this type in the Orthodox and Catholic Church seem to limit their mutual influence in terms of their form and decoration. However, an analysis of specific cases confirms that the insignia of the Orthodox Church did have an impact on those of the Roman Catholic Church. This applies above all to nineteenth- and twentieth-century works that originated in central and western Europe, whose form, ornamentation and iconography was influenced by Byzantine art — directly or through Ruthenian and then Russian art — although such influence was frequently refined as a result of the European Renaissance tradition.¹

Episcopal insignia include the ring and crosier, the mitre (also classified among pontifical robes), and — from the second half of the sixteenth century — the pectoral cross. The form and decoration of these items were subject to constant evolution and individual modifications, a process that was particularly strong in the nineteenth and especially twentieth centuries. Their formal differentiation was the result of increased access to a number of historical patterns and much wider international and even intercontinental — and thus also intercultural — contacts. Given the multitude of converging lines of influence, one can distinguish the much stronger impact of Byzantine culture, influenced by Ruthenian and

¹ A separate, although not discussed here, phenomenon occurring in this period was bringing in different circumstances, insignia made in Russia within the circle of the Orthodox culture.

Russian culture. Insignia that are now in Polish collections, and which are historically connected with Poland, constitute interesting research material. For the purposes of this article, the examples presented here were chosen from among the insignia in the historical metropolis of Gniezno.

Episcopal Insignia of the Eastern and Western Church

The development of a set of episcopal insignia in the Roman Catholic Church took place between the sixth and sixteenth centuries. At the beginning of this period, the ring and crosier were signs of the bishop's authority. From among the many known varieties of rings, the *Pontificale Episcoporum* recommended that it be a gold ring with a precious stone without any carvings on the surface. In fact, the latter recommendation was not always respected, and these rings varied considerably. The crosier took the form of a staff which was of a man's height, with a spirally curled upper part, often richly decorated, called a crook. In the eleventh century, the mitre had obtained its final shape of a two-horned cap with two frontally directed planes (disks). The weft was to be made of silk and it was decorated with embroidery and (or) incrustrated with precious stones. The degree of ornamentation depended on which of the three liturgical types it belongs to: the *mitre pretiosa* (heavily jewelled, on a foundation of gold²), *auriphrygiata* or *simplex*. Its use at a given liturgical time is regulated by the *Pontificale Episcoporum*. The bishop's pectoral cross in the Roman Catholic Church has the form of a cross - mostly Latin, seldom Greek - which in rare cases was doubled. It has only been universally used by bishops since early modern times, on the recommendation of Pope Pius V in 1570. Its late entry into the set of insignia meant that it is the only object that does not have a separate form of consecration; the *Pontificale Episcoporum* prescribes a prayer "to the sacrifice of the cross for those travelling in defence of the Holy Land".³ Research shows that the proportions of the insignia, the material used in their manufacture, the style and iconography of the ornamentation, underwent many changes in history, which resulted in a great deal of variety.

In the Orthodox and Greek Catholic Church, the bishop's insignia took different forms, except for the ring. An early form of the bishop's staff in eastern Christendom was the Tau-shaped staff; this form of the crosier is still used in the Orthodox Church (in the West it was used temporarily, between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, an example being the so-called St. Heribert's pastoral staff dating from ca. 1000 AD in St. Heribertus in Deutz). In the Eastern Catholic Churches bishops use a staff which is a man's height surmounted with a sphere, the upper part of which is entwined with two serpents facing one another. It is also called a crosier or *paterissa*.

² Braun, J. (1911). 'Mitre', in: *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York: Robert Appleton Company. Retrieved December 6, 2013 from New Advent: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10404a.htm>.

³ Cf. K. Bogacka, *Pastoralny w Polsce. XI-XVIII w.*, Marki 2004; Eadem, *Insignia biskupie w Polsce. Pierścień, pektoral, infuła*, Warszawa 2008.

Since the seventeenth century, the liturgical headdress in the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic Church has been the coronet (mitre), whose shape resembles that of a closed imperial crown, surmounted with a cross. The bishops of both churches wear the Panagia on their chests - a biconvex oval medallion decorated with a scene of the Crucifixion on the obverse, and with the image of the Mother of God on the reverse, hence the name. The Panagia can be opened, and it has a compartment inside designed to accommodate the host or relics of saints. It has been a sign of episcopal dignity since the eleventh - twelfth centuries.⁴ The Panagia belongs to the so-called encolpia. These in turn, alongside the ancient breastplates and plaquettes, influenced the formation of the pectoral. According to Antoni Julian Nowowiejski, encolpia - the relics of the Holy Cross framed in gold and worn on a gold chain - have been known in Eastern Christianity since the times of Constantine the Great. They were worn both by lay dignitaries and the clergy, including bishops, who in the sixth-seventh centuries already saw it as a sign of their authority.⁵ It should be noted that the insignia of the Eastern Catholic Church exhibit greater stability of forms than those of the Western Catholic Church.

Neo-Renaissance pectorals made in Western Europe under the influence of Byzantine culture

Two pectoral crosses dating from the second half of the nineteenth century belong to a group of several similar episcopal crosses adorned with delicate ornamentation in relief, often very similar to filigree, with fine arabesque motifs or a floral candelabrum ornament, reminiscent of the early Italian Renaissance. This ornamentation, limited to the obverse of the cross, allows one to identify these insignia as neo-Renaissance works. Moreover, the two pectoral crosses shown below bear a cameo embedded in the intersection of the arms which depicts an image of Christ's face, reminiscent of the iconography of Byzantine art.

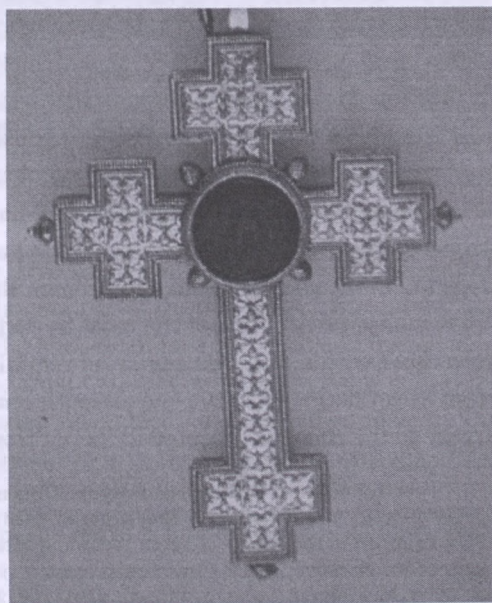


Fig. 1. Pectoral cross of Jan Puzyna, Kraków, Cathedral Treasure; *Wawel* 2000, kat. I/214, Fig. 281

⁴ S. V. Gnutowa, E. Y. Zotova, *Crosses, Icons, Hinged Icons*, Moscow 2000, p. 132, J. Klosińska, *Sztuka bizantyńska*, Warszawa 1975, p. 199.

⁵ A. J. Nowowiejski, *Wykład liturgii Kościoła Katolickiego*, vol. 2, part 1, *O środkach rozwinięcia kultu*, Warszawa 1902, p. 368.

The pectoral cross of Jan Puzyna, housed in the cathedral treasury on Wawel Hill in Cracow⁶, dates from 1824–1886 (Figs 1, 2). It has the form of the duplicated cross,⁷ with a frame around its contour, with cones between the arms and knobs on their ends. The surface of the arms is covered with a uniform ornament of leaves (or lilies). The inscription engraved on the reverse indicates that the insignia is a souvenir of episcopal consecration: *Leo XIII P.[ontifex]M.[aximus] Joanni Puzyna / Ep[is]co[po]. Aux.[iliari] Leop[ol].[iensi] die consecrationis / 25 Martii 1886 Romae benevol dedit.* – *Leo XIII High Priest offers [pectoral cross] with kindness to John Puzyna[,] auxiliary bishop of Lviv on the day of consecration on 25 March 1886.*

Jan Puzyna was subsequently appointed Bishop of Cracow and Cardinal by the same pope. A souvenir of the latter event is a ring, also housed in the Cracow Cathedral Treasury.

The intersection of the arms of the breast-cross is adorned with a grey-coloured cameo carved in smoky quartz. The relief shows the face of Christ - *en face* - on a headscarf (the veil of Veronica). Because it bears no sign of the Passion, the image corresponds to the definition of the Holy Mandylion. Its counterpart, widespread in Western art, is the Veil of Veronica which bears an image of Christ suffering, usually with a crown of thorns. Legend attributes the creation of these images to the miraculous imprint of the Saviour's face on the material, hence their common name "not-made-by-hand" - *acheiropita*.⁸ The Mandylion became the property of the Byzantine Emperor in 944 and since then has been repeatedly copied and depicted in art as a powerful apotropaion that protects against all evil forces. The Cracow cross makes present one of the most important images in Byzantine iconography (Fig. 3). Decorated with a precious gem, it is reminiscent of such works as the processional cross from Enger dating from the late eleventh century. The form of the doubled cross makes reference to the encolpia executed in Russia from the fourteenth century.⁹

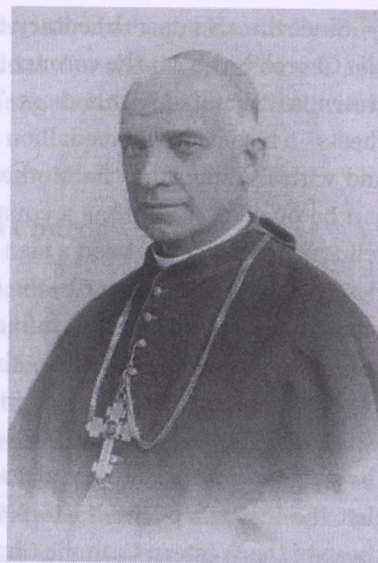


Fig. 2. Bishop Jan Puzyna with pectoral cross. <http://www.wsd.diecezja.krakow.pl/absol1.htm>

⁶ Pectoral cross of Bishop Jan Puzyna. Dimensions: 11.9 x 8.5 cm, length of chain: 55.5 cm; gold, smoky quartz (?); Goldsmith's maker's marks: Austrian gild for products made of gold in the years 1824–1866, stamped in the Assay Office in Vienna, masters' gild "Z•W" in a lying oval, Vienna, goldsmith ZW, 1824–1866; Kraków, Wawel Cathedral Treasury; *Wawel 1000–2000. Wystawa jubileuszowa*, Kraków 2000, ed. M. Walczak, vol. 1, p. 236: cat. I/214, fig. 281.

⁷ A cross with the ends of the arms in the form of Greek crosses is referred to as a doubled cross (Cf. S. Kozakiewicz, *Słownik terminologiczny sztuk pięknych*, Warszawa 1976, p. 252) or as a Germanic cross (H. de Morant, *Historia sztuki zdobniczej*, Warszawa 1981, p. 26).

⁸ *Słownik terminologiczny sztuk pięknych ...*, pp. 1–2.

⁹ Cf. S. V. Gnutova, E. Y. Zotova, *op.cit.*, figs. 14, 15 and 25.

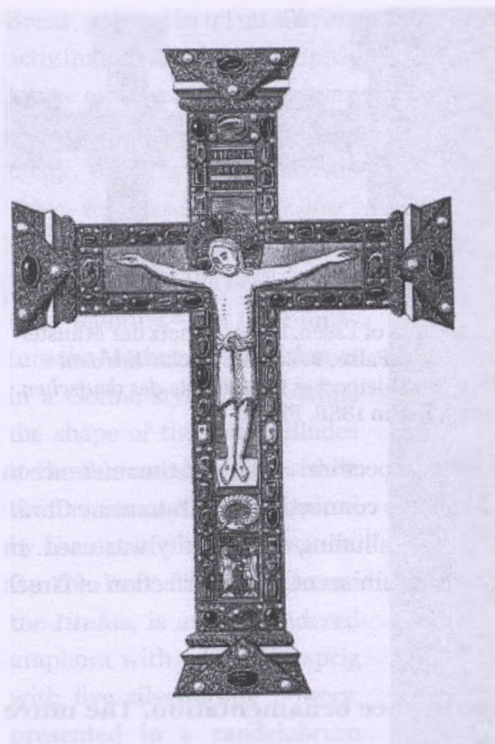


Fig. 3. Cross of Enger, attributed to the shop of Roger von Helmarshausen, c.1100, Berlin Kunstgewerbemuseum; J. Braun, *Meisterwerke der deutschen Goldschmiedekunst der Vorgotischen Zeit*. I. Teil 9.-12. Jahrhundert, München 1922, Fig. 42



Fig. 4. Pectoral cross of Primate Florian Stablewski, Gniezno, Cathedral Treasure. Obverse: Photo: K. Bogacka

The pectoral housed in the Museum of the Archdiocese of Gniezno, slightly older than the one in Cracow (made in 1880), shows similar features of the neo-Renaissance style. The form of the cross with the expanding trapezoidal-shaped ends of the arms and fragmented ornamentation covering the obverse, is derived from Ottonian reliquary crosses with trapezoidal arms. The pectoral cross under discussion resembles - in terms of similarity - the cross from Essen, one of the four Ottonian crosses made in the imperial workshops under the Byzantine influence¹⁰ (Fig. 5).

As in the previous pectoral cross, also here the main ornamentation is a cameo with a carved image of Christ. Made in amethyst of intense colour, it vividly shows the classically beautiful face of the Saviour - *en face* - against the background of a four-leaf

¹⁰ Cf. J. von Falke, *Geschichte des deutschen Kunstgewerbes (Geschichte des deutschen Kunst)*, Berlin 1888, pp. 35-36; K. Szczepkowska-Naliwajek, *Relikwiarze średniowiecznej Europy od IV do początku XVI wieku. Geneza. Treści, styl i techniki wykonania*, Warszawa 1996, p. 113.

nimbus, with the upper part of the arms visible as well as the attire covering them.¹¹ The bust looks as if it has been cropped from a full-length representative image of the Pantocrator. The convention of the presentation of Christ's face is close to the image presented on the Mandylion.¹² This pectoral cross was made in 1880, when Mieczysław Ledóchowski (1866-1886) was primate, but it belonged to the Primate Florian Stablewski (1891-1906).¹³

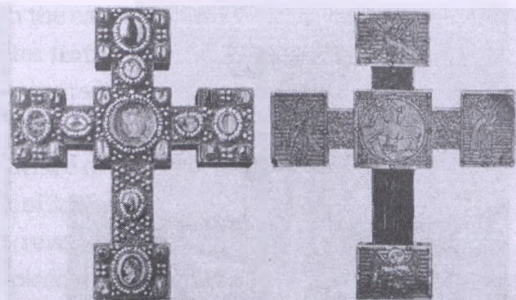


Fig. 5. Cross of Essen, late c., Schatz der Münsterkirche; J. v. Falke, Falke, *Geschichte des deutschen Kunstgewerbes (Geschichte des deutschen Kunst)*, Berlin 1888, Fig. 10

The use of the traditional Mandylion type in the first pectoral cross, and the reference to the Pantocrator convention in the other, emphasized the connection with Byzantine Christological iconography. However, in both cases, a style alluding to antiquity was used. In particular the bust of Christ made from amethyst is reminiscent in its perfection of Greek sculpture of the classical period.

The iconography of Byzantine and Renaissance ornamentation. The mitre with the image of Our Lady of Częstochowa

The most famous painting in Poland of Byzantine origins is the icon of the Black Madonna of Częstochowa, which in the twentieth century became the model for the ornamentation of approximately ten insignia of ecclesiastical authority. (Due to the lack of surviving historical objects, iconography or written sources, there is no evidence of the image of the Virgin Mary being presented on earlier insignia). The mitre made at the beginning of the century for the Prior of the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit in Jasna Góra, Eusebius Rejman,¹⁴ is the oldest mitre in the group of pontificals which bears the image of Our Lady of Częstochowa (Fig. 6). The *titulus* on the front of the mitre, adorned with the image of the Virgin Mary of Częstochowa in a diamond

¹¹ Pectoral cross, dimensions: 10.1 x 6.4 cm, length of chain: 55.5 cm; gold, amethyst, Gniezno, Museum of the Archdiocese of Gniezno. Cf. E. Palewodziński, *Katalog złotnictwa katedry gnieźnieńskiej*, Gniezno 1960, inv. 298, Gnieźn. 1. Typescript in the Museum of the Archdiocese of Gniezno.

¹² Cf. M. Janocha, *Ikony w Polsce. Od średniowiecza do współczesności*, Warszawa 2008, p. 60.

¹³ I owe this information to Rev. Jarosław Bogacz, the Director of the Museum of the Archdiocese of Gniezno.

¹⁴ Mitre of Eusebius Rejman. Height: 40 cm; weft - white satin, embroidery in gold and silver thread, and purple, pink, red, green and light brown silk thread. White satin lining. Pauline Monastery at Jasna Góra, Częstochowa, inv. CMC TK 1120 est. card Anna Pankiewicz, 26.02.1988. According to the inscription on the ribbon dates back to 1905. The mitre should probably be attributed to one of the convents in Silesia (Częstochowa?).

dress, painted in oil on silk, exactly imitates the Byzantine prototype of the image in the Jasna Góra chapel. The author of this image, which is of high artistic value, was most probably Józef Chelmonski, who made two full-length copies of the of the Jasna Góra painting.¹⁵ On the miniature the Mother of God is shown in a Gothic style arcade while the shape of the mitre alludes to the Romanesque form, while the ornamentation is inspired by the art of the Renaissance. On the back of the mitre, on the *titulus*, is an embroidered amphora with a long lily sprig with five silver-white flowers, presented in a candelabrum type setting.

The *circulus*, both on the front and back of the mitre, is decorated with inscriptions in raised embroidery with gold thread, while its upper edge is formed by a row of trifoliate

arcades with a gabled roof in the central part. The front is embroidered with the words: *REGINA MARTYRUM* separated by the Christogram, while the back bears the inscription: *ORA PRO NOBIS*, with brown Greek crosses between the words. The sections of the mitre are filled with a leafy sprig with ends curled up in decorative volutes. The stems of the sprig are embroidered with a dark green thread, and leaves—with light green thread, graduating into brown, golden and silvery. The edges of the mitre and the boundaries between its individual parts are highlighted with bands ornamented with the motif of Greek crosses.

The upper two-thirds of the surface are decorated with ribbons (*vittae*) with a motif reminiscent of the grotesque. At the bottom, coats of arms were placed between the horizontal bands of the ornament decorated with the motif of crosses. On the right-hand side



Fig. 6. Mitre of Euzebiusz Rejman, Częstochowa, Pauline monastery on Jasna Góra. Obverse. Photo: K. Bogacka

¹⁵ See A. Pankiewicz, 'Infuła o. Euzebiusza Rejmana jasnogórskiego przeora', *Jasna Góra. Miesięcznik Sanktuarium Matki Bożej Jasnogórskiej*, 7 (1989) no. 2 (64), pp. 46–49.

ribbon, instead of the coat of arms of the prior (who was not a nobleman), are his embroidered initials: the intertwined letters E and R, surmounted with a mitre with a crossed cross and crosier, whose the shafts pass through the upper part of the letters. On the left-hand side ribbon is shown a four-part crest of the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit. The lining of the ribbons is embroidered with inscriptions in silver thread: *Reverendissimo in Christo Patri / Eusebio Rejman / Priori Infulato Monasterii Claromontana / 1905* and *Qui Virginis Deiparae aedes / In aethera tollis, / Exulum preces vota que / Gratiis Plenae commanda.*

The period in which the mitre was made, explains the eclecticism of the solutions: drawing on Byzantine, Gothic and Renaissance motifs. The Byzantine seriousness of the Black Madonna is in harmony with the motifs of Gothic architecture, and the use of Renaissance ornaments introduces serenity and motifs of nature. The use of the candelabrum ornament (a lily in an amphora) in the *titulus* and of the grotesque on the ribbons is particularly noteworthy. The colours of these motifs emphasize their connection with nature.

The iconographic program of the mitre is most closely associated with the place where it was to be used (the superiors of monasteries can use the insignia only on their territory) as well as its first owner. The Black Madonna of Jasna Góra is at the centre of this symbolism.

As is clear from the inscriptions, the mitre was dedicated, in 1905, as a gift to "The most reverend in Christ, Father Euzebius Rejman, Protonotary Apostolic Supernumerary and Prior of the Monastery of Jasna Góra, who raised in the heavens the temple of the Virgin Mother of God...". The other ornaments and inscriptions are an expression of Marian devotion and highlight Rejman's contribution to the monastery. The image of Jasna Góra probably commemorates the event from 1904, when the Prior was granted permission by the Congregation of Rites to celebrate the feast of Our Lady of Częstochowa on the Wednesday after 24 August. A year later, thanks to the Tsar's edict (Russian *ukaz*) of tolerance, the number of pilgrims increased, which of course had a positive impact on the monastery's prosperity. It marked a favourable turn in its history after the upheavals of the early twentieth century.¹⁶ The invocation: "The Queen of Martyrs, pray for us" can be related to events in 1904, when on Jasna Góra mothers bid farewell to their sons conscripted to the tsarist army during the Russo-Japanese War.

Placing the monastic coat of arms on the mitre instead of the family coat of arms was already a the practice of the monasteries' superiors and showed their humility. The ornaments in the coat of arms of the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit - a lion and palm tree and a crow with a slice of bread in its beak (in a small cartouche in the middle) - are attributes of the Order's founder, St. Paul the Hermit, taken from his legend.

The image of Our Lady of Częstochowa also appeared on episcopal insignia made in the course of the twentieth century, rings and crosiers, and on the two almost identical pectoral crosses with Gothic motifs, probably dating from the first half of the twentieth

¹⁶ For example, a fire tower in 1900. Cf. Z. Bania, S. Kobielius, *Jasna Góra*, Warszawa 1983, p. 50.

century, which belonged to the Primate Józef Glemp¹⁷ and Jan Mazur, Bishop of Siedlce.¹⁸ The choice of this iconography by the bishops of various dioceses is evidence of the vitality of the cult in Poland.

Twentieth-century copies and imitations of Byzantine and Old Russian objects of historical value dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries

The 1980s mark a time when "pseudo Byzantine" pectorals appeared in Poland. The three insignia of this kind that are known to me were undoubtedly inspired by medieval Byzantine crosses and their Russian imitations. A cross from the Kiev Pechersk Lavra, with the figures of Christ, Saint Theodore, the apostles and angels, made in the late eleventh century by a Russian master and modelled on Byzantine works, could serve as a model. A similar style and composition can be seen in the crosses published by Nicodemus Kondakov.¹⁹

The first of the pectoral crosses, with representations of the Crucifixion, Mary between Apostles and the Ascension, is in the form of a Latin cross with the arms rounded at the corners (Fig. 7). The obverse is adorned with an engraved schematic figural ornamentation and Latin inscriptions, which imitate the typeface of the Greek alphabet. On the upper arm is shown enthroned Christ giving a blessing with both his hands, with a monogram on both sides of the cross's nimbus: *IC / XC*, and an illegible inscription on the side. On the right side of Him appears the Aramaic inscription: *MARAN[]AT [H] A* – confession of faith in the Second Coming, which was a formula of greetings of the Church in Jerusalem.²⁰ Above the figure of Christ, the metal protrusion under the upper edge of the cross creates a "canopy". At the intersection of the arms, the image of Mary-Orant is accompanied by the Greek monogram: *MP / ΘV* – on both sides of the nimbus, and by the first words of the Angelic Salutation: *AVE / MARIA* – written below Christ's raised arms. On each arm of the cross are placed six figures of the apostles. The inscriptions on the lower bar: *RESUREXIT / DOMI-*

¹⁷ Pectoral cross with the image of Our Lady of Częstochowa. Dimensions: 12 (12.8 with loop) x 8.8 cm, medallion 2.2 x 2.2 cm, length of chain: 2 x 71 cm. Poland, probably 1st quarter of the 20th century. Warsaw, Archbishop's Palace.

¹⁸ Pectoral cross with the image of Our Lady of Częstochowa, see photograph of Bishop John Mazur in: *Biskupi polscy w XX roku pontyfikatu Jana Pawła II*, ed. E. Data, Marki 2002, Fig. on p. 185.

¹⁹ Cross with the figures of Christ, Saint Theodore, the apostles and angels, late 11th century. Dimensions: 23.3 x 14.8 x 2.7 cm; copper engraved and inlaid with niello. Cross intermediate between the Greek and Latin, one-sided, in the form of a cartridge open on the back. The front and side surfaces of the beams of the cross are engraved and inlaid with niello. The convex shape of metal under the top edge of the cross creates a "canopy". Origin: Kiev, Kyiwo Petscherska Lavra. According to tradition, it belonged to a monk called Mark, whose name is listed in ca. 1090, who was nicknamed "Gravedigger", because his duties were to bury the dead brothers. Kyiv Pechersky Museum of Cultural History, inv. 3221кпл. A. Bank, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of Soviet Museums*, transl. I. Sorokina, Leningrad 1977, pp. 311–312, fig. 211.

²⁰ See A. Jougan, *Słownik kościelny łacińsko-polski*, Warszawa 1992, p. 406. The inscription "marana tha" is translated "Our Lord, come" and "maran atha" – "Our Lord has come" (1 Cor 16, 22, Rev 22, 20).

NUS / VERE / ALLELUJA and (below): 1983 / ANNO / REDEMPTIONIS are separated by a circle with a representation of Christ crucified, dressed in a *colobium*, between Mary and St. John. On the reverse side, at the intersection of the arms, the inscription: *SYNODUS EPISCOPORUM* and on the lower beam, the coat of arms of Pope John Paul II were engraved.²¹

The following elements were modelled (more or less accurately) on the eleventh-century cross from the Kiev Pechersk Lavra: a characteristic small roof below the edge of the upper arm of the cross; the composition of figural ornamentation and inscriptions written in letters resembling the

Greek alphabet; the linear schematic treatment of the figures; and in parts that were not finished, characteristic “featureless faces”, no lines modelling the figures of the apostles slightly above their waists at the height of a raised hand. The shape of the cross only approximately corresponds to the original. In this and in the next two twentieth-century pectoral crosses one can see a departure from the proportions characteristic of the medieval Byzantine crosses, in



Fig. 7. Pectoral cross of Primate Józef Glemp, Warsaw, Archbishop's Palace. Obverse: Crucifixion, Mary-Orant and the Apostles, Ascension. Photo: K. Bogacka

²¹ Pectoral cross of the Synod of Bishops of 1983, with the presentation of Christ, Mary and the Apostles and the Crucifixion. It belonged to Cardinal Józef Glemp (1929–2013) Polish Primate (1981–2009). Dimensions: 11.1 x 8.2 x 0.2 cm, length of chain: 2 x 47 cm. Silver cast, engraved, inlaid with niello. On the reverse side, at the lower edge of the cross are four goldsmith's marks: mark of fineness “950”, the gild: the initials “K.-E.” without a frame, an illegible gild in the octagon and an illegible gild in diamond. Unidentified goldsmith, 1983. The pectoral cross is a souvenir brought back by the Primate from the Bishops' Synod, which took place in 1983, convened by Pope John Paul II. Warsaw, Archbishop's Palace.



Fig. 8. Ring, Byzantine, 7th c. London, British Museum. A. Ward, J. Cherry, C. Gere, B. Cartlidge, *Der Ring im Wandel der Zeit*, Fribourg 1987, Fig. 107

which the length of the upper and lower arm were equal. The Warsaw pectoral crosses allude to typical Byzantine, pre-Roman and Roman ornamentation, which appeared not only on crosses, but also on rings, like the one dating from the seventh century, housed in the British Museum²² - made of gold, adorned with figures that were engraved or inlaid with niello and with inscriptions (Fig. 8).

The next two pectoral crosses, one in Kalisz depicting the scene of Pentecost, and the other in Koszalin showing an image of Christ the Good Shepherd, show a freer use of the form of the Byzantine model (maybe even not known directly by the artist). They were cast in silver with figural reliefs on the obverse and grooves engraved previously on the model. The signature of the goldsmith: *VEDEE*, and identical maker's marks on these crosses indicate that they are works by the same Italian goldsmith.

The pectoral cross with the scene of Pentecost belongs to the Kalisz auxiliary bishop Theofil Wilski (retired since 2011).²³ It has the form of a Latin cross with a short upper beam, with figural relief ornamentation on a diagonally engraved background on the ob-

²² A. Ward, J. Cherry, C. Gere, B. Cartlidge, *Der Ring im Wandel der Zeit*, Fribourg 1987, p. 49, fig. 107.

²³ Pectoral cross depicting a scene of Pentecost, belonging to Rev. Teofil Wilski (born 1935), auxiliary bishop of Kalisz (1995–2011). Dimensions: 9 (with loop 9.7) x 6.8 x 0.2 cm, height of the figure of Mary: 5.3 cm, length of chain: 2 x 52.5 cm. Silver cast, chiselled, engraved. On the obverse, under the crescent moon, engraved goldsmith's signature: "VEDEE"; on the bottom of the reverse side – two goldsmith's marks:

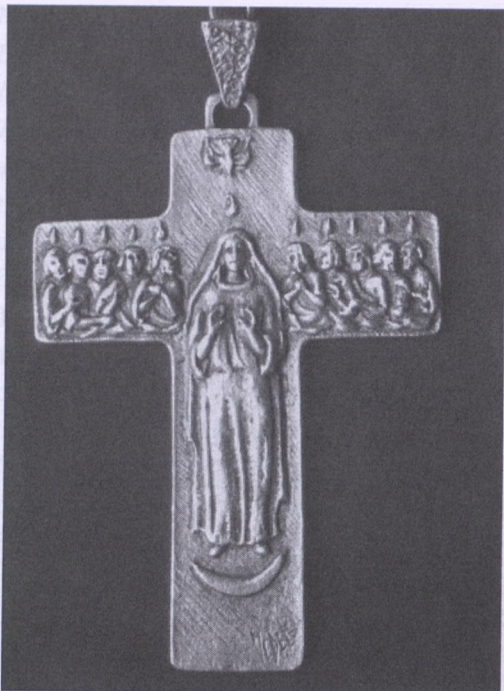


Fig. 9. Pectoral cross of Bishop Teofil Wilski, Kalisz, the residence of Bishop Teofil Wilski. Obverse: scene of Pentecost. Photo: K. Bogacka



Fig. 10. Pectoral cross of Bishop Marian Gołębiewski; Koszalin, Diocesan Curia. Obverse: Christ the Good Shepherd. Photo: K. Bogacka

verse (Fig. 9). On the axis of the cross is the Virgin Mary wearing a maphorion, with her hands raised to breast level in a gesture of prayer and her feet above a crescent moon. On both her sides, each side arm of the cross is filled with five torsos of apostles portrayed as vividly gesticulating and turning their heads towards one another in conversation. Flames rise up above the heads of Mary and the apostles and on the upper arm the source of the flames is shown - the dove of the Holy Spirit.

The pectoral cross with the image of Christ the Good Shepherd, which belongs to the Bishop Marian Gołębiewski,²⁴ takes the form of a Latin cross, with arms slightly tapering towards the edge and with rounded corners. The vertical axis of the cross is filled with the image of the dove of the Holy Spirit hovering over Christ dressed in a short girdled tunic, with a lamb over his shoulders (Fig. 10). Sheep also flock on the side beams of the cross and

assay "800" and illegible personal mark in elongated rectangle with short rounded sides. Kalisz, Bishop Teofil Wilski's residence.

²⁴ Pectoral with an image of Christ the Good Shepherd, belonging to Bishop Marian Gołębiewski. No dimensions. Silver cast, chiselled, engraved. On the bottom of the cross engraved goldsmith's signature: "VEDEE"; on the bottom of the reverse side - two goldsmith's marks: assay "800" and illegible personal mark in elongated rectangle with short, rounded sides. Koszalin, Diocesan Curia.

against a background of the Shepherd's arms. Irregular grooves of the background imitate rays emanating from the dove hovering over Christ.

The iconography of the ornamentation of the three pectoral crosses alludes to the themes that illustrate the events of the history of Salvation, formed in early Christian times on the basis of the Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles. The Crucifixion, Resurrection and Pentecost pictured here belong to canonical representations of Byzantine art. The richest iconography is represented by the pectoral cross form Warsaw, where the enthroned Christ blesses the witnesses to the Resurrection - Mary and the Apostles - and the universal Church. The canopy over the head of the Resurrected Christ symbolizes the glory that surrounds him and the firmament. The initials of Christ and Mary and the first words of the Angelic Salutation: "Ave Maria" remind us that the era of Salvation began with the coming of the Son of God and was fully accomplished with the Resurrection of the Lord, as is testified in the Easter hymn: "The Lord is truly risen, Hallelujah" and it continues to date—until "the 1983rd year of redemption". The inscription on the reverse: "the synod of bishops" with the coat of arms of the Pope convening it, explains on what occasion this truth was recalled. The scene of Pentecost on the pectoral cross from Kalisz reminds one of the early Church and the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

In contrast, the image of Christ the Good Shepherd on the pectoral cross of Bishop Gołębiewski is an example of the subject occasionally taken up in early modern art of the Byzantine tradition in western iconography. The illustration of the Parable of the Good Shepherd, which should be imitated by shepherds of the Church (both bishops and abbots), is a popular theme in the ornamentation of western insignia.

While the pectoral crosses in the previous group were in a way sculptural pastiches of Byzantine crosses, copying these types of objects using the method of casting is a separate phenomenon. The emphasis on the fidelity to the original has an obvious ideological message—the pectoral cross is a symbol of historical continuity and the carefully guarded herit-

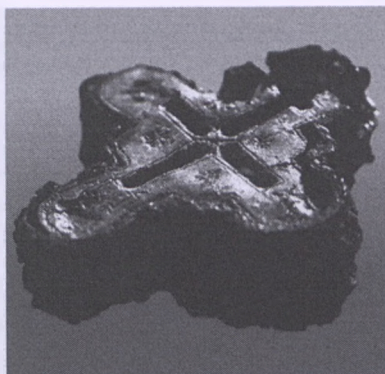


Fig. 11. Staurotheca cross of Lednica.
<http://www.pma.pl/OstrowL/01-RELIKWIARZ-m.jpg>

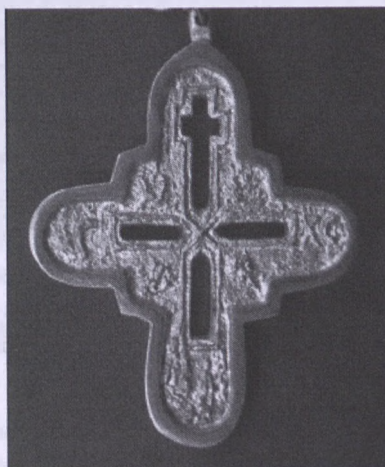


Fig. 12. Pectoral cross of Lednica" of Primate Józef Glemp, Warsaw, Archbishop's Palace. Photo: K. Bogacka

age of Christianity. It is significant that two of the three model medieval crosses belong to the circle of Byzantine culture. The third is the cross dating from the tenth century, from Ostrów Tumski (Cathedral Island) in Wrocław.²⁵ They are all connected with the history of Christianity in Poland, whereas pectoral crosses modelled on them are closely associated with the most important religious events in the contemporary history of the Roman Catholic Church.

Probably the oldest Byzantine model of the pectoral cross is a Staurotheke dating from the second half of the tenth or the early eleventh century, discovered between 1960 and 1962 in Ostrów Lednicki, as a part of the funerary equipment of an unidentified dignitary²⁶ (Fig. 11). The presence of a liturgical comb, he was a member of the clergy. The Staurotheke, housed in the Museum of the Piast Dynasty in Lednica, became an object of interest during the pontificate of Pope John Paul II, when in 1997 Father Jan Góra OP began to organize on the island prayer meetings of young people, initially on the eve of Pentecost, and since 2005, on the first Saturday of June. Presumably, in the 1990s an exact copy of the Staurotheke was made. A copy of its lid with the characteristic motif of an openwork cross formed by four radial slits was presented (after adding a mounting to it) as the “pectoral cross of Lednica” to the Polish Primate, Józef Glemp and since then it has been housed in the primate’s collection of insignia in the bishops’ palace in Miodowa Street in Warsaw (Fig. 12). This pectoral cross has become a symbol of drawing on the oldest sources of Christianity, as in the eleventh century Lednica was a “monastic type” settlement and with its two churches was of equal rank to Poznań and Gniezno.

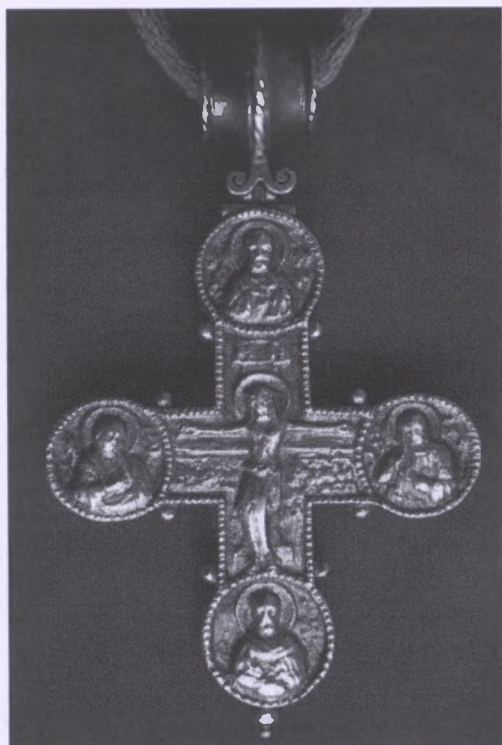
The second medieval model is a pectoral-setting (encolpion), made between 1230 and 1240 in Kiev, and discovered in 1933 in a fully furnished bishop’s tomb in Gniezno Cathedral (Fig. 13). The discoverer of the monument, Bishop Antoni Laubitz, used it as a pectoral cross up until his death in 1939. Before World War II a plaster cast of the cross had already been made. The 13th-century pectoral cross was pillaged by the Germans and so far has not been found. After the war, in 1960, Andrzej Tyrała, a goldsmith from Poznań, cast a silver, gold-plated copy of it (Figs. 14, 15). It was blessed as the bishop’s insignia and later incorporated into the collection of pectoral crosses of the archbishops of Gniezno housed in Gniezno’s Archdiocesan Museum. The uniqueness of this copy is that it preserved the



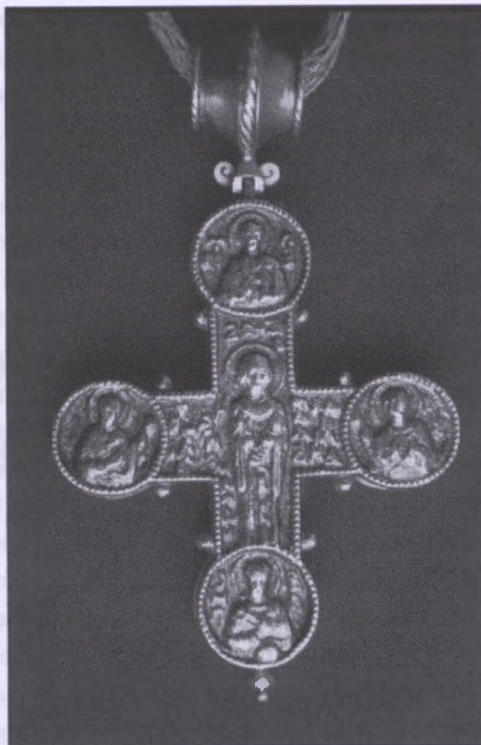
13. Encolpion, Kiev, 1230–1240, discovered in 1933 in Gniezno Cathedral. A. Laubitz, ‘O początkach kościoła gnieźnieńskiego w świetle ostatnich badań wykopalskich’, *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury*, 3 (1934), pp. 9–24, Fig. 9

²⁵ The crosses, based on which copies of the pectoral-crosses discussed herein were made, were presented in a separate study, see K. Bogacka, *Insignia ...*, passim.

²⁶ Pectoral cross of Primate Józef Glemp. Dimensions: 7.7 (loop 8.4) x 6.3 cm, length of holes: 1.1–1.6 cm, length of chain: 2 x 49.5 cm, clasp: 3.5 cm. No goldsmith’s marks. Perhaps made for Primate Józef Glemp. Copy of the cross found in the Lednica. Gilded cross, irregular, concave in the middle, mat, openwork. Gold-plated chain, twisted. Warsaw, Archbishop’s Palace.



14. Pectoral cross – copy of encolpion of Gniezno, Poznań, Andrzej Tyrała, silver, gold-plated, Museum of the Archdiocese of Gniezno; Obverse: Photo: K. Bogacka



15. Pectoral cross – copy of Encolpion of Gniezno, Poznań, Andrzej Tyrała, silver, gold-plated, Museum of the Archdiocese of Gniezno; Reverse: Photo: K. Bogacka

shape of probably the earliest episcopal cross in Poland, even if it was only a sepulchral cross. However, one cannot rule out the possibility that it was worn by the dead bishop during his lifetime. The importance of this is not diminished by the fact that this encolpion-prototype was only one of the items in a group of a dozen or so pectoral crosses discovered in Poland, because only this particular one was found in a bishop's tomb.

The groups of insignia presented here differ in terms of their form, the iconography of the ornamentation and provenance. Their appearance and the beginning of their functioning are connected with different religious, cultural and political considerations.

Combining the Byzantine and Renaissance inspirations can be noticed in pectoral crosses made in the tradition of eclectic historicism, brought into the Polish territory - to Gniezno and Kraków - in the second half of the nineteenth century. The influence of the Renaissance can be seen in the fragmented ornamentation imitating filigree that covers the surface of the cross; this style is also visible in the cameo with Byzantine iconography - with the image of the mandylion, whereas the sculpted bust of Christ is consistent with this

iconography. The Kraków pectoral cross was made in Vienna; this provenance is also likely in the case of the very similar cross from Gniezno. Both these crosses thus belong to insignia imported in the nineteenth century from the partitioning states (like the crosiers from Ovchinnikov's workshop in St. Petersburg). The Silesian mitre with the image of Our Lady dating from the early twentieth century is another example of the influence of Byzantine iconography and Renaissance ornamentation.

The insignia that appeared later, while remaining under the influence of the wider Byzantine tradition, were not inspired by the Renaissance. Most of these items were made only in the last two decades of the twentieth century. These are mainly pectoral crosses, but also rings, made according to Byzantine and Ruthenian models dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The iconography of pectoral crosses, mostly with multi-figural scenes (the Resurrection, Pentecost), is easy to interpret in Western culture, hence, more complex images are explained by inscriptions. Ensuring the accessibility of these works demonstrates the ecumenical efforts of the Catholic Church.

The insignia belonging to the last group are twentieth-century copies of Byzantine and Old Russian works, made in the West, but, by definition, faithfully following the originals, without deliberately transforming their message. Any formal changes are technical in nature, such as the copy of the Staurotheke from Lednica, adapted for use as a pectoral. Symbolically, this can be interpreted as embracing, in a fully open manner, the Byzantine tradition or as a reminder of its everlasting presence in Poland. This attitude was part of the ecumenical aspirations of the Church during the pontificate of John Paul II.

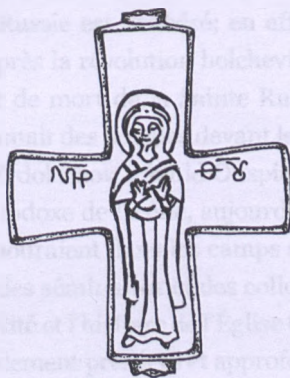
Commentaire du catalogue de l'exposition « Sainte Russie. L'art russe des origines à Pierre le Grand »

Exhibitions and Discoveries

Michal Jastovica, Université de Bratislava

L'exposition *Sainte Russie. L'art russe des origines à Pierre le Grand* organisée au Musée du Louvre du 24 mai au 24 août 2010 dans le cadre de l'Année d'échange France-Russie 2010 par le Président de Russie et la République Française, s'inscrit dans la tradition des grandes expositions de l'Art byzantin organisées durant les deux dernières décennies et se déroule sous le haut patronage des deux présidents. L'exposition est accompagnée du catalogue sous la direction de Jeanne Durand, Dorote Giovanniotti et Jeanes Rapp, assistés de Renata Clavier, édité par le Musée du Louvre Éditions (Somogy Éditions d'Art).

Le choix de la capitale française comme le lieu de la première grande exposition de l'art ancien de Russie organisée hors-Russie est intéressant; en effet, c'est Paris qui est devenu la capitale de l'émigration russe après la révolution bolchevique. Tandis que dans la partie d'André Roublou on signalait l'arrêt de monastères orthodoxes en détruisant 500 milliers d'églises et d'icônes, à Paris on allumait des bougies devant les icônes écrites par Guspinski et Krug. À la même époque Paul Valéry, Vladimir Goussak et d'autres savants formulaient en français la théologie orthodoxe de l'Église Russe qui est devenue classique. À l'époque où des milliers de victimes mouraient dans les camps soviétiques et où des prêtres et moines étaient fusillés en masse, des séminaires orthodoxes colloquia se déroulaient à l'Institut Saint-Serge de Paris en la spiritualité et l'Église Orthodoxe Russe. La culture des émigrants russes à Paris a non seulement préservé l'héritage de la Sainte Russie, mais l'a aussi fait connaître aux Français et à tout l'Occident par le biais de la France. L'époque tragique du communisme et de ses crimes incommensurables a provoqué une certaine « canonisation » de l'idée de la Sainte Russie et, par cela, son inevitable mythologisation.



¹ *Sainte Russie. L'art russe des origines à Pierre le Grand*, éd. J. Durand, D. Giovanniotti, J. Rapp, assistés de R. Clavier, Musée du Louvre Éditions (Somogy Éditions d'Art), Paris 2010.

iconography. The Kraków pectoral cross was made in Vienna; this provenance is also likely in the case of the very similar cross from Guenzels. Both these crosses thus belong to insignia imported in the nineteenth century from the partitioning states (like the crozier from Ovchinnikov's workshop in St. Petersburg). The Silesian mitre with the image of Our Lady dating from the early twentieth century is another example of the influence of Byzantine iconography and Renaissance ornamentation.

The insignia that appeared later, while remaining under the influence of the wider Byzantine tradition, were not inspired by the Renaissance. Most of these pieces were made only in the last two decades of the twentieth century. These are mainly pectoral crosses, but also rings, made according to the iconographic models dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The iconography of pectoral crosses, mostly with multi-figural scenes (the Resurrection, Descent into Hell, etc.), is more familiar to Western culture, hence, more complex images are explained by inscriptions. Ensuring the accessibility of these works demonstrates the ecumenical efforts of the Catholic Church.

The insignia belonging to the last group are twentieth-century copies of Byzantine and Old Russian works, made in the West, but, by definition, faithfully following the original, without deliberately transforming their message. Any formal changes are technical in nature, such as the copy of the Stavrotheke from Lesnica, adapted for use as a pectoral. Symbolically, this can be interpreted as embracing, in a fully open manner, the Byzantine tradition of an a reminder of its everlasting presence in Poland. This attitude was part of the ecumenical aspirations of the Church during the pontificate of John Paul II.



Commentaire du catalogue de l'exposition « Sainte Russie. L'art russe des origines à Pierre le Grand »

Michał Janocha, Université de Varsovie

L'exposition *Sainte Russie. L'art russe des origines à Pierre le Grand* organisée au Musée du Louvre du 5 au 24 mai 2010 dans le cadre de l'Année d'échange France-Russie 2010 par la Fédération de Russie et la République Française, s'inscrit dans la tradition des grandes expositions de l'art byzantin organisées durant les deux dernières décennies et se déroule sous le haut patronage des deux présidents. L'exposition est accompagnée du catalogue sous la direction de Jannic Durand, Dorota Giovannoni et Ioanna Rapti, assistés de Renata Clavien, édité par le Musée du Louvre Éditions (Somogy Éditions d'Art).¹

Le choix de la capitale française comme le lieu de la première grande exposition de l'art ancien de Russie organisée hors-Russie est délibéré; en effet, c'est Paris qui est devenue la capitale de l'émigration russe après la révolution bolchevique. Tandis que dans la patrie d'André Roublev on signait l'arrêt de mort de la Sainte Russie en détruisant des milliers d'églises et d'icônes, à Paris on allumait des bougies devant les icônes écrites par Ouspienski et Krug. À la même époque Paul Evdokimov, Léonid Ouspienski et d'autres savants formulaient en français la théologie orthodoxe de l'icône, aujourd'hui devenue classique. À l'époque où des millions de victimes mouraient dans les camps soviétiques et où des prêtres et moines étaient fusillés en masse, des séminaires et des colloques se déroulaient à l'Institut Saint-Serge de Paris sur la spiritualité et l'histoire de l'Église Orthodoxe Russe. Le milieu des émigrants russes à Paris a non seulement préservé et approfondi l'héritage de la Sainte Russie, mais l'a aussi faite connaître aux Français et à tout l'Occident par le biais de la France. L'époque tragique du communisme et de ses martyrs innombrables a provoqué une certaine « canonisation » de l'idée de la Sainte Russie et, par cela, son inévitable mythologisation.

¹ *Sainte Russie. L'art russe des origines à Pierre le Grand*, éd. J. Durand, D. Giovannoni, I. Rapti, assistés de R. Clavien, Musée du Louvre Éditions (Somogy Éditions d'Art), Paris 2010.

Dans l'introduction au catalogue de l'exposition Henri Loyrette président-directeur du Musée du Louvre écrit : « Pour la première fois de son histoire le musée du Louvre présente une exposition sur l'art russe depuis ses origines chrétiennes jusqu'au règne de Pierre le Grand. Celle-ci marque pour le musée, dont la vocation est universelle, une prise de conscience nouvelle de l'absence presque complète de l'art ancien de Russie dans ses collections. L'exposition présente un ensemble insigne d'œuvres qui n'ont encore jamais été réunies. Beaucoup ne sont jamais sorties de Russie, et plusieurs, même, n'ont jamais été montrées au public. Elles proviennent de vingt-quatre établissements patrimoniaux de la Fédération de Russie auxquels se sont joints quelques prêts emblématiques des collections européennes. »²

Le catalogue de l'exposition englobe 311 œuvres d'art et documents qui proviennent majoritairement de musées, archives et bibliothèques russes (Moscou, Saint-Petersbourg, Novgorod-la-Grande, Vladimir, Souzdal, Tver, Pskov, Iaroslav, Istra, Rostov, Serguiev-Possad, Solvytchegodsk, Vologda, Kirillov). Certains objets d'exposition ont été empruntés aux bibliothèques et musées des pays d'Europe occidentale (Cividale du Frioul, Hildesheim, Trèves, Copenhague, Paris, Reims, Saint-Omer, Stockholm, Cambridge, Londres). Les œuvres d'art représentent diverses techniques : en commençant par manuscrits enluminés, icônes, fresques, objets artisanaux, détails sculptés, pour finir sur modèles architectoniques.

L'exposition commence par quatre documents historiques qui, emblématiquement, proviennent de quatre cultures différentes : *Annales Sancti Bertiniani* (*Annales de Saint-Bertin*) latins, du X^e siècle, contenant sous la rubrique de l'année 839 la plus ancienne

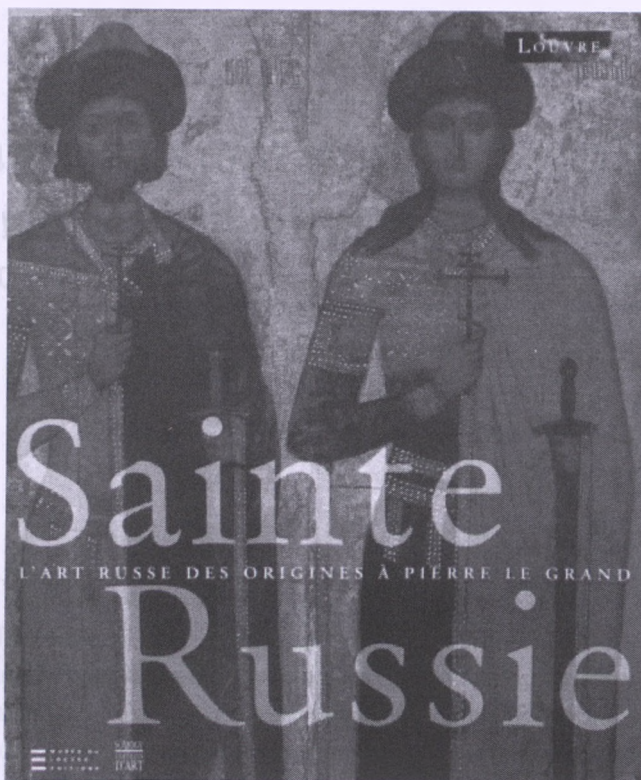


Fig. 1. Catalogue d'exposition *Sainte Russie. L'art russe des origines à Pierre le Grand*, Musée du Louvre

² *Ibidem*, p. 21.

mention datée des Rhôs (cat. n° 1), *Amphilochia* de Photios byzantins, où est cité le peuple terrible „que l'on dénomme Rhôs" (cat. n° 2), dictionnaire géographique arabe, rédigé au début du XIII^e siècle par Yāqūt, qui contient la description de l'apparence des Rūs provenant de 922 roku (manuscrit iranien du XIX^e s., cat. n° 3) et une lettre de la communauté juive de Kiev à celle du Caire, datée de la fin du IX^e ou début du X^e siècle (cat. n° 4).

Comme pour toute exposition rétrospective, l'intention des auteurs est de présenter toutes les époques et régions et tous les phénomènes artistiques d'une manière représentative afin que l'aperçu historique et le caractère d'une culture donnée soient manifestés par les œuvres exposées.

L'histoire de la Sainte Russie à partir du baptême de Saint Vladimir peut être divisée en périodes, identifiables par des événements décisifs, en général tragiques, comme par exemple : l'invasion des Tartars, le règne d'Ivan le Terrible, le temps des troubles, le schisme des vieux-croyants. Pierre le Grand qui a – comme écrit Pouchkine – « ouvert une fenêtre sur l'Europe », a rompu complètement avec la tradition de la Sainte Russie et a donné naissance à la Russie moderne. L'idée de la Sainte Russie trouvera alors son refuge auprès des vieux-croyants, dispersés dans l'Empire et hors de ses frontières; elle renaîtra dans les écrits des philosophes de l'histoire russes du XIX^e siècle, notamment ceux liés au courant des slavophiles, dans les belles-lettres, et enfin dans les écrits des penseurs philosophico-religieux du début du XX^e siècle, dont certains mouriront dans les camps, comme père Paul Florenski et certains émigreront en Occident, comme Paul Evdokimov, déjà mentionné.

Le catalogue de l'exposition est constitué d'un texte, sorte de synthèse historico-artistique, des œuvres de plusieurs auteurs, des historiens et historiens de l'art, dont la plupart sont russes. Il est divisé en huit chapitres : la conversion, le premier âge d'or, le temps de Mongols, les grands centres de la Russie médiévale, l'émergence de Moscou, le siècle d'Ivan le Terrible, le Temps des troubles et de Michel I^{er} Romanov à Pierre le Grand. Les titres des chapitres du catalogue reprennent les titres des huit parties principales de l'exposition qui regroupent les œuvres exposées. Dans les sous-chapitres se trouvent, à côté des résumés historiques des périodes historiques respectives, les monographies des centres artistiques tels que Kiev, Novgorod, Pskov, Vladimir et Souzdal; des artistes principaux, comme Roublev ou Dionisi; des écoles de peinture, comme celle de Stroganov; monastères, comme celui de Saint-Cyrille du lac Blanc, ou enfin des œuvres, comme l'iconostase de la cathédrale de la Dormition du même monastère. Le texte est orné de photographies soigneusement choisies des chefs-d'œuvres de l'architecture et de ces œuvres d'art qui ne sont pas présentées dans le cadre de l'exposition.

La combinaison des notes qui contiennent une analyse détaillée des œuvres et du texte principal qui présente un vaste panorama de l'histoire de la Rus' et de son art, permet de disposer ces œuvres dans *Sitz im Leben* largement pris et, de l'autre côté, de voir l'histoire de la Rus' et de son art à travers les œuvres collectées.



Fig. 2. L'exposition *Sainte Russie. L'art russe des origines à Pierre le Grand*, Musée du Louvre 2010

L'exposition *Sainte Russie*, de même que les grandes expositions de l'art byzantin précédentes, est le fruit des recherches de plusieurs chercheurs et groupes de chercheurs, notamment russes. Elle est en même temps une impulsion considérable au développement de futures recherches détaillées. Elle reflète les tendances caractéristiques pour les recherches dans le domaine de la culture byzantine des dernières décennies, qui consistent à placer les phénomènes historiques et artistiques dans un vaste contexte de références sociales, politiques, géographiques, qui prend en considération aussi les sources historiques provenant d'autres cultures.

Dans ce contexte, l'auteur du présent commentaire est particulièrement intéressé par l'aspect des relations russo-polonaises et, dès l'union polono-lituanienne, des celles russo-lituaniano-polonaises.

Le baptême de Mieszko I^{er} dans le rite roman (966) et de Vladimir dans le rite byzantin (988) a non seulement affermi la frontière politique entre la Pologne et la Rus' kiévienne, mais aussi la frontière culturelle entre Rome et Byzance; cette frontière fluide, pleine de tensions, cependant féconde en activités culturelles et stable, car existante jusqu'à nos jours. Après la division de la Principauté de Kiev, quand la plupart des terres se sont trouvées sous le pouvoir mongole, les principautés russes occidentales, c'est-à-dire de Vladimir

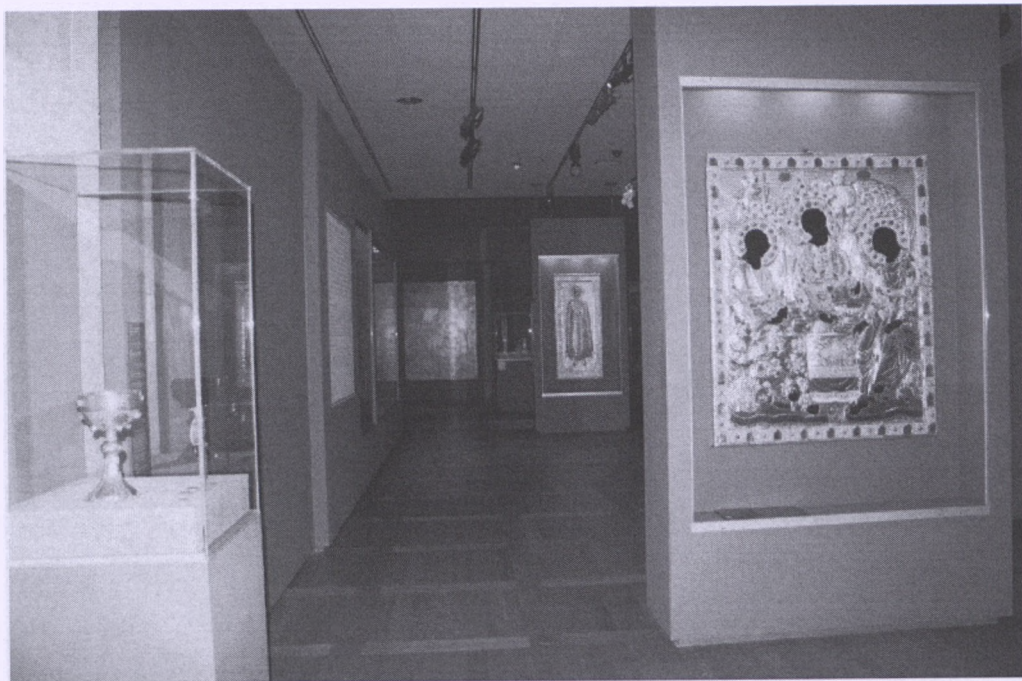


Fig. 3. L'exposition *Sainte Russie. L'art russe des origines à Pierre le Grand*, Musée du Louvre 2010

et de Galitch, épargnées par l'envahisseur, ont joué un rôle important dans les rapport entre la Pologne et l'Occident. Au XIVe siècle Moscou et la Lituanie se sont opposés dans la lutte pour l'hégémonie de l'unification des principautés russes. Ainsi se sont opérées la division des terres russes et la stabilisation de la frontière lituano-moscovite. Après l'Union de Lublin de 1569, les terres ukrainiennes ont été jointes à la Pologne et une nouvelle frontière polono-lituanienne, conservée jusqu'aux partages de la République des Deux Nations. Ces frontières se sont révélées stables et ont survécu à l'occupation russe. Elles indiquent l'actuelle frontière entre la Biélorussie, l'Ukraine et la Russie.

Nous abordons maintenant une question à ne pas manquer dans ce commentaire, vu ses conséquences politiques et culturelles importantes. Les successeurs de la Rus' kiévienne sont à présent trois pays et trois nations: Russie – successeur de la Moscovie, Biélorussie – un des successeurs du Grand-Duché de Lituanie et l'Ukraine, c'est-à-dire l'ancienne Rus' Koronna (Ruthénie rouge). Chaque de ces trois pays et nations voit dans le baptême de saint Vladimir le début de sa foi, de sa culture et de son état. Deux parmi eux, l'Ukraine et la Biélorussie, ont formé leurs propres identités historico-culturelles et ses frontières à cause de l'appartenance à la Pologne et à la Lituanie qui a duré quelques siècles.

Sur le territoire de Rzeczpospolita, gouverné par un souverain catholique, s'est formé un modèle de l'Église orthodoxe différent de celui moscovite, à un haut degré indépendant



Fig. 4. L'exposition *Sainte Russie. L'art russe des origines à Pierre le Grand*, Musée du Louvre 2010

de l'état non-orthodoxe. Cette Église, beaucoup plus ouverte aux influences polonaises, c'est-à-dire occidentales, a inventé son propre type de théologie, culture et art, qui s'est manifesté pleinement à l'époque baroque. La conséquence de cette occidentalisation a été l'union avec le siège apostolique, signée par une partie de la hiérarchie orthodoxe à Brest en 1596. L'union de Brest, soutenue par les monarques polonais, a dominé au XVIII^e siècle l'Église orthodoxe en Pologne ; malgré une polonisation spontanée, elle a contribué gravement à l'affermissement de l'*ethnos* ukrainien et biélorusse, distinct de l'*ethnos* moscovite, c'est-à-dire grand-russe.

Les partages de Rzeczpospolita à la fin du XVIII^e siècle, finis par l'incorporation du territoire du Grand-Duché de Lituanie et de la plupart du territoire de la Rus' Koronna à l'Empire Russe, ont initié le processus de la russification de ces terres. Sur le champ de l'Église orthodoxe, ce processus s'est manifesté par la cassation de l'union avec Rome et par la soumission des Rus' à l'Église orthodoxe de Moscou avec son modèle de l'architecture et de l'art. L'Empire Russe s'est approprié l'idée de la Sainte Russie, qui a été politisée et dotée au XIX^e siècle de traits nationaux et messianiques. L'Ukraine et la Biélorussie, privées de l'indépendance politique, n'ont pas eu la chance de créer l'historiographie comparable à celle de la Russie. Cet état des choses a été consolidé par l'Empire soviétique, malgré la création dans son cadre des pseudo-républiques biélorusse et ukrainienne, dépendantes

de Moscou. En conséquence, aux yeux de l'opinion publique de l'Occident contemporain et d'une grande partie des milieux scientifiques européens, le seul héritier de la Rus' kiévienne reste la Russie contemporaine. Les liens culturels franco-russes sont indiscutables, cependant le fait que l'exposition concernant trois pays a été placée sous le patronage du président de seulement un de ces pays (sans prendre en considération les sympathies idéologiques des deux autres présidents), renforce le stéréotype Moscou-centrique, probablement malgré la bonne volonté des auteurs de l'exposition et du catalogue. Il est regrettable aussi que la bibliographie proposée dans le catalogue se borne aux publications en russe et en principales langues occidentales, omettant les publications ukrainiennes, biélorusses ou polonaises, comme par exemple la monographie exemplaire des enluminures du soit-disant *Psautier d'Egbert* (cat. n° 29) de Małgorzata Smorağ-Różycka.³

L'ensemble d'objets d'art présenté à l'exposition et dans le catalogue est imposant et inestimable du point de vue de ses valeurs cognitives et scientifiques. Il serait bien que l'exposition suivante, *Sainte Russie II*, puisse présenter les chefs-d'œuvres de l'art ancien de Russie, de l'art ukrainien et biélorusse provenant des territoires que la présente exposition n'englobe pas, donc l'Ukraine, la Biélorussie et la Pologne contemporaines, prêts des musées de Kiev, Lviv, Minsk, Cracovie, Sanok et Przemyśl. Ainsi la vision de l'héritage spirituel et artistique de la Sainte Russie serait plus complète.

traduction : Nina Brzostowska-Smólska

¹ Helena Bagdasarian, Maciej Piórowski and Marcin Wójcicki are the authors of the exhibition concept. The exhibition was held in Domus Artium Lubecae in 2012-2013, and then it was transferred as a temporary loan to the National Museum of London.

² M. Wójcicki, *Grędy Czernuszczyńskie - dawny przemyśl w okolicy Czerniuchowa*, [w:] *Czernuchów - grędy Czernuszczyńskie. Zabytki, kultura, historia*, ed. J. Górecki, M. Piórowski, Warszawa: Instytut Kultury, 2012, s. 10-11.

³ M. Smorağ-Różycka, *Bizantyńsko-ruskie miniatury Kodeksu Gertrudy*, Kraków 2003.

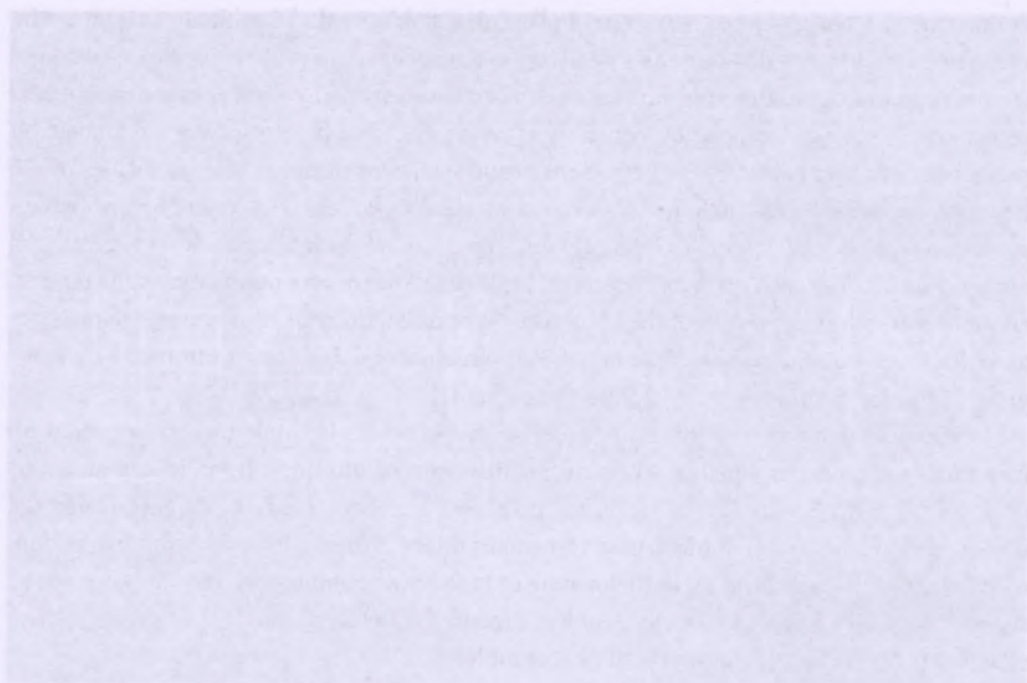


Fig. 4. L'église Sainte-Trinité. L'art russe des origines à Pierre le Grand. Musée de la Lituanie à Vilnius.

de l'état non orthodoxe. Cette Église, beaucoup plus ouverte aux influences polonaises, c'est-à-dire occidentales, a hérité son propre type de théologie, culture et art, qui s'est manifesté pleinement à l'époque baroque. La conséquence de cette occidentalisation a été l'union avec le siège apostolique, signée par une partie de la hiérarchie catholique à Brest en 1595. L'union de Brest, soutenue par les souverains polonais, a doté au XVIII^e siècle l'Église orthodoxe en Pologne, malgré une polonisation spontanée, elle a contribué gravement à l'affermissement de l'ethos chrétien et néo-classique, distinct de l'ethos moscovite, c'est-à-dire grand-russe.

Les notions de *Polonia christiana* à la fin du XVIII^e siècle, suite par l'annexion du territoire du Grand-Duché de Lituanie et de la plupart du territoire de la *Rus' Kozyrna* à l'Empire russe, ont initié le processus de la russification de ces terres. Sur le champ de l'Église orthodoxe, ce processus a été encouragé par le rattachement de l'union avec Rome et par la soumission des *rus'* à l'Église orthodoxe de Moscou avec son modèle de l'architecture et de l'art. L'Empire russe s'est approprié l'idée de la Sainte Russie, qui a été politisée et dotée au XIX^e siècle de traits nationaux et missionnaires. L'Ukraine et la Biélorussie, privées de l'indépendance politique, n'ont pas eu la chance de créer l'ethos propre comparable à celle de la Russie. Cet état des choses a été consolidé par l'Empire soviétique, malgré la création de *voïvodes* qui ont été conçus pour représenter les cultures locales.

*Exhibition “Czerwień – the Stronghold
between the East and the West”,
The National Museum in Krakow,
5th April–1st Sept, 2013 –
remarks on the Old Rus’ art**

Mirosław Piotr Kruk, National Museum in Krakow/University of Gdańsk

The Cherven Towns have been capturing historiographers’ imagination from at least the 19th century. Indeed, short Nestor’s entries in *The Primary Chronicle* referring to the years 981, 1018 and 1031 about Cherven being repeatedly captured and recaptured focused on the turbulent history of the Polish-Rus’ borderlands on one hand, and on the other - suggested indirectly the great strategic significance of this town or towns and their wealth. These half-mythic strongholds constituted one of the biggest archaeological mysteries; their original location was forgotten after their glory days passed and now is fiercely disputed. It cannot be excluded that the term “Cherven Towns” (*chervenskyja grady*) may be the result of distortion of the expression “Cherven and other towns”.¹ Actually, only the interventional excavation carried out by the archaeologists from the Maria Skłodowska-Curie University in Lublin on the request of the Tyszowce commune in 2010/2011 in the face of gradual uncontrolled exploration of the local stronghold allowed to identify the legendary town of Cherven with Czermno upon the Huczwa River with high probability and opened the way for the further, very promising researches taking into account great

* Jolanta Bagińska, Marcin Piotrowski and Marcin Wołoszyn are the authors of the exhibition concept. The exhibition was held in Tomaszów Lubelski in 2012–2013, and then it was transferred in a reduced form to the National Museum in Krakow.

¹ M. Wołoszyn, *Grody Czerwieńskie – między fascynacją a zapomnieniem*, [in:] *Czerwień – gród między Wschodem a Zachodem. Katalog wystawy*, ed. J. Bagińska, M. Piotrowski, Tomaszów Lubelski – Leipzig – Lublin – Rzeszów 2012, p. 82.

importance of current finds.² The significance of the discovery was confirmed by the grant given in 2012 by the Ministry of Sciences and Higher Education to Marcin Wołoszyn, the scholar of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation to enable him to continue the exploration of the Towns within the scope of the project "Golden Apple of Polish Archaeology. Stronghold complexes in Czeremno and Gródek (Czerven Towns) – chronology and function in the light of past and follow-up research" in a wide international co-operation to be carried out from 2013 to 2016.³ The team will have to face many research problems; from the identification of great number of expected finds through their chronology to the conclusions regarding the fall of Cherven. These problems have aroused many controversies that have been given appropriate attention only in recent years.

The suggestion to identify Czeremno with Cherven first appeared in 1818, when Zorian Dołęga-Chodakowski remarked in his letter to Jerzy Brandtke that the townsfolk of Czeremno called the local stronghold "chervin horod"⁴. Throughout the proceeding decades and well into the 20th century, the stronghold and the art of ancient Rus⁵ had gradually become the centre of interest. Nevertheless, a new dynamic stage of studies on these subjects commenced relatively recently. Undoubtedly, there were many reasons that impacted the situation, including political changes that made the studies on sacral heritage, especially

² A. Kokowski, *Czeremno (Czerwień) – czwarta odsłona*, [in:] *Czerwień ...*, p. 37.

³ M. Wołoszyn, *Grody Czerwieńskie i problem wschodniej granicy monarchii pierwszych Piastów. Stan i perspektywy badań*, [in:] *Studia nad dawną Polską 3* (= Biblioteka Muzeum Początków Państwa Polskiego, Vol. 4), ed. T. Sawicki, Gniezno 2013, pp. 85–116. M. Wołoszyn devoted his monumental doctoral dissertation to the Ruthenian material monuments from the X to XIII c., consequently studying and publishing the results of researches on this subject in the last decades, including: M. Wołoszyn, *Nowe dane archeologiczne do dziejów chrześcijaństwa w Małopolsce północno-wschodniej*, [in:] *Początki chrześcijaństwa w Małopolsce*, ed. J. Garncarski, Krosno, 2001, pp. 379–406; Idem, *Obecność ruska i skandynawska w Polsce w X–XII w. – wybrane problemy*, [in:] *Wędrowka i etnogeneza w starożytności i w średniowieczu*, ed. M. Salomon, J. Strzelczyk, Kraków 2004, pp. 245–276; Idem, *Zabytki pochodzenia wschodniego we wczesnośredniowiecznej Polsce – wędrowka ludzi, rzeczy, czy idei?*, [in:] *Wędrowka rzeczy i idei w średniowieczu*, ed. S. Moździoch, (= Spotkania Bytomskie 5), Wrocław 2004, p. 225–242; Idem, *Polsko-ruskie pogranicze w X–XIII w. – perspektywy badań archeologicznych* [in:] *Corner-stone. Archaeology, history, arts and culture of Russia and its neighbours*, ed. E. N. Nosov, S. V. Beleckij, St. Petersburg–Moscow 2009, pp. 161–185; Idem, *Europa środkowa a cywilizacja bizantyńsko-ruska w X–XIII w. – próba interpretacji źródeł archeologicznych*, "Prace Komisji Środkowoeuropejskiej PAU" 14 (2006), pp. 7–49; Idem, *Bizantyński i łaciński model chrystianizacji w świetle danych archeologicznych – uwagi dyskusyjne*, [in:] *In silvis, campis ... et urbe. Średniowieczny obrządek pogrzebowy na pograniczu polsko-ruskim*, ed. S. Cygan, M. Glinianowicz, P. N. Kotowicz, (= Collectio Archaeologica Resoviensis, 14), Rzeszów-Sanok 2011, pp. 13–31; Idem, *Die frühmittelalterlichen orthodoxen Devotionalien in Polen und die Entstehung der ältesten Ostgrenze Polens. Forschungsgeschichte und Forschungsperspektiven*, [in:] *Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe: Archaeological and Historical Evidence* (= U Źródle Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej / Frühzeit Ostmitteleuropa 1,1) 1, ed. M. Salamon, M. Wołoszyn, A. Musin, P. Špehar, M. Hardt, M. P. Kruk, A. Sulikowska-Gąska, Kraków – Leipzig – Rzeszów – Warszawa 2012, pp. 225–289.

⁴ A. Kokowski, *op. cit.*, p. 38; J. Bagińska, M. Piotrowski, M. Wołoszyn, *Czerwień – gród między Wschodem a Zachodem*, [in:] *Czerwień ...*, p. 340.

⁵ See M. P. Kruk, *Pierwsze kolekcje i wystawy zabytków Sztuki Kościoła Wschodniego na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej – do 1914 roku*, [in:] *Czerwień ...*, pp. 281–287.

on the Christianisation, in all of Eastern Europe possible, which is evidenced by a growing number of conferences devoted to this subject and their participants.

The beginning of these fascinations dates back to the 19th century and an excellent example was the famous *First Polish-Ruthenian archaeological exhibition* held in Lvov in 1885⁶. This and further exhibitions presented in highly original way the output of centuries-old cultural and religious co-existence of the Poles and Rus' in Red Ruthenia and Lesser Poland. It was a kind of manifestation of the common heritage and the glory of the past multi-national Commonwealth of Poland after partitions. The catalogue of the exhibition with large tables was published, in which Ruthenian devotional articles were mixed with Latin crosses, for example, of the Limoges type and with Old-Believers triptychs. It reflected the 19th century concept of mixing works of various origins similar to for example, the exhibition in the Cloth Hall in Cracow, where before the WWI the works of Western guild art were displayed together with elements of iconostas, icons and encolpia. The outbreak of the WWI prevented the organisation of the next big exhibition in Czerniowce (ukr. Chernivtsi) that was to show mutual interconnections and close relations between Ruthenia and Moldova.

Symptomatically, the studies on sacral, mainly medieval art, radically stopped during the Stalin era, probably because of their spiritual character. Further in Poland there were no comprehensive studies on Ruthenian devotional articles and one of very few papers devoted to this subject was the analysis of three Old Ruthenian encolpia by Barbara Dąb-Kalinowska⁷. The number of monuments analysed was small and contrasts with the number of finds of this type in recent years.⁸ More comprehensive studies on Ruthenian devotional objects were conducted in the 80s/90s of 20th century due to the political changes in this part of Europe. The new discoveries were made in the course of the researches on the Polish-Ruthenian borderlands carried out by Michał Parczewski⁹ and the excavations of Jerzy Ginalski in Trepcza near Sanok.¹⁰ Whereas the research carried out in Chełm and in nearby Stołpie (team of Prof. Andrzej Buko¹¹) confirmed the culture-creating character of the Ruthenian towns: Sanok, Przemyśl and Chełm, situated on the Western

⁶ *Wystawa archeologiczna polsko-ruska urządzona we Lwowie w roku 1885*, L. Wierzbicki (explanatory note), M. Sokolowski (*Rzecz o malarstwie*), Lwów (Lemberg) 1885 [exhibition catalogue 9th–28th Sept, 1885], Lvov 1886.

⁷ B. Dąb Kalinowska, *Trzy enkolpiony kijowskie w Polsce*, „Biuletyn Historii Sztuki”, 38 (1976), no. 1, pp. 3–10.

⁸ M. Wołoszyn, *Archeologiczne zabytki sakralne pochodzenia wschodniego w Polsce od X do połowy XIII wieku (wybrane przykłady)*, [in:] *Cerkiew – wielka Tajemnica. Sztuka cerkiewna od XI do 1917 roku ze zbiorów polskich*, [catalogue of the exhibition organized by the Muzeum Gorków Castle in Szamotuły and the Museum of the Polish State Origin, Apr–Aug 2001], Gniezno 2001, pp. 25–45.

⁹ M. Parczewski, *Początki kształtowania się polsko-ruskiej rubieży etnicznej w Karpatach: u źródeł rozpadu Słowiańszczyzny na rozłam wschodni i zachodni*, Kraków 1991. Cf. *Frühzeit Ostmitteleuropas: Das polnisch-ukrainische Grenzgebiet aus archäologischer Perspektive*, ed. M. Dębiec, M. Wołoszyn, Rzeszów 2007.

¹⁰ J. Ginalski, *Wczesnośredniowieczne ślady kultu chrześcijańskiego obrzędu wschodniego na grodzisku „Horodyszcze” w Trepczy koło Sanoka*, [in:] *Cerkiew – wielka tajemnica. ...*, p. 52, Fig. V.

¹¹ A. Buko, *Stołpie. Tajemnice kamiennej wieży*, Warszawa 2009.

border. Numerous monographs and studies devoted to the fascinating beginnings of stone architecture in Poland, inseparably connected with the Christianisation¹² and to specific centres of the Piast dynasty authority are also noteworthy since they present a fresh view on the complex context of their origin based on recently revealed archaeological materials¹³. More conferences and exhibitions dedicated to devotional objects and the Orthodox art organised by the museums in Chełm¹⁴, Łańcut¹⁵ and Gniezno¹⁶ were held. At this time, Elżbieta Gródek-Kciuk made the first classification of Ruthenian encolpia in Poland.¹⁷

The discovery of many new monuments was possible due to a new program of intensive excavations connected with the construction of motorways. The significant examples include the discoveries in Daniłow in Podlachia, where the local grave field provided priceless evidence regarding cultural interactions in the period of the Polish-Ruthenian borderlands Christianisation.¹⁸ During the last three decades, very intensive studies on the progressing Christianisation in Central-Eastern Europe and monuments connected with this event were carried out. In Poland, it was attested by the block of presentations on this subject during the 12th annual convention of the European archaeologists in Cracow in 2006¹⁹, accompanied by the exhibition at the National Museum in Cracow with Old

¹² K. Żurowska i in., *U progu chrześcijaństwa w Polsce. Ostrów Lednicki*, 1–2, Kraków 1993–1994; M. Proksa, Z. Pianowski, *Rotunda św. Mikołaja w Przemyślu po badaniach archeologiczno-architektonicznych w latach 1996–1998*, Przemyśl 1998; *Osadnictwo i architektura ziem polskich w dobie zjazdu gnieźnieńskiego*, ed. A. Buko and Z. Świechowski, Warszawa 2002; A. Buko, *Archeologia Polski wczesnośredniowiecznej*, Warszawa 2005; T. Rodzińska-Choraży, *Zespoły rezydencjonalne i kościoły centralne na ziemiach polskich do połowy wieku XII*, Kraków 2009.

¹³ For example, papers in: *Sedes regni principales. Materiały z konferencji naukowej Sandomierz 20–21 X 1997*, ed. B. Trelińska, Sandomierz 1999; Z. Pianowski, „*Sedes regni principales*”: Wawel i inne rezydencje piastowskie do połowy XIII wieku na tle europejskim, Kraków 1994; *Gdańsk średniowieczny w świetle najnowszych badań archeologicznych i historycznych. Materiały z konferencji zorg. z okazji tysiąclecia Gdańska (997–1997)*, ed. H. Paner, Gdańsk 1998; A. Buko, *Najstarsze ośrodki grodowo-miejskie na ziemiach polskich*, [in:] *Polska na przełomie I i II tysiąclecia*, ed. S. Skibiński, Poznań 2001, p. 223–233; Z. Kurnatowska, *Gniezno w świetle ostatnich badań archeologicznych: nowe fakty, nowe interpretacje*, Poznań 2001; A. Rozwałka, R. Niedźwiadek, M. Stasiak, *Lublin wczesnośredniowieczny. Studium rozwoju przestrzennego*, Lublin 2006; H. Zoll-Adamikowa, A. Buko, T. Kalicki, J. Laberscheck, A. Tyniec-Kępińska, B. S. Szmoniewski, M. Wołoszyn, *Stradów, wczesnośredniowieczny zespół osadniczy 1*, (= *Polskie Badania Archeologiczne* 36), Kraków 2007; Z. Pianowski, M. Proksa, *Najstarsze budowle Przemyśla. Badania archeologiczno-architektoniczne do roku 2006*, Rzeszów 2008.

¹⁴ *Sztuka sakralna Ziemi Chełmskiej, Muzeum Okręgowe w Chełmie*, 11. IX.–11. X. 1992 r. [Vol. I – Referaty; Vol. II – Katalog wystawy], edition and introduction by K. Mart, Chełm 1992.

¹⁵ *Zachodnioukraińska sztuka cerkiewna. Dzieła – Twórcy – Ośrodki – Techniki. Materiały z międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej 10–11 maja 2003 roku*, ed. J. Giemza, Łańcut 2003; *Zachodnioukraińska sztuka cerkiewna*, part II, ed. J. Giemza, Łańcut 2004.

¹⁶ *Cerkiew – wielka tajemnica ...*, passim.

¹⁷ E. Gródek-Kciuk, *Enkolpiony znalezione na terenie Polski. Próba klasyfikacji i datowanie materiałów*, „*Przegląd Archeologiczny*”, 36 (1989), pp. 97–134.

¹⁸ A. Koperkiewicz, D. Krasnodębski, *Domniemane zabytki sakralne pochodzenia wschodniego z cmentarzyska wczesnośredniowiecznego w Daniłowie Małym na Podlasiu*, [in:] *Cerkiew – wielka tajemnica ...*, pp. 5–57.

¹⁹ The session was entitled: *Sacralia Ruthenica. Studies to Christianization of Eastern Europe in the Light of Archaeological Sources (10–13th cent.)*.

Ruthenian works on display entitled *Sacralia Ruthenica. Early Ruthenian encolpia in the collection of the National Museums in Krakow and Warsaw*, described in the first catalogue of this kind in Poland published in Polish and English versions.²⁰ A few years later, a conference was held in Cracow²¹ in which over one hundred scholars participated, thus evidencing that more and more researchers from different fields have been engaged in the studies reconstructing the successive spreading of Christianity in different countries at different paces and of differing intensity.

In 2006 the conference was held in Saint Petersburg in the honour of Galina Korzukhina (1906–1974)²², a famous researcher of the Early Ruthenian sacral art, the author of the pioneering study on 400 Ruthenian devotional objects prepared already in 1949, but published only in 2003 together with the analysis of next 1,600 monuments described by Prof. Anna Peskova.²³ In 2009, another international conference in Novgorod was held, organized by Prof. Alexander Musin from the Institute of Russian Archaeology of the Russian Science Academy in Saint Petersburg within the working group, also including researchers from the Caen University in France under the title “Two Normandies”, opening new prospects of studies on the connections between Ruthenia and Scandinavia and the Slaves from Central Europe during the Christianisation period.²⁴ The special summary of this type of studies was a thematic block dedicated to these problems at the XXII Byzan-

²⁰ M. P. Kruk, A. Sulikowska-Gąska, M. Wołoszyn, *Sacralia Ruthenica. Early Ruthenian and Related Metal and Stone Items in the National Museum in Cracow and National Museum in Warsaw. Dzieła staroruskie bądź z Rusią związane z metalem i kamieniem w Muzeum Narodowym w Krakowie i w Muzeum Narodowym w Warszawie* (bilingual publication), Warszawa 2006. The joint initiative and co-operation lead to the first Polish study of Ruthenian devotional objects. To the encolpia collection in the National Museum in Krakow and National Museum in Warsaw, the classification of G. Korzukhina and A. Peskova was generally applied, taking into account the proposal of E. Gródek-Kciuk and the latest literature on the subject.

²¹ The patrons of the conference *Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe. Archaeological and Historical Evidence* were as follows: The Centre for the History and Culture of East Central Europe (GWZO) in Leipzig, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, UJ Institute of Art History, the Institute of Archaeology of the Rzeszów University, the Institute of Archaeology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Belgrade, the Institute for the History of Material Culture of Russian Academy of Science, Sankt Petersburg and the Scientific Committee on Ancient Culture of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

²² Международная научная конференция посвященная 100-летию со дня рождения Гали Федоровны Корзухиной [10.–15.04.2006], Санкт-Петербург, Совместно с семинариом Государственного Эрмитажа: *Ювелирное искусство и материальная культура*. The materials were published in the volume under the same title in 2010 (ed. A. A. Пескова, О. А. Щеглова, А. Мусин, Санкт-Петербург 2010).

²³ G. Korzukhina (Г. Ф. Корзухина), A. Peskova (А. А. Пескова), *Ancient Russian encolpions. Pectoral Reliquary Crosses: 11th to 13th Century. Древнерусские энколпионы. Нагруженные кресты – реликварии XI–XIII вв.*, Санкт Петербург 2003.

²⁴ „Две «Нормандии»: междисциплинарное сравнительное исследование культурного присутствия скандинавов в Нормандии (Франция) и на Руси (Новгородская земля) и его историческое значение”. А. Musin, similar to M. Wołoszyn, focused on the Christianisation of Ruthenia and the related material evidence from the beginning of his studies and published, inter alia: А. Мусин, *Христианизация Новгородской земли в IX–XIV вв. Погребальный обряд и христианские древности*, Санкт-Петербург 2002; Idem, *Вопиющие камни. Русская церковь и культурное наследие России на рубеже тысячелетий*, Санкт-Петербург 2006; Idem, *Церковь и горожане средневекового Пскова. Историко-археологическое исследование*, Санкт-Петербург 2010; *Церковная старина в современной России*, Санкт-Петербург 2010.

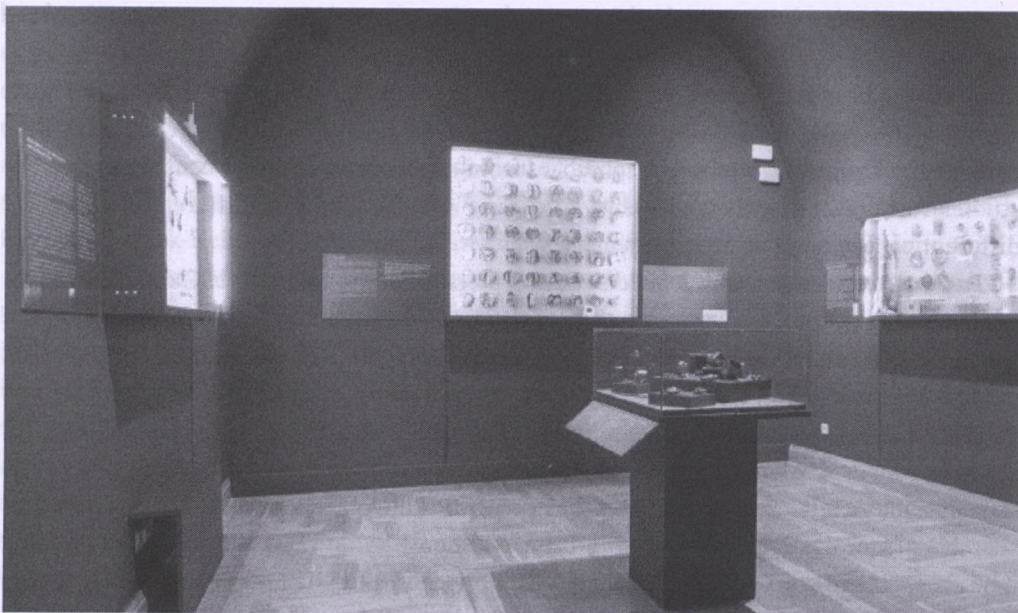


Fig. 1. Exhibition "Czerwień – the Stronghold between the East and the West", The National Museum in Krakow, 5th April – 1st Sept, 2013 – view of the 1st hall

tine Congress in Sophia in 2011²⁵, where the archaeological sensation from recent years was announced – the definite recognition and the commencement of the exploration of the legendary Cherven Towns.²⁶

The future of the studies on the medieval sacral art of the Polish-Ruthenian borderland, especially archaeological, looks very promising. A specific trend in profiling a display of large, cross-section exhibitions devoted to the Byzantine arts appeared, in particular in the museology of German-speaking countries displaying a wide spectrum of so-called material art to a higher degree than before, and thereby, presenting the everyday life of the Empire and its provinces inhabitants, often with references to their neighbouring states, not only spectacular works of the highest artistic qualities.²⁷ In each consecutive

²⁵ M. Wołoszyn, A. Musin, 'RT 25. Fragile Ambassadors – Byzantine Relics and Reliquaries Inside the Empire and Beyond', [in:] *Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, II: Abstracts of Round Table Communications*, Sofia, 22–27 August 2011, ed. I. Iliev, E. Kostova, V. Angelov, Sofia 2011, pp. 166–184.

²⁶ M. P. Kruk, M. Wołoszyn, 'The Lost (?) Pride of Polish Archaeologists. Finds of Orthodox Devotional Objects from Poland (10th–13th Century)', [in:] *Proceedings ...*, pp. 176–177.

²⁷ *Rom und Byzanz: Archäologische Kostbarkeiten aus Bayern* [Catalogue of the exhibition of the collection of the Prähistorischen Staatssammlung München, 20.10.1998–14.02.1999], ed. L. Wamser, G. Zahlhaas, München 1998; *Byzanz. Das Licht aus dem Osten. Kult und Alltag im Byzantinischen Reich vom 4. bis 15. Jahrhundert. Katalog der Ausstellung im Erzbischöflichen Diözesanmuseum Paderborn vom 6.12.2001 bis 31.3.2002.*, ed. Ch. Stiegemann, Mainz 2001; *Byzanz. Pracht und Alltag. Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn 26. Februar bis 13. Juni 2010*, introduction by R. Fleck, F. Daim,

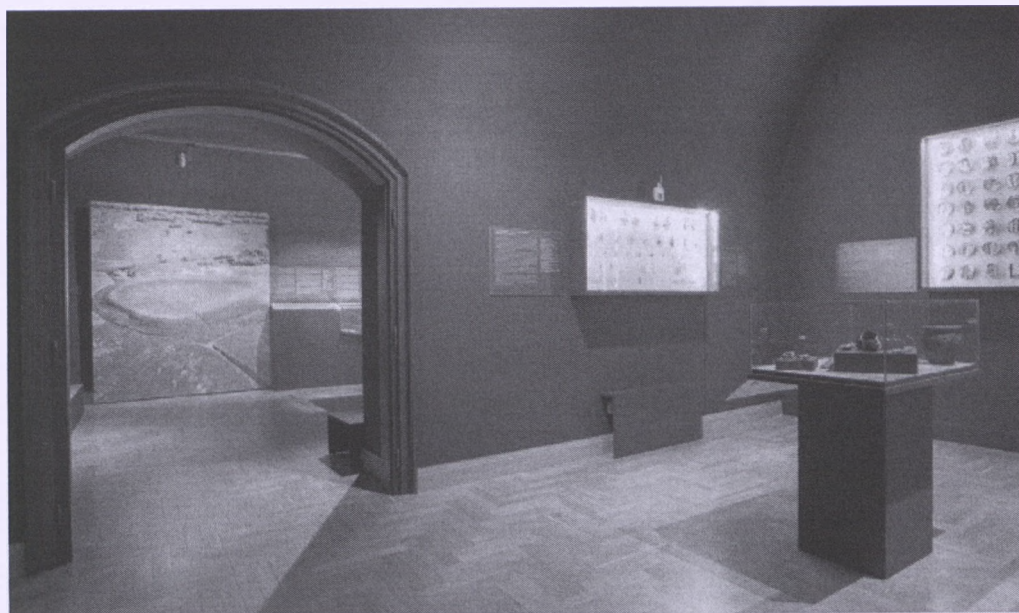


Fig. 2. Exhibition "Czerwień – the Stronghold between the East and the West", The National Museum in Krakow, 5th April – 1st Sept, 2013 – view of the 1st hall

year new finds were discovered, and at the same time the need to verify already existing collections of the old works of art in the museum and church collections regarding Ruthenian and Byzantine devotional articles arose. Thanks to another inquiring, two Ruthenian monuments were identified in this way and they were described in the presentation at the Cracow conference in 2010²⁸. The same can be said about Byzantine monuments, since for example, an already known Byzantine gem from the collection of the Diocesan Museum in Włocławek makes us ask about the distinguishing feature between Byzantine monuments and their Venetian imitations²⁹, and a small but interesting collection of Byzantine gems and cameos from the Czartoryski Princes collection in Cracow waits to be studied.

The greatest breakthrough discovery in the recent years is the hoard from Czermno. The circumstances and significance of the excavations and their contexts were discussed

Bonn 2010; *Das Goldene Byzanz und der Orient* [Catalogue of the exhibition at the Schallaburg castle, 31.3 – 4.11.2012], ed. F. Daim, Schallaburg 2012. The last exhibition become a pretext to search for the answers for questions related to the modern Europe experiencing a deep crisis and having problems with defining its identity and future in the turbulent history of Byzantium – F. Daim, 'Europa neu Denken', [in:] *Das Goldene ...*, p. 9. The significant contribution into the organisation of the above mentioned exhibition of the Romano-Germanic Central Museum in Mainz (Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz) should be emphasized.

²⁸ M. Kruk, 'Two stray Stone Plaques (Icons) from the Collection of the National Museum in Krakow', [in:] *Rome, Constantinople ...*, pp. 291–301

²⁹ M. P. Kruk, *Chrystus Pantokrator na gemmie bizantyńskiej z kościoła pw. NMP Królowej Polski w Kruszynie* – in print.

during the panel opening the exhibition in the Bishop Erazm Ciołek Palace, a branch of the National Museum in Cracow on 5th April 2013 (Fig. 14). Marek Świca, the Vice-Director of the National Museum in Krakow in his foreword recollected past exhibitions and the present display of the Orthodox art in the museum. Later, Mirosław P. Kruk and Marcin Wołoszyn showed presentations constituting a reflection on the results of the recent co-operation of scholars from different fields of studies on Ruthenian art, as well as talked about the circumstances of the organization of the present exhibition. The next participants characterized the problems expressing their views. Prof. Józef Suchy, the dean of the Faculty of Foundry Engineering of the University of Science and Technology in Cracow described the course of the laboratory tests of female silver jewellery whose discovery made the aforementioned excavations so famous. Prof. Suchy indicated their high quality and differentiation of alloys as well as various decoration techniques used to produce them.

Material tests provide opportunities to identify monument materials more precisely; therefore, such as in the case of technological and dendrochronological studies of icons in different light wave bands³⁰, pigment analysis³¹ or lead paint contamination tests³² that enabled, on the ground of a comparative base, to indicate icon painting workshops and origin of used pigments more precisely, the analyses of silver contaminations that allow for example, to identify the deposits from which silver was extracted more precisely may be similarly helpful. In the context of the conducted studies the postulate to create appropriate rich data bases that could serve as reference for new analyses recurred. The similar hope can be reposed in analysis of lead of which some artefacts displayed at the exhibition were made, such as seals, custom seals, weights, single everyday objects and decorations.

As far as the seals are concerned, due to the kindness of Elżbieta Nosek that carried out their analysis and cleansing during the exhibition in Cracow it is known that they were made of almost completely pure lead. On this stage we can only surmise that lead ore came from the Olkusz deposits and was refined very meticulously in order to remove small impurities of silver that usually are found in it. "Pure" lead being the final product of distillation processes was, as is known, used in the local industry and exported to Hungary. Therefore it cannot be excluded that perhaps it was also expanded to Ruthenia, and after one thousand year it returned in a processed form to the place situated near its source of origin. However, it is only an assumption that requires a comparative analysis like other materials of which the objects on display were made.

³⁰ A. Żurek, *Wstęp do badań technologicznych ikon z obszaru Karpat, pochodzących ze zbioru Muzeum Zamku w Łańcucie*, [in:] *Zachodnioukraińska sztuka ...2003*, pp. 424–428.

³¹ K. Paraskevopoulos, K. S. Andrikopoulos, Y. Chrysoulakis, T. Zorba, K. Popkonstantinov, 'Infrared and Raman Vibrational Spectroscopies as Complimentary Techniques for Pigment Identification in Art Objects: a Case Study', [in:] *Zachodnioukraińska sztuka ...2003*, pp. 449–465.

³² E. Pańczyk, L. Waliś, A. Kalicki, L. Rowińska, 'Techniki jądrowe w badaniach obrazów', [in:] *Zachodnioukraińska sztuka ...2003*, pp. 439–440: in this case, the presented results refer to the Western painting.

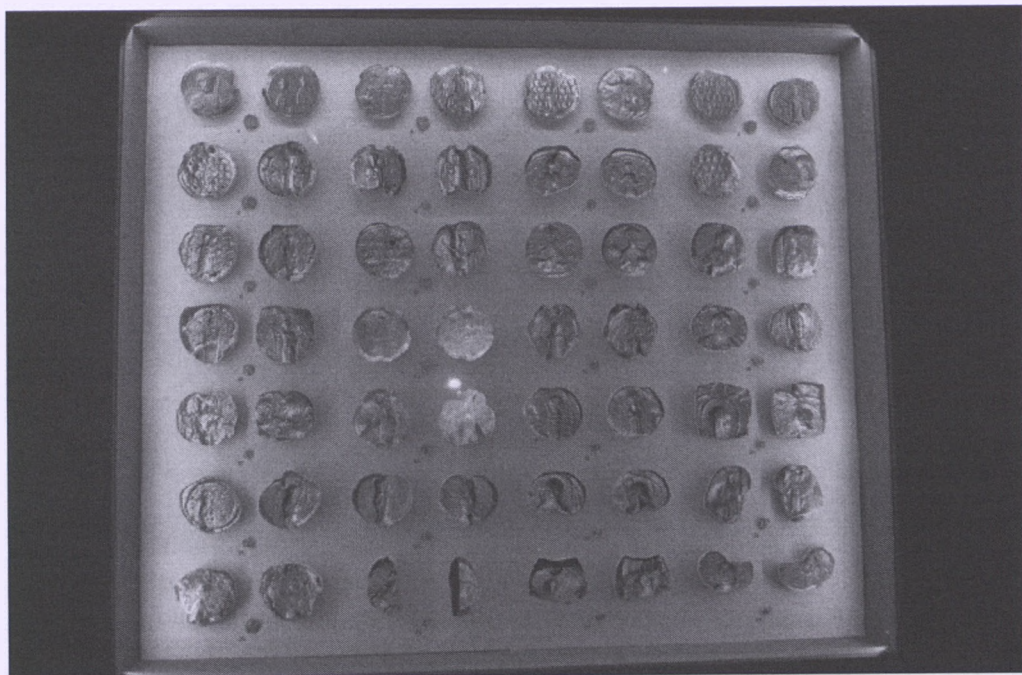


Fig. 3. Exhibition "Czerwień – the Stronghold between the East and the West",
The National Museum in Krakow, 5th April – 1st Sept, 2013 –
showcase with the seals / bullae

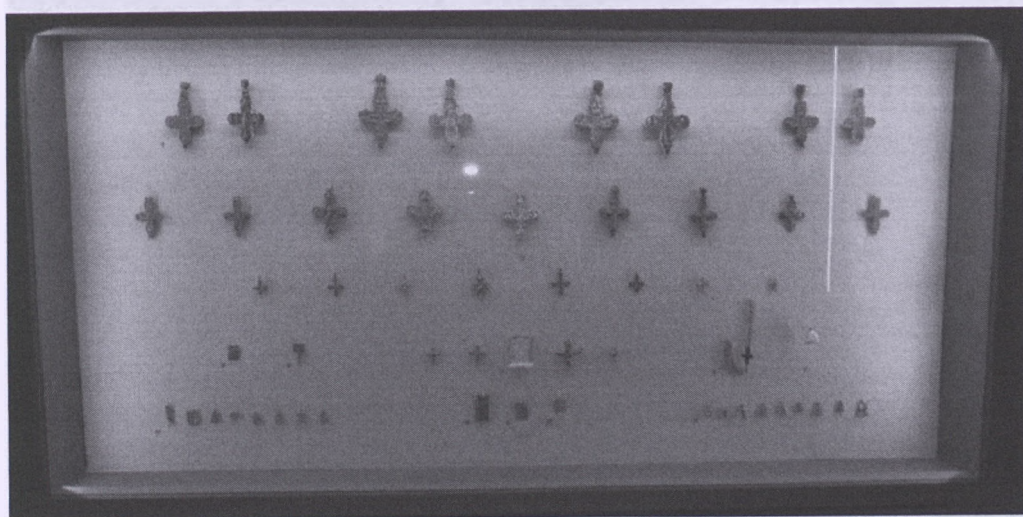


Fig. 4. Exhibition "Czerwień – the Stronghold between the East and the West",
The National Museum in Krakow, 5th April – 1st Sept, 2013

Humanities scholars expressed their views on the past and condition of the studies on the Byzantine and Ruthenian art in Poland. The confrontation of experiences of archaeologists, historians and art historians was very interesting. Andrzej Buko, a full member of PAN (Polish Academy of Sciences) and the director of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw emphasized the importance of the excavations in Chełm and in Mazovia and Podlesie which provided equally abundant historical materials but still poorly popularized; Christian Lübke, the director of the Centre for the History and Culture of East Central Europe (GWZO) in Leipzig assessed the recent co-operation regarding the medieval culture in Central-Eastern Europe, in which his Centre is very interested in³³ as very praiseworthy and satisfactory. Perica Špehar from the Archaeological Institute of the Belgrade University reviewed shortly the problems of studies on the Christianisation of Slavic countries in Southern Europe. Małgorzata Smorąg Różycka from the Institute of Art History, UJ (Jagiellonian University), focused on the history of the researches on the Byzantine and Ruthenian culture conducted in the Cracow centre, beginning from the activity of Wojesław Molè, and the summary was presented by Maciej Salamon, the director of the UJ Institute of History and the president of the Polish Committee of the International Association of Byzantine Studies (AIEB) who discussed the previously mentioned questions in the light of historical researches.

The papers were devoted to the history of studies regarding the culture of the Polish-Ruthenian borderland in the Middle Ages, their prospects, and the domestic and international co-operation on the Cherven Towns exploration within the grant "Golden Apple of Polish Archaeology".³⁴ During the meetings, two volumes of proceedings from the conference organized in Cracow in 2010, *Rome, Constantinople and Newly – Converted Europe. Archaeological and Historical Evidence*³⁵ as well as the catalogue of the exhibition *Cherven – the Stronghold between the East and the West*³⁶ were presented.

³³ See Ch. Lübke, 'Grody Czerwieńskie – pogranicze I obszar przejściowy średniowiecznej Europy jako projekt badawczy GWZO', [in:] *Czerwień ...*, pp. 71–72.

³⁴ See S. Czopek, 'Czerwień – gród między Wschodem a Zachodem – kilka słów na otwarcie wystawy', [in:] *Czerwień ...*, pp. 53–54.

³⁵ *Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe: Archaeological and Historical Evidence* (= *U Źródeł Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej / Frühzeit Ostmitteleuropa 1,1–2*) 1–2, ed. M. Salamon, M. Wołoszyn, A. Musin, P. Špehar, M. Hardt, M.P. Kruk, A. Sulikowska-Gąska, Kraków – Leipzig – Rzeszów – Warszawa 2012.

³⁶ *Czerwień – gród między Wschodem a Zachodem ...*, passim. The bilingual guide to the Cracow's exhibition: M. P. Kruk, *Czerwień – gród między Wschodem a Zachodem. Czerwień – the Stronghold between the East and the West* [Wystawa w Pałacu Biskupa Erazma Ciołka – Oddział Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie / Exhibition in the Bishop Erazm Ciołek Palace – Branch of the National Museum in Cracow, 5 kwietnia / April – 1 września / September 2013], Kraków 2013.

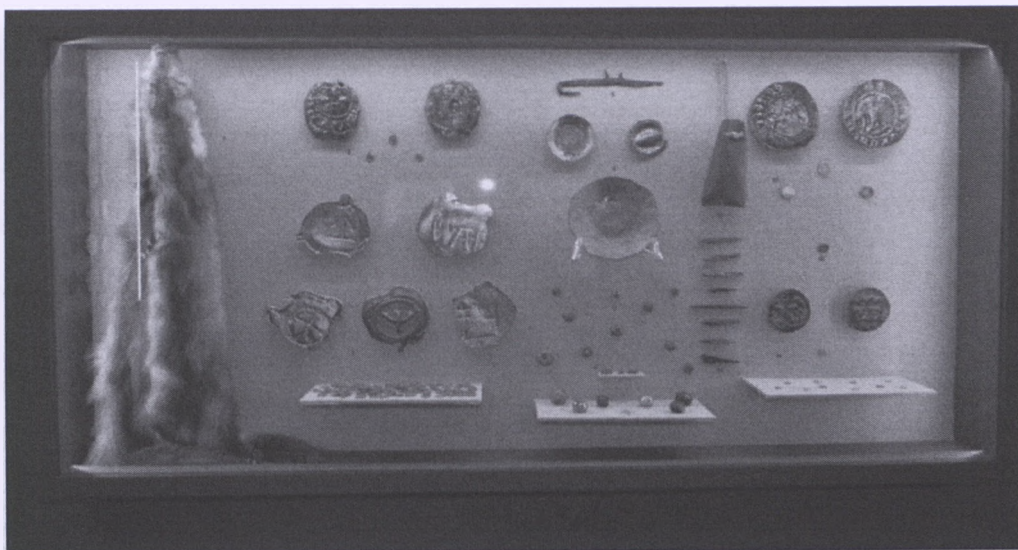


Fig. 5. Exhibition "Czerwień – the Stronghold between the East and the West", The National Museum in Krakow, 5th April – 1st Sept, 2013 – showcase with the monuments linked with the trade

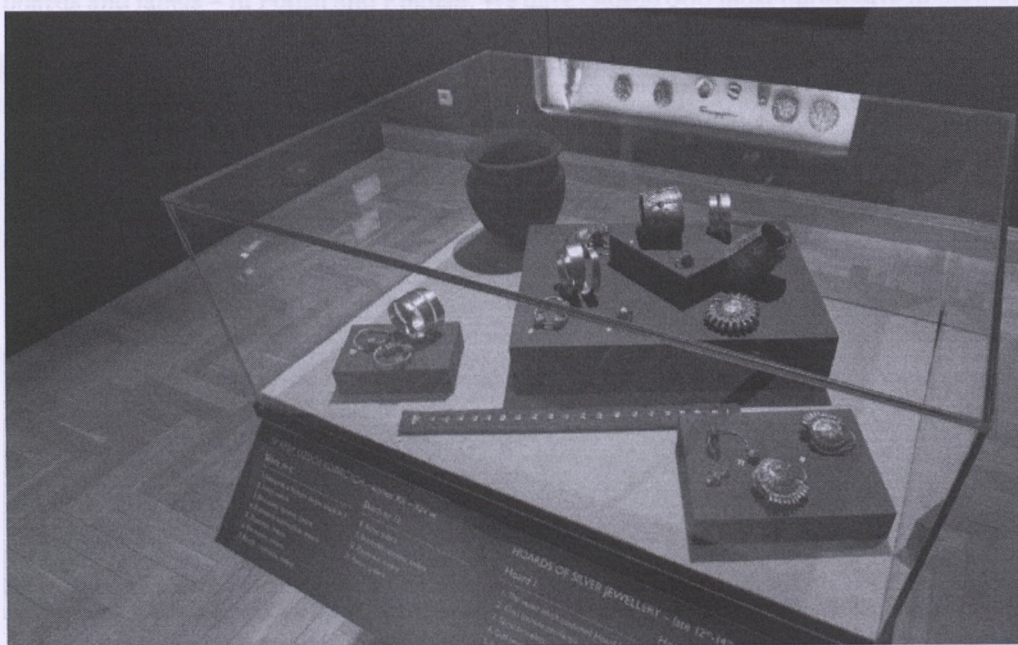


Fig. 6. Exhibition "Czerwień – the Stronghold between the East and the West", The National Museum in Krakow, 5th April – 1st Sept, 2013 – showcase with the monuments linked with the silver hoards (female jewellery)



Fig. 7. Exhibition "Czerwień – the Stronghold between the East and the West",
The National Museum in Krakow, 5th April – 1st Sept, 2013 – view of the 2nd hall

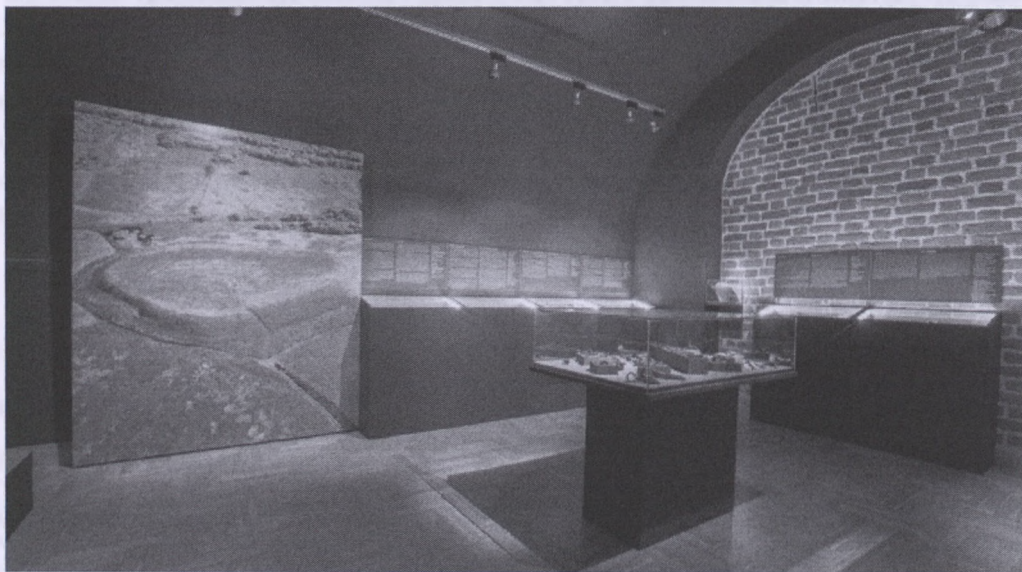


Fig. 8. Exhibition "Czerwień – the Stronghold between the East and the West",
The National Museum in Krakow, 5th April – 1st Sept, 2013 – view of the 2nd hall

From the East and the West (Wschód i Zachód) w Zespole Zabytków i Pomników Historycznych i Sztuki w Krakowie / Exhibition "Czerwień – the Stronghold between the East and the West" w Krakowie / April – 1 września / September 2013, Kraków 2013

The exhibition mentioned in the title constitutes the contribution to these issues. It debuted in the Janusz Peter Regional Museum in Tomaszów Lubelski at the end of 2012³⁷. Thereafter the exhibition was held in Cracow, then the finds from Czerwno will be on display in the Museum of Archaeology and History in Głogów and finally it will be transported to Germany (Leipzig) and Italy (Udine). This is the reason why the exhibition catalogue was published in four language versions. The entire undertaking is unusual in many respects, taking into account the time that passed from the unearthing of a few thousands of objects in season 2010/2011, through the process of their cleaning and conservation in the AGH (University of Science and Technology) in Cracow as well as at the Department of Metal Conservation of UMK (Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń) and in the workshop of Elżbieta Nosek in Cracow, through their identification, classification and description by Polish and foreign scholars till the creation of the exhibit in the Regional Museum in Tomaszów Lubelski with descriptions referring to everyday life in Ruthenia placed on a few dozen boards in four language versions with additional descriptions of individual groups and single items.

The National Museum in Krakow organized the exhibition in its reduced form of necessity. The exhibits had to be accommodated in two small rooms on the ground floor designed to display temporary exhibitions (Fig. 1–13). We decided to make our own bilingual boards and labels – in Polish and English. We have chosen 600 most impressive items and divided them into two groups: monuments connected mainly with the stronghold and with the suburbia. The interpretation of archaeological discoveries reminds a reconstruction of the content of a drama looking only at a preserved scenography elements. Nevertheless, the abundance of unearthed items regarding their number, artistic value and recognized use allows to explain, at least to some extent, their significance and the world of their references in mediaeval times to contemporary viewers.

The first category of objects exhibited in Room I (Fig. 1–6; 13) includes the most precious evidences of wealth and prestige of the town, i.e. silver woman jewellery (Fig. 6) whose discovery within the stronghold became a genuine archaeological sensation that had a decisive impact on the growing interest in Czerwno³⁸, then monuments representing the idea of principal authority (seals - bulls) (Fig. 3), trade (weights, balance pans, coins, grivnas, Angevins and so-called Drohiczyn seals) (Fig. 5), as well as devotional articles and monuments linked with literature (crosses, fragments of book covers) (Fig. 4). In Room II (Fig. 7–12) the articles found in the suburbia were displayed, divided into catego-

³⁷ MCh, Wystawa średniowiecznych zabytków w Tomaszowie Lubelskim, *onet.wiadomości*, 29.11.2012: <http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/regionalne/lublin/wystawa-sredniowiecznych-zabytkow-w-tomaszowie-lub-1,5317975,wiadomosc.html>.

³⁸ M. Bielsz, *Nazywam się Czerwień*, wyborcza.pl, 2.11.2010: http://wyborcza.pl/1,75476,8601329,Nazywam_sie_Czerwien.html; The presentation of the Czerwno treasure by Prof. Andrzej Kokowski, the director of the Institute of Archaeology of UMCS in the UMCS Library in Lublin on Dec 4th, 2011r.: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_D-OuRnlgoC.

ries depending on their function or their material integrity glass, metal (including bronze and lead) and golden objects (Fig. 11), articles connected with leather processing (Fig. 12) as well as carpentry and weaving tools and hunting weapons were shown in separate cabinets. In the middle of the room, there was a cabinet with *millitaria* (Fig. 10) of various origins (Western and Eastern Slavic, Scandinavian and Mongolian) evidencing the turbulent history of the stronghold whose wealth and strategic location drew the attention of neighbouring states and invaders from faraway lands. The exposition was completed with oak beams coming from platforms (Fig. 9) that served as communication passages linking settlements on islands divided by wetlands. Each of the above categories of monuments and kinds of activities of former inhabitants of the stronghold as well as the most intriguing single exhibits were described individually in the exhibition catalogue. The exhibition was accompanied by workshops for children and youth explaining the tasks of archaeology and methods used in it, as well as the character of finds and describing life in a mediaeval settlement. In the Portrait Room of the Bishop Erazm Ciołek Palace, three lectures popularising the knowledge of the Towns were given by Miroslaw P. Kruk (*Material works as evidence of spiritual culture of Old Ruthenia*, 16th Apr, 2013), Radoslaw Liwoch (*The beginnings of Christianity in Ruthenia in the light of archaeological sources*, 21st May, 2013)³⁹ and Marcin Wołoszyn and Marcin Piotrowski (*The significance of Czerven Towns in the past and present*, 18th June, 2013).

The discovery of the silver treasure in the stronghold recalled the question of dating of the Old Rus' art, in particular the question regarding the way the continuation of this kind of production after the Mongols invasions in 1240 and 1260 looked like. It was assumed that the invasions definitely stopped artistic activities, especially when town populations were exterminated. However, in the recent years the opinion, shared by the authors of the descriptions in the exhibition catalogue, that the decline of the activity of towns took place gradually prevails, so treating the date of the first Mongols invasion in 1240, in particular as a stiff date *ante quem* to historical materials does not stand the test of time.⁴⁰ The silver articles decorated with the use of the niello technique remind similar artefacts characteristic of the mature Romanesque art; therefore it is symptomatic that the encolpia which were also decorated with the use of this technique, like Romanesque chalices or the

³⁹ It should be emphasized that R. Liwoch was the curator of the exhibition *Ukraine in the Remote Past* in the Archaeological Museum in Cracow (from the Museum's collection) held from 5th June 2012 till May 2013 which in a way completes the archaeological panorama of the Polish-Ruthenian borderland but in relation to selected cultures over 6 millennia from the Trypillian culture till the end of the Medieval era and the early modern period.

⁴⁰ J. Kuśnierz, 'Czermno (Czerwień) – upadek grodu w XIII wieku w świetle danych archeologicznych', [in:] *Czerwień ...*, p. 154: *We should abandon the hypothesis regarding the complete destruction of the stronghold by the Mongols invasion in 1240. The later entries in chronicles for years 1266, 1268 and 1269 mention that Czerven was still an important stronghold (the subject of negotiations and conflicts between princes); it may suggest that the city was rebuilt after it had been captured by Mongols. It is confirmed by the results of archaeological and dendrochronological tests.*

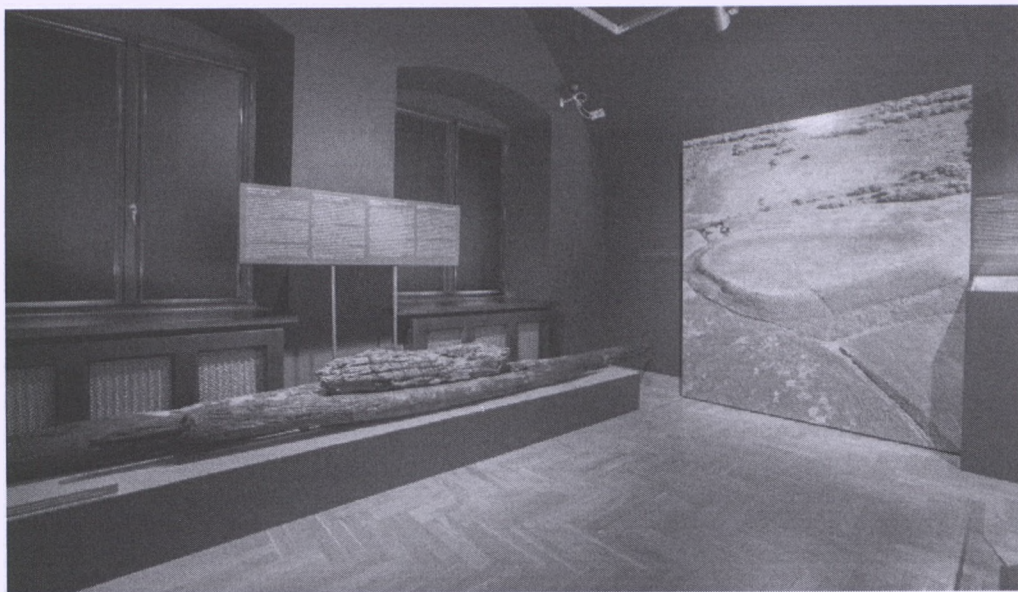


Fig. 9. Exhibition "Czerwień – the Stronghold between the East and the West", The National Museum in Krakow, 5th April – 1st Sept, 2013 – view of the 2nd hall: Timbers from a bridge in the settlement complex at Czerwno

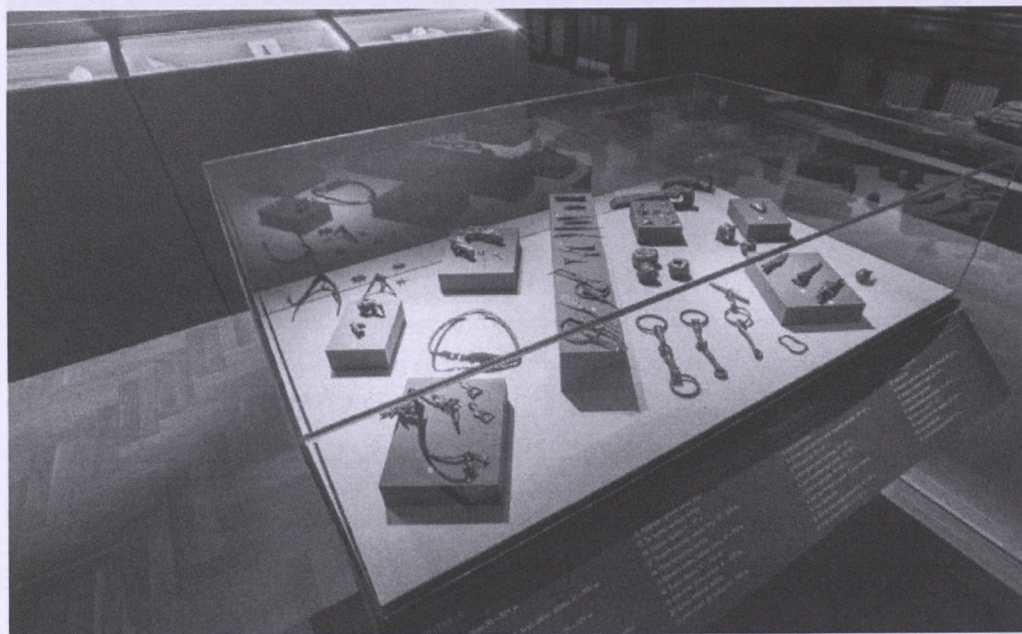


Fig. 10. Exhibition "Czerwień – the Stronghold between the East and the West", The National Museum in Krakow, 5th April – 1st Sept, 2013 – showcase with the military monuments

famous Wiślica floor are generally dated to the same period, that is, the 12th century. The authors of the exhibition concept indicate that the similar Sokal hoard, discovered in 1974 approx. 30 km south-east of Czermno in Ukraine was dated to the 12–13th century, but they now rather tend to assume that the Czermno treasure was buried in the ground only in the period between the 2nd half of the 13th century and the 1st half of the 14th century.⁴¹ According to Radosław Liwoch from the Archaeological Museum in Cracow, the production of this type of jewellery continued in to the late 13th, early of the 14th centuries, and he dates the Sokal hoard to this period⁴². Therefore, the temptation to link the hiding of the treasure within the stronghold with the Mongols invasion should be abandoned. On the other hand practically the whole collection of the Byzantine-ruthenian art object from Belarus is traditionally dated to the 12th–13th c. and even to 10th – 11th while many of them (bucklets, kolts, bronze applications, pendants, earrings, rings) seem very similar to the artefacts found in Czermno.⁴³

There are still some unanswered questions left: could silver articles be made after that date? Does it mean that if the stronghold was rebuild and its basic functions were restored, the conditions and demand for such sophisticated goldsmith's articles were re-established regardless of all negative circumstances brought by this cataclysm, which consequence was an imposition of long-term dependence of Ruthenia from the Mongols⁴⁴? On the other hand, it is highly possible that goldsmiths could move their production to nearby Chelm and continue their activities under the patronage of Prince Daniel of Galicia who *intended to built a small stronghold in it [...] and called incoming Germans and Rus', foreigners and Lendians [...], and foremen escaping from the Tatars: saddlers and archers, and wheelwrights, and iron, copper and silver forgers [...] and he built the St John's Orthodox church, beautiful and majestic. [...] He also decorated the icons he brought from Kiev with precious stones and golden pearls.*⁴⁵

Similar problem occur when we try to determine the lower horizon, i.e. the conclusion which objects could be dated to the period before the Christianisation, perhaps to the 10th century. That is why we sometimes propose wide chronological limits in object descriptions. It is also connected with a certain inertia that is responsible for the fact that specific articles of purely utilitarian function without any decorations could be created at any time

⁴¹ J. Bagińska, M. Piotrowski, M. Wołoszyn, 'Jewelry treasures', [in:] *Czerwień ...*, pp. 345–346.

⁴² R. Liwoch, 'Skarby zachodnioruskie doby przedmongolskiej', *Materiały Archeologiczne*, 39 (2013), p. 9. The autor supported a recent opinion of S. W. Terski (2001) that the Sokal hoard, very similar to the Czermno treasure should rather be – against the tradition – recognized as younger and dated to the 14th c., not to the middle of the 13th c., according to category IV of monuments to which many authors attributed it in the papers in the last few decades.

⁴³ See: К. А. Лавыш, *Художественные традиции восточной и византийской культуры в искусстве средневековых городов Беларуси (X – XIV вв.)*, Минск 2008.

⁴⁴ R. Liwoch indicated that the term "post-Mongolian period" used by S.W. Terski in this context is improper – R. Liwoch, *Skarby ...*, p. 9.

⁴⁵ *Galitian-Wolhynian Chronicle* [in:] *Kroniki staroruskie*, ed. F. Sielicki, Warszawa 1987, p. 243.

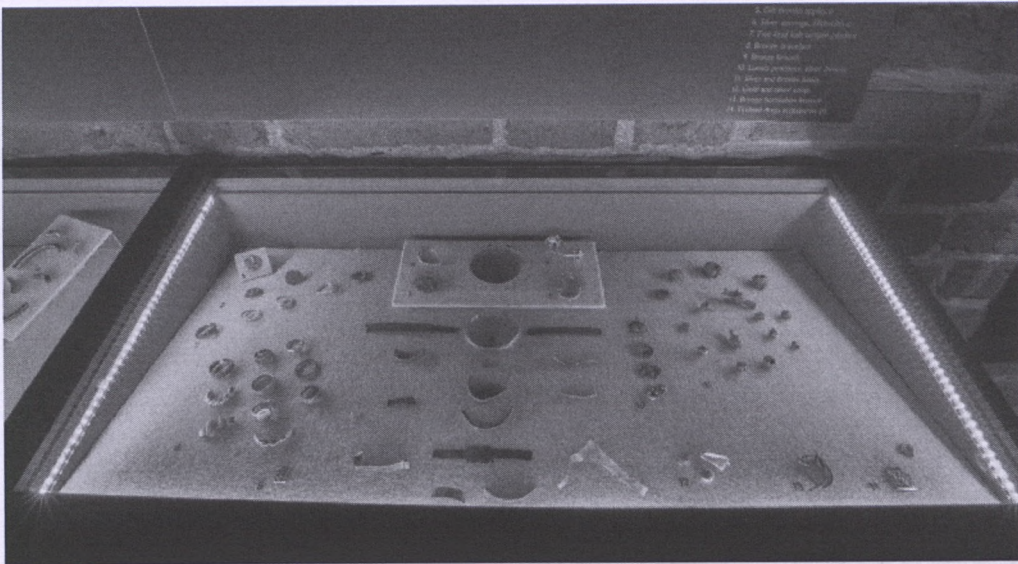


Fig. 11 Exhibition “Czerwień – the Stronghold between the East and the West”, The National Museum in Krakow, 5th April – 1st Sept, 2013 – showcase with the jewellery monuments

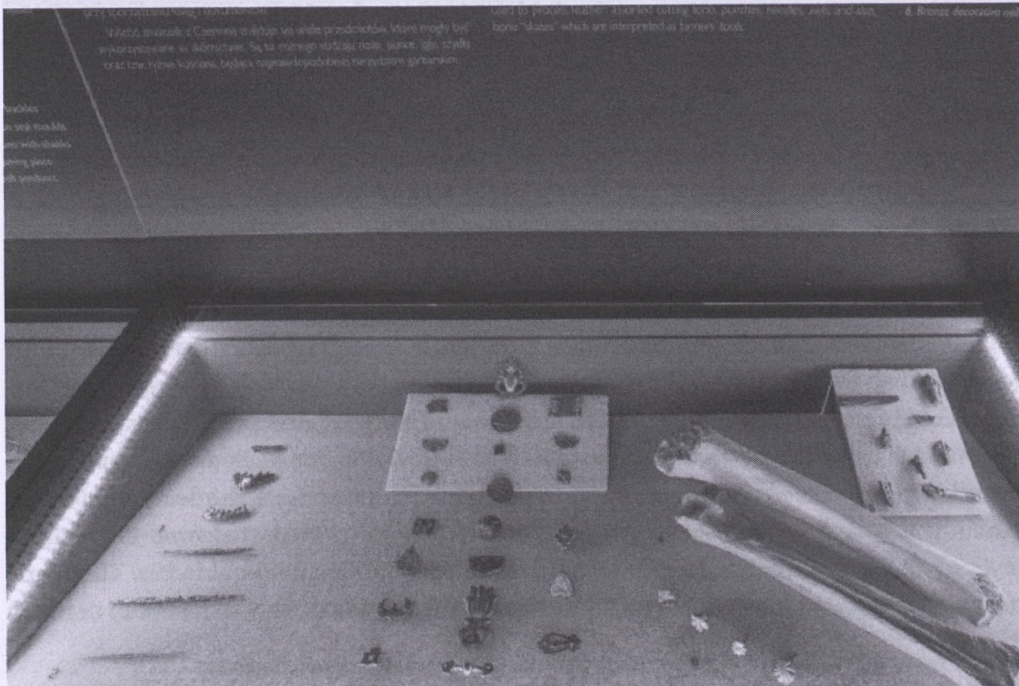


Fig. 12. Exhibition “Czerwień – the Stronghold between the East and the West”, The National Museum in Krakow, 5th April – 1st Sept, 2013 – showcase with the leather crafting



Fig. 13. Exhibition “Czerwień – the Stronghold between the East and the West”, The National Museum in Krakow, 5th April – 1st Sept, 2013 – opening day

since their form had virtually not changed over the centuries. The examples include for example bits, their fragments and other elements of horse harnesses that remained invariably unchanged from the ancient times till the Middle Ages, exposed in the Archaeological Museum in Athens or in the British Museum.

On the other hand, even a small ornament such as on the chap of the sword scabbard⁴⁶ (Fig. 15) enables more precise, sometimes quite surprising attributions. In the case of the mentioned above monument, the evident similarities to the articles linked with Scandinavia in the literature on the subject can be observed, although their production is sometimes believed to be local and is referred also to Kievan Rus', Baltic States, Pomerania and possibly Viking colonies⁴⁷. According to the classification of these articles, the decoration on the monument from Czerwno seems to belong to the type which departed from the motif of stylized bird silhouettes replacing them with more geometric and floral forms. Therefore, it would be type V according to the P. Paulsen and V. Kazakevičius classification, in which

⁴⁶ (Sword scabbard) [in:] *Czerwień ...*, Fig. 2 Tabl. II.11 (*Elements of armaments*).

⁴⁷ A. Janowski, ‘Brązowe i srebrne trzewiki pochew mieczy z X–XIII w. z terenu Polski. Uwagi o proveniencji i datowaniu’, *Acta Militaria Medievalia* II 2006, from p. 23 on; Idem, ‘Wczesnośredniowieczne okucia pochew mieczy’, [in:] *Wojskowość ludów Morza Bałtyckiego. Mare Integrans. Studia nad dziejami wybrzeży Morza Bałtyckiego*, ed. M. Bogacki, Wolin 2006, p. 155.



Fig. 14. Exhibition “Czerwień – the Stronghold between the East and the West”, The National Museum in Krakow, 5th April – 1st Sept, 2013 – international panel discussion companion to the opening of the exhibition

solid chapes have three distinct shoulders, the central in the shape of a palmetto, and the side ones – half-palmettos, and their main feature is a leading decorative motif consisting of floral and geometric elements⁴⁸. To be more specific, the chape represents subtype Va, according to the adopted classification, very common in the Prussian environment as well as in the Kievan, with various forms of stylized floral decoration different than in the case of subtype Vb, in which under the motif of a cross two elements in the shape of the letter “Y” or “V” appear; nevertheless, they are genetically and chronologically connected. These objects are dated to the period between the 11th and 13th centuries, and they may be of Baltic or perhaps of Ruthenian origin, inspired by earlier Scandinavian works, thus linked with the areas with which Rus’ maintained particularly intensive relationships in these times. Similar monuments from that time were noted in Pomerania, Warmia and Masuria, also connected with the period of more intensive commercial contacts with Scandinavia, as in the case of Polish areas and the Baltic states. Originally, elements strengthening a scab-

⁴⁸ A. Janowski, ‘Brazowe i srebrne ...’, pp. 36–40, map of chase of subtype Va in Fig. 13; Idem, ‘Wczesnośredniowieczne okucia ...’, pp. 163–165, Fig. 7.

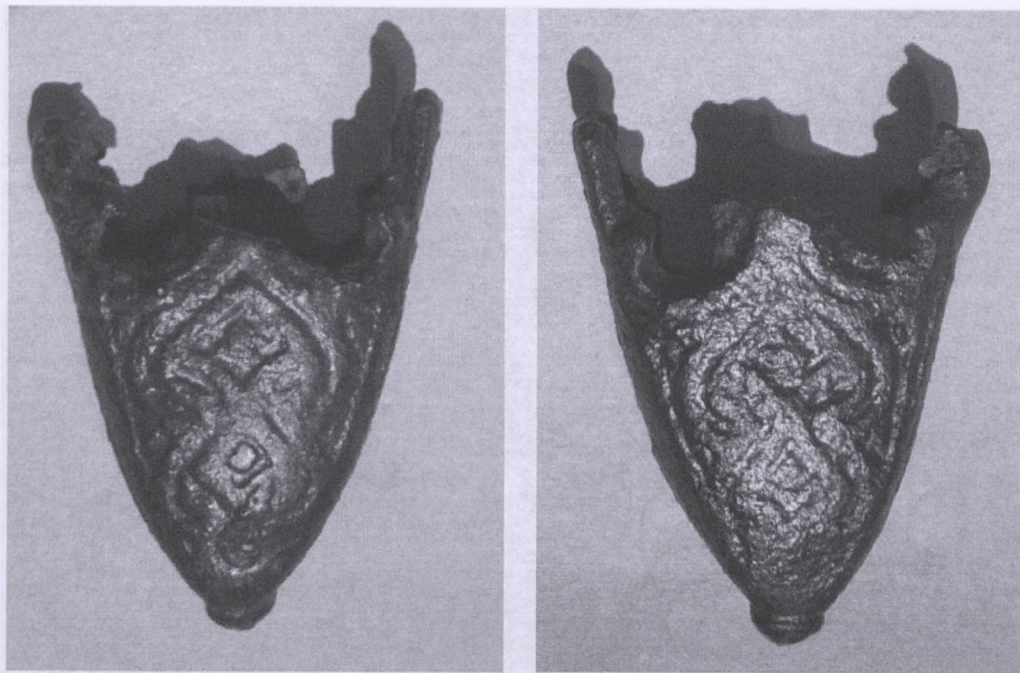


Fig. 15. a-b The sword scabbard, Kievan Rus' (?), Scandinavia (?), Prussia (?), 11th-13th, Dr. Janusz Peter Regional Museum in Tomaszów Lubelski, inv. No MT/1812/16/A

bard of the sword, decorated with bird motifs could have mystic significance, protecting their owners whilst at the same time a symbol of their high social status.⁴⁹

There are much more sophisticated objects that are still waiting for detailed recognition and comparative studies and, as we can expect, further excavations will provide more such finds. They include the bezel of a ring featuring an enthroned figure and a blurred identifying inscription constituting a true interpretation challenge. Other small metal articles were shortly characterised in the catalogue of the exhibition. Aleksander Musin discussed for example, an intriguing context of a part of the diptych with Saints Boris and Cosmas depictions that should have had its equivalent in the form of a wing with Saints Gleb and Damian⁵⁰. It would be a unique example of an early identification of the Princes' patrons of Rus' with Holy Doctors (Greek: ἅγιοι ἄνάργυροι), perhaps indicating the attribution of healing power to secular patrons in the early period of their cult. The pilgrim plaque⁵¹ - with unique Latin inscriptions recognizes Saints Peter and Paul standing next

⁴⁹ A. Janowski, 'Brązowe i srebrne ...', p. 42; Idem, *Wczesnośredniowieczne okucia ...*, p. 177. Also literature on the subject.

⁵⁰ A. Musin, 'Z wiecznego Rzymu nad Bug – znaki pielgrzymie z Czerwna (Czerwienia)', [in:] *Czerwien...*, pp. 243-244, Fig. 3 p. 255.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, Fig. 1 p. 253.

to each other - is similarly exceptional. The author indicated that such an item could not be an object of trade but arrived to Czeremno most probably with a person who went to and then returned from Rome⁵².

This detail throws some light on an important aspect – the relations between Christians of both rites. In Czerven, a stronghold between the East and the West remaining in the orbit of Ruthenian principality from the 11th century and in the entire borderland the problem of the otherness of rites actually did not disturb the co-existence of both nations, which was emphasized in the historiography many times. It was confirmed by contraction of mixed Polish-Ruthenian marriages as well as by the evidence of mutual respect for observed religions, which was reflected for example, in pilgrimages of prince Iziaslav to Gniezno to the St. Adalbert's grave, and perhaps also to Rome, where his son, Yaropolk with his mother Gertrude, Mieszko II's daughter, went to on pilgrimage in 1073.⁵³ Indeed, the Yaropolk's seal belongs to the most distinguishing exhibits in the collection of over thirty Ruthenian princes' seals, which is one of the biggest discoveries from Czeremno.⁵⁴ It is symptomatic that one side of this seal is adorned with the image of St. Peter, and the other – with Saints Boris and Gleb.⁵⁵ Again, it gives rise to the presumption regarding a specific symbiosis of both rites. However, Małgorzata Smorąg Różycka warned against unambiguous understanding of St. Peter as a symbol of the Roman Church recalling the miniature in the Gertrude (Egberg) Psalter in which Yaropolk and his mother Gertrude kneel before St. Peter, who, in contrast to the past interpretations, should be perceived as an intermediary in penitential prayers.⁵⁶

The other category of monuments, less spectacular but of considerable significance consists of metal book clasps strongly evidencing a developed literary culture of the stronghold and its explicit manifestation is a fragment of a *stilus* used to write on wax tablets.⁵⁷ So-called the Drohiczyn type seals⁵⁸ are an example of a specific type of monuments known from Czeremno. These monuments, 1 cm in diameter, consist of two squeezed pieces of lead through which a piece of string or leather strap was passed. The seals, decorated with various signs

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 243.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 243–244.

⁵⁴ M. Piotrowski, M. Wołoszyn, 'Czeremno (Czerwień) – badania w latach 2010–2011', [in:] *Czerwień ...*, pp. 189–190.

⁵⁵ A. Musin, *Z wiecznego Rzymu ...*, Fig. 2 p. 253.

⁵⁶ M. Smorąg Różycka, *Bizantyńsko-ruskie miniatury Kodeksu Gertrudy*, Kraków 2003, pp. 69, 72: *In the literature on the subject the thesis of a confessional character of the miniature with St. Peter and its close connection with the Roman mission of Yaropolk dominates, [whereas – MPK] in Ruthenia, like in the whole Christian world, St. Peter was venerated as an Apostle and the successor to Christ [...]. Thus, the most important is a universal message of the miniature: a pious sovereign shows remorse and asks God to forgive her sins through St. Peter.* The patronymic function of St. Peter was expressed in the miniature *Coronation* – *Ibidem*, pp. 72, 75–77.

⁵⁷ J. Bagińska, M. Piotrowski, M. Wołoszyn, 'Piśmiennictwo', [in:] *Czerwień ...*, pp. 386–387.

⁵⁸ M. Piotrowski, M. Wołoszyn, 'Czeremno (Czerwień) – badania w latach 2010–2011', [in:] *Czerwień ...*, pp. 190–191; J. Bagińska, M. Piotrowski, M. Wołoszyn, *Piecczęcie*, [in:] *Czerwień ...*, p. 364.

most probably served as custom seals. They were named after the find consisting of many such objects in the bed of the Bug River in Drohiczyn in 1964, after the water had shrunk.⁵⁹

Each category of monuments and their semantic contexts deserve separate descriptions, which cannot be presented in this short review of phenomena, thus only those which seem to be especially intriguing to me were signalized here. We should realize that the excavations carried out in the season 2010/2011 and the exhibition that popularises them in a few countries are - as we have reasons to believe - only an overture to further discoveries, and first of all, to reliable analyses. We can expect more intensive studies to be carried out and international co-operation regarding this unusual period of shaping and establishing of the culture of recently Christianized Slavic states inspired by impulses coming from the main regions and as well as from peripheries of Europe, from Rome and Constantinople, and also from Scandinavia and Central Asia.

⁵⁹ M. Piotrowski, M. Wołoszyn, *Czermno (Czerwień) ...*, p. 190; J. Bagińska, M. Piotrowski, M. Wołoszyn, 'Ośrodek handlu', [in:] *Czerwień ...*, pp. 367-368.

“Icons from Transylvania: Romanian art – European heritage”, temporary exhibition opened in the exhibiting area of “1st December 1918” University of Alba Iulia (Romania), during 25th April–15th June 2013

Ana Dumitran, Alba Iulia

The exhibition, occasioned by the development of the first edition of the international conference *Economy and Society in Central and Eastern Europe. Territory, Population, Consumption*, wished to be a preamble to establishing a museum of sacred art in Alba Iulia by which to acquaint the audience with the great collections of ecclesiastical objects held by two important local institutions: Romanian Orthodox Archbishopric and National Museum of Unification. Fulfilment of this wish will represent the natural output of rigorous documentation on the artistic phenomenon developed on the actual area of Alba County between 14th–19th centuries¹. For now the challenge is still represented by the poor status of conservation of the heritage and considerable expenses assumed by interventions of consolidation and restoration, as well as by arranging the building made available by Alba County Council.

The exhibition points out genuine values accumulated in the Romanian churches from Transylvania, throughout time, but also the frailty of this heritage and the urgent necessity of intervening for its salvation. With their brightness shadowed by the passing of time, which diminished their beauty and integrity, presented exhibits are definitely authentic masterpieces, and their knowing may contribute successfully to promoting the Romanian icon as a unit comparable in significance to those confirmed a long time ago, such are the Greek, Russian, Ukrainian and Serbian icons.

¹ Cf. Ana Dumitran, *Pictura românească în județul Alba până la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea. Demersuri pentru o bază de date*, *Patrimonium Apulense*, 12 (2012), passim.



Fig. 1. "Icons from Transylvania: Romanian art – European heritage" exhibition, Photo Vali Ciontea



Fig. 2. "Icons from Transylvania: Romanian art – European heritage" exhibition, Photo Vali Ciontea



Fig. 3. "Icons from Transylvania: Romanian art – European heritage" exhibition, Photo Vali Ciontea

tion since 1996, firstly in Ghim (fig. 4) and then also in Jyve (fig. 5) led to the discovery of numerous, precious monuments dating back to the Roman and Byzantine times. Further to his success one can also add a strong team of archaeologists and restorers supported by the international academic society working in Lebanon. In summer 2008 five Polish projects were conducted in Lebanon: three archaeological ones (South of Beirut) and two restoration works (North of Beirut). The aim of this conference was to present the result of the newest research and initiate the discussion of scholars representing different research centres, Polish ones as well as foreign ones.

The Conference was supported by the authorities of the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University, especially Henryk Skorzewski, Deputy Rector and Jarosław Kozak, Dean of the Faculty of History and Social Sciences. The honourable patronage over the conference was held by the Embassy of Lebanon in Warsaw. Rabin Franchi, Consul of the Republic of Lebanon in Poland honoured the conference with his presence. He was assisted by the ambassador's secretary, Margarita Hordak. His Excellence, Ambassador of the Republic of Poland in Syria, Michał Marzec, was also an honorary guest of the conference; his wife Joanna Marzec delivered a lecture. Specialists from different centres in Poland as well as numerous groups of students were participants in the conference.



Fig. 2. "Icons from Transylvania, Romanian art – European heritage" exhibition, Photo: Veli Chonten.

The Heritage of the Christian art and architecture in Medieval Lebanon. Report

Magdalena Łaptaś, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University

An International Conference on Christian Lebanon was held at the University of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński in Warsaw on the 17th of October 2008. A prime mover of the conference was Tomasz Waliszewski from the Institute of Archaeology at Warsaw University. Magdalena Łaptaś organized the conference on behalf of the *Faculty of History and Social Sciences* of the UKSW (fig. 1). The excavations conducted by Tomasz Waliszewski in Lebanon since 1996, firstly in Chhim (fig. 2) and then also in Jiyeh (fig. 3) led to the discovery of numerous, precious monuments dating back to the Roman and Byzantine times. Further to his success one can also add a strong team of archaeologists and restorers respected by the international academic society working in Lebanon. In summer 2008 five Polish projects were conducted in Lebanon: three archaeological ones (South of Beirut) and two restoration works (North of Beirut). The aim of the conference was to present the result of the newest research and initiate the discussion of scholars representing different research centres, Polish ones as well as foreign ones.

The Conference was supported by the authorities of the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University, especially Henryk Skorowski, Deputy Rector and Jarosław Koral, Dean of the *Faculty of History and Social Sciences*. The honourable patronage over the conference was held by the Embassy of Lebanon in Warsaw. Kabalan Frangieh Consul of the Republic of Lebanon in Poland honoured the conference with his presence. He was assisted by the ambassador's secretary Małgorzata Hołdak. His Excellence Ambassador of the Republic of Poland in Syria Michał Murkociński, was also an honorary guest of the conference; his wife Joanna Murkocińska delivered a lecture. Specialists from different centres in Poland as well as numerous groups of students were participants in the conference.

The conference was opened by Janusz Odziemkowski, Deputy Dean of the Faculty, who welcomed speakers and participants of the conference and presented a short introduction into the history of Christian Lebanon.

The conference began with a foreword by Kabalan Frangieh who left an official form of the speech and, expressed his gratitude to Polish archaeologists and restorers in beautiful words. He thanked them for their efforts made to save monuments and to promote the culture of his country.



Fig. 1. Waldemar Deluga, Magdalena Łaptaś and Rafał Wiśniewski discussing the proceedings of the conference, photo taken by Marcin Zarzecki

After an introduction into the subject of the conference made by Magdalena Łaptaś, the floor was taken by Zbigniew Kobylński, the director of the Institute of Archaeology of the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University. The latter presented main research problems connected with the protection of the archaeological heritage.

A subsequent lecture was delivered by the honourable speaker of the conference – Mat Immerzeel, the director of Paul van Moorsel Centre at Leiden University. He has been cooperating with Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University since 2001 within the Erasmus programme. The cooperation has led not only to a series of lectures, the exchange of academics and students but also the organization of the conference on *proskynetaria* in 2003 in Warsaw, as well as the participation of Magdalena Łaptaś in editing of the *Eastern Christian Art* journal, published by Leiden University.

During his stay in Warsaw in 2003 Mat Immerzeel established cooperation with Tomasz Waliszewski and Krzysztof Chmielewski, with whom he prepared a publication on the Church of Mar Sarkis and Bakhos in Kaftûn.¹ Set in the valley of the Nahr El Jawz in the Koura region, a small and abandoned church (fig. 4) attracted researchers' attention in 2003, when two fragments of paintings were found during the roof repair (fig. 5). On Professor Leila Badre's initiative the Polish restorers were asked for help. In 2004 employees and students of the Faculty of Conservation and Restoration of Works of Art of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw under the direction of Krzysztof Chmielewski set about removing secondary and degraded plaster covering the church walls. The results were surprising as more and more paintings depicted the following scenes: *the Annunciation*, *Deesis*, *the Communion of the Apostles* as well as numerous representations of saints were gradually revealed (fig 6). Despite their disastrous state, their high quality, artistic

¹ Cf. T. Waliszewski, 'The Church of Mar Sarkis and Bakhos in Kaftûn and its Wall Paintings', *Bulletin Archéologique et d'Architecture Libanaises*, 11 (2007), pp. 277–323.

and technological level was immediately visible. The discovery of paintings in Kaftûn (dated to the second half of the 13th century) considerably expanded knowledge of Lebanese painting, as well as revolutionised research on Crusader art. Research conducted by Mat Immerzeel together with a Lebanese researcher Nada H  lou, proved that in Medieval Lebanon there were active workshops which painted both murals and icons.² Some of these icons are now in the collection of Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai. Previously they were attributed to Byzantine painters of Constantinople *milieu*, because Lebanon had not been taken into consideration as a centre creating "high quality" art. During his lecture entitled "The Art of Kaft  n. A breakthrough in the Study of Middle Eastern Art from the Crusader Era", Mat Immerzeel presented the results of his latest research.³

The next speech on Christian communities in the County of Tripoli was given by Tadeusz Gołgowski (Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University). He emphasized that despite the religious and ethnic diversity, religious communities living within the Crusader states were autonomous and lived in accordance with their own laws and customs.

Next, Joanna Murkocińska, a graduate of the Institute of Oriental Philology at the Jagiellonian University spoke of the sacred architecture in Beirut, presenting the rich material of monuments from the Lebanese capital. The stylistic variety of the sacred architecture reflects the richness of cultural and religious *mosaic* in contemporary Lebanon.

Taking into consideration the cultural heritage of Lebanon one cannot omit a famous Polish Jesuit – Father Maksymilian Ryl  . El  zbieta Reklajtis (Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University) presented a lecture on that remarkable missionary. Father Maksymilian Ryl   was a figure of an exceptional intelligence and a colourful personality. He had a gift for



Fig. 2. Aerial view of the floor mosaic in the Byzantine basilica in Chhim, photo taken by T. Szmagier



Fig. 3. Excavations in Jiyeh, ancient Porphyreion – rural settlement with a harbour to the north of Sidon, photo taken by T. Waliszewski

² Cf. M. Immerzeel, 'Holy Horsemen and Crusader Banners. Equestrian Saints in Wall Paintings in Lebanon and Syria', *Eastern Christian Art*, 1 (2004), pp. 29–60; N. H  lou, '   propos d'une   cole syro-libanaise d'ic  ne au XIIIe si  cle', *Eastern Christian Art*, 3 (2006), pp. 53–72.

³ Cf. M. Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles. Medieval Christian Art in Syria and Lebanon*, Leuven, Paris, Walpole, MA 2009.

winning people from different environments over. Therefore, as a young man he became famous as an outstanding preacher and diplomat. The mission of his life was to create *Collegium Asiaticum* in Lebanon. After a few decades this multilingual school was converted into the Jesuit Saint Joseph University in Beirut, and is still one of the most important universities of contemporary Lebanon. His activity in Lebanon was interrupted several times by his missions to Mesopotamia. The main aim of these trips was a diplomatic mission to head off the conflict between the Chaldean church worshippers and a representative of the Pope. Besides the mission, Father Ryłło managed to fulfil his scholarly passion taking on archaeological excavations. As a result of his

pioneering excavations conducted in Nineveh, Father Ryłło succeeded in acquiring many valuable monuments, which were then handed over to Pope Gregory XVI. Upon coming back from the Middle East, a Polish Jesuit Ryłło was awarded membership of the Pontifical Academy of Archaeology.

The last two lectures of the morning session were devoted to the problem of Medieval churches in Lebanon. Tomasz Waliszewski recounted the present state of research, bringing awareness to the fact that the sacred architecture of Lebanon has not gained enough interest in the international scholarly environment yet. Such a situation is proved not only by a small number of publications upon this subject but also by a poor state of library collections even in the leading scholarly institutions.

In turn, Tomasz Nowakiewicz and Karol Czajkowski presented research possibilities which photogrammetry documentation of Mediaeval churches in Lebanon brought.



Fig. 4. The church of Mar Sarkis and Bakhos in Kaftûn. General view, photo taken by M. Łaptaś



Fig. 5. Krzysztof Chmielewski presenting a mural in the upper part of the church in Kaftûn photo taken by M. Łaptaś

In the discussion following this part of the conference the number of questions was directed to Tadeusz Gołgowski. Most of them concerned the matter of religious and ethnic tolerance in the Crusader states. This point was raised by Stefan Kozłowski (Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University) and the subsequently by Kaban Frangieh and Mat Immerzeel.

An interesting comment from the lecture of Elżbieta Reklajtis was made by Rev. Michał Janocha. During the preliminary research in Museo Profano in the Vatican he came across two chests offered by Father Ryłło to Pope Gregory XVI in 1838. They include 36 (originally 38) monuments from Nineveh, where Father Ryłło conducted his excavations. Among them there are

such objects as: stamp seals and cylinder seals, fragments of the plates covered with cuneiform writing and the number of figures made of molten glass. Furthermore Father Ryłło gained this material before the beginning of excavations conducted by a famous English archaeologist Austen Henri Layard to whom the discovery of Nineveh was attributed.

The afternoon session of the conference was opened by the presentation of Jarosław Kret, the Polish traveller and photographer. In 2008 he took part in the archaeological and restoration missions, documenting works of Polish scholars. His aim was not only to document but also convey the atmosphere in which the Polish teams worked. Jarosław Kret managed to capture the proper moments thanks to the subtle moderation of light. He introduced audience in the magic world in which the past pervades the present. Silhouettes of the restorers shown against the background of Saints in the darkness of the Kaftûn church render the atmosphere of Medieval mysticism (fig. 6). Photos of the archaeologist



Fig. 6. A member of restorers team working on the mural of the Apostles in Kaftûn, photo taken by J. Kret

resting after the daily hard work in the scorching sun are more meaningful than excavation diaries. These photos let us move into the atmosphere of hot and beautiful Lebanon. His lecture consisting of two parts: talk and multimedia display, met with a warm reception of the participants among which there were main heroes of the photos.

Next, Krzysztof Chmielewski had his introduction into the issue of restoration of churches and murals in Lebanon. Unfortunately, the condition of many monuments is disastrous. Most of the buildings set in the mountain, in barely accessible areas are not always protected from atmospheric factors and acts of vandalism. Hardly ever, as in the case of Deir es-Salib church (laid below Hadchit in the Qadisha Valley) had the protective gate installed in front of the entrance. Sometimes, as in St Marina's Grotto (above Qalamoun) murals are exposed and as a result they are falling into decay. Before starting the proper restoration works it is necessary to secure the building and conduct reinforcement and building rescue operations. They include the consolidation of degraded plaster, reinforcement of paint layers and sometimes even the removal of plant roots from the walls. When these activities are done, it is possible to conduct the proper restoration of the paintings.

In the near future it would be advisable to carry out separate research and conservation project, which would enable us to recognize the most urgent needs and necessary activities aimed at rescuing endangered paintings.

The partnership of the Polish restorers with the General Directory of Antiquities in Lebanon responsible for the state care of monuments is very fruitful. The Greek Orthodox Archbishopric of the Mountains of Lebanon also supports Polish restorers. Thanks to the collaboration with the newly established association composed of researchers from Lebanese universities, works to save mediaeval paintings in Lebanon have already started. All this allows us to hope for the continuation of joint projects and this cooperation is so valuable and crucial because without coordinated efforts some priceless paintings may fall into irretrievable ruin.

Following Krzysztof Chmielewski, Magdalena Łaptaś delivered a lecture on new perspectives in research on the medieval paintings of Lebanon. This area was outside of the interest of researchers for a long time. However, this situation changed, as during the last two decades three monographs were written by: Youhanna Sader⁴, Lévon Nordiguian and Jean-Claude Voisin⁵, and Erika Cruikshank Dodd⁶. Moreover, Nada Helou published two books about Lebanese murals for specialists as well as for general reading⁷. After the conference had taken place, a book by Mat Immerzeel was printed. Besides the paintings of Lebanon, it also includes Syrian murals⁸. More and more articles on the painting of Lebanon appear in journals such as *Tempora*⁹ and *Chronos*¹⁰ published in Lebanon, or European journals: *Eastern Christian Art in its Late Antique and Islamic Contexts*¹¹.

Together with the dynamic progress of conservation works, more and more material for research and comparative analysis is available, therefore an interest in mediaeval painting, which has increased in the last years, will certainly not weaken.

The Church Mar Sarkis and Bakhos in Kaftûn was the subject of the next two lectures of the afternoon sessions. Karol Juchniewicz delivered a lecture on the architecture of the Church of the Saints *Sergius and Bacchus*. According to the preliminary findings made by the Polish team, this object was developed in three main phases over many centuries. The first one includes the erection of the building in the form of a three nave basilica covered, very probably, with a flat roof. Due to the lack of any dating elements, that period should

⁴ Y. Sader, *Painted Churches and Rock-cut Chapels of Lebanon*, Beirut 1997.

⁵ L. Nordiguian, J. C. Voisin, *Chateaux et Églises du Moyen Age au Liban*, Paris-Beirut, 1999.

⁶ E. Cruikshank Dodd, *Medieval Painting in the Lebanon*, Wiesbaden 2004.

⁷ N. Hérou, *La Fresque I. Dans les anciennes églises du Liban I. Région de Jbeil et Batroun*, Mansourie 2007. Eadem, *La Fresque II. Dans les anciennes églises du Liban. Région du Nord*, Mansourie 2008.

⁸ M. Immerzeel, *The Identity Puzzle ...*, passim.

⁹ From 1982 r. *Annales d'Histoire et d'Archéologie*; and from 1999 r. *Tempora*. Magazines issued by the University of Saint Joseph in Beirut.

¹⁰ *Chronos. Revue d'Histoire de l'Université de Balamand*. Published since 1998.

¹¹ Magazine edited by Leiden University; published by Peeters.



Fig. 7. Church in Kaftûn with a new roof protecting the murals in the upper parts, photo taken by M. Łaptaś

be linked with the times before wall paintings came into existence, so *terminus ante quem* is second half of the 13th century. In view of the fact that there were churches having an identical form and dated to the 12th century in the close vicinity, the church in Kaftûn must have been built in that period or earlier. The second phase of the building history included a structural failure undefined in the form and time. As a result, the northern aisle, the roof of the nave, an element of the northern wall and the narthex were destroyed. During the third phase, the church was partially rebuilt, although the northern aisle was left in ruins. The flat roof of the building was replaced by a barrel vault and the church was enriched with another ancillary room on the western side. Precise dating of those changes is currently impossible because there is no possibility of conducting an archaeological research in Kaftûn and no comparative research on the church architecture of that time in Lebanon has been carried out.

Next, Maciej Baran from the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw presented results of the research conducted together with Tomasz Waliszewski and Krzysztof Chmielewski

as a part of the restoration project in Kaftûn. As mentioned previously, first works in the church were done in 2003 following an accidental discovery of fragments of the scene showing the Annunciation. The painting needed immediate salvaging and restoration. Once works at archaeological excavation sites in Chhim and Jiyeh had been completed, a group of restorers moved to Kaftûn, where emergency works to safeguard the painting were carried out. The face of the painting was reinforced with Japanese paper and gauze. The roof was also erected to protect the walls of the church from the rainfall (fig. 7). In 2004 a group of restorers and students under the direction of Krzysztof Chmielewski set about systematic works in the building. The walls of the church were covered with an outer, damp and cracked layer of plaster. It seemed unlikely that any paintings survived under it, however first works in the apse of the church (from where removing the plaster was started), led to uncovering of the painting depicting Deesis. Then, a series of sondages were carried out to assess where fragments of the paintings survived. The final result was the decision to remove the outer layer of plaster completely. A northern aisle of the church in Kaftûn had been destroyed, the arcades between aisles were bricked up. Once the fastening walls built between the arcades were removed in 2005, it turned out that pictures of the figures on pillars from the eastern and western side were preserved. Political events in 2006 prevented restorers from visiting Lebanon during that season, however in that period nuns from the nunnery managed to get the church reconstructed and the northern nave was added. In the next two seasons restoration works were completed (fig. 8). At present the church in Kaftûn does not resemble a desolate and squalid building it used to be in 2003, and a set of paintings uncovered by Polish restorers is one of the most impressive in Lebanon¹² (fig 9).

The next speaker of the afternoon session was Krzysztof Jakubiak (Warsaw University), who presented the strategic function of the Qal'at Abu El Hassan castle (located approx. 10 km from Sidon, in the valley of the Auali river). The castle, built by Crusaders in the 12th c. was one of the links of the defensive system inseparably connected with the protection of the Levantine harbour - Sidon. A chain of the fortresses guarding the northern part of the Kingdom of Jerusalem consisted of bigger and smaller castles. Undoubtedly, the Qala'at Abu El Hassan castle can be included in the category of smaller ones due to its relatively minor size (fig. 10). On the other hand, the location of the castle had a particular importance since it was situated on a rock monadnock, in the middle of the valley (in its narrowing). Therefore, the castle enabled an effective blockade of the route and entrance to the harbour in Sidon from the eastern side where an attack of a Muslim army was expected.

The evening session programme was closed with a lecture on Byzantine pottery of Chhim given by Urszula Wicenciak, who had been taking part in the excavations in Chhim nearly since the very beginning, therefore the material collected by her is the result of

¹² In 2009 the arch of the vault separating the scene of the Annunciation was removed, thus the painting is currently fully visible.

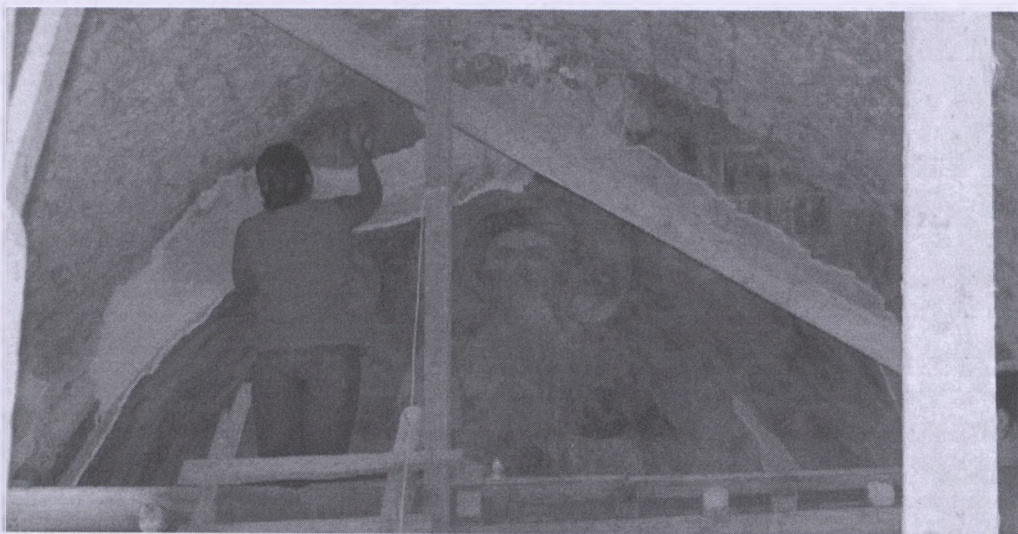


Fig. 8. Restoration works inside the church of Kaftûn, photo taken by M. Łaptaś



Fig. 9. An archangel, one of the murals restored by the Polish team, photo taken by M. Łaptaś

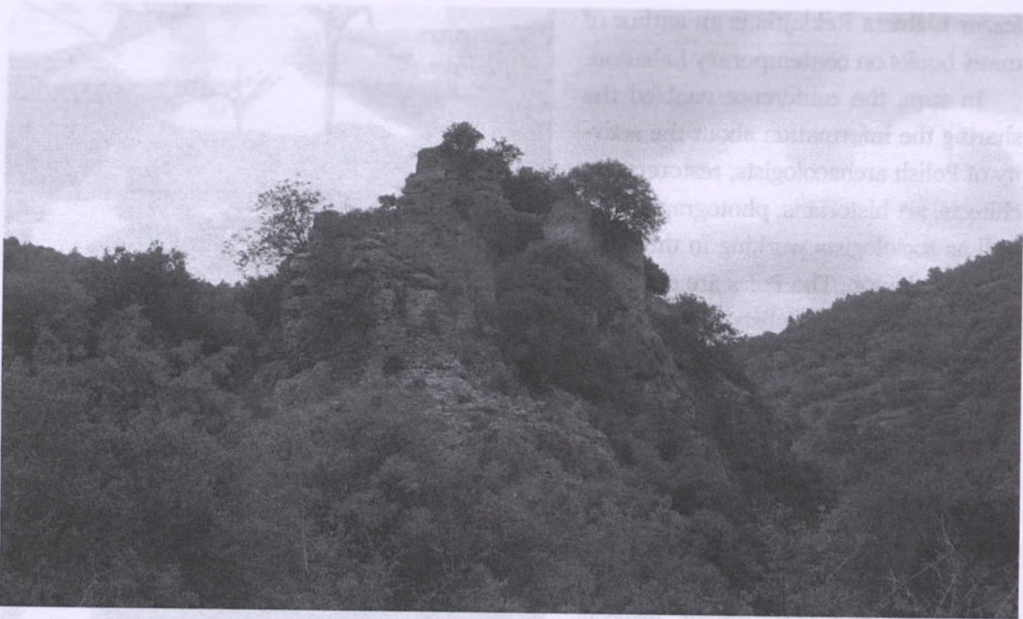


Fig. 10. A general view of the Qal'at Abu El Hassan castle ruins, photo taken by K. Jakubiak

many years of effort. Pottery of mountain areas of the Southern Lebanon has been barely examined (fig. 10). So far researchers have been focused on recognizing centres located on the Lebanese coast. Based on the pottery material dated to the late Roman and Byzantine period, one can conclude that Chhim was not economically connected with the Beirut area, but was an economic base for the southern area – probably Sidon. Strong influence of Palestinian pottery seems to prove that fact. Pottery of Chhim constitute an interesting and unique material, however it is difficult to research due to the lack of comparative material from the southern Lebanon sites. Therefore, it seems that the PhD dissertation of Ms Wicenciak was an innovative study.

In the debate following the evening session, the leading subject was concerned with the methods of Lebanese paintings restoration. Moreover, Rafał Wiśniewski from the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University introduces an interesting subject. In 2007 Elżbieta Reklajtis and he conducted research on the Lebanese people living currently in Poland. That research concerned the matter of migration, adaptation and barriers encountered by the Lebanese coming to Poland. Dr Wiśniewski stressed that despite difficulties the Lebanese encountered, they adapted to a various degree of different social and cultural patterns. Information handed over by Wiśniewski was very valuable as it let speakers familiarize themselves with the activity research of contemporary Lebanon as conducted by sociologists from our university. This country, as we can see, attracts not only archaeologists, restorers and art historians, but also many researchers of other fields of science. At this point, it is worth remembering that Pro-

fessor Elżbieta Reklajtis is an author of many books on contemporary Lebanon.

In sum, the conference enabled the sharing the information about the activity of Polish archaeologists, restorers, architects, art historians, photographers as well as sociologists working in the territory of Lebanon. The Poles are currently a major group of specialists, highly valued by Lebanese institutions. The participation of foreign researchers in projects conducted in Lebanon allows Polish science to open itself to the international cooperation (fig. 11). Significant contribution to archaeological and restoration works is made by the students; thanks to their efforts and commitment, projects can be dynamically and efficiently carried out during summer seasons. Working under the guidance of experienced academic teachers gives them an opportunity to gain experience in the field of Mediterranean archaeology and restoration.

During the conference, plans and possibilities of activities for the coming years emerged. In 2011 the international workshop, entitled „Kaftûn – Towards the publication of the Church and its Wall Paintings” was held in Beirut. It was organised by The Netherlands Institute in Beirut, Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw and the Polish Center of Mediterranean Archaeology.

One can also hope that during the upcoming years, another conference devoted to the newest research in Lebanon will be held at the University of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński.

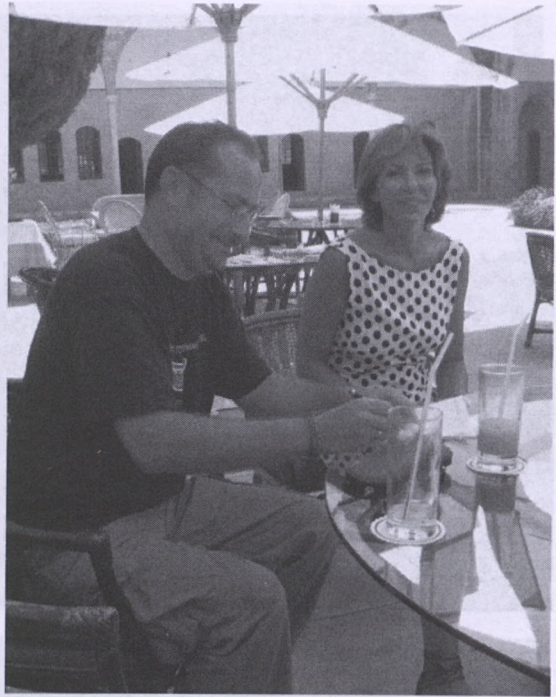
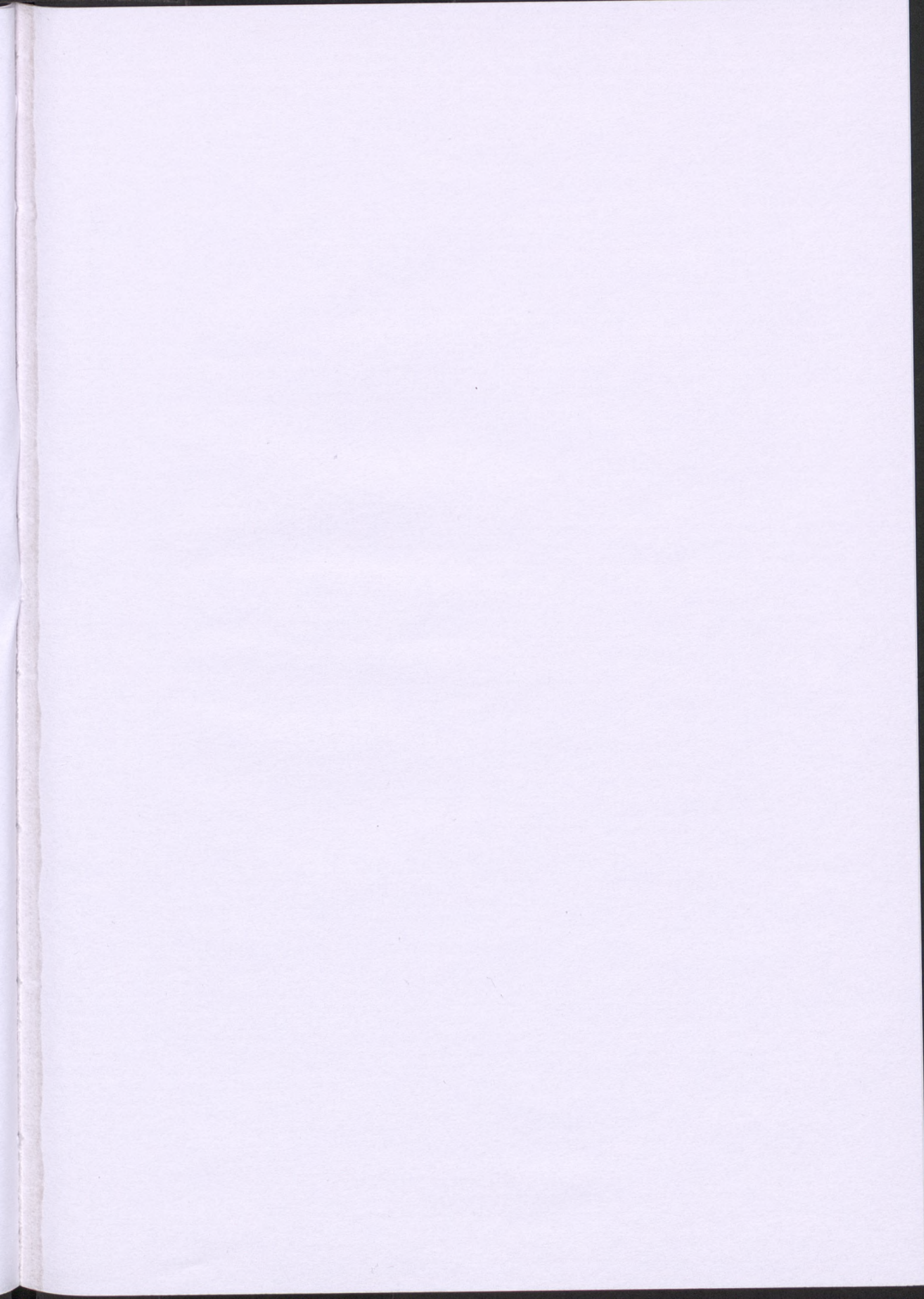


Fig. 11. Nora Jumblatt with Tomasz Waliszewski discussing plans for future restoration and cooperation, photo taken by M. Łaptaś



fessor Elżbieta Rekiajtis is an author of many books on contemporary Lebanon.

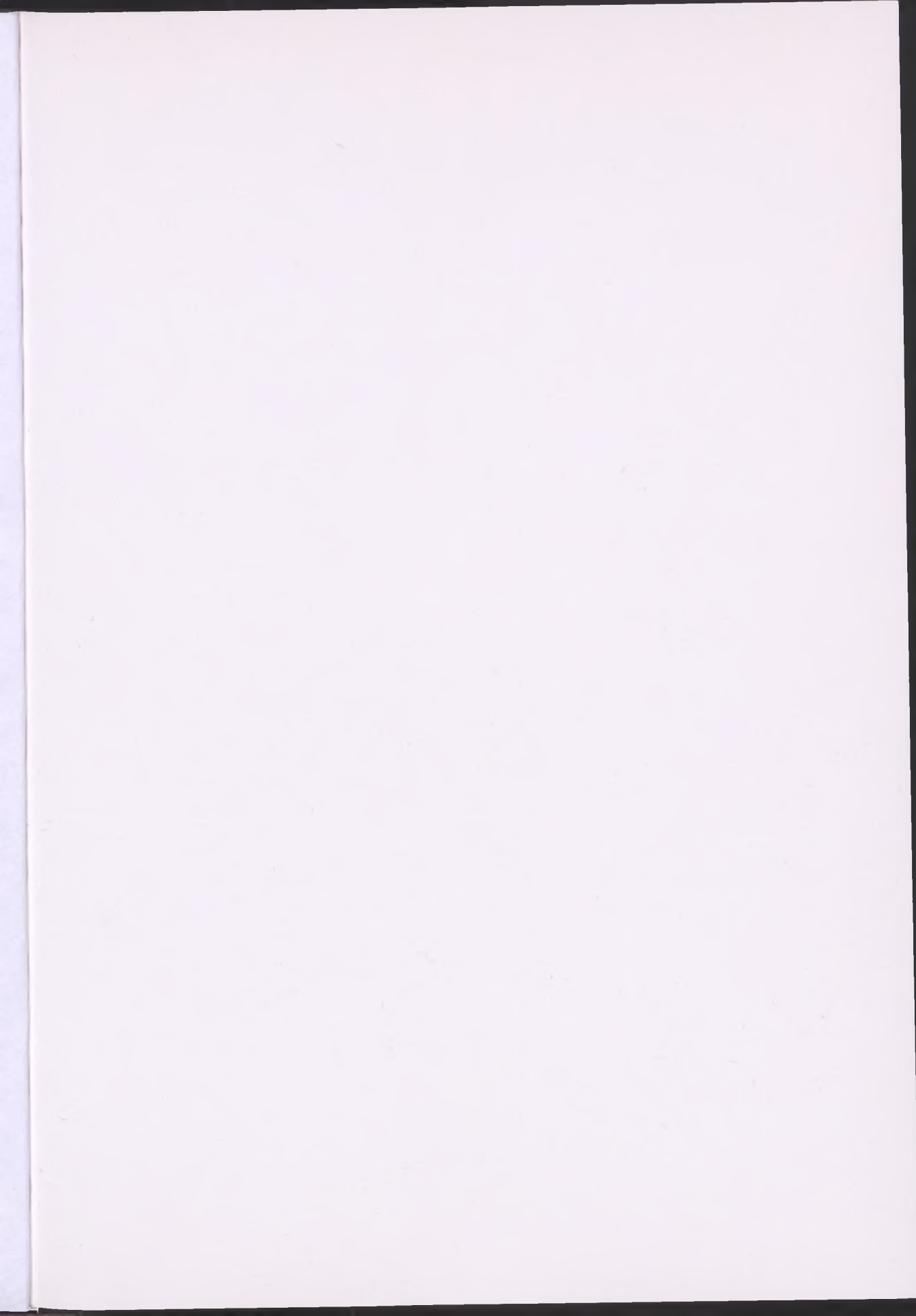
In sum, the conference enabled the sharing the information about the activity of Polish archaeologists, restorers, architects, art historians, photographers as well as sociologists working in the territory of Lebanon. The Poles are currently a major group of specialists, highly trained by Lebanese institutions. The participation of foreign researchers in projects conducted in Lebanon allows Polish science to open itself to the international cooperation (fig. 11). Significant contribution to archaeological and restoration works is made by the students, thanks to their efforts and commitment, projects can be dynamically and efficiently carried out during summer seasons. Working under the guidance of experienced academic teachers gives them an opportunity to gain experience in the field of Mediterranean archaeology and restoration.

During the conference, plans and possibilities of activities for the coming years emerged. In 2011 the international workshop, entitled „Kaftan – Towards the publication of the Church and its Wall Paintings” was held in Beirut. It was organised by The Netherlands Institute in Beirut, Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw and the Polish Center of Mediterranean Archaeology.

One can also hope that during the upcoming years, another conference devoted to the newest research in Lebanon will be held at the University of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński.



Fig. 11. Nora Jundali with Tomasz Wałszewski discussing plans for future restoration and cooperation, photo taken by M. Łopka



*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